# CANAL SETTLEMENT

A study of the origin and growth of the canal settlement at Barnton in Cheshire between 1775 and 1845

Presented to Leicester University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1966

D.A. Iredale

UMI Number: U296345

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

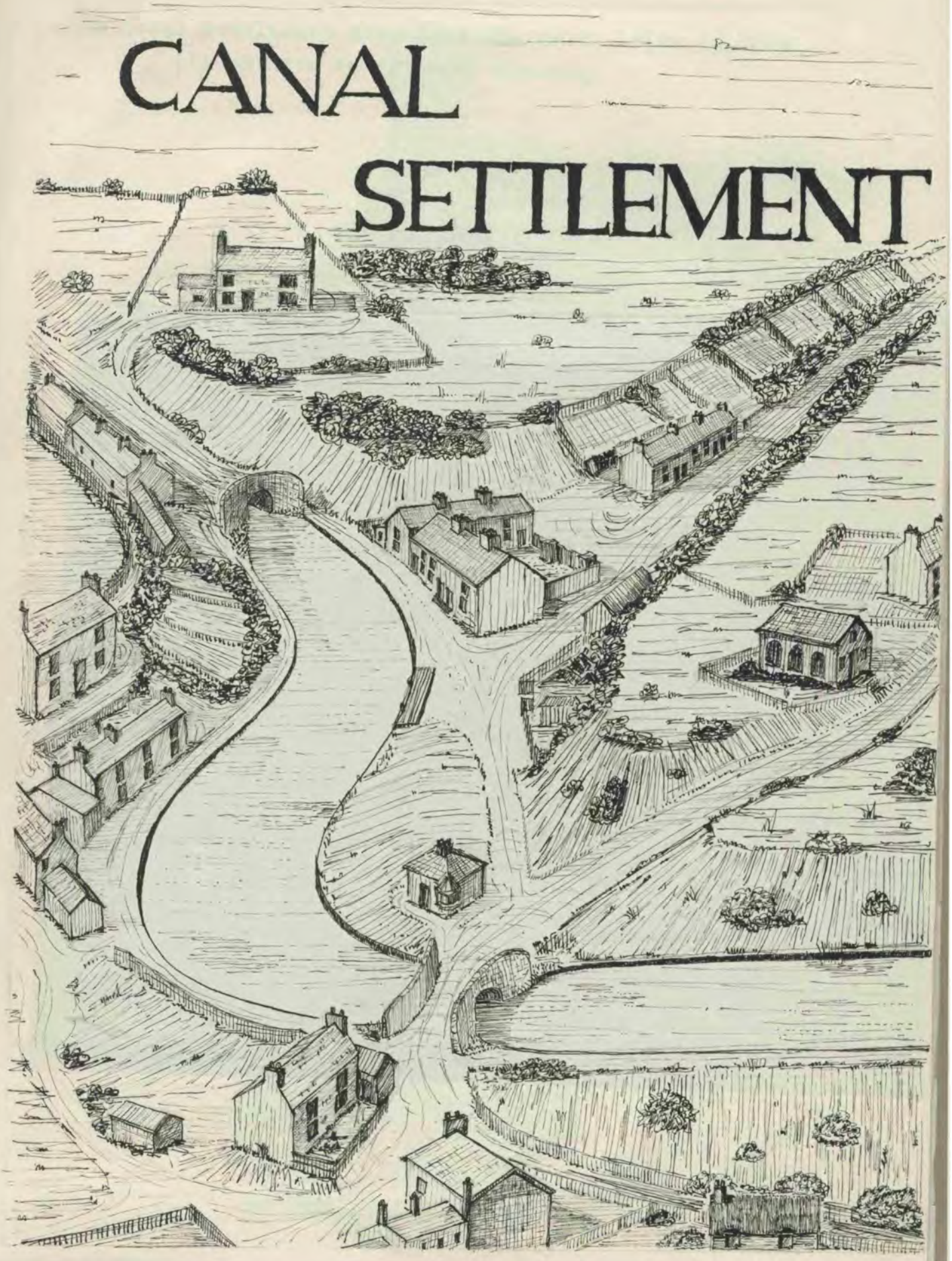
UMI U296345
Published by ProQuest LLC 2015. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.
All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

X752976345

G2248
X The author
25.1.67

# CANAL SETTLEMENT



The Canal Settlement seen from the river below in 1879
(taken from an original drawing)

CANAL SETTLEMENT

VIEWS ACROSS THE CANAL c.1950

CONTENTS

Note concerning the spelling of names
Preface
Acknowledgments
Abbreviations

Preliminary statement: Barnton's growth 1775-1845 p.1
The position of Barnton in Cheshire p.3
The origin and growth of the township of Barnton to 1775 p.4
The building of the Trent and Mersey Canal and the effect of the canal on the old township of Barnton p.7

The reasons why a settlement emerged around the canal basin at Barnton: p.12
1. Sufficient land became available p.13
2. Barnton lay astride important lines of communication p.21
3. Barnton possessed a rich soil for farming and raw materials like timber, clay, and salt p.23
4. Climatic changes tended to aid economic development p.44

Economic Growth

The expansion of industry and trade p.46
Who paid for industrial expansion, and how was this done? p.62
Economic growth brought people to Barnton p.64
People needed houses: the building of houses, a description of these dwellings, the identity of builders, owners, and occupiers p.74
People needed jobs p.124
Wages and prices: the cost of living in Barnton p.127
The people's standard of living p.141

## Government

Economic progress tended to overburden township government: Vestry and Town Meetings p.143
Town officers: Constable p.150
Overseer of the Poor p.170
Supervisor of Highways p.205
Self-help: Friendly Society p.206

## Religious and Educational Activity

People turned for consolation to religious and educational activity p.207
1. Religion p.207
2. Education p.265

## The New Community

The new community of the canal settlement p.277

Concluding remarks p.282

APPENDICES

SOURCES: manuscript, printed, and visual

## Maps and Plans of Barnton


| | |
|---|---|
| Sketch of canal settlement about 1843 (from tithe map ) | frontispiece |
| Canal Settlement 1879 (from a drawing) | " |
| Canal Settlement c.1950 (photographs) | " |
| Barnton 1664 | behind p.5 |
| The 1778 canal survey | behind p.10 |
| Cheshire waterways | behind p.20 |
| Trent and Mersey Canal in Cheshire 1835 | behind p.21 |
| River Weaver improvements pre-1845 | behind p.22 |
| Saltworks house | behind p.37 |
| The 1816 canal survey | behind p.63 |
| Elevations and plans of Barnton houses | between pp.76-119 |
| Canal Settlement 1843 (tithe plan) | behind p.142 |
| Leighs Brow 1824 | behind p.218 |
| Sketch of Methodist chapel, 1838 | behind p.240 |
| Tithe Survey Plan of Barnton 1843 | folded in back pocket |

## SPELLING OF NAMES

Names have been spelled as they appear in the documents. Within inverted commas, of course, the spellings must be preserved and this has been done, no matter how strange the spelling, without the addition of 'sic'. In mentioning names which have many variations, like Ray and Bowyer, the following rule has been adopted as far as possible. The question is asked each time the name occurs, from which document did the evidence for this statement come? That document's spelling is therefore adopted. It can happen that in consecutive sentences the name occurs twice and the evidence comes from two documents which have different spellings. The name appears then in its two forms, no matter how strange this may seem. Where a name is mentioned in passing, the modern generally-accepted Barnton spelling is used. Thus in pedigree headings the modern form like Bowyer appears. Below, the form Boyer from parish registers of about 1800 is used.

## PLACE NAMES

Barnton places named after people such as the garden once held by the Bells are given as they appear on maps and in documents: that is, usually without any apostrophe. In this case the garden will be Bells Garden.

# P R E F A C E

Map makers often left Barnton off their plans of Cheshire, though neighbouring places all appeared. Tourists avoided the township, remaining on the important high ways that encircled but did not touch Barnton. Historians and topographers hesitated to include the place because they found little to quote except population and acreage. Barnton crept into works only when completeness demanded the township's presence, as in Ormerod's History in 1819 and on the early Ordnance Survey of 1840. Presumably the settlement seemed unworthy of inclusion on account of its long history of poverty, its minute area, its lack of gentry and clergy, and its down-to-earth, workaday atmosphere that provided nothing of interest to contemporaries. Barnton had not the lush farmland of High Leigh or the old-world charm of Great Budworth High Street or the great rock salt mine of Marston. It had no city walls like Chester nor massive residence like Alderley nor ancient castle like Haltonnor indeed historic heathland like Rudheath. The place had no famous cotton factories like Stockport nor silk mills like Congleton. Its population could not rival Frodsham, Runcorn, or Nantwich. Its men did not become learned divines, well-known authors, or clever inventors. Thus it stood in the background of contemporary thought.

Hence the canal settlement provides unrivalled examples for a study of a community. Famous or notorious places like Chester and Manchester exhibit distorted images because contemporaries worked so hard to give an acceptable account of these towns for themselves and for posterity that it remains difficult to remove the curtain of prejudice, local pride, zealous criticism, and deceit which surround the reports and histories. Barnton had its showpieces. It is unavoidable to avoid noticing Barnton Manor, the tenant farmers, William Leigh's new house, the religious revival, reforms of local administrative machinery, the two immense canal tunnels. Such things proved to be the pride of the inhabitants.

Yet it remains essential to slip away from the guided tour to see what the people avoided showing, to move from the parlour to the kitchen, or perhaps to wander into the back yard and peep into the waste bin.

Barnton guides would not point out these fascinating and instructive points partly because they would hardly think them interesting and partly because they might feel ashamed. Yet unfortunately the rubbish, the filth, the cast-offs of one generation give a more adequate idea of society than can all the carefully-tended and lovingly-prepared exhibition pieces. Without rejecting the beautiful and upright, without being deaf to the descriptions and advice of contemporaries, it is necessary to keep an ear open for whispered conversations and furtive confessions, to see what goes on when the lights go out, to probe the impressive facade of family pride. In this way Barnton men and women become not the saints that gravestones speak about nor merely the shadowy figures in tax returns, not the scoundrels who threw up slum property and attended cock fights, nor indeed the nonentities who made up the labouring population of England, but human beings with very much the same thoughts, ideas, sins, failings, the same saving graces and kindlinesses that have characterized people in all ages. The dead come alive, and their society too lives again. In the long run and in essentials Barnton society after 1775 could possess few points radically to distinguish it from past, contemporary, or future social experiments, because human nature, the human mind, remains the same in all centuries. On account of environment and influences peculiar to the age, however, the social organization must exhibit certain noticeable idiosyncrasies.

# A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S.

Some nine hundred thousand documents have been individually examined for the history of Barnton Canal Settlement. So many people have helped that to acknowledge all assistance and kindness would be impossible.

Professor H.P.R. Finberg, Professor of English Local History at Leicester University, has examined minutely the whole work, and many ideas and expressions have been suggested from his wide and profound experience. Mr. G.H. Buchan of Barnton has assisted over the years with the mechanics of research, card indexing, and illustration. Mrs. J. Bradley and Miss Alice Ashley of Barnton have undertaken the typing. Without their wonderfully patient work of decyphering and their beautiful and intelligent laying out of pages the history could hardly have been adequately finished.

Leicester University has donated a generous scholarship and thus provided for the work's completion the very necessary financial support.

Much help has been given by librarians and staffs of the Liverpool Central, Preston Harris, Manchester John Rylands, Leicester University, and London British Museum libraries. Archivists and the staffs of Record Offices have unstintingly given of time and energy to answer queries and to produce documents over the years. Particular thanks are due to county and city archivists at the Record Offices of Bury St. Edmunds and West Suffolk, Ipswich and East Suffolk, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Bedfordshire, Liverpool, Cheshire, and Lancashire. As might be imagined Mr. R. Sharpe France of the Lancashire Record Office and Major F.G.C. Rowe and Mr. B. Redwood of the Cheshire Record Office have given most assistance during the work of research. The

registrars and record keepers must also be thanked at the Stafford William Salt Library, Manchester John Rylands Library, London Public Record Office and British Museum, and the National Register of Archives. Mr. C.N. Hadlow, curator of the Waterways Museum at Stoke Bruerne, made available both documents and canal relics.

The custodians of religious records have provided much help, though many have been sorely pressed for time. It is scandalous that incumbents should have to guard and produce documents while their more important duties remain so time-consuming. Qualified laymen or archivists at Record Offices should have charge of old documents which historians regularly need. Rev. Canon A.W. Maitland Wood of Witton, Rev. E.H. Carew and L.J. Forster of Great Budworth, Rev. J. Hayes Hall of Barnton, and Mr. William Birkitt, warden of Little Leigh, should all be thanked for making available parochial records. Also grateful thanks go to ministers of the Northwich Methodist Circuit, the trustees and members of the three Barnton Methodist churches, the clerk and custodian of records of the Cheshire Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Wilmslow, Father E.M. Abbot, secretary to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Shrewsbury, R.E. France-Hayhurst, registrar at the Chester Diocese Registry, Rev. W.O. Phillipson, Methodist Church Department for Chapel affairs, Manchester, Rev. W.F. Swift, secretary to the Wesley Historical Society, the minister of the Bolton Bridge Street Methodist Circuit, the minister of the Liverpool Mission, and the archivist to the Methodist Conference at the London City Road record office.

Solicitors and land agents have either made available papers in their possession or answered queries. The latter method has not proved satisfactory because the partners are not historians and are unqualified to deal with documents in a way useful to historians. Many overlook the most vital details in documents. Indeed these men are busy; but they should not set themselves up to answer authoritatively if they really cannot be bothered to

make adequate searches. It must be remembered that only really old documents are examined by historians so there is no danger of breaking clients' privacy. The following firms should be mentioned as helpful. Herbert Woods and Bostock of Warrington; Carter Vincent and Company of Bangor; Houghton Craven Plant and Company of Preston; W.H. Cooke and Arkwright of Mold and Hereford, land agents; the Penrhyn Estate Office, Bangor; Ingham and Yorke, Huntroyde Estate Office, Burnley; Chambers of Northwich; A. & E. Fletcher of Northwich; Moss and Haslehurst of Northwich; and Henry Cross and Company of Prescot. Miss Rose and Miss Birkitt, both of Barnton, clerks to local solicitors, have greatly helped during visits to the solicitors' offices in search of deeds.

Messrs. Greenall, Whitley of Wilderspool, brewers, have been most helpful in producing title deeds and their solicitor, Mr. H. Worrall, must be thanked. A director, Mr. John Whitley of Hatton Cottage, has provided interesting details about the Whitley family. Prof. Eilert Ekwall of Lund in Sweden gave fascinating and learned arguments concerning the various possibilities of the early form of Barnton's place name. The British Transport Commission, through Mr. H. S. Gilbert, made available a vast mass of documents and maps. Mrs. J. Meakin and Miss Ada Poole of Barnton, A.R. Lewis Saul of Croft House, Welshpool, Mr. Dands, superintendent registrar of births, deaths, and marriages at Northwich, Mr. W. Diggle of the Entwisle Estate Office at Foxholes in Rochdale, the editors of the Northwich Chronicle, Chester Chronicle, Northwich Guardian, and Chester Courant, and the clerks of the Barnton Parish, Northwich Rural, and Cheshire County Councils gave documents and information of great importance.

Owners of family muniments have generally been most kind. Lord Stanley of Alderley, now called Lord Sheffield, who has taken himself off to the Channel Isles, showed no interest in the work of his ancestors. The Starkie family of Huntroyde,

formerly of Barnton, have refused in effect to make available the vast mass of their muniments for this history of their former home town. Mr. Guy Starkie apparently was always too busy, and refused his agents permission to supervise visits by the author. Owners who have made available family papers and information include Mr. Charles L.S. Cornwall-Legh of High Legh House, near Lymm, Mrs. Maithal Starkie Bence of Kentwell Hall, Long Melford, Suffolk, the Earl of Derby, Lord Gerard of Garswood, Captain Petre of Dunkenhalgh, Major Stanley Percival of Farnham, Mrs. Violet Clifton of Lytham, and Lady Kathleen Stanley of Penrhos, Anglesey.

Barnton people have generally remained too suspicious of motives to be of any help. They dislike any contact with the outside world in case any family affairs of any date should be investigated. They fear they will place themselves under some obligation if they involve themselves in historical matters. Indeed most people consistently refused to believe that the author's interest remained strictly academic and historical. Thinking only in terms of monetary profit they cannot understand any work which has no money-making motive behind it. People cannot help their past, and the work adequately explains why Barnton inhabitants have always been so suspicious. No one demands that people must be interested in the past. But a little help would have been appreciated. In fact a large number of the Barnton people who did help had no roots in the place anyway. A full list of the names of the kind people who helped by making available title deeds appears in the source list under TD.

# A B B R E V I A T I O N S.

| | |
|---|---|
| admon | letters of administration granted to executors in the Chester probate courts. See for details under CRO and LRO in the source list. |
| C and NW Soc. | Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historic Society |
| Cheth. Soc. | Chetham Society for the publication of Historical and Literary remains connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester. |
| infra | probate records filed separately where the personal estate is worth less than £40. |
| prob. | will proved in the ecclesiastical or probate court of Chester. The date which follows this word in references to wills and administrations is thus the probate date not the date when the document was signed. All wills before 1858 were proved at Chester. |
| Rec. Soc. | Record Society for the publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire. |
| Tithe | Barnton Tithe Award and Plan, 1843-46. For details see under CRO. |
| Trans. Antiq. Soc. | Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society. |
| Trans. Hist. Soc. | Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. |
| Will | diocesan or probate copies of the wills of local people preserved now in the Lancashire or Cheshire Record Offices. |

# C A N A L  S E T T L E M E N T

A study of the origin, growth, decline, and decay of the canal settlement at Barnton in Cheshire between 1775 and 1965.

When labourers began to dig the canal at Bestway in Barnton during 1775 their progress took the attention of an eight-year-old girl who lived a few yards away from the intended course of the new navigation. From her tiny dark hillside home she needed to cross only the unmade rutted king's highway before coming upon the scene of furious building activity.

Pleasant, daughter of Peter and Mary French of Bestway, had been born in Barnton, one of a family of twelve children. Her father worked first as an agricultural labourer but had lately become a flatman on the Weaver.

The family's house proved typical of contemporary Barnton hovels. From its narrow windows Pleasant could watch the township's inhabitants as they trudged to the moor or to Northwich market. Sometimes one of the handful of more prosperous tenant farmers might pass on horseback. Most people still got a living from the land, and young people left Barnton in order to make fortunes in trade and manufacturing.

The pattern of open fields, wide moors, atrociously-rutted lanes, and unkempt woodland remained to show what the township had been like in past centuries.

Pleasant knew that most of the people whom she saw would be desperately poor, and would possess little hope of future betterment. The standard of living had probably fallen since the early seventeenth century.

The informal and old-established institutions which governed Barnton did not find many duties. This proved fortunate because the officials remained inexperienced, overworked, and unpaid local men.

People attended religious services at Little Leigh or Great Budworth as their forefathers had done from time out of mind. Pleasant herself however had been christened at Witton, but there as elsewhere in this district the ancient church held sway.

Times changed of course, and Pleasant French had often heard about the shortcomings of the younger generation. And yet things had changed so slowly that Pleasant might have conjured up a picture of seventh, tenth,

or seventeenth century Barnton merely from daily observation of the township's life in her own century. She might not have been entirely lost had she drifted back seven hundred years. She could not in her wildest dreams imagine the change that promised and threatened to engulf her childhood world in unprecedented expansion within the short space of one lifetime.

It took one thousand years to develop a place of a couple of hundred souls who left their hovels each day to cultivate the soil. It took less than one hundred years to create the most densely populated rural settlement in Cheshire, bigger indeed than Middlewich, bigger than Northwich, whose trade and commerce attracted immigrants from every corner of Britain. Barnton people amassed money, built homes, and established religious societies. They sent their sons to help colonize the whole world. Yet the people who stayed at home proved to be the real pioneers in giving life to a wonderful new community. Few more peculiar or more unforgettably distinctive societies could be found any-where.

## The position of Barnton.

Barnton lay in the middle of the rolling Cheshire plain one and a half miles north-west of an area at the confluence of the rivers Dane and Weaver where rich salt springs abounded. The Weaver, which gave access both to the Irish Sea and to the Cheshire Gap into the English Midlands, wound round the southern and western sides of Barnton. The islands, rapids, reedy marshes, with alder, willow, and birch woods, provided the site with protection against intruders.

From the river level the land rose steeply one hundred feet to the wide area at the hilltop which stood nearly one hundred and fifty feet above the sea.

On the north-west a precipitous wooded clough divided this site from its neighbour. Thick woods, damp dense undergrowth, streams, uninviting wastelands, and shallow but treacherous ponds lay to the north.

Oak wood stretched over the entire land. The soil consisted mainly of keuper marls, brown calcareous shales with salt and lime beds, overspread by drift, sand, and gravel with trap boulders and pebbles. The glacial boulder clay and sand of Barnton, unless deeply ploughed and drained, became easily waterlogged. Hence cultivation proved tedious but could be rewarded with rich corn crops. The alluvium and gravel along the river's course, though liable to floods, gave excellent pasture and meadow.

Water for drinking and irrigation might be obtained from many local springs, streams, and wells.

During the Bronze Age the climate changed from dry and warm to cool and wet so that damp oak forests, impenetrable to settlement, began to disappear. Hence rainfall grew plentiful. Moreover the lack of sunshine and the presence of clouds resulted in low temperatures, minimum evaporation, and high humidity. Thus essential food crops like corn proved more difficult to produce than dairy goods. The weather suited best a pastoral rather than an arable economy.

# The origin and growth of the township of Barnton.

Cheshire stayed for long a corridor of trade rather than a place of settlement. During the Stone and Bronze Ages a few families settled the high lands round Delamere Forest, and from 200 B.C. riverside communities like Northwich sprang up for trading purposes. But not even the Romans appreciated the possibilities of the site of Barnton.

Neglect proved unjustifiable. Upstream along the Weaver stood the main salt and trading centres. Nearby could be found exploited salt springs. The river might be forded at two places in Barnton. One ford made possible a trackway from Mid-Cheshire to the Mersey valley. The other called Saltersford carried traders from Chester to north Cheshire past rich salt works just outside Barnton.

Hence during Anglian invasions in the seventh century one group of invaders, Beorhthaeth and his family, eagerly seized upon this fertile, watered site on the hilltop, secured by trees from enemy eyes. This people over five or six centuries created the agricultural community which the canal labourers came upon in 1775.

The defended homestead or 'tun'of Beorhthaeth's people, Beorhthaethingatun,[1] overlooked the Weaver valley.

The arable land, originally a few acres round the three or four wooden houses, was pushed northwestwards and southwestwards in pieces called furlongs as men, ploughteams, seed, and time became available. So were formed the two great open fields, the Town and Oakwood Fields, stretching without internal fencing across the richest land of the wide hilltop. Township agreement and tradition regulated the kind and rotation of crops sown in the unfenced strips within these Fields.

All around, woods, pasture, and meadow abounded. The people never ploughed the hillside facing the Weaver or the river valley because the

---

(1) Professor E. Ekwall, in correspondence with the author, shows how this became Berneton by the fifteenth century.

soil and lie of the land did not favour arable farming. This area remained common moor and pasture land.

The people lived on corn and beans, fish from the Weaver, and game from the woods. They reared swine, oxen, cows, and poultry. Much of the work had always to be carried out cooperatively on account of labour shortage. For centuries only one ploughteam existed in the township.(1)

These resources supported a population which, according to Domesday, could rarely have been above twelve before the eleventh century. A peak of a hundred might have been reached during the prosperous thirteenth century and this figure seems not to have been reached again until the seventeenth century.(2)

Beorhthaethingatun remained the property of Beorhthaeth's family and legal heirs by right of conquest, discovery, and settlement. Few of the lords resided in their Barnton manor house, so the chief political duties devolved on their tenant farmers. The Starkies served as resident lords however between 1280 and 1464. Even so, this family allowed its feudal authority to grow weak. By the fifteenth century a powerful group of fifteen resident freeholders and farmers, living at the chief farm-houses, governed the township through a Town Meeting. They disposed for instance of the common Land. They acknowledged the shadowy political and judicial control of hundred and county authorities and the ill-defined authority of the feudal barony of Halton. For most purposes local magistrates like the Leghs of High Legh remained the chief higher power above the Barnton Meeting.

The township possessed no church. No resident parson, therefore,

---

(1) PRO Domesday Survey 1086 'Tunendune, Bertintune'. Ordnance Survey Office Domesday Book of Cheshire, 1861.

(2) The figures are indicated by the number of houses and cottages appearing in mediaeval deeds and inquisitions post mortem.

# THE TOWNSHIP OF BARNTON 1664

based on contemporary documents

interfered with the life of the self-governing inhabitants.(I)

The backward agricultural township had before 1775 remained sufficiently far behind and distinguished from its neighbours to become in one very important respect a perfect place for industrial settlement. Almost all the valued farmland of Barnton, and of mid-Cheshire generally, had fallen into the hands of non-residents who refused to sell for industrial purposes. But it happened that Barnton's pasture and rough land, belonging in practice to all the resident farmers in common, lay unenclosed along the hillside just on the contour of the intended canal. Controlled by the Town Meeting, the land could easily be had for industry.

With no chief landowner or squire to object, with but a few craftsmen and a small population, boasting no church or parson, no market, no industry, with the government under the thumb of a handful of farmers and magistrates not averse to industrial expansion, the stage had therefore been set for the arrival of labourers to dig the canal between the Trent and the Mersey.

---

(I) Barnton was until 1843 one of the thirty five townships in the vast Great Budworth parish. Cheshire's 'discrete' parishes invariably comprised several politically-independent units called townships.

# The building of the Trent and Mersey Canal and its effect on the old township of Barnton.

Economic expansion in the eighteenth century called for the improvement of communications. This meant waterways. Canals had advantages over rivers because, following the land contour and employing tunnels and aqueducts, most locks, currents, flooding, steep bends, and shallows could be eliminated.(1)

A canal between the Trent and the Mersey would open up communication between Hull and the North Sea, the stone and earthen ware districts of Stoke on Trent, the Midland metal industries, Staffordshire and Lancashire collieries, Cheshire salt works, Manchester cotton factories, and Liverpool with its Atlantic trade. The canal would take traffic from overburdened roads, employ the poor, and give new life to depressed farming communities.

Liverpool merchants wanted to construct a navigation as early as 1755. They were opposed by the Cheshire gentry who controlled the newly-improved Weaver Navigation from Winsford to the Mersey. A canal, parallel to the river, would draw away trade.

At this point the Duke of Bridgewater (1736-1803) entered the struggle. He built his canal from Worsley to the Mersey between 1759 and 1776 and decided to push southwards to the Trent. With the aid of his brother-in-law, the Staffordshire Earl Gower of Trentham, the Duke rallied Lancashire and Staffordshire interests to form a Trent and Mersey Canal Company. This powerful alliance secured an Act of Parliament in 1766.(2)

The 1766 Act provided for the junction of the new canal with Bridgewater's navigation. Thus additional tolls would always have to be paid for the final stage of the journey either to the Mersey or to Manchester. This provision eventually made the canal journey unprofitable.

---

(1) Anon Inland Navigations, 1779, p.59.

(2) 6 G.III c. xcvi. HLJ vol.31 p.397.

James Brindley, the great engineer, and his brother-in-law, Hugh Henshall, planned and built the ninety miles of canal from the Trent to Bridgewater's canal. They began in Staffordshire.(1)

Henshall surveyed the canal route through Barnton in detail in 1774 after Brindley's death. The navigation in north-west Cheshire followed a line just below the ninety foot contour level. Hence the lie of the land meant that there could be only one possible route, following the hillside parallel to and fifty feet above the river but fifty feet also below the settlement level. Excavation, with six hundred labourers, began in February 1775. A former Weaver engineer took charge, advertising for willing labourers "to whom every proper encouragement will be given".(2) These men had to dig out the hillside, throwing the earth downwards to form the single embankment.

The engineer found a number of difficulties. Special embankments and aqueducts over streams became necessary. In two places wide overgrown valleys had to be crossed, and in these cases the company merely flooded the whole areas and formed two valuable basins or ports. Here by chance was the origin of the canal settlement.

To avoid expensive land purchases the company cut two tunnels. For the construction of Barnton Tunnel the company sought in August 1775 "a number of miners and labourers". This tunnel avoided the long contour route round the Oakwood Field. It was probably the second canal tunnel to be completed in England.(3) Saltersford Tunnel saved a cut along a sheer hillside. The tunnels were for long Barnton's only claim to fame, a fame

---

(1) The work here included "the eighth wonder of the world", the Harecastle Tunnel, built 1766-77. Anon Inland Navigations, 1779, p.79.

(2) Chester Chronicle 19 June 1775.

(3) Chester Chronicle 7 August 1775. The five Trent and Mersey tunnels became the first ever to be built in England. Barnton Tunnel was 572 yards long, Saltersford 424 yards. There were no internal towing paths.

based significantly on modern industrial not ancient monuments.

The Trent and Mersey Canal opened in 1777-78. A great survey of 1778 showed Barnton people that their way of life had been permanently altered.[1] Only five landowners found their lands disturbed. The company took no more than three acres in all from these men including one cottage at Bestway. But almost nineteen acres of common land passed to the company. The two basins needed four acres each. The port below Smithy Brow at the east end of Barnton Tunnel became the centre of the new settlement. The largest portion of common lay along the Moor Hills overlooking the Weaver. The canal cut the moor into two pieces which were given to Richard Pennant of Winnington Hall who had lost the cottage and orchard at Bestway On the moor this man, a canal shareholder, planted trees.[2]

The effect of the canal building on Barnton's economy was immediate. The canal consumed ten acres of land and became an obstacle to easy movement between farms and fields. The taking of the Moor Hills and the transfer of this common to private hands seems to have been a serious blow for the dozen or so households that had no lands of their own. These casual labouring families appear in the Town Book before 1775 because they keep an animal on, or get fuel and timber from, the common. Half the number disappear from Barnton by 1780. The remainder stay and eke out a living by renting an enclosure and by casual navigation labouring.[3] Moreover once the moor had been enclosed for plantation, much of Barnton's remaining pieces of common swiftly fell to private owners who used the plots for the building of the new township round the canal basin.[4] The cheapest plots lay in and around the agriculturally valueless flooded valley at the east of Barnton Tunnel.

Since most of the land which the company had taken was common, the

---

(1) BTC TM 1778 Survey.

(2) BTC TM 1778 Survey with schedule and agreement of 17 October 1775.

(3) TBO 1770-82.

(4) CHAMBERS LO Note of enclosures, 1793.

township authorities became encouraged to use the remaining property in their possession as small gardens which could be sold, or leased by the year, to Barnton people. The resulting enclosures not only virtually ended an economic system which had been based on the existence of open land available to all but provided an excellent opportunity for the development of houses and business places. Economic growth brought people. The increase of population overloaded the old fabric of government. The neglected inhabitants, alternately prosperous and distressed by economic changes, expressed themselves in Barnton not through political agitation but in a religious enthusiasm which made them hard-working, obedient to township officer and employer alike, thrifty, self-sufficient, honest in business, frugal in habits, acquisitive, generous, dedicated, but narrow-minded, exceptionally bigoted, and extremely, even insanely, suspicious of outside interference. A township like many in 1775 became a township virtually newly-created in the nineteenth century.

It is of course vital not to overemphasize the importance of the canal building. Barnton's population had been growing before 1775, and some of the most important families of the nineteenth century village had already settled in the township. The common land had already been reduced in area. Weaver improvements helped Cheshire's economy from 1730. Moreover the canal did not automatically and by itself cause expansion. Barnton's neighbours remained unaffected.

Barnton Canal Settlement grew up on six acres of the damp heavy soil of the valley below Smithy Brow. This clough had been crossed by a swift stream flowing from the village Catch Well to the Weaver. Thick alder, high grasses, and nettles flourished among great trees. The area never dried out, and people found the land useless. From time out of mind the valley had no name and remained in 1775 entirely undeveloped. After 1775 the canal company used the stream as a water supply for the navigation. The township finally culveted the water course. Trees and undergrowth disappeared. Cobbles, stone, and brick took their place and the area got names like Tunnel Top, Old Boat Road, and Canal Side which reminded the inhabitants constantly of the settlement's origin. People developed the available land around the canal basin between 1790 and 1885.

# THE 1778 CANAL SURVEY OF BARNTON

(BRITISH TRANSPORT ARCHIVES)

But the canal basin's proximity caused the enclosure and development of former common land along a wider area of the hilltop and hillside. About thirty acres fell to industry between 1775 and 1910.

The whole township however shared in the economic expansion after 1775. The ancient settlement soon grew into no more than an appendage of the industrial community of the canal basin.

It is therefore important to understand the background and thus to trace the process of this change.

## Why did a settlement emerge around the canal basin at Barnton?

The flooded valley below Smithy Brow at Barnton proved ideal for a port where cargoes could be transhipped, where, too, boats might rest or take on supplies. A coal wharf appeared soon after 1775. A few years later boats began to take on farm produce, salt, and ropes at Barnton quay. A number of dwellings and business premises naturally emerged. At least four reasons may be given for the emergence of a community which remained for many years one of the most densely populated rural settlements in the county: availability of land, excellence of communication with many parts of the country, richness of local soil and presence of salt, and finally climatic changes. These reasons will be discussed below.

## Why did a settlement emerge around the canal basin at Barnton?

The flooded valley below Smithy Brow at Barnton proved ideal for a port where cargoes could be transhipped, where, too, boats might rest or take on supplies. A coal wharf appeared soon after 1775. A few years later boats began to take on farm produce, salt, and ropes at Barnton quay. A number of dwellings and business premises naturally emerged. At least four reasons may be given for the emergence of a community which remained for many years one of the most densely populated rural settlements in the county: availability of land, excellence of communication with many parts of the country, richness of local soil and presence of salt, and finally climatic changes. These reasons will be discussed below.

1. Sufficient land became available

Barnton's seven hundred and fifty acres lay mainly within thirty freehold family holdings. But possibly one acre in fifteen remained common land in 1775 and the canal and river alone occupied fifty acres by 1845.(1) The growth of the settlement depended on changes in land use and ownership.

The farmhouses lay neatly spaced in the centre of the township around the manor demesne or along the main highway. The lands belonging to these dwellings were situated some distance away, scattered through the Oakwood and Town Fields. Some holdings remained small, often only a couple of acres in extent, but the Manor farm had eighty acres, the Hall farm ninety acres, and the Big Hey one hundred and twenty acres.(2) In no case did a landowner have a compact holding even in 1845. The Hill Top farm, for example, had eleven pieces of land in the Town Field, each parcel being completely separate from every one of the others. Consolidation and enclosure of small strips had of course resulted over the centuries in the appearance of larger fenced parcels by 1775 where a husbandry might be carried on independent of township control. But many unfenced small loonts or strips survived even as late as the Tithe Survey of 1843. Generally however during the years after 1775 a reasonably efficient farming business went on within enclosed estates.

Unless Barnton differs from neighbouring places visited by writers like Arthur Young and Henry Holland, farmers had become more efficient during the eighteenth century. Efficiency tended to lead to greater profits and higher rents. Dairyland rented at twenty five shillings an acre in 1775 and at fifty shillings in 1810.(3) The Hall farm, worth less

---

(1) CRO Tithe 1846. CRO QDL 1780-1831.

(2) CRO Tithe 1846.

(3) CHAMBERS MM Rentals of Barnton Stoney Heys estate. PARL 1833 Agricultural distress, p.289, query 5876-77. BTC WN deeds 51-53, quoting land prices in 1769-70.

than £2000 in 1762, sold for £5,500 in 1807.(1) Efficiency also meant few or no additional jobs on farms, and the sons of agricultural workers had to turn to industrial pursuits in order to earn a living. The effects of agricultural improvements must not be exaggerated, but, in general, increased efficiency led to the prosperity of both landowners and their farmers, especially between 1780 and 1820. These people tended therefore to see no reason why good farmland should be sold for houses or works.

Moreover the families that owned Barnton land rarely lived in the township. Barnton farms became small parcels of wider estates, and landowners do not seem to have shown much interest in their local property. Invariably the landlords also had legal and commercial affairs which distracted attention from Barnton's problems and potentialities. Thus John/Thomas Stanley (1735-1807), a leading Cheshire landowner and friend of George III, owner of Barnton's Hill Top farm, acted as Commissioner of the Trent and Mersey Canal Company and purchased shares in local salt works. His son, the first Lord Stanley of Alderley (1766-1850), became a Whig Member of Parliament, served for twenty years as chairman of Cheshire Quarter Sessions, was trustee of half a dozen turnpikes, and purchased additional landed and industrial property.(2) Stoney Heys farm was settled on Richard Barry of Marbury in 1748 by his father, James, Earl of Barrymore (1667-1748). The forty-two acres farm made up a small portion of wide Cheshire lands which the Barry family possessed. Richard Barry remained therefore an important figure in the political life of the county. He became a leading magistrate and found himself often consulted by Barnton township officers concerning tax, bastardy, removal, and settlement affairs. He was also connected with the Trent and Mersey Canal Company and the Weaver Navigation. Barry left his lands in 1787 to his nephew James Hugh Smith Barry from whom they passed to James' bastard son John (1793-1837).

The Starkies, lords of the manor, had possibly not been near Barnton since the fifteenth century, because the records indicate correspondence

---

(1) CHAMBERS LO Marriage settlement, 1762, and conveyance, 1807.

(2) As J.T. Stanley Esq. he contributed papers to Holland General View, 1808. For his estates see CRO DDX/34/31, recovery, 12 April 1824.

through an agent, usually in Preston (Lancashire), and never mention plans for travelling into central Cheshire.(1) The family had settled at Huntroyde near Burnley and owned large estates on both sides of the Pennines. Edmund Starkie who died in 1773 served as Member of Parliament for Preston from 1754 to 1768 and Recorder of that borough between 1767 and 1771. At the time of the canal building the estate passed by sale in chancery to the Frenchwood in Preston branch of the Starkie family. The last male representative of this branch, Nicholas Starkie of Dickleburgh in Norfolk, left the estates to his two daughters in 1797. These both married into East Anglian families, Bacon of Norfolk and Bence of Suffolk, and became even more remote from Barnton affairs.(2) No manorial rights were exercised and no special privileges granted to the owners of the Manor estate. The tenants might enjoy their freedom from supervision but must always have postponed needful reforms rather than take the trouble of contacting their landlords' Agent in Preston to obtain permission. It ought however to be remembered that the family, or at least the agent, reorganized the Barnton estate in 1786, creating two farming units in the place of the three former blocks.(3) The new farms acquired at this time some large enclosed fields each composed of half a dozen former strips.

Hence Barnton came into the hands of non-residents who between 1775 and 1845 owned about seven hundred acres, nearly ninety four per cent of the land. Such people, as far as may be gathered, simply did not know the village well enough to join in industrial development. They saw rents and

---

(1) Barnton Town Book certainly indicates that the Starkies have almost forgotten their Barnton land.

(2) For family settlements see LRO Bence Thomas muniments. Appointment, release, and conveyance, 22 June 1837, quotes settlements from 1796 to 1818. Later deeds from 1837 to 1910 trace the ownership to some fifteen individuals, descendants of Elizabeth Susanna Starkie.

(3) CRO QDL 1782-91. T D HASLEHURST Abstract of title to estate of Starkie family, 1893 quoting earlier deeds.

# STARKIE OF BARNTON AND HUNTROYDE

(owners of the Barnton Manor underlined )

STARKIE OF BARNTON AND HUNTROYDE

- John of Huntroyde I658-96 — Piers I688-I760
- Nicholas of Preston I662-I730
  - Edmund of Preston I690-I773
    - Nicholas of Riddlesden Yorkshire — Le Gendre of Riddlesden — Starkie family of Huntroyde
    - William of Manchester, merchant
      - Nicholas of Frenchwood in Preston I729-92
      - Thomas of Manchester I730-I8II — Nicholas of Dickleburgh in Norfolk I768-97 = Catherine Edgar of Ipswich
        - Catherine = Edmund Ker Cranston Bacon of Beccles in Suffolk dd. I852
        - Elizabeth Susannah = Henry Bence Bence of Thorington Hall in Suffolk I788-I86I

profits on farmland increasing and could not, presumably, see any reason to turn valuable land to new uses. Indeed the sixteen dwellings which three of the landowners erected, probably at their tenant farmers' insistence, stood not on private land but on intakes from the common.(1)

It must however be remembered that both the ropery and salt works stood on land in the holding of families. The Frith family, owners of Big Hey farm, had tried to find salt on their property but it was left to the next owners, the Jacksons of Anderton, to make the discovery soon after the canal building. John and George Jackson, yeomen, had bought several local estates, possibly seeking minerals, and were always interested in the success of Barnton Salt Works. Their estates passed by marriage in 1795 to the Whitleys of Ashton in Makerfield, hinge and lock manufacturers, coal and salt proprietors, who also were interested in industrial development. Barnton Ropery was established on land owned by Thomas Moreton of Barnton. This man was the township's only owner-occupier and resident landowner between 1775 and 1845. The son of Thomas and Alice Moreton of Comberbach and a tenant farmer in Anderton, Moreton invested his savings in carefully-chosen Barnton property in 1809. He purchased an old building and land adjoining called Ashtons tenement to form the foundation of a new farm.(2) A further nine acres at the end of Brammows lane were taken from Litlers farm. In all Moreton put together thirty acres, mainly consolidated around the old cottage. Moreton rebuilt the dwelling for his own occupation, though for some years he also

---

(1) The ten cottages at Bells Brow on Big Hey estate had been built in 1811-13 on a piece of common isolated by the new road up Barnton hill. BTC TM 1778 and 1816 Surveys. CRO QDL 1810-14.

(2) CRO Enrolled deeds, no.8, 1, Mortgage of Ashtons tenement, 26 May 1750. QDL (Barnton) 1809-10. The land around the house (Tithe 296) had itself been artificially added from another farm in the late eighteenth century. In 1809 Moreton served as chief churchwarden and treasurer of the Budworth Vestry, PRGB Churchwardens' accounts, 1809.

lived permanently in Winnington.[1] A member of the Town Meeting, a leading Methodist, a trustee and society steward for the Wesleyans, Moreton became wealthy. He leased property in both Anderton and Winnington and these estates were farmed by his growing family.[2] His son Thomas became a leading Northwich druggist and grocer. Another son farmed the prosperous Winnington Moss farm. His daughter Ann (1808-82) married William Clarke (1806-86) who ran the ropery at Barnton from which Moreton's new farm took its name. Moreton left £1500 in personal goods alone when he died in 1841.[3] He is however very much an exception among Barnton landowners.

During the seventy years 1775-1845 most Barnton land lay within the twelve largest family holdings.[4] These varied considerably in size even in 1775. Eight of the holdings survived the whole period, three were broken up, and the twelfth came into existence only in 1809. Only Kennerleys of all Barnton's smallholdings survived to 1845. The ancient pattern of intermixed lands had by no means disappeared even in 1845 but Moreton's greatly consolidated Ropery farm had shown what reorganization could achieve. Small lands could be put together under one owner and the resulting fields fenced or hedged individually. The twelve main family holdings had thirty one different owners between 1775 and 1845. Thirty of these people never lived in Barnton. Thirteen had homes outside Cheshire. Nineteen possessed landed estates on which they lived the life of country gentlemen. Six men engaged primarily in business or in manufacturing. Three remained modest yeoman farmers. There was one industrial watchman and one schoolmaster. Only one landowner became a

---

(1) CRO EL South Cheshire Eddisbury (Winnington) 1833.

(2) CRO QDL (Anderton) 1829. METH NLR CB II July 1840. TB passim. METH NLR 1836 trust deed.

(3) CRO Will of Thomas Moreton of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 3 November 1841.

(4) Big Hey, Little Hey, Stoney Heys, Manor, Balls, Kennerleys, Lowndes, Litlers, Hill Top, Hall, Stocks House, and Ropery.

peer, though he and his father were also baronets. Two-thirds of the owners had business interests in salt works, breweries, navigations, or roads. Only half served actively as local magistrates however and no more than two became Members of Parliament. Not one allowed the building on his Barnton land of houses, though the Jacksons of Anderton opened the Barnton Salt Works in their Acorn Wood and Moreton allowed his friend, William Clarke, to begin a ropery on the newly-purchased estate in Oakwood lane. It is therefore evident that the family holdings played a peripheral part in the development of the canal settlement, confining and containing building activity within certain limited areas of the township, in other words forcing development of common land.

Land in family holdings remained virtually closed to developers in Barnton. But the canal cut not through farms but through common land which stretched all along the hillside on both sides of the navigation and embraced also the uninhabited uncultivated valley at Smithy Brow. The administration of common land had fallen in practice entirely into the hands of the tenant farmers in their Town Meeting.

The farmers recognized a good investment when they saw one. To take a parcel of land for a few shillings and to erect there a dwelling for a waterman was after 1775 an excellent policy. The forty six men who held the twelve chief farms from 1775 to 1845 erected one-third of all Barnton's new houses in those years.

The Town Meeting had for two centuries controlled common land so that fuel, timber, hay, and grazing should be available for all families entitled to a share. The Town Book would indicate that every Barnton inhabitant might claim some common right. Anyone could take fuel or turn out a cow. Sometimes the Meeting allowed a family to build a home on the common, and the township itself owned two such dwellings in the eighteenth century. The oldest, of early eighteenth century origin, lay on Barnton Brow common in Rays Brow lane.[1] This became a good place for

---

(1) Tithe 155

the sheltering of pauper families who for some reason could not be put in the poorhouse. From 1833 James son of Ralph and Martha Harrison of Leighs Brow lived there. Born in 1777 in Staffordshire he found himself removed with his parents back to their home in Barnton in 1780 because the family asked for poor relief. James lived in poverty most of his life. By Hannah (1782-1868) his wife, a Seven Oaks woman, he had at least nine children born and brought up in the Leighs Brow Poorhouse.(1) The family belonged to the Methodist society in Barnton but joined the independent Methodists in 1832. Almost all the children made their living from the canal or river navigations or at salt works. James died in 1863. His cottage had been sold by the township only in 1859.(2)

The Town Meeting provided land for the canal at a good price, and later the remaining common was carved into gardens and building plots. Most farmers in Barnton probably realised that enclosure of this type of property could do little but good to the economy of their township, because land came into use that had long seemed overgrown and ill-used. This is the impression given by the late eighteenth entries in the Town Book concerning enclosures. In 1793 a surveyor reported twenty nine common land allotments in Barnton, not counting the land sold to the canal.(3) Most seemed no larger than the nook taken by James Bell of Bestway, the first canal company labourer, for his new home. Enclosure therefore did benefit some labourers who obtained in time full title to plots of land for houses and gardens.

About 1790 William Plumbley, tenant farmer, took an enclosure at the side of the canal basin near Smithy Brow for the erection of a smithy and workshop. Other developers followed so that soon a thriving community appeared under the eyes of the wondering farmers of the Town Meeting. An

---

(1) TBO passim. PRO Census 1841, 1851.

(2) MISC Notice of sale, 1859.

(3) CHAMBERS LO Enclosures, 1793.

example of the importance which common land had in Barnton affairs can be gathered from the number of dwellings built on this property. Of one hundred and thirty four houses erected between 1775 and 1845 seventy one stood on land that can be proved to have been common in 1775. Thirty others stood in intakes of the common, as far as may be gathered from surveys and title deeds. The remaining dwellings stood on privately owned parcels possessed usually by watermen, craftsmen, and traders. The existence of common land available, through the decision of the township government, for development provided the essential basis of the canal settlement.

# CHESHIRE WATERWAYS

COTTON & SILK

SALT

BUILDING STONE

COAL

The dates on the map show when the improvement act was passed by Parliament

## 2. Barnton lay astride important lines of communication.

Barnton's position as a trading centre improved as the canal company obtained further powers to build branch canals, rail-ways, and reservoirs which all helped to increase the area served. Between 1766 and 1831 further canals in Cheshire gave the settlement access to every corner of the county. Nearly every part of England indeed could be reached from Barnton Canal Wharf. The low cost of canal transport proved very attractive to traders.

As early as 1778 the Weaver Trustees considered making "proper quays with communications and other conveniencys" for the transhipment of goods between canal and river.(1) Eventually between 1791 and 1799 the junction was achieved not a mile from Barnton, at Anderton, when a new river basin with wharves and warehouses took boats to the foot of a huge inclined railed-way on which trucks carried transhipped goods. This connection opened up the Weaver valley to canal traffic and further enriched Barnton.(2)

Improvements to the River Weaver became important to Barnton because the waterway communicated with the richest salt and farming areas of the county. On the river came much of Barnton's coal and machinery, and local traders sent their goods away by river boat whenever possible. The river communicated directly with Liverpool and Winsford, two trading centres that the canal did not directly touch. The elimination of steep bends, rapids, and shallows on the Weaver, for instance at Saltersford, led to a massive increase in trade from 1730 onwards which the canal only

---

(1) CRO WN Minutes 15 March 1778.

(2) CRO WN Minutes 6 November 1788, 4 July 1793, 5 September 1799. For examples of transhipment see LRO QSO/2, 1806, p. 323-24, and 1811, p. 161-62.

THE TRENT & MERSEY CANAL IN CHESHIRE
about 1835

temporarily hit.[1] Tolls could be reduced and the size of boats trebled. The companies trading on the river needed masters for their boats or flats, flatmates, flat horse drivers, and dozens of labourers. Thus by 1811 work on the Weaver became the most important single occupation of Barnton men and remained so until about 1875. The Weaver brought some of Barnton's most important families to the village. The Bowyers came as lock tenders in 1775.

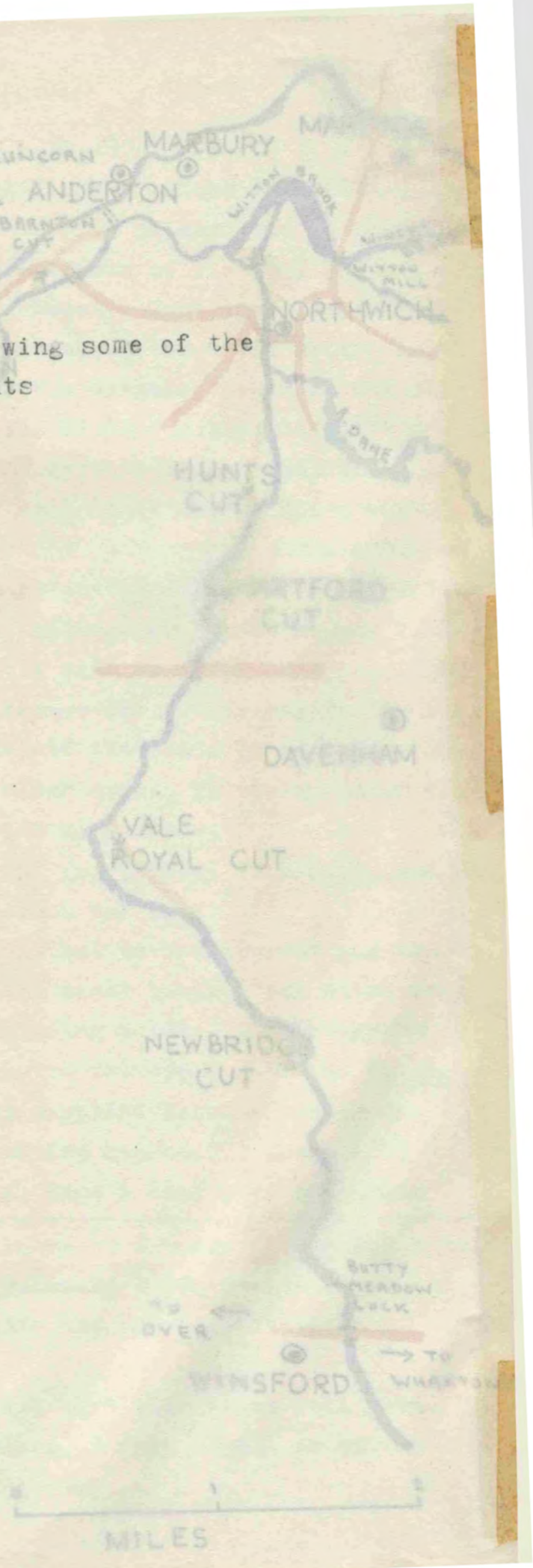
The rise of Liverpool greatly affected Barnton. The town became headquarters of merchants who controlled and coordinated the commerce of the hinterland, found throughout the world the products the inland areas needed, and opened markets for the goods of these regions. Most of Barnton's salt before 1840 passed from Liverpool to Ireland and Europe through the offices of men like the Whitleys, Liverpool merchants and owners of the Barnton Salt Works.

Barnton lay on the main highway between Staffordshire, mid-Cheshire, and Liverpool. The road was turnpiked and improved from 1819 onwards so that goods and passengers could more easily be carried.[2] The road crossed both river and canal within Barnton, and the township became an important transhipment centre. The turnpike accounts at Chester indicate however that the road did not produce the profits that might have been expected, and bankruptcy loomed large from 1830 onwards. The company gave up its rights and duties in 1852.

---

(1) Saltersford and Barnton (or Winnington) Locks were first erected in 1733. See T.S. Willan Navigation of the River Weaver, in Cheth.Soc. Third Series vol. 111 (1951) for Weaver history up to 1799. The great bend at Saltersford was by-passed in 1758-62.

(2) LRO DDK/1742/4 and PDS/72-73. CRO Plan and reference book of proposed turnpike road, 1818. 59G.111 c. Ixxxv.

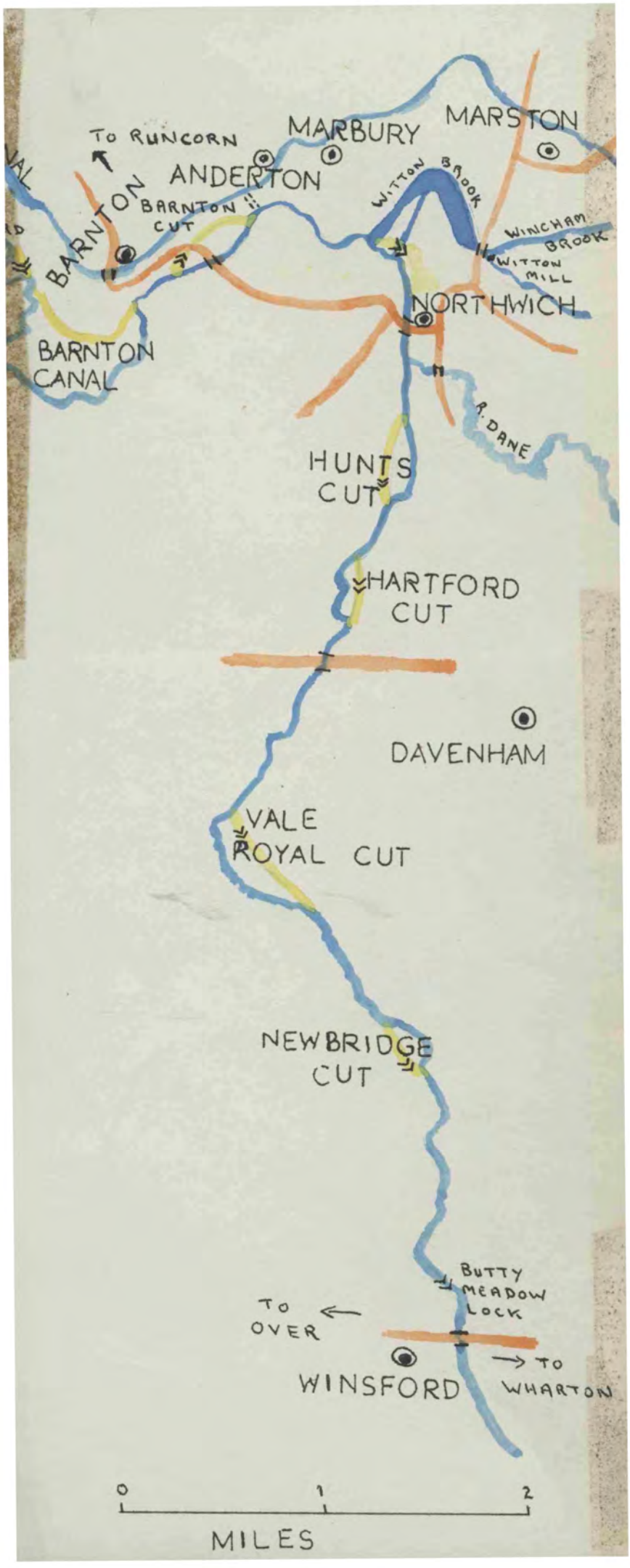



THE RIVER WEAVER showing some of the pre-1845 improvements

3. Barnton possessed a

Barnton possessed a rich
reckon that parts of the Town
With communications improved
profitably taken away. Th
and seek supplies
settlement's wealth
provided the profits out
developed itself. Precious
raw materials and foodstuffs
Farmers produced barley,
again after the Napoleonic War
grass for dairy farming, becau
brought good prices. The war
potatoes, peas, beans, fruit,
at the period of the Tithe Sur
potatoes, secondly oats, and,
ownship however lay under pas
Timber yielded fuel; build
boats; and fencing. Northwich
Barnton did not possess any
ommunity was supplied from a
ould be taken in wheelbarrows
mily had such a yard from abo
m in 1859-60, and from this p
illiam Clarke's yard lay near
illiam Appleton of Plumbs Fold

(1) LRO DDHR/uncalendared surv
n.d. c.1775. Chester Cour
sale. Many similar notice
woodland as late as 1845.
(2) Tithe 179. TD HALL Bargai
weighing machine, and acce
building is shown on BTC
(3) Tithe 200.


TO RUNCORN
MARBURY
MARSTON
ANDERTON
WITTON BROOK
BARNTON
BARNTON CUT
WINCHAM BROOK
WITTON MILL
NORTHWICH
BARNTON CANAL
R. DANE
HUNTS CUT
HARTFORD CUT
DAVENHAM
VALE ROYAL CUT
NEWBRIDGE CUT
BUTTY MEADOW LOCK
TO OVER
WINSFORD
TO WHARTON
0
1
2
MILES

3. Barnton possessed a rich soil.

Barnton possessed a rich soil. Local farmers in the twentieth century reckon that parts of the Town Field are as rich as any land in Cheshire. With communications improved after 1775 products of the soil could be profitably taken away. Therefore people began to use the latest methods and seek supplies of capital. The land remained the basis of the canal settlement's wealth, and timber, foodstuffs, animals, leather, and salt provided the profits out of which the industrial community created and developed itself. Precious money did not have to be paid out for many raw materials and foodstuffs. Thus the soil amply repaid men's work.

Farmers produced barley, oats, and wheat. Between 1700 and 1790 and again after the Napoleonic War the farmers put more and more land under grass for dairy farming, because cheese, milk, eggs, poultry, and leather brought good prices. The war of 1793-1815 made food prices higher, and potatoes, peas, beans, fruit, and corn became for a time important crops. At the period of the Tithe Survey of 1843-46 the chief crops were firstly potatoes, secondly oats, and, thirdly, other corn. Three-fifths of the township however lay under pasture or rich hay meadow.

Timber yielded fuel; building material for houses, workshops, and boats; and fencing. Northwich tanners took oak bark.(1)

Barnton did not possess any coal. This had to be imported and the community was supplied from a wharf in the canal basin, from which coal could be taken in wheelbarrows to neighbouring yards. The Darlington family had such a yard from about 1775 until the opening of the Navigation Inn in 1859-60, and from this place they supplied Barnton customers.(2) William Clarke's yard lay near his Tunnel Top houses.(3) About 1845 William Appleton of Plumbs Fold, boatman, made a coal yard on common

---

(1) LRO DDHR/uncalendared survey of timber on Barnton Little Hey estate n.d. c.1775. Chester Courant 27 February 1798, notice of timber sale. Many similar notices indicate the extent of Barnton's woodland as late as 1845.

(2) Tithe 179. TD HALL Bargain and sale with plan shows coal yard, weighing machine, and access to canal, 5 June 1856. An office building is shown on BTC TM 1816 Survey

(3) Tithe 200.

wasteland adjoining Darlington's estate. By 1851 he was a "coal merchant and boatman" and had a large house in Leighs Brow.(1) Iron, like coal had to be imported. It remained very necessary in the smithy for industrial and farming tools.

Barnton clay and sand produced excellent bricks. All Barnton houses contained home-made bricks, often from clay found on the building site itself. When John Pointon, one of the township's greatest builders, erected cottages in 1784 he dug a pit in a corner of the garden, put up a kiln, and made sufficient bricks on the spot.(2) A large brick works existed in Lydiart lane above the canal basin and the product went by canal all over the county. In addition the brickmakers found a choice of good sand and gravel pits. Lime pits provided both excellent manure for land and, of course, mortar. William Clarke, the Barnton ropemaker, worked as a lime burner from about 1830.(3)

From the middle of the eighteenth century many landowners tried to find salt springs within their estates. Coal for heating furnaces could be cheaply brought by water, and the finished product could be easily exported, because Weaver improvements lessened the trans-

---

(1) Tithe 178. MISC Notice of sale of common land, 1859, Lot 2. PRO Census 1851.

(2) CHAMBERS LB Law case between William Leigh and Peter Jackson, 1824. The case turned on ownership of the clay pit and cottages so great detail is given by many witnesses.

(3) Pigot and Co. Directory, 1834, article 'Northwich'.

portation costs of the finished product.(1) Salt remained a necessity of life and a basic ingredient of important industries.

When Thomas Frith of Middlewich, surgeon and man-midwife, made his will in 1762 he desired his executors, as owners of the Barnton Big Hey estate, to sink for brine and rock salt before selling any land. This they did without success in 1765. John Gresty the younger of Bostock, cheesefactor, bought the estate in May 1765, but was also unsuccessful in his searches. He sold out in various lots between 1766 and 1773.(2) At this time the Weaver Navigation took a portion of Gresty's Bridge Meadow in order to construct the new cut and lock which avoided Winnington Bridge. The portion of Bridge Meadow that was not used for the river improvements was in 1772 sold, together with some adjoining land purchased from the Starkie's Manor farm, to Richard Pennant of Winnington.(3) Two salt springs were soon afterwards discovered there, though these proved hardly worth developing and no permanent buildings were erected on the site.(4) In

---

(1) For general works see A.F.Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, and W.H.Chaloner 'Salt in Cheshire 1600-1870' in Trans.Antiq.Soc. vol.LXXI (1961). The trade had long been a necessity, despite costs, for salt had always been, for instance, vital in the preservation of food. Salt decomposed with sulphuric acid produced soda and this alkali remained important in the glass, soap, and saltpetre industries. Chlorine, a useful bleaching agent, was a by-product.

(2) CRO Will of Thomas Frith of Middlewich, surgeon, prob. 25 November 1765. BTC WN deed 53, quoting conveyances, 1766-73.

(3) BTC WN deed 53 and 52. CRO WN Minutes 7 May 1772, 4 June 1773.

(4) Chester Courant 13 April 1779, Notice of letting of land and springs.

December 1773 Gresty's devisees sold the largest portion of the Big Hey estate to John Jackson of Anderton, yeoman, and George, his son. An old-established Anderton family, the Jacksons had leasehold and freehold property throughout the district by 1770.(1) The estates received careful yet bold management so that it proved to be no surprise when John Jackson found salt in Acorn Wood on his Big Hey farm. The salt spring came to light about 1785, and in Jackson's will, dated 28 May 1786, there occurred a reference to "all that field called Acron Wood and the Brine pit lately sunk therein, and all Saltworks, Storehouses, Erections" that might in future be erected there.(2)

The discovery of salt greatly stimulated Barnton's development. The pit lay beside the canal basin and close tothe Weaver. The financial condition of the salt works depended mainly on the quality of the brine and the availability of cheap fuel. Development capital, access to markets, the demand for salt by caustic soda manufacturers, plentiful labour, and government regulation provided important but subsidiary factors in helping or hindering expansion.

Barnton brine proved unfortunately to be very weak and lay far below the ground. The sinking of the shaft demanded much skill and money, and in 1808 a report to the Board of Agriculture, speaking of the Barnton Works, recalled that on going down into the earth "65 yards, and ~~on~~ boring

(1) CRO Will of John Jackson of Anderton, yeoman, prob. 15 March 1724/25. BTC WN deed 33, quoting lease and release of 22/23 December 1773. JRL E Mss 1097 Rental of Stanley land in Anderton, 1781-82.

(2) CRO Will of John Jackson of Anderton, yeoman, prob. 4 December 1786. The Acorn Wood lies at Tithe 173, 175.

50 yards below this, a very weak brine was discovered, and that in small quantity." Generally brine could be found only about fifty yards from the surface.(1)

The shaft lay on the sloping ground between canal and river. A small brick and wooden building was erected over the pit to house a mechanical steam pump.(2) The brine could thus be raised three hundred and fifty feet and be passed through wooden pipes uphill to the reservoir. This lay by the canal in the grounds of the salt works cottage and office. The reservoir had to be situated above the rest of the works so that brine could be taken when necessary for use in the pan shed without the necessity of using a second pump. Moreover the reservoir lay near the canal so that supplies of rock salt could be easily unloaded and added to the brine in order to improve the quality of the finished product.(3)

The pan shed, one hundred and twenty feet long by forty feet wide, remained a simple but adequate erection. It contained below ground a

---

(1) Holland General View, 1808, p.23. Nemnich Neueste Reise, 1807, p.352 points out that some lay only twenty yards down, while some was 140 yards below ground. Rock salt in Northwich lay in two strata, 133 to 217 feet and 247 to 331 feet beneath the surface. An Anderton mine had a shaft 225 feet to the rock head. See Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.144-45.

(2) The description of the works is from CRO Tithe 1843. The shaft lies in a building on the boundaries of Tithe 173 and 175. The steam engine is mentioned in the sale of 6 October 1830 quoted on TD CROSS Abstract of title to Acorn Wood, 7 December 1903.

(3) Lysons Magna Britannia, 1810, p.416.

basement, with sides strengthened by bricks, where fires could be built. The shed had wooden walls. Between the top of the walls and the roof was left an outlet for the steam and fumes. Coal could be conveyed to the basement by means of a chute and was fed into the fires by hand. The pans in which the brine was boiled, some eight feet above the ground, were heated by a system of flues. Each system of flues was connected with the pan shed chimney which rose possibly thirty five feet. The bricks from this chimney were used, according to tradition, to build houses in Tunnel Road when the salt works closed.(I)

The salt makers could tell without elaborate instruments when the salt grew ready for removal. They then raked the lumps of salt to the sides of the pan and shovelled the finished product into a waist-high gutter. From this they transferred the salt to wooden boxes for storing. The storage shed lay on the river bank close to the wharf.(2)

The cost of manufacturing salt in Barnton was diminished because coal from southern Lancashire was not expensive and could be brought all the way to Barnton wharf

---

(I) Tradition passed on by Mr. George Smeeton. The salt works site could until recently be investigated without difficulty.

(2) For salt making see such works as Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.74. James Stonehouse 'Salt and its manufacture in Cheshire', p.III-I2, in Trans. Hist. Soc. vol.V (1853). Nemnich Neueste Reise, 1807, p.352-53.

by water. Moreover the salt manufacturers all had business and family connections with colliery owners and as a rule ran their own boats and flats. Coal could be sent from the St.Helens collieries belonging to John Whitley of Ashton-in-Makerfield and Thomas Caldwell of Sutton in St.Helens, both of whom had interests in the Barnton Salt Works in the first part of the nineteenth century. It was carried along the Sankey Navigation and either the Weaver or Bridgewater and Trent and Mersey Canals to Barnton in coal flats or boats.(1) The canals tended to be neglected on account of slight additional expenses and the necessity of transhipment at Runcorn. On the other hand Weaver locks remained a hindrance to swift and inexpensive movement. Nonetheless the salt proprietor found he could pay the coal owner, boat owner, haulers, flat master, and navigation tonnage duties without increasing the pit-head price of the coal by more than half. He had been fortunate in the earlier eighteenth century if coal prices had been increased only three times by

---

(1) LRO DDCs/2/1-8. The surviving accounts of works at Anderton, only slightly larger than Barnton Salt Works, have been used in the following history. They cover the years 1810 to 1812. Flat owners charged one shilling and sixpence to two shillings for each ton of cargo carried. There are no similar Barnton accounts so the Anderton documents have had to be used, for example, to indicate wages and transport costs.

carriage charges.(1)

Generally one flat carried forty or fifty tons of coal. About two tons were needed for the manufacture of every three tons of fine table salt or four tons of common salt. Hence for a weekly production of one hundred tons of salt, one flat-load of coal had to be ordered each week from the St.Helens collieries. The coal was discharged at Barnton by labourers who worked on a piece-time basis.(2) Such casual labourers probably greatly increased the small permanent force of nine or ten men at Barnton Salt Works during busy periods.

There existed a wide choice of jobs for men employed at the salt works. The attendant in the boiler house became well-paid, because he had great responsibilities. He could expect three shillings a day in the

---

(1) LRO DDCs/2/1-2. Vouchers were obtained by the flat masters when they paid, directly, the colliery owner and the Sankey tonnage duties. They could be recompensed at their journeys' end. Weaver duties, and often colliery owners' bills, were paid periodically by the salt proprietors who used a system of credits. Example of cost of fifty tons of coal in 1811 from vouchers in DDCs/2 :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Coal cost 8s 4d a ton | £20 | 16s | 8d |
| Sankey tonnage 1s a ton | £2 | 10s | |
| Weaver tonnage 1s a ton | £2 | 10s | |
| Freightage 2s a ton | £5 | | |
| Weaver haulage | | 15s | |
| TOTAL | | | £31 11s 8d |

(2) LRO DDCs/2. Labourers got 3½d for each ton of goods which they unloaded.

early nineteenth century. Often this man was a skilled boiler maker.(1) Pansmiths had a skilled job also, but they were rarely better paid than the salt makers or wallers who received from half a crown to three shillings and sixpence a day.(2) There were also the labourers, unskilled men like Joseph Boyer (1795-1873) of Lydiart lane, who could be only irregularly employed, with other tradesmen, in maintainance work like bricklaying or carpentry. Thus many of Barnton's casual labourers became at times connected with the salt works. In 1841 twenty two men, or one in ten of the labour force, were specifically described as salt workers, and the proportion grew naturally much higher when casual workers were added.

Before the finished product could be sold however a heavy duty had to be paid to the government. An officer of excise, who lived in Barnton during the early nineteenth century, visited the works, saw the salt weighed, and charged the manufacturer the necessary duty. Salt had early been recognised as an excellent article for the production of a steady income. The government of William III imposed the first modern salt duty in 1694. Excise officers were appointed whose warrants acknowledging

---

(1) LRO DDCs/2. Vouchers of wage bills, 1810-12. PRO Census 1841, Boiler makers are Richard Birchitt, Thomas Clarke, Joseph Musgrove, and George Garton. They are all immigrants. Garton (1783-1858) for instance came from Little Leigh to find work, at first, as a salt works labourer.

(2) PRO Census 1841. There lived nine wallers in Barnton: Joseph Farral, James Holford, George Goodier, Joseph Allen, Thomas Thompson, George Boyer, James Lightfoot, Jonas Musgrove, and James Clarke of Leighs Brow.

payment had to be obtained by salt producers before the product could be moved.(1) This duty could be repaid if the salt was later exported. Salt was measured by weight, fifty six pounds of brine being equivalent to one bushel. The duty was steadily increased. In 1698 the government fixed it at three shillings and fourpence a bushel, in 1798 at ten shillings, and in 1805 at fifteen shillings.(2) However salt which might be used in curing fish destined for export paid no duty and foul salt for manure paid only fourpence a bushel after 1768. Every ton of mineral alkali, produced from any kind of salt, for use in the glass industry paid from 1782 twenty shillings.(3) The salt duty remained widely criticized because it restricted trade. In the early years of the nineteenth century the finest large-grained salt was exported to Russia and America and cost about one shilling a bushel. Common salt cost only sixpence and could be sent all over Europe. However English customers gave five or ten times as much on account of the excise. Visitors from Europe could not help noticing how the tax burdened a potentially prosperous industry.(4) From 1816 therefore the salt tax began to be reduced. In 1819 the whole duty on refuse salt

---

(1) 5 & 6 Will. & Mary c.7. Because of its impurities rock salt was allowed more pounds to the bushel.

(2) 9.&10 Will.III c.44, 38 G.III c.89, 45 G.III c.14.

(3) 8 G.III c.25 (1768). Because of the abuse of this privilege an Act of 1782 (22 G.III c.39) provided that foul salt should always be mixed with soot. Even this did not prevent abuses and from 1785 foul salt paid normal duties. 22 G.III c.39 (1782) Salt for glass industry.

(4) Nemnich Neueste Reise, 1807, p.353-54.

was removed.(1) Under pressure from manufacturers and landowners the government decided to abolish all duties on salt which had been produced for home consumption. The Act was passed in 1824.(2)

After the abolition of the salt duties and the consequent opening of many more brine salt works, prices dropped. Common salt cost twopence a bushel in 1853.(3) Whereas in 1732-33 only seven thousand tons of brine salt had been shipped down the Weaver, and in 1799-1800 over one hundred thousand tons, by 1820 the figure reached 186,000 tons, by 1830 over three hundred thousand tons, and after 1840 over four hundred thousand tons.(4) The salt at Barnton was loaded by labourers onto Weaver flats for passage to Liverpool and onto canal boats for the journey to Manchester or Staffordshire.(5) The job of transporting and selling the salt was undertaken by the works owner and his agent, who alone had the wide connections to gain the best customers.

* * *

John Jackson of Anderton himself both owned and managed the works during the short period of its operation before his death in 1786. Since

(1) A.F.Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.15.

(2) 5 G.IV c.65 (17 June 1824).

(3) Trans.Hist.Soc. vol V (1853). James Stonehouse 'Salt and its manufacture in Cheshire' p.111, 113. It often cost less than unrefined rock salt.

(4) A.F.Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.284. CRO WN Account and tonnage books, passim.

(5) CRO Q January 1785 (224) f.1, no.36. Salt on canal for Manchester. LRO QSO/2, 1806, p.323-24. Salt on river for Liverpool.

John's eldest son George had died in 1777, the property therefore passed to the grandchildren, Ellen and George Jackson. The children's cousin, William Carter of Witton, was to be given the opportunity of managing the works when he came of age. Carter eventually also received the one-third share in the works that had been left to his mother Ann Carter under John Jackson's will.(1) After a few years of management by agents, the works were taken over by Ellen and George Jackson and William Carter who formed the firm of Jackson, Carter and Company. George Lough came from Winnington to manage the works for the firm about 1795. He stayed till 1828. The company, though owning flats and drawing capital from the family's landed property, remained weak until it obtained connections with Lancashire coal interests through the marriage of Ellen Jackson to John Whitley of Ashton in Makerfield.

Born in 1759 at Lower Whitley into a farming family and educated probably at Great Budworth Grammar School, John Whitley had been apprenticed about 1773 to the firm of Clewes and Jameson of Ashton in Makerfield, manufacturers of all kinds of hinges, locks, and screws.(2) A man of ability and some learning, he was only one of many sons of Cheshire farmers who went into industry. Whitley's hard work and enterprise, combined with the capital he put in a trade which was becoming increasingly necessary in an industrial community, brought him a managing partnership in 1789.(3) The

---

(1) CRO Will of George Jackson of Anderton, yeoman, prob. 4 September 1777, and of John Jackson of Anderton, yeoman, prob. 4 December 1786.

(2) Whitley was christened at Budworth, 16 September 1759. His mother Jane was a daughter of Thomas Caldwell (1709-67) of Over Whitley.

(3) LRO QDL West Derby (Ashton-in-Makerfield) 1788-90.

# OWNERS AND AGENTS OF THE BARNTON SALT WORKS AND BIG HEY FARM

OWNERS AND AGENTS OF THE BARNTON SALT WORKS

JACKSON

John Jackson of Anderton, yeoman, dd. I786
- John of Stretton, gentleman
- Ann of Anderton = John Carter of Witton, surgeon, dd. I778
- George of Anderton, yeoman, dd. I777 = Deborah Highfield of Seven Oaks

William Carter of Northwich, salt proprietor, dd. I82I

George of Winnington and Liverpool, merchant and salt proprietor, I774-I8II

Ellen I77I-I835 = John of Ashton in Makerfield, hinge and lock manufacturer, I759-I832

Hannah Berrington I76I

William of Warrington, merchant and ironfounder, I762-I807 = Sarah daughter of Peter Stubs (I756-I806) of Warrington, innkeeper and merchant
- William
- Jane
- Mary

Mary I797

Sarah I80I

John of Abram, gentleman, I803-39 = Olivia O'Connor of Dublin
- Henry Jackson Whitley of Biggleswade I835-88

Frances I809

WHITLEY

Robert Whitley of Aston, yeoman
- William of Lower Whitley, yeoman, I737 = Jane I734
  - Thomas of Whitley, yeoman, and of Warrington, iron manufacturer, I74I-I802 = Elizabeth Gleave of High Leigh I745-I82I

CALDWELL

Thomas son of Thomas Caldwell of Over Whitley, yeoman, I709-67 = Sarah Eaton I708-9I

Thomas died young

Alice I777

Elizabeth I779-I834 = Christopher Robinson of Whitley and Liverpool, coal proprietor, salt agent, and merchant

Thomas of Sutton Lodge in St. Helens, merchant, I787-I845 = Mary

ROBINSON

Thomas Caldwell Robinson of Eccleston, merchant and coal owner

Christopher Mort Robinson of Higher Whitley, merchant and salt agent

Charles died young

Sarah

Thomas died young

SPEAKMAN

Charles Speakman of Windle, brewer, coal owner, and salt proprietor, dd. I824

Alice = Lee Watson of St. Helens and Warrington, ironfounder and coal proprietor, dd. I843

Harriet = Robert Daglish of St. Helens, ironfounder

Richard of Lawton, merchant = Betsy Ann daughter of Thomas Ferguson of Dentons Green, brewer and coal owner, dd. I834

Thomas Birch of St. Helens, brewer, merchant, and coal owner

John of Windle, coal proprietor

firm of Clewes and Whitley had a wide reputation as "manufacturers of all kinds of Iron Hinges, Locks, Nails, Thumb Latches, Woodscrews, Bed Screws, Smiths' Vices, Spring and Round Bolts, Chains, Backbands and Traces, Hoes and Bills, Axes and Adzes".(1) Hence Whitley's firm became so busy that many orders had to be passed on in part to associates like the Warrington manufacturers Peter Stubs or Caldwell and Whitley of Bridge Foundry. Thomas Caldwell (1741-1802), Whitley's uncle, was a member of another old Whitley family. His junior partner, William Whitley, was John's brother.(2) William (1762-1807) had married Sarah daughter of Peter Stubs, innkeeper, maltster, merchant, and ironmonger. Trade remained therefore always very much within the family.

Whitley's marriage in 1795 brought him land, a salt works, and shares in Weaver flats to add to his other business interests. In 1801 he led a group of Cheshire landowners and manufacturers in the leasing of a colliery in Lancashire. The rising price of coal and, even more, the uncertainty of delivery dates forced salt proprietors to make their supplies both cheaper and more secure. But this union convinced all business men that salt works, collieries, and boats had to be owned by one company if quick

---

(1) T.S. Ashton An Eighteenth Century Industrialist, Manchester 1939, p.51.

(2) Caldwell, buried at Budworth in May 1802, was succeeded by his son, Thomas (1787-1845). LRO Will of William Whitley of Warrington, merchant, prob. 11 May 1808. CRO Will of Thomas Caldwell of Higher Whitley, gent., prob. 17 July 1802 mentions the "Ironmongery Business in which I am now concerned as Joint Partner with my nephew William Whitley".

and sure profits were to be achieved, for Whitley's group became highly successful in its objects. Though members asserted that the group was not an association to hold salt owners to ransom and to fix coal prices, the members continued regularly to meet as a society to regulate the salt trade.(1) The colliery in which the group gained an interest lay at Windle in St.Helens. A thirty years lease of the Rushy Park colliery had been taken in August 1801 at a rent of over £500. This colliery, richer than most, lay near the Sankey Canal.(2) Among the partners was Joseph Leigh (1768-1840) of Oak Hill in Liverpool and Belmont in Cheshire. He became a merchant in the salt and coal trades and had interests in the Baltic and America. Trustee of the Runcorn and Northwich Turnpike in 1819, shareholder of the Runcorn Gap to St.Helens railway in 1830, High Sheriff of Cheshire in 1835, he left personal estate in 1840 worth £20,000.(3) Other partners were Whitley's brother-in-law, George Jackson, his cousin by marriage, William Carter of Northwich, salt proprietor, John Thompson of Northwich, salt proprietor, William Leigh of Roby Hall, esquire, George Leigh of Middlewich, doctor in physic and salt trader, and Thomas Bridge of Davenham, salt proprietor.

The interconnection of Lancashire coal, Cheshire salt, Liverpool

---

(1) T.C.Barker and J.R.Harris A Merseyside town in the industrial revolution, Liverpool 1954, p.58-59. The Ashtons of Woolton had already become wealthy by owning coal and salt mines.

(2) LRO DDCs/uncalendared lease of 20 August 1801; DDGe/uncalendared rentals, passim.

(3) CRO Will of Joseph Leigh of Belmont, esquire, prob. 13 February 1840. Gore Directory of Liverpool, 1796, 1829.

business, and the whole area's transport interests can be illustrated in an agreement of 1805 which established a society to regulate the salt trade. Definite rules were produced concerning boiling, quality, transport, and price of salt. Permanent committees in Liverpool and Northwich were established. The members included George Jackson of Winnington, salt owner, and Joseph Leay of the Liverpool firm of Joseph and William Leay, salt proprietors, boat owners, pottery traders, and general merchants.(1) The "Northwich salt proprietors formed into a society for improving the British salt trade" were able to correlate salt and coal supplies and prices.(2) Naturally many small firms found themselves out of business, and the way was made easier for large enterprises. Whitley realized this. By 1810 he himself controlled the firm of Whitley and Clowes.(3) He bought or leased much property in Ashton.(4) Through the firm of Whitley, Bromilow, and Caldwell he virtually controlled Rushy Park colliery. In 1804 Whitley was criticized for his attempts to force out of business altogether the Cheshire salt traders.(5) Furthermore in 1811 George Jackson of Liverpool and

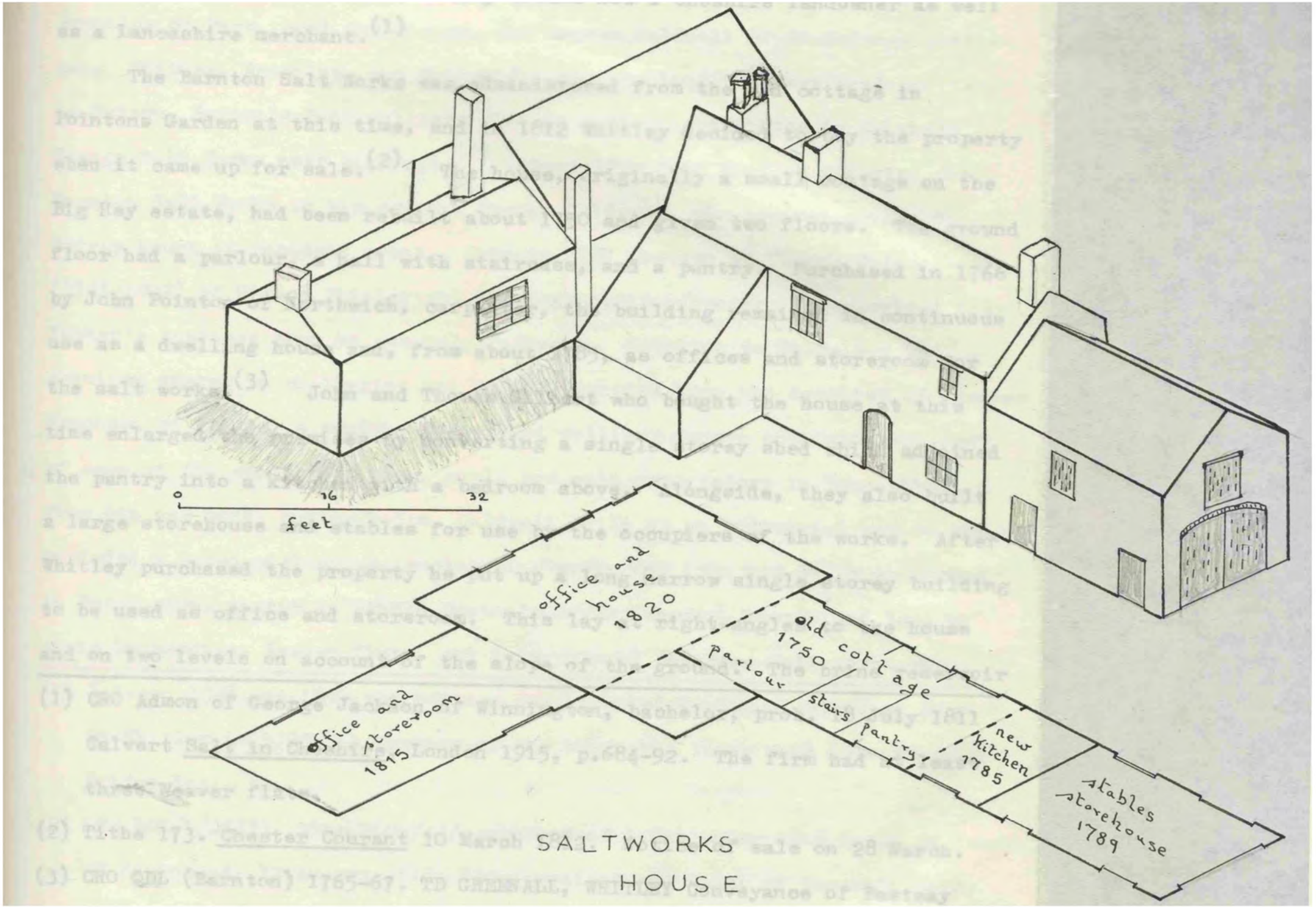
(1) CHAMBERS NSP Articles of agreement between salt traders, 1805. A similar society was set up by another agreement dated 3 January 1817.

(2) CHAMBERS NSP Minute book 1808-13 and Letter book 1806-7. The society was turned into an association in 1813. In reply to questions asked in Select Committee in 1817 Thomas Marshall of Hartford Beach, salt proprietor, admitted that the association influenced prices. PARL 1817 Salt Trade, p.145-46.

(3) LRO DDGe/uncalendared register of leases; QDL West Derby (Ashton-in-Makerfield) 1810.

(4) LRO DDGe/E/875, 1146. See also E/489-90.

(5) Remarks on the Salt Trade, Liverpool 1804, pamphlet.




SALTWORKS HOUSE

Winnington died. His half share in the Jackson lands and one-third share in the Barnton Salt Works passed to Ellen wife of John Whitley. The firm of Jackson, Carter and Company became John Whitley and Company, salt proprietors and shippers. John Whitley became now a Cheshire landowner as well as a Lancashire merchant.(1)

The Barnton Salt Works was administered from the old cottage in Pointons Garden at this time, and in 1812 Whitley decided to buy the property when it came up for sale.(2) The house, originally a small cottage on the Big Hey estate, had been rebuilt about 1750 and given two floors. The ground floor had a parlour, a hall with staircase, and a pantry. Purchased in 1766 by John Pointon of Northwich, carpenter, the building remained in continuous use as a dwelling house and, from about 1785, as offices and storeroom for the salt works.(3) John and Thomas Gilbert who bought the house at this time enlarged the premises by converting a single storey shed which adjoined the pantry into a kitchen with a bedroom above. Alongside, they also built a large storehouse and stables for use by the occupiers of the works. After Whitley purchased the property he put up a long narrow single storey building to be used as office and storeroom. This lay at right-angles to the house and on two levels on account of the slope of the ground. The brine reservoir

---

(1) CRO Admon of George Jackson of Winnington, bachelor, prob. 18 July 1811 Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.684-92. The firm had at least three Weaver flats.

(2) Tithe 173. Chester Courant 10 March 1812. Notice of sale on 28 March.

(3) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1765-67. TD GREENALL, WHITLEY Conveyance of Bestway estate, 2 January 1766. Pointon, like his father, had for years done carpentry work for the township of Barnton.

lay in the angle of these buildings.(1)

The return of peace in 1814 gave an opportunity for further expansion of trade with Europe. Whitley became a partner in a company which ran coal mines in Rainford and Bickerstaffe. His associates included William Bromilow of Parr, coal proprietor, and Thomas Caldwell of St.Helens, gentleman. Whitley, Bromilow, and Caldwell later acquired the Ravenhead colliery in Sutton, Barton's Bank colliery also in Sutton, and Whitegate Knight's Grange Salt Works near Winsford.(2) About 1820 John Whitley underlet the Barnton Salt Works to his cousin, Thomas Caldwell, who however retained George Lough as resident agent. Born in 1787 the son of Thomas Caldwell (1741-1802) of Higher Whitley and Warrington, ironfounder, he inherited his father's business when he was only fifteen. Settling in St.Helens he acquired shares in collieries and in 1817 married Mary the daughter of Charles Speakman of Windle, a wealthy brewer and colliery owner, and father-in-law of some of the wealthiest iron, coal, and salt proprietors in Lancashire. From his new home, Sutton Lodge, Caldwell built up an industrial empire which included a dozen collieries, engineering works and iron and brass foundries in Warrington, shares in Windle Denton's Green brewery, houses and land in south Lancashire, Weaver flats, and interests in Cheshire salt works which

---

(1) Between 1828 and 1860 the cottage was occupied by Samuel Gleaves, born in Whitley in 1793. A portion of the house was later made into the Bridge Inn.

(2) LRO DDK/L/4/373, 395; DDCs/43/agreement of 1 September 1818 based on lease of Ravenhead, 12 August 1818; DDCs/uncalendared lease of Barton's Bank, 10 January 1820 and agreement concerning Knight's Grange, 4 October 1828.

had become connected with his collieries.(1)

When Caldwell began to exploit the Barnton Salt Works he formed a company with Samuel Holbrook of Northwich, brewer.(2) Samuel Holbrook had set up his own salt-carrying firm in 1811 using only one flat. In partnership with James Adamson he also carried on business at Northwich Town Bridge brewery. Holbrook married Elizabeth the daughter of John Lowe of Boughton near Chester. Lowe owned the Bradwall estate in Sandbach and a cottage in Barnton.(3) He was a partner of William Leigh of Barnton in a Winnington salt works. Holbrook's brewery however went bankrupt in 1826 and he was forced to withdraw from all business. He died at Bradwall in 1835 and his personalty proved to be worth under £100.(4)

---

(1) LRO DDCs/uncalendared agreement relating to Denton's Green, 8 November 1828. LRO Will of Charles Speakman of Windle, brewer, prob. 27 August 1824, regranted 21 May 1849. Caldwell received much of the estate, and increased his share by buying out other members of the family. See LRO DDCs/53/26.

(2) Pigot and Dean Directory, 1824-25, 'Northwich'. Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.684-92 (Holbrook, Caldwell and Co.).

(3) Tithe 167-9.

(4) CRO WN Tonnage and account books, 1811. Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.684-92, Holbrook shipped salt 1811-27. Pigot and Dean Directory, 1824-25, 'Northwich'. CRO Will of John Lowe of Boughton, gent., prob. 2 August 1831. CHAMBERS H Miscellaneous papers concerning Holbrook's bankruptcy, 1828. George Elwick List of Bankrupts 1820-43, London 1843 (Holbrook). CRO Admon of Samuel Holbrook of Bradwall, gent., prob. 21 September 1835.

Thomas Caldwell continued to trade in salt in partnership from 1828 to 1838 with William Bromilow of Parr. Caldwell and Bromilow leased salt works in Anderton and entered the rock salt trade.(1) When Caldwell made his first will in 1838 he had, apart from vast leasehold estates, property in Warrington, Latchford, Appleton, Whitley, Anderton, Sutton, Grappenhall, and Lymm. All this property he left to his wife in trust for the children, who however did not long survive their father.(2) The eventual heir was Christopher Mort Robinson, a nephew and agent at Barnton and Anderton since Lough's promotion in 1828.(3) Caldwell died on 9 November 1845 and was buried at St.Helens. He was only fifty eight. His personal estate amounted to £25,000 but his realty could hardly have been less than one-third or half a million. Like Whitley he had not been born poor, nor was he unlettered, but by a massive combination of interests he made himself sufficiently wealthy to join the society of landowners and gentlemen.(4)

Meanwhile John Whitley led the life of a landed proprietor. He bought portions of the manor of Witton in 1828, attended the Barnton Town Meeting on 2 March 1815, and acted as executor for his friend and tenant, Thomas Eaton of the Big Hey, yeoman, in 1820.(5) In 1830 Whitley bought the third

(1) CHAMBERS Lease of Anderton salt works, 29 September 1827. Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.684-92.

(2) LRO DDCs/uncalendared draft will of Thomas Caldwell, 1838.

(3) LRO EL West Derby (Warrington) 1832-55. Robinson lived at Higher Whitley. He retired to Lytham after 1850.

(4) LRO Will of Thomas Caldwell of Sutton Lodge, esquire, prob. 15 April 1846.

(5) TBC 1813-14. CRO Will of Thomas Eaton of Barnton, prob. 31 January 1821. MISC Northwich Brunner Library, Notice of Sale of Witton Manor, 1828.

share of Barnton Salt Works from the widow of William Carter. The purchase included Weaver flats, and Whitley paid only £2,000.(1) The same year he saw his only surviving son married to Olivia daughter of Henry O'Connor of Dublin. On 4 August 1832 John Whitley died in his seventy fourth year. He was buried at Great Budworth. His personal fortune, left to his wife, amounted to £15,000.(2) Like other manufacturers he had returned to the countryside from which he had sprung, having made money by engaging in many activities, and entering into business or marital relations with most of the leading manufacturing families of Lancashire and Cheshire.

John Whitley the younger of Brookside in Abram had little interest in or ability for business. He remained indeed a lifelong sufferer from a liver complaint. This killed him in 1839 at the early age of thirty six.(3) The property passed to his widow, who shortly afterwards married her late husband's partner and business manager, Edward Turner of Brookside and of Richmond in Surrey. The estates were held by trustees for Whitley's son Henry Jackson Whitley (1835-88).(4) The Barnton Salt Works became less prosperous after about 1835, though it continued to function under Christopher Mort Robinson's management until 1848. In 1850 the works were said

(1) TD CROSS Abstract of title 7 December 1903, quoting conveyance of 26 October 1830.

(2) LRO Will of John Whitley of Ashton, hinge manufacturer, prob. 6 April 1833, regranted 23 November 1842.

(3) Gentleman's Magazine September 1839 Notice of death. Buried at Ashton 31 July 1839. (LRO DRL/2/543)

(4) LRO Admon of John Whitley the younger of Brookside, merchant, prob. 28 September 1839. WHITLEY Pedigree of Whitley family.

to be "now fallen into decay". Nonetheless over fifty years' exploitation easily repaid the long and costly searchings for salt in Barnton in the eighteenth century.

## 4. Climatic changes tended to aid economic development

The climate of the low-lying western and coastal county in the middle of which Barnton lay produced in general few extremes of temperature. The prevailing westerly winds brought plentiful rain from the sea, and frequent showers all the year watered Barnton's rich land. The climate naturally determined the size and quality of the harvests which until at least 1870 governed the prosperity and indeed the survival of the population.

It is possible to discern a long period of poor cool cloudy weather between 1765 and 1815 during which the people found themselves tried to the limits of their endurance by starvation, agricultural unemployment, and consequent industrial panics. Between 1815 and 1845 the weather tended to improve so that harvests proved excellent, food plentiful, and economic conditions good.(1)

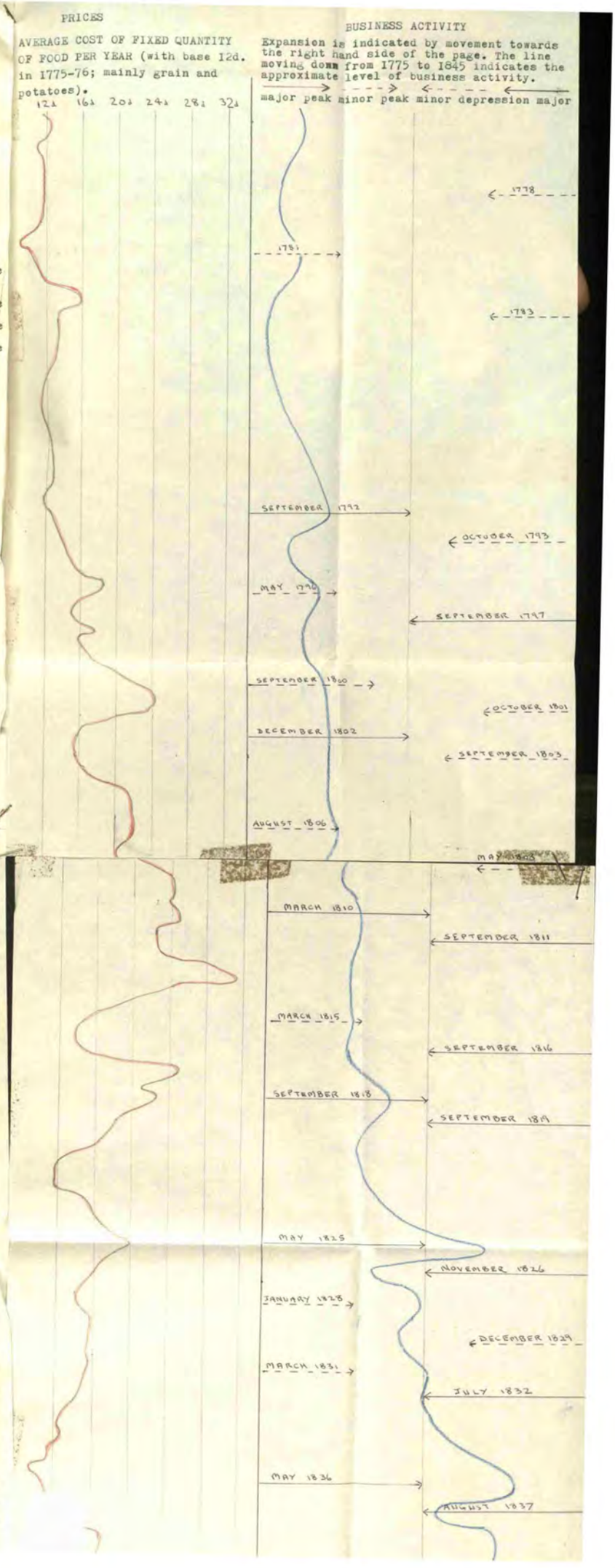
The cycle of business activity remained to some extent geared to the harvests up to 1870. Deficient crops demanded grain imports. These put pressure on the money market, reducing investment and employment in industry. The Major business crises of, for instance, 1811 and 1826 followed ruinous harvests.(2) Thus when the climate improved industrial

---

(1) Information on weather and harvests can be gained from TB Barnton Town Book. Gentleman's Magazine. Chester Chronicle. Chester Courant. Sir William Beveridge Prices and Wages in England, London 1939. PARL 1836 Agricultural distress, p.265 query 5117 (harvests of 1809-35). Review of Economic Statistics and Supplements, Cambridge (Mass.) 1923, prelim. volume V (October 1923) supplement 2, p.219-62, N.J. Silberling 'British Prices and Business Cycles 1779-1850'. Colquhoun Resources of the British Empire, 1815.

(2) A.D. Gayer, A.J. Schwartz, W.W. Rostow The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy 1790-1850, two volumes, Oxford 1953, especially pages 354-56 of volume I.

| DATE | WEATHER | HARVEST |
|---|---|---|
| 1775 | average temperatures; rainy, though spring and summer dry & warm; wet August. | average |
| 1776 | warm summer. | average |
| 1777 | warm dry summer. | average to good |
| 1778 | summer warm & productive; as mild an end to year as ever known. | average to good |
| 1779 | cold windy January; February dry & warm; warm spring; hay made in May. | very productive |
| 1780 | dry. | average |
| 1781 | mild, seasonable. | average |
| 1782 | frost, snow, rain from January to May; cold all year; severe winter. | unfavourable |
| 1783 | sultry summer and autumn; severe end of year. | unfavourable |
| 1784 | cold all year; severe end to year. | unfavourable |
| 1785 | severe frost and snow at start of year with rivers frozen; dry warm summer. | unfavourable |
| 1786 | early months saw some of the coldest days of the century. | average |
| 1787 | seasonable. | average |
| 1788 | driest year between 1750 & 1887; wet July & August; great frost at year's end. | average |
| 1789 | wet and mild. | deficient |
| 1790 | mild spring; cool wet summer. | very poor |
| 1791 | hot dry summer. | productive |
| 1792 | summer: wet, windy, cold, dark. | poor |
| 1793 | exceptionally dry July; dry summer. | average |
| 1794 | dry spring; summer drought; very hot; end of year one of coldest recorded. | average to poor |
| 1795 | December 1794 to March 1795 very severe: forty degrees frost; River Mersey frozen. | disastrous |
| 1796 | mild start to year. | good |
| 1797 | late spring. | average |
| 1798 | dry summer; good autumn; cold winter. | average |
| 1799 | cyclone over Cheshire on 16 June brought one month of torrential rain; severe winter. | disastrous |
| 1800 | late spring; hot dry summer; heavy rain from 19 August ruined crops. | disastrous |
| 1801 | fine spring. | average to poor |
| 1802 | 21 January saw destructive wind storm. | average to poor |
| 1803 | hot dry summer. | average to poor |
| 1804 | very hot dry summer & autumn; mild year's end. | deficient |
| 1805 | mild January to March; poor spring. | average to poor |
| 1806 | very wet January. | average to poor |
| 1807 | mild | average to poor |
| 1808 | cold January; mid-June & July hotter than ever; 12-14 July 96 deg. Fahr. in numerous towns. | poor |
| 1809 | cold wet January; rainy April; wet cloudy summer. | unsurpassed deficiency |
| 1810 | fine summer. | average |
| 1811 | wet May; cold frosty nights in June. | disastrous disastrous |
| 1812 | wet; heaviest snow of year fell as late as 19-20 March; rainy summer; cold December. | deficient disastrous |
| 1813 | cool, dry. | excellent |
| 1814 | continued frost & snow to 21 March. | average inferior |
| 1815 | early spring. | average good |
| 1816 | severe frost and snow in February; cold. | deficient |
| 1817 | warm July; wet cold August; generally dry year. | fair good part poor |
| 1818 | drought May to September killed grain & potatoes; fine autumn; rain mid-September. | deficient |
| 1819 | dry; keen frosts in December. | fair good |
| 1820 | frost till February; wet July; dry August; hot summer. | one of the best ever |
| 1821 | mild spring; cold summer; mild winter. | average to good |
| 1822 | mild dry. | average |
| 1823 | fair but cool. | deficient |
| 1824 | wet summer and autumn. | deficient |
| 1825 | fine dry summer; showers in August. | fair |
| 1826 | drought in summer; cold winter. | greatly deficient |
| 1827 | cold | moderate |
| 1828 | fine January; cold snowy mid-February; stormy late May-early June; very wet summer. | deficient |
| 1829 | wet cold summer; coldest winter for many years. | deficient |
| 1830 | freezing snow January-February; fair hot summer; disastrous storm 7 July; December snow. | deficient disastrous |
| 1831 | frost 6 May; cool. | favourable |
| 1832 | warm cloudy summer. | favourable |
| 1833 | mild wet year though fine days in summer. | favourable |
| 1834 | mild start to year; cold April; warm summer; dry autumn. | favourable abundant |
| 1835 | hot dry July-August; warm summer; warm autumn; mild winter. | favourable abundant |
| 1836 | fine summer with some showers. | favourable |
| 1837 | cool wet June; dry hot July-August; rain at harvest. | average to poor |
| 1838 | freezing snow without break 8-21 January and thirty degrees frost. | very short poor |



activity expanded. Better harvests in Barnton after 1815 produced profits which farmers were able to put into new houses, shops, and works. Of course this interconnection of good harvests and industrial growth can be exaggerated in importance. The average to poor crops of 1800-15 did not halt investment, for example, in the ropery (1809) or Bells Brow tenement block (1811-13). Other factors like wartime farming prosperity must always be sought. In general however the swift growth of the canal settlement really began after 1810 and was very noticeable between 1831 and 1838, coinciding largely with favourable harvests and weather.

# ECONOMIC GROWTH

## The expansion of industry and trade

The expansion of industry and trade.

The land adjoining the canal basin proved ideal for the growth of an industrial trading community. With the expansion of population, traders and craftsmen tended to abandon the land which had once occupied part of their time and provided portion of their earnings. Whereas the Newalls worked as smiths and farmers from 1775 to 1816, families like the Hayes in the nineteenth century found no difficulty in getting a living from full-time smithy work.

Almost as soon as the canal opened the canal company built wharves at Barnton and created a small port. A coal yard appeared on the common below Smithy Brow, a wooden carpenter's shop for the canal labourer on the other side of the basin in 1778, and in 1790 a small smithy in Old Boat Road. Though houses and permanent buildings only slowly moved into this forbidding valley, trading activity flourished from the start. The products of the whole country passed through the port.

The farmer sold in the main cattle, pigs, milk, butter, and cheese. But oats, wheat, barley, and potatoes became important in years of good harvests. Barnton had no large woods which could be exploited because the trees bordering the line of the canal were newly-planted. Farmers did however at times advertise timber for sale.(1) A survey of timber on the Little Hey farm, made at the time of the canal building, showed that the estate had more trees than most farms on account of its position on the edge of and outside the ancient field system in which trees had had no place.(2) Farm goods might generally be sold at the Northwich Friday market which was attended also by Barnton people who were making their purchases of food, clothing, and household tools. A fair took place in Northwich in April, August, and December for trade in cows, horses, swine, and drapery. Northwich was however rivalled by Great Budworth Fair which dealt also with all kinds of pedlars' wares and in a wide variety of clothing.(3)

The smith, wheelwright, and carpenter had for centuries been important township traders, and Barnton people had rarely attempted to

(1) Chester Courant 27 February 1798. Notice of sale of 174 oaks, thirty eight cypress, ten ash, four poplars on the Manor estate and twelve oaks, two ash, and two poplars on Balls farm.
(2) LRO DDHk/uncalendared. Survey book of William Hawkshead, undated but about 1775.
(3) LRO DDK/1553/61-66. The receipts and expenditures at Northwich Fair, 1685-97. Cooke County of Chester, 1830, p.5, 25-27.

complete for themselves tasks which these men could quickly and cheaply accomplish. By the eighteenth century there appeared sufficient work for tailors and shoemakers. As the population increased trades and crafts flourished,(1) and in the early nineteenth century shops appeared. Until at least 1820 craftsmen and traders tended to own or rent land from which they could subsidise their earnings. Newall rented the Stocks House estate in addition to the smithy. Other men combined jobs. John Pointon, the alehouse keeper, was also a carpenter. But in the nineteenth century people tended to concentrate entirely on business partly because economic activity so markedly increased. Hence the Hayes family had little difficulty in relying only on their smithy for a living. Moreover many craftsmen, who could not work full-time in their own business, tended to move into the employment of capitalist owners of rope and salt works, of shoemaking manufacturers, or of waterway transporters who could all guarantee a full-time working week of six days. Hence noticeable divisions appeared by 1820 between trade and agriculture and between independent and employed craftsmen.

Barnton's tailors took part in the making of every article of clothing. They dealt especially with men's suits and leather breeches which demanded skilful cutting. The material, buttons, and thread could by 1775 be purchased by the tailors ready for use. Until his death in 1776 John Amery combined a smallholding on the Manor estate with tailoring. Work might also

---

(1) As here used, a craft is the art and ability to make an article, to repair or alter it, or to transform raw material into a finished product. Trade implies not only a craft but the buying or selling of goods and thus dealing with money. By 1841 traders and craftsmen accounted for fourteen per cent of the labour force.

be taken by the township offices in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the family of Haslehurst at Witton.(1) Between 1813 and 1851 William Eyes (1790-1851) of Bells Brow conducted a large business in his well-situated house above the canal basin.(2) With him worked James (1793-1870) son of Robert and Elizabeth Platt of Little Leigh. Members of the Platt family remained as tailors in both Barnton and Little Leigh until beyond 1895, though James himself forsook the trade about 1828 in order to earn more money as a flatman. In 1829 the canal settlement gained another tailor in the person of William Duncalf. A member of the Bartington family of Duncalf, he remained only for several years before returning home. After his moving, Thomas Haslehurst (1819-1901), grandson of Joseph Haslehurst of Witton, tailor, came to live in the Smithy Fold estate. He continued the family tradition of tailoring, at first in a tiny two-roomed house and then from 1843 in more adequate premises opposite.(3)

The leather industry remained important in Cheshire on account ofthe vast herds of cattle, which were kept throughout the county, whose hides could be cheaply and easily obtained. Skinners and tanners had worked in Barnton at one time but had died out by 1775. But cordwainers, who worked as dealers in all kinds of leather goods and especially in boots, saddles,

(1) TBO passim.

(2) TBO 1817-18. Eyes had been born in Higher Walton near Warrington. CRO Admon of William Eyes of Barnton, tailor, prob. 17 March 1852.

(3) Tithe 134, 137. PRO Census 1841, 1851. Haslehurst's aunt owned the estate. This may have induced him to come to Barnton on his marriage to a Little Leigh girl in 1838. CRO Will of Thomas Haslehurst of Leftwich, prob. 5 March 1901.

HASLEHURST & MUSGROVE OF BARNTON

# HASLEHURST AND MUSGROVE OF BARNTON

HASLEHURST

Joseph Haslehurst of Witton, tailor, dd.I838

= Mary

- Sarah I778-I863
  = Luke Plummer of Witton then of Chester, excise officer, I776-I809
- Ann
- Thomas of Witton, tailor
  = Sophia

CLARKE

Ann I806-I863
= I) William Clarke of Witton, yeoman, dd. I846
2) John Irving of Lostock Gralam, gentleman

- Thomas Plummer of Bolton, millwright
- Sarah Ann
  = William Deakin of Witton, draper

Thomas of Smithy Fold, tailor, I8I9-I90I
= Sophia

- Henry I843
- Edward I846

MUSGROVE

Edward of Little Leigh and Barnton, carpenter, I782-I865
= Martha I785-I843

- Sarah I8I6
- John of Brickelfield, flatman and salt boiler, I805
- Jervis of Oakwood lane, salt boiler and flat hauler, I807
- Jonas, salt boiler
- Joseph, Mary I8I9
- Ann I82I-75
  = Joseph Williamson of Plumbs Fold, flatman, I820-80
  - Fanny I842
- William, labourer, I822
- Thomas I826

and leather breeches, remained in the township. Few inhabitants ever tried to make their own footwear, whether boots, shoes, or clogs, because a comfortable fit proved difficult to obtain without skilful craftsmanship. Hence by 1841 there worked eight shoemakers in Barnton.(1) Five of these lived in the canal settlement. Ambrose Cottrell of Tunnel Mouth worked as both shoemaker and cordwainer. George Hindley (1774-1849) and his son Peter (1810-89) were however developing the largest business and by 1851 employed three men.

Carpenters found both regular and occasional employment in Barnton without trouble, for timber remained a basic material in very many activities until well beyond 1845. These craftsmen helped build barns, sheds, and houses. They constructed furniture, fences, tools, waggons, carts, and coffins. The shipwrights made canal boats and river flats which consisted almost entirely of wood until 1845. Salt works carpenters maintained the wooden buildings and much internal equipment. Wheelwrights did not confine themselves to making wheels and waggons but undertook a vast range of duties.(2) Edward Musgrove, father-in-law of Thomas Haslehurst the younger, remained a domestic carpenter, a man who did any kind of work about the house. Samuel (1809-36) son of Philip and Mary Fogg and son-in-law of Thomas

---

(1) PRO Census 1841. George Orme (1791-1832) of Leighs Brow, shoemaker, began a tanning business which his son briefly continued till about 1835.

(1) PRLL christenings of the children of George and Thomas give their trades in various years 1813-34.

(2) George Sturt The Wheelwright's Shop, Cambridge 1934. Ralph Holland, the Barnton wheelwright in the late eighteenth century, did household repairs and also made coffins, TBO 1770-85.

Hickson the flatman, became a shipscarpenter.(1) Joseph son of George and Betty Boyer had his own carpentry business from 1831 along Rays Brow lane in the canal settlement but he too eventually became a shipscarpenter.(2) Barnton possessed six regular carpenters in 1841 though other craftsmen and labourers did part-time carpentry when necessary at the salt works or for the canal company.

Shops multiplied in number within Barnton after about 1820. Many craftsmen had of course engaged in trade in the sense that they sold their own goods, but these men cannot be termed shopkeepers. A shop occupied a room in a house and had an attendant on the spot who served the needs of customers. Most shops had to provide a wide range of goods for sale at prices attractive enough to keep people from the Northwich Market. The earliest Barnton shop had been opened in the new house built at Mount Pleasant in 1815. Facing the canal and highway this business had an excellent position for the sale of all foodstuffs, ironmongery, drapery, and ropes. The place had an especially large oven for the baking of bread for the people from boats and from the canal settlement.(3) Early shops with comparatively little stock occupied only a front room and remained often short-lived. This Mount Pleasant business soon closed partly because of the forced retirement of the keeper, John Bowker, arrested for stealing from canal boats. By 1841 Barnton had two similar small shops. One lay

---

(1) Samuel and his sons remained Wesleyans through the years of secession.

(2) PRO Census 1841, 1851. He was a carpenter when baptizing his children from 1831. PRLL christenings from 1831.

(3) Tithe 167-69. TD SMEETON Bargain and sale, 8 April 1844, quotes mortgage of 5 April 1817 in which the oven is specifically mentioned.

near Oakwood lane and came under the management of Margaret Bowyer (1781-1869), a widow with a large family. Her son Thomas (1818-93) became the first Barnton man to call himself a baker, for in general bread could be made by housewives themselves and bakers might rarely be needed at least until 1840.(1) The other small shop lay at Tunnel Top and was kept by George Capper who worked also as a ropemaker.(2) The first of the larger permanent grocery and drapery businesses was opened in 1838 by Thomas Edwards. The new building at Smithy Fold contained a house and spacious shop specially erected for the purpose.(3) At the same time James Hewitt of Bells Brow above the canal basin managed Barnton's only butcher's shop. Until his accidental drowning in the canal in 1849 Hewitt fought to make a living in butchery, though meat proved too costly for most people's purses.(4)

The alehouse counted among Barnton's more important businesses on account of the comparatively large development capital which was needed and of the sums of money which annually changed hands in the establishment. The keeping of an alehouse had been made conditional on the licence of a justice of the peace only from 1552.(5) Previously the brewing of beer had been the common daily task of many householders because beer long remained a necessity of life when water proved unhealthy and when tea and

(1) Tithe 225. PRO Census 1841, 1851. Bowyer is a baker in 1851.

(2) Tithe 200. PRO Census 1841.

(3) Tithe 134. PRO Census 1841.

(4) PRO Census 1841. N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1849.

(5) 5 & 6 Ed.VI c.25. Inns remained outside magisterial controls so long as these provided accommodation for passing travellers. S. & B.Webb History of Liquor Licensing in England, London 1903.

coffee remained unknown. Any inhabitant could sell the liquor to his neighbours or to travellers. On account of the new regulations houses in Barnton which sold ale were reduced in number to two by the seventeenth century. After the introduction of annual Brewster Sessions in 1729 only one alehouse remained.(1) Despite this, drinking of ale and spirits, and drunkenness, increased in the eighteenth century. Spirits, especially gin, had not until 1729 been subject to the magistrates' control, and even after this date the Quarter Sessions exercised little effective control. The alehouse became noted for rowdiness, for cock-fighting, and for gambling. It became also the place where the Town Meeting assembled.

During the early eighteenth century William and Hannah Ball of Leighs Brow kept the alehouse.(2) They made much money, and from them descended the prosperous farming families of Ball, Poole, and Darlington as well as such humble labouring families as Buckley, Cawley, and Lightfoot. The alehouse tended to move when new people took over. Hence Randle Holland and his son Randle based themselves at Bells Brow, above the barren valley where the canal basin lay, later, when they succeeded the Balls in the middle of the century.(3) Randle Holland closed down this business in 1772. Meanwhile

---

(1) CRO Alehouse recognizance, 1641. The magistrates were given the task by Parliament of getting rid of superfluous and rowdy alehouses.

(2) TBC 1731-35. Tithe 272.

(3) CRO Alehouse recognizance, 1770. TBC 1770-71 a Town Meeting was held at Hollands in March 1771. TBC 1771-72 a jury was summoned to Hollands in November 1771. Tithe 142.

John Pointon of Northwich and Barnton, carpenter, had purchased property at Bestway. In a converted barn he opened an alehouse in 1766.(1) The Bestway Alehouse lay near to the Weaver, on the main highway, and just below the line of the intended canal. Itstood on the edge of but within the future canal settlement. In 1772 this alehouse became Barnton's only place where beer could legally be bought.(2) There township meetings, inquests, and funeral or marrisge feasts took place. Pointon did not long remain in Barnton. On his departure he placed as tenants at Bestway Samuel and Mary Bennett. Bennett survived until 1786 when the effects of long hours and heavy responsibility killed him. He left his widow with a young family. Mary therefore married again in 1789. Her husband, a widower, Thomas Waters, worshipped almost certainly with the Methodists,for his sureties included such early leaders of the religious revival as Thomas Cross and William Leigh.(3) Mary died in April 1803 and her husband in the following September. They were succeeded by John son of Thomas Eaton of the Big Hey. Eaton kept the house longer than anyone before or after him, and under him

---

(1) TD GREENALL, WHITLEY Conveyance by John Gresty the younger of Bostock, cheesefactor, to Pointon, 2 January 1766. Tithe 162a, 164a. He mortgaged the property next year to pay for the conversion. Mortgage, 9 June 1767.

(2) CRO Alehouse recognizance, 1770, 1773.

(3) Both Bennett and Waters appear regularly in the Town Book and Alehouse recognizances. CRO Will of Thomas Waters of Barnton, prob. 20 November 1803. This contains in the main a long prayer of dedication to "God my Maker" and "my most compassionate Redeemer Jesus Christ".

it became often known as the Red Lion Inn.[1] Born in 1766 in Antrobus, Eaton had by Elizabeth his wife (1783-1867) about twelve children. These included John (1804-60) of Hill Top farm. John Eaton served as a member of the Town Meeting and acted as Barnton's representative at the Budworth Vestry. He entertained the Town Meeting regularly at his house, provided a room for inquests, and supplied ale for funerals. He rented and farmed small portions of land in Barnton and saved sufficient money by his efforts to buy the property at Bestway when it came up for sale. Thus in 1814 he followed the Gilbert family as owner of the inn and the four cottages adjoining.[2] Eaton took no part in the religious revival in Barnton. He remained a man true to eighteenth-century traditions, a constant attender at Budworth church, and a Whig. He voted Whig, the party not of reform but of old-fashioned stability and loyalty, even in 1841 when most Barnton people had turned to the progressive Conservatives.[3] In 1842 Eaton sold the Bestway property for over seven hundred and fifty pounds. He retired with his wife to Rays Brow lane where he died in September 1855, aged eighty eight, of "old age". The inn followed many family concerns in passing into the hands of a brewery.[4]

---

(1) CRO Alehouse recognizances, 1803-28. TD GREENALL, WHITLEY Conveyance, 25 March 1814.

(2) TD GREENALL, WHITLEY Conveyance by the trustees of John Gilbert to John Eaton, victualler, 25 March 1814.

(3) CRO PB (Barnton) 1841.

(4) TD GREENALL, WHITLEY Conveyance by Eaton to Joseph Dunn of Hartford, gentleman, and members of Dunn and Company, brewers. The price was £756. N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1855.

Under John Eaton the Bestway had become the respectable house where farmers, boatmen, and tradesmen assembled. Such places became greatly admired by early nineteenth century travellers on account of their good food, wholesome beer, and honest conversation.(1) The alehouse had gained an excellent reputation as the alehouse keeper himself not only became prosperous but also entered the political life of the township. Moreover Eaton had had yearly to visit the magistrates in order to obtain his licence. He and his sureties had had to promise to conduct the house according to very strict terms. Eaton's own feelings and public opinion in the early nineteenth century demanded the more literal following of regulations which had been flouted with impunity during the previous century. Thus the alehouse keeper entered into a thirty pounds sterling recognizance that he would not "knowingly suffer any gaming with Cards, Draughts, Dice, Bagatelle... by Journeymen, Labourers, Servants, or Apprentices, nor knowingly introduce, permit or suffer any Bull, Bear, or Badger-baiting, cockfighting,or other such Sport". He might not adulterate the beer or harbour "Women of notoriously bad fame". He could not serve beer or allow drinking during hours of divine service.(2)

But while the keeping of the alehouse became a respected profession, the movement against government interference with the economy unleashed a widespread demand for free trade in beer. In 1830 an Act was passed which

(1) Nemnich Neueste Reise, 1807, p.83. "Hier kann der Fremde, wenn er sich beliebt zu machenversteht oftmals erfahren, was ächte britische Hospitalität zu bedienten hat und welcher Schatz von nützlichen Dingen alsdann zu heben ist."

(2) CRO Alehouse recognizance, 1828.

allowed any ratepayer to open a shop for the sale of beer. No licence was necessary provided an excise payment of two guineas had been registered.(1) A brewhouse and beershop was immediately erected in Tunnel Road.(2) Soon after, William Clarke (1806-86) of the Ropery farm, township officer and leading Wesleyan, erected at Tunnel Top the Reapers Arms.(3) John (1800-66) eldest son of Philip and Nancy Goodier became the beerseller here in 1844. Born in 1800 he had been alternately agricultural labourer, salt boiler, and engineer. After the death of his first wife in 1832 he had courted and then wed the widow of his younger brother. She was Jane daughter of John Capper of Bestway. The couple lived at Plumbs Fold before moving to the canal settlement. However Jane died of consumption in 1848 and Goodier had to rely for help in the shop on his son Thomas (1829-1905). A beerhouse opened in 1848 in the Entwisle family's farmhouse. Formerly called Kennerleys this place would always afterwards be named the Alehouse farm.(4) The enterprise failed because it lay too far from the canal settlement, the undoubted township centre. So many beerhouses opened after 1830 however that Parliament immediately began to devise restrictions,

(1) 11 G.IV and 1 Will.IV c.64. This act however for the first time made houses close from ten o'clock at night until four o'clock next morning. S. & B.Webb History of Liquor Licensing in England, London 1903, p.85, 95-98. Swankey-shops which sold table beer paid no excise.

(2) Tithe 179. On this site Ambrose Cottrell erected in 1859-60 the Navigation Inn.

(3) Bought by Greenall, Whitley and Company in 1867 and closed in 1924. Tithe 200.

(4) Tithe 249. This was called the Travellers Rest.

though not until 1869 was the law properly consolidated.(1)

The Barnton blacksmith necessarily undertook almost every sort of metal work. Mainly however he was employed by farmers to shoe their horses and to provide metal rims for cart wheels. The seventeenth century smithy stood in Leighs Brow.(2) It moved early in the next century to a building at the edge of the hillside near Balls farm. This area came to be known as Smithy Brow. The smithy shared the premises with an alehouse and Randle Holland managed these two businesses until his death in 1761.(3) Randle's son gave up the business in 1772. The smithy moved again to the old Stocks House farm where, from the time of the canal building, John Newall (1735-1805) acted as farmer and blacksmith. Canal boat horses could thus be taken from the towing path up the Old Boat Road to the smithy and then down Oakwood lane to the canal again. On account of the popularity of Newall's business and its convenience for the boat people, this way rivalled the shorter path over Barnton Tunnel and even appeared on contemporary plans as the boatmen's horse road through Barnton.(4) John Newall, son of John and Ann of Onston in Weaverham, married twice. He had at least fifteen children. Constable, member of the Town Meeting, supplier of labour and materials for the highways, Newall undertook much work on behalf of the township. He regularly repaired the Stocks which stood by his house. However, when he died in 1805 his entire personalty, including stock in trade, seemed worth but one hundred pounds sterling.(5) It is easy to see

---

(1) 4 & 5 Will.IV c.85, 3 & 4 Vict. c.61, 32 & 33 Vict. c.27.

(2) Tithe 269. Peter Cook's smithy house.

(3) Holland supplied ironwork for the Town Gate in 1734. TBC 1733-34.

(4) BTC TM 1778 Survey.

(5) CRO Will of John Newall of Barnton, smith, prob. 22 June 1810.

that the lack of equipment made moving the business from one building to another no problem. Hannah, Newall's widow, continued the work with the help of her sons. William Newall worked as blacksmith until his emigration into Lancashire in 1816. He was followed by James Hayes from Frodsham. Meanwhile plans had been made to open a smithy at Canal Side. About 1790 William Plumbley of Barnton, yeoman, had purchased land from the township in the Old Boat Road and erected a small building which he possibly at times used for smith work. To this place James Hayes transferred the Newall's business about 1831. Hayes and his wife Ellen encouraged other members of the family to leave Newton by Frodsham and settle in Barnton.(1) Hence they proved together able adequately to serve the growing community of the canal settlement and the increasing canal traffic. By 1841 William Clarke of the Ropery had erected a large new house on the other side of the canal for use as a smithy. Here James and Ellen's sons, John (1818) and George (1824), lived, together with two other blacksmiths' families.(2) About 1848 the smithy moved back across the canal on to common land, but the Hayes family continued to run the business.(3)

William Sylvester Clarke of Witton established a ropeworks near the canal basin soon after 1809. He rented a portion of Thomas Moreton's newly-created farm. The farmhouse needed reconstructing and enlarging in order that the Clarke family should have a home next door to the Moretons. Land near this house was taken for a ropewalk.(4) Tracks led to the canal

(1) PRO Census 1841, 1851.

(2) PRO Census 1841. Tithe 200.

(3) Samuel Bagshaw Directory, 1850, article 'Barnton'.

(4) Tithe 296, 204.

towing path, to the canal settlement, and down Shuttes lane to the Weaver. Hence Clarke's ropes came into the hands not only of Barnton people but of boatmen and flatmen all over Cheshire. Buildings demanded comparatively little capital, though raw material had regularly to be bought. The ropemaker had to possess a fair degree of skill in order to produce rope suitable for each customer's needs.

Ropemaking demanded the twisting together of fibres and yarns so that when strain was applied the whole held together by mutual friction. Hemp, strongest and most flexible of fibres, arrived by canal. This remained in store at the farm until it could be hackled to produce lengths of fibre lying neatly parallel one with another. This fibre was spun outdoors on a two hundred and seventy yards long ropewalk. The spinner took the hemp and wound a length round his waist, crossing the ends behind his back. He then fastened a quantity to a large hook which lay near the outer edge of a wheel. The wheel's axle was connected, breast high, with the storehouse wall. An apprentice could thus turn the wheel when necessary. As the spinner moved backwards the wheel gave the regular twist to the fibre. Twisted fibre might be placed at length on posts along the ropewalk. After three measures of yarn had been finished their ends were secured to three hooks on the wheel which had been used before. Once again the apprentice turned this wheel and the lengths became twisted into a single strand. A revolving looper at the far end aided this process. Often a top, a conical-shaped piece of wood through which the yarn could pass, came into use to increase the evenness of the finished product. Strands could be manufactured into ropes on a separate walk. Often tarred, the strands were fixed at one end to a jack twister and at the other to a moveable twister. As the process

MORETON, CLARKE, AND CALDWELL

MORETON
CLARKE
CALDWELL

**MORETON**

Thomas Moreton of Comberbach I744-I809 = Alice

- Thomas of Anderton then of the Ropery, yeoman, I772-I84I = Mary Whitney I775-I842
- William of Anderton, yeoman
- John of Winnington Moss Farm, yeoman
- Thomas of Northwich, grocer and druggist
- George of Pickmere, farmer
- Sarah
- Mary
- Ann of the Ropery I808-92 = William Sylvester Clarke of Witton and the Ropery, ropemaker, dd. I847 = Maria

**CLARKE**

- William of the Ropery, ropemaker, I806-86
- Edward of Weaverham, merchant, I8I2-84

**CALDWELL**

Peter and Ellen Caldwell of Shurlach

- William of Shurlach, farmer = Hannah Baguley
- Peter of Northwich, draper, I803-55 = William Caldwell of Castle, draper
- Henry of Shurlach, yeoman, I798-I84I
- William of Shurlach, farmer

- William Sylvester of the Big Hey, farmer, I836-99 = Mary Ann daughter of Thomas Massey of Little Leigh, farmer I847-I924
  - William Sylvester of the Big Hey I874-I927
- John I838-I9I6 = Jane daughter of Isaac and Martha Phillips of Bells Brow
- Edward Lloyd of the Ropery I842-I922 = Hannah daughter of Peter Mounfield of Dutton Lodge, farmer
  - William of the Ropery
- Mary Maria I844-84 = William Caldwell of Castle, draper

gradually shortened the rope, this latter twister, holding the strands taut all the time, moved inwards on rails.

William Sylvester Clarke became, like his landlord and friend Thomas Moreton, a Methodist. Diligent, persevering, ambitious, and never satisfied, he tended to increase his interests too rapidly. He opened a coal and lime burning business at Tunnel Top. He attempted to become a general merchant, probably dealing wholesale with Liverpool traders. He ran a ropeworks in Chester.(1) Because he also owned an estate in Merioneth Clarke retired to Chester and Wales about 1835. He died in 1847.(2) By Maria his wife Clarke had had a small family. His eldest son William (1806-86) took over the Barnton interests. William married Anne eldest daughter of Thomas Moreton and remained of course a Wesleyan and chapel trustee. He occupied scattered fields in Barnton, built and owned the Canal Side smithy, and erected the Tunnel Top inn and cottages.(3) Clarke further developed the coal business, becoming local agent for Ackers, Whitley, and Company of Bickershaw Colliery. By 1841 he employed a full-time ropemaker and apprentice.(4) His interests were wider than those of any other Barnton man of his generation, but he tended to undertake too much work.

---

(1) Pigot and Co. Directory, 1834, articles 'Chester' and 'Barnton'. CHAMBERS LB Accounts of Winnington Salt Works, 5 January 1821.

(2) CRO Will of William Clarke of Chester, ropemaker, prob. 14 May 1847 and 31 January 1856.

(3) Tithe 200 (houses) and 95, 289, 295-96, 326 (lands).

(4) Samuel Bagshaw Directory, 1850, article 'Barnton'. PRO Census 1841. George eldest son of George and Elizabeth Garton of Plumbs Fold worked as the ropemaker.

One job might barely be earning a profit before another began. His enterprises did not rapidly expand and, like his friend William Leigh, he seemed wealthier than in fact he could possibly be. He might certainly have made a fortune had he possessed the thrift which characterized his fellow Barnton inhabitants. But indolence and lack of foresight brought about mortgages, sales, and disposals of interests in the second half of the nineteenth century.(1)

It is perhaps worth mentioning in conclusion that the application to industry and agriculture of scientific discoveries and technological change tended to be very hesitant. There could be nothing more ancient than processes used at salt works. Builders altered their methods and tools hardly at all. Steam engines of course helped to raise brine and to dig out the new Weaver canal in 1832-36, but on the whole Barnton people, as far as may be discovered, did not invest money in expensive tools perhaps because manpower remained so cheap and plentiful. In this sense the township's expanding population proved a boon to developers. Moreover money which might have been spent outside Barnton on machinery was instead spread among Barnton families in exchange for their labour.

---

(1) TD SNELSON Bargain and sale of one house at Canal Side, 8 August 1856, mentions a mortgage of the property in 1851. See also Warrington Guardian, 26 April 1856, for particulars of sale of Clarke's entire estate around the canal basin.

Who paid for industrial expansion,
and how was this done?

Who paid for industrial expansion, and how was this done?

Barnton's economic development depended on people investing money. This capital was vital in accelerating the process and magnifying the effects of the ageless interaction of land and manpower that ultimately produced all wealth.

Cheshire landowning families necessarily supplied much of this capital, at least until 1840. Virtually all canal shareholders possessed landed estates even though many also engaged in manufacturing. Land agents and tenant farmers, too, invested their money. But bankers, solicitors, manufacturers, craftsmen, watermen, traders, salt proprietors, even humble widows, all helped with their money in developing the canal settlement.

A few examples must suffice. The Houghton family, flatmen on the Weaver, built cottages in Rays Brow lane from 1829 onwards. Sarah Plummer, widow of an excise officer, erected a shop near Smithy Fold in 1838. The Beech family, canal boat people, owned a canal side house as early as 1815.

For large projects, like the canal or road building, a statutory body or joint stock company had to be formed. Investors purchased shares and, if the plan succeeded, received dividends. The canal company returned dividends of seventy five per cent in the early nineteenth century. Share prices of course had risen to twenty times their face value.(1) However investors after 1825 never really received the expected fortunes which earlier proprietors had made.

Smaller developments like the opening of a salt or rope works and the erection of a dwelling could be financed by individuals or partnerships. Almost all Barnton Canal Settlement's projects remained however individual enterprises often carried out piecemeal over years as men set aside profits for investment. The Cross family of farmers erected their Tunnel Road housing estate between 1809 and 1881. The Hicksons, Weaver flatmen, saved for years to build their excellent Mount Pleasant houses on the

---

(1) Gentleman's Magazine gives share prices and dividends.

canal bank.

Financial institutions could be called on from 1780 onwards. A bank existed in Northwich from this date. Money put into the bank might be lent at interest to developers. The bank's credit and bills of exchange eased the course of financial transactions. The Northwich Savings Bank appeared in 1818 but a building society not till 1848. The growth of the Post Office stimulated the economy partly by its provision of a swift if costly means of communication. The mail coach appeared in 1784. In 1838 the Post Office took over the issuing of money orders, run as a private venture since 1792, and thus facilitated the payment of small amounts. The penny postage appeared soon after. The Barnton Post Office on the hill above the canal basin opened its doors only at the beginning of 1857.(1)

---

(1) British Postal Guide 1 January and 1 April 1857.
Isaac Phillips (1813-92), cordwainer, salt maker, and grocer served as first postmaster.
Presumably Barnton people before 1857 went to Northwich Post Office to transact business.

# THE 1816 CANAL SURVEY OF BARNTON

(British Transport archives)

Economic growth brought people to Barnton

## Economic growth brought people to Barnton

The population of Barnton increased rapidly between 1775 and 1845. Additional workers and consumers stimulated economic growth, and employment opportunities encouraged young people to remain in the settlement and to found families of their own. Immigrants arrived and needed homes and jobs. The growth of the economy and population after 1775 are inextricably interrelated.

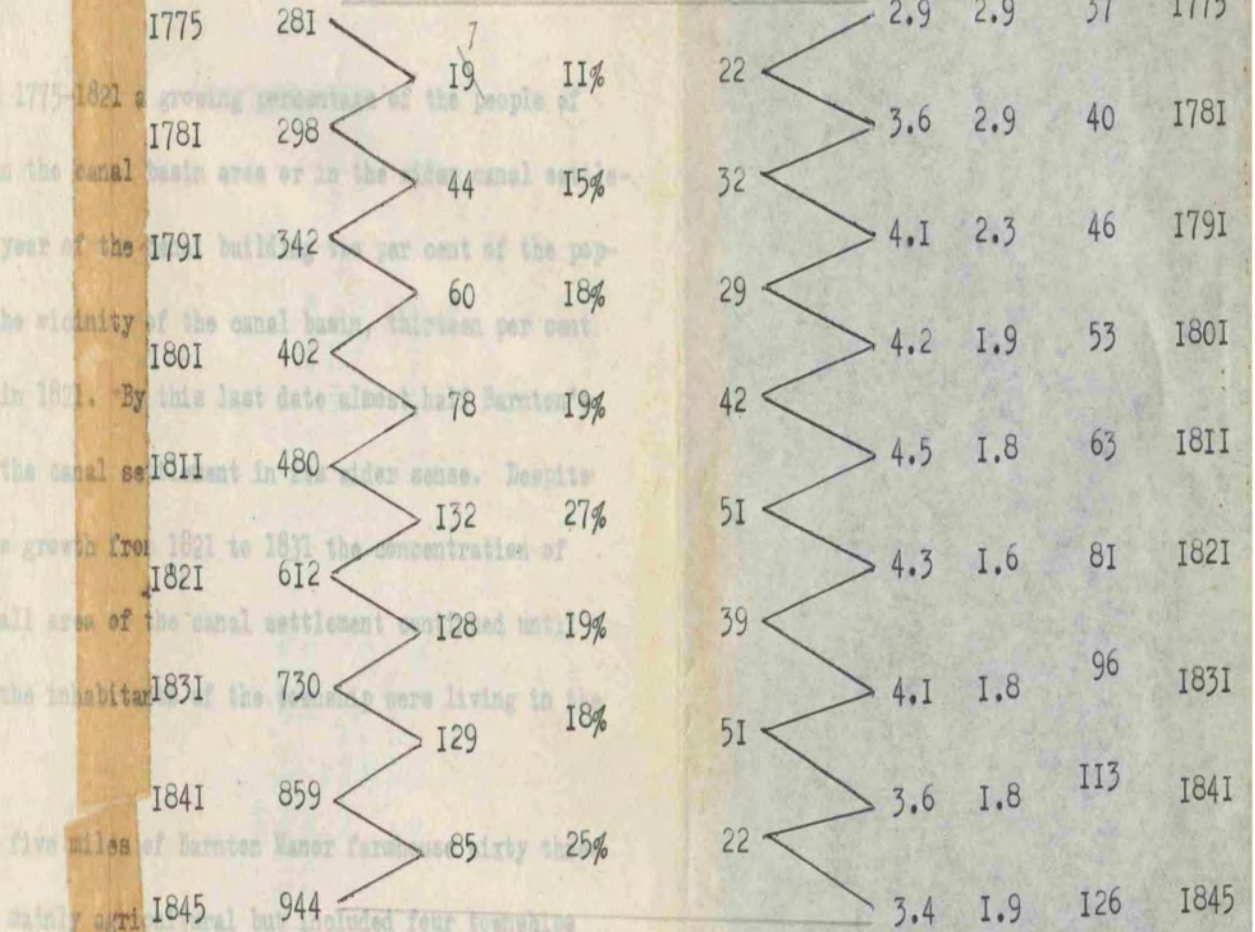
In 1664 Barnton had had about 115 inhabitants. The number rose comparatively slowly to 281 by 1775.(1) At this time only about six people were living in the immediate vicinity of the new canal basin, in two cottages at Smithy Brow. But the population of the whole area on the hilltop bordering the canal between Smithy Fold and Rays Brow, which will later be included in the canal settlement, had already reached eighty before 1775. Between 1775 and 1811 an average of fifty six people were added to Barnton's population each decade. The number rose to 139 each decade from 1811 until 1845, thus

---

(1) PRO Barnton Hearth Tax, 1664, Census 1841, Census 1851. PARL 1801-31 Census returns. These sources may be supplemented by parish registers of Great Budworth, Little Leigh, and Witton . From all sources without exception a card index of inhabitants has been built up. Among other uses this index can give the population in any one year from 1664 and the date of a family's arrival in the settlement. See the author's article on this method in Amateur Historian, volume 6 number 5 (Autumn 1964),p.163-5.

# POPULATION OF BARNTON 1775-1845

POPULATION OF BARNTON




| | Population | Number added to the population each period | rate of population growth | Number of immigrant families arriving in each period | Birth rate per cent | Death rate per cent | Density of population per 100 acres | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1775 | 281 | | | | 2.9 | 2.9 | 37 | 1775 |
| | | 19 | 11% | 22 | | | | |
| 1781 | 298 | | | | 3.6 | 2.9 | 40 | 1781 |
| | | 44 | 15% | 32 | | | | |
| 1791 | 342 | | | | 4.1 | 2.3 | 46 | 1791 |
| | | 60 | 18% | 29 | | | | |
| 1801 | 402 | | | | 4.2 | 1.9 | 53 | 1801 |
| | | 78 | 19% | 42 | | | | |
| 1811 | 480 | | | | 4.5 | 1.8 | 63 | 1811 |
| | | 132 | 27% | 51 | | | | |
| 1821 | 612 | | | | 4.3 | 1.6 | 81 | 1821 |
| | | 128 | 19% | 39 | | | | |
| 1831 | 730 | | | | 4.1 | 1.8 | 96 | 1831 |
| | | 129 | 18% | 51 | | | | |
| 1841 | 859 | | | | 3.6 | 1.8 | 113 | 1841 |
| | | 85 | 25% | 22 | | | | |
| 1845 | 944 | | | | 3.4 | 1.9 | 126 | 1845 |

giving a population in the last year of the period of 944.(1) The population doubled between 1775 and 1815, and doubled again between 1815 and 1848. The population of the canal basin area increased eightfold between 1775 and 1815 and fourfold from 1815 to 1848. By 1845 there lived 542 inhabitants in the canal settlement which lay between Smithy Fold and Rays Brow.

During the years 1775-1821 a growing percentage of the people of Barnton found a home in the canal basin area or in the wider canal settlement. Whereas in the year of the canal building two per cent of the population had lived in the vicinity of the canal basin, thirteen per cent were in the same area in 1821. By this last date almost half Barnton's people were living in the canal settlement in its wider sense. Despite a temporary set-back to growth from 1821 to 1831 the concentration of population into the small area of the canal settlement continued until about three-fifths of the inhabitants of the township were living in the district by1845.

There lay within five miles of Barnton Manor farmhouse sixty three townships. These were mainly agricultural but included four townships which made up the market town of Northwich and two townships in the salt-mining district called Winsford.(2) By 1811 Barnton had overtaken almost all the agricultural townships in population, and in 1841 lay in tenth place in the whole of Mid-Cheshire. For many centuries unremarkable,

(1) PRO Census 1851. By this date the population stood at 1,146 (this includes the men who were working on census night away from Barnton).

(2) Northwich, Witton, Castle, Leftwich; Over, Wharton.

BARNTON

POPULATION OF THE CANAL BASIN AREA AND OF THE CANAL SETTLEMENT FROM RAYS BROW TO SMITHY FOLD (INCLUDING THE CANAL BASIN) 1775-1845

| | population | | rate of population growth | | density of population per 100 acres | | percentage of total population living in | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | canal basin | canal settlement | canal basin | canal settlement | canal basin | canal settlement | canal basin | canal settlement | |
| 1775 | 6 | 81 | | | 109 | 270 | 2% | 29% | 1775 |
| | | | 17% | 25% | | | | | |
| 1781 | 7 | 101 | | | 127 | 337 | 2% | 34% | 1781 |
| | | | 43% | 21% | | | | | |
| 1791 | 10 | 122 | | | 182 | 407 | 3% | 36% | 1791 |
| | | | 80% | 25% | | | | | |
| 1801 | 18 | 153 | | | 327 | 510 | 5% | 38% | 1801 |
| | | | 100% | 24% | | | | | |
| 1811 | 36 | 189 | | | 655 | 630 | 8% | 39% | 1811 |
| | | | 125% | 63% | | | | | |
| 1821 | 81 | 301 | | | 1473 | 1003 | 13% | 49% | 1821 |
| | | | 8% | 12% | | | | | |
| 1831 | 88 | 338 | | | 1600 | 1127 | 12% | 46% | 1831 |
| | | | 93% | 27% | | | | | |
| 1841 | 170 | 428 | | | 3091 | 1427 | 20% | 50% | 1841 |
| | | | 13% | 27% | | | | | |
| 1845 | 192 | 542 | | | 3491 | 1807 | 20% | 57% | 1845 |

undistinguished from its neighbours, and very small in comparison with most places in England, Barnton provided an instance of population growth after 1775 almost exceptional in Cheshire. It could no longer be described as one of Cheshire's agricultural townships. It never had the opportunity to become a new town like Birkenhead on account of its situation, its proximity to an expanding market town, its land ownership problems, and its lack of a varied and wealthy economy.

In the period 1775-1821 the population increased at a faster rate each decade, reaching a peak of twenty seven per cent in 1811-21.(1) This rate of growth was both unprecedented and dangerous, outstripping housing and industrial development and overburdening the political system, notably the administration of poor relief. However about 1820 the pace slackened until after 1841, when the township became, for many reasons, more able to cope with such growth. Indeed the 1841-51 growth rate remained almost the highest in Cheshire, but was unaccompanied by great distress and unemployment. Over the years 1801-41 Barnton's increase had been 114 per cent, almost as high as the increase of Witton and

---

(1) The average rate in 1664-1775 had been twelve per cent per decade. Both the small canal basin area and the larger canal settlement reached their peak increases during this decade.

Leftwich and the seventh highest in Mid-Cheshire.(1) Over the same years the population of the canal basin increased 944 per cent.

This increase of population came partly from a reduction in the death rate especially in the early years of development from 1775 to 1820.(2) But there was little permanent improvement before 1845 to the low rate in 1801 of nineteen deaths per thousand population. Barnton remained however a healthier place than many English townships, and its death rate became generally half that of the overcrowded cities, partly because Barnton people were as prosperous as town-dwellers, while their working conditions were less unhealthy, their homes better-constructed, and their food and environment fresher and cleaner. Barnton's average death rate conceals years of terrible mortality when the weather or economic conditions or disease wiped out large numbers of people. Thus in 1778, 1802, and as

---

(1) Trans.Hist.Soc. volumes IX - XII J.T.Danson and T.A.Welton 'On the Population of Lancashire and Cheshire ... 1801-51.' Between 1801 and 1841 Witton increased by 118 per cent and Leftwich by 123 per cent. Barnton's rate of population growth between 1841 and 1851 reached thirty three per cent.

(2) The figures for death rates are from parish registers of Budworth, Witton, and Little Leigh and from Barnton death certificates 1837-52. A comparison of the two sources suggest the chosen registers lack one in ten of Barnton deaths, partly when people were buried elsewhere and partly when infants were unrecorded. The figure of deaths used for any one year, say 1821, in the table is an average of a ten year period beginning four years before the specified date, January 1817 in the example chosen. See also Trans.Hist.Soc. vol.XII, p.73, Table XXX, Danson and Welton, op.cit.

late as 1852 the death rate equalled that of any industrial city.(1)

Diseases like tubercolosis, typhus fever, typhoid fever, smallpox, and scarlet fever killed old and young alike.(2) The smallest number of people died of "natural decay". It cannot therefore be surprising that the average age of Barnton people buried at Budworth in 1813-17 was only twenty seven years. The average age of death in Barnton in 1837-42 was just over twenty years. Three of every five deaths were of children aged fourteen or under between 1837 and 1852, and ninety four per cent of these children had not reached their fifth birthday.

To a large extent a child's hopes of survival beyond the critical age of five years depended on the parents' social and economic standing in the township. The poorer people could not afford any medical attention, though doctors could have done little whilst homes remained so overcrowded and food so meagre that disease spread rapidly. Many families moreover preferred to rely on herbal remedies, and time and again old and young people lay dying with "no medical attendant" present. Thus at the beginning of 1846 no doctor was called in during the illnesses of Sarah

---

(1) In 1778 55 per thousand died; 1802 42 per thousand; 1852 48 per thousand. See also PRW burials 1802 which shows that smallpox killed many people that year. In the terrible war year 1813 poverty killed many children as the Overseer's accounts testify. James Bell the younger had "Burial Fees & Expenses for 2 Children". Fanny Wilkinson received £2 "towards Burying 2 Children". Sarah Knowles had ten shillings "towards Burying her Child". TBO 1813-14.

(2) For causes of death see N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1837-52 and PRW 1775-1844. Few Barnton people comparatively were buried at Witton before 1812 but the registers indicate what disease people in the district had in any particular year. It is entirely unsafe to use the stated cause of death for statistical purposes because the identification of disease remained haphazard.

wife of George Hindley, shoemaker, of Thomas infant son of William Lightfoot, labourer, and of Enoch son of William Fogg, navigation labourer and Primitive Methodist local preacher. The three invalids died.(1) In this way the poor continued to lose half their children. James and Hannah Bell, labourers for the canal company in the late eighteenth century, had a tiny overcrowded cottage near Bestway in which they struggled to feed and clothe nine children who had been born between 1769 and 1790. Five children died before their fifth birthday. Three of them died in the terrible year, 1778. No tenant farmer lost a child during that year however. Nathaniel Morrey the elder of the Big Hey farm lost only three of his fourteen children partly because their home, food, and clothes remained clean and adequate. John Eaton (1804-60), grandson of Thomas Eaton of the Big Hey farm, brought up his children in the large Hill Top farmhouse. Of the ten children born between 1829 and 1851 only one died. Job Eaton was also a grandson of Thomas Eaton of the Big Hey. His father became an agricultural labourer and Job himself worked as a boatman and flatman. He lived in the canal settlement. Like his cousin John, Job had a big family. But, of his thirteen children born between 1830 and 1851 in meaner surroundings than the Hill Top farmhouse, seven died before they reached their fifth birthday.

Barnton's birth rate increased rapidly after 1775,

---

(1) N. Sup. Reg. Death certificates 1846.

reaching a peak in the worst years of the Napoleonic war between 1807 and 1816.[1] Far higher than in most of the surrounding agricultural townships, the rate contributed greatly to the distress of the times and the staggering rise in poor relief expenses. The increase in the birth rate was caused partly by marriage at early ages and partly by an increase in the size of families. Whereas six children had been a high number about 1775, by 1811 six became usual and twelve or more not uncommon. Moreover the township attracted young married couples who found work and homes and naturally had a family as soon as possible. Those people who had survived the dangers of childhood could expect a long childbearing life, and few women of any social or economic group refused their husbands a full family. In a way sexual intercourse provided for the body what a Methodist service gave to the mind, a wonderfully cheap and pleasurable means of temporarily forgetting the real world of drudgery, poverty, and untimely death.

From 1775 to about 1814 a falling death rate became linked with a

---

(1) Birth rates may be obtained from the registers of Witton, Little Leigh, and Great Budworth and from N.Sup.Reg. Birth certificates 1837-52. A comparison of these sources suggest that the registers lack eight per cent of births. Some children were taken elsewhere for christening. The poorest parents would not pay the moderate fees for christening and churching services. Children died before they were christened. The figures have been increased therefore to allow for the missing entries. See also Population Studies volume X (1956-57), p.253, D.Eversley 'A Survey of Population in an area of Worcestershire.' Trans.Hist.Soc. volume XII, p.57, and Table XXX on page 73, Danson and Welton, op.cit.

rising birth rate to cause a population increase. After 1814 while the birth rate fell the number of deaths rose so that immigration became most important in contributing to the population growth.

Barnton's population had always been mobile. Few families remained in the township for centuries on end. Hence the community had to be continually renewed by immigration. Almost all the residents in 1775 had arrived in waves of immigration between 1570 and 1600, 1690 and 1705, 1740 and 1750, and 1761 and 1770.(1) This last decade 1761-70 began the steady rise in immigration which did not cease throughout the next century, though numbers of arrivals were comparatively small until 1775. Twenty two new families arrived in the six years following the canal building.(2) Though the number of immigrants between 1775 and 1845 remained fairly evenly spread through the decades, the years 1811-20 and 1831-40 saw the largest number of new arrivals and also the greatest distress among the labouring population. Three-fifths of the 288 immigrant families came to Barnton between 1811 and 1845 and included farmers like the Morreys (1827) but mainly watermen and industrial workers like the families of Minshull (1814),

(1) Holland (1580), French (1680), Harrison (1690), Jackson and Buckley (1700), Appleton (1740), Poole (1744), Boardman (1745), Bowyer (1750). In the following account one surname denotes one family, unless the name died out and then was renewed by the return of, perhaps, sons of the same name. About 150 families settled between 1551 and 1774.

(2) Bell and Cross (1778), Davis (1780). Many were labouring families casually employed on navigations, like the Bells, and tended not to remain too long, like the Pimlotts and Roscows. These years also saw the dying out or emigration of many families, notably the Amerys.

Shaw (1814), Mills (1812), Hayes (1817), Hatton (1832), and Stockton (1832). Whereas in the two centuries before 1775 Barnton had received every three years two new families, between 1775 and 1845 twelve families had to be accommodated in the same length of time. Naturally families also died out or left the township to find jobs in near-by places or in the cities, the armed forces, or the world overseas.(1)

Of the 1,090 people named in the 1851 Barnton census return only 620 (fifty seven per cent) had been born in Barnton, while 378 (thirty five per cent) had come from other places in Cheshire and 85 (eight per cent) from other parts of England. Seven came from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Since many immigrants had settled in Barnton before having children, a more significant figure is obtained by considering only adults over twenty one years old. Of these only one-third were natives of Barnton.(2) Most people had come from the industrial area of Northwich, the rural districts around Budworth, and the north banks of the Mersey round Hale and Speke where saltworks existed and men found employment as watermen.(3) Many families like the Houghtons moved several times before

---

(1) Mary Burgess was one of those who went to Manchester and later returned disillusioned. TBO 1817-18. Isaac Moores (Death Certificate 1845) had served in the army before returning to the village about 1842.

(2) 160 out of 480. Only 29 per cent of heads of families were born in Barnton.

(3) The Molyneux and Mills were from Northwich; the Leicesters, Eatons, and Leighs from the north-west of Bucklow hundred; the Houghtons, Ridings, and Stocktons from the Hale and Speke district.

settling in the township. John Lamb, born in Northwich in 1800, was a flatman who moved first to Winsford after his marriage to a girl of that area, then to Cuerdley near Widnes, then to Penketh by Warrington, before coming to Oakwood lane in 1847.(1)

Barnton, containing only seven hundred and fifty acres, became very densely populated. By 1801 only Northwich, Wharton, and Davenham of the sixty three surroundings townships had more people for every hundred acres than Barnton.(2) From the decade 1811-21 only Northwich and its suburbs could rival Barnton, and in 1841 Barnton had one hundred and thirteen persons to each hundred acres, while Little Leigh still had its 1801 figure of twenty four and Great Budworth only seventy five. By 1851 Barnton had three times the national average density and had become the most densely-populated non-market township in Mid-Cheshire. Indeed the small area of Barnton surrounding the canal basin became by 1821 as densely populated as great cities like Liverpool, and the wider canal settlement, despite its embracing much woodland and moor, had by 1845 over eighteen persons to the acre.

---

(1) PRO Census 1851; movement traced in parish registers when Lamb christens children e.g. Great Sankey 6 Oct.1833. He is son of Thomas Lamb of Hartford, flatman, PRW christenings 1800.

(2) Population Maps for Region around Estuaries of Mersey and Dee,1801-1921, Liverpool for Liverpool and District Regional Survey Association n.d. Northwich and suburbs together had 305 people per 100 acres, Barnton 53, and Little Leigh only 24.

People needed houses

Builders
Occupiers
Plans
Description outside and
inside

People needed houses

Economic growth brought people to Barnton and people needed homes. The number of buildings in the whole township almost quadrupled, and the dwellings within the canal settlement in 1845 had nearly all been either rebuilt or newly-erected during the preceding seventy years. Naturally building figures followed closely the general population trend and therefore became highest between 1811 and 1821 and from 1831 onwards. The houses round the canal basin doubled in number in the decade which saw Napoleon's defeat.

The entire township experienced a steady growth in the rate of building between 1775 and 1821. The recovery from 1831 received virtually no interruption until 1914. The canal settlement saw three decades, 1791-1801, 1811-21, and 1831-41, in which the number of its dwellings increased by one-third. Only the middle decade embraced an extraordinary population increase, but, in all three, key men in deciding to spend money on development provided the necessary impetus for expansion. Finally the canal basin's houses appeared, mainly, in the decades 1811-21 and 1831-41. The tradition against building in that area undoubtedly led men to choose other places in all but the most

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE TOWNSHIP OF BARNTON

HOUSE BUILDING IN BARNTON

| | Total number of houses in existence in the (1) canal basin | (2) canal settlement | (3) entire township | Number built in each period within Barnton | Rate of building per annum | Number of people to each inhabited house in Barnton | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1664 | 0 | 9 | 24 | | | 4.8 | 1664 |
| | | | | 28 | 0.3 | | |
| 1775 | 2 | 20 | 52 | | | 5.4 | 1775 |
| | | | | 6 | 1.0 | | |
| 1781 | 2 | 24 | 58 | | | 5.2 | 1781 |
| | | | | 10 | 1.0 | | |
| 1791 | 3 | 30 | 68 | | | 5.1 | 1791 |
| | | | | 11 | 1.1 | | |
| 1801 | 6 | 40 | 79 | | | 5.1 | 1801 |
| | | | | 18 | 1.8 | | |
| 1811 | 9 | 45 | 98 | | | 4.9 | 1811 |
| | | | | 26 | 2.6 | | |
| 1821 | 17 | 61 | 124 | | | 5.0 | 1821 |
| | | | | 9 | 0.9 | | |
| 1831 | 17 | 64 | 133 | | | 5.6 | 1831 |
| | | | | 33 | 3.3 | | |
| 1841 | 32 | 88 | 166 | | | 5.4 | 1841 |
| | | | | 20 | 5.0 | | |
| 1845 | 37 | 109 | 186 | | | 5.2 | 1845 |
| | | | | 46 | 7.7 | | |
| 1851 | 39 | 112 | 232 | | | 5.2 | 1851 |

prosperous or most vital decades.(1)

The building trade had therefore plenty of work. Carpenters, joiners, plumbers, painters, decorators, plasterers, slaters, thatchers, glaziers, and bricklayers found employment in Barnton. John (1786-1850) son of Thomas and Sarah Hayes of Little Leigh thus moved to the township to seek his fortune. A trained bricklayer, he lived with Mary (1790-1834) his wife in Leighs Brow from 1830. His son, Thomas (1823-85), followed him in the trade and established his position in Barnton through his marriage to Ann daughter of Samuel Cawley of Barnton, salt boiler. Ann, as great-great-granddaughter of Abraham Ball (1712-95), naturally gave her husband social status and took him to the Balls' Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel.(2) Most of the tradesmen and labourers employed in building could find only part-time work because until 1830 no more than two houses on average went up in any one year.(3) Even rows of cottages like Whitleys at Bells Brow or Pointons at Leighs Brow consisted of several distinct blocks. The handful of workers who had successfully finished the first two or three dwellings could then be moved to the second stage in the next year. But building workers numbered only a handful among hundreds of

---

(1) PARL 1839 Brick duties. The number of bricks which paid duty at Northwich recovered steadily from 1829 onwards to reach a peak in 1836.

(2) PRO Census 1841. Thomas Hayes later moved to the Old Boat Road.

(3) PARL 1831 Census. Over the whole country only agriculture gave employment to more men than found work in the building trades.

people who found their way to Barnton after 1775.(1) An examination of these new people naturally leads to a discussion of the men and women who built the houses. Having saved money how did they obtain their building land? Did their social and economic position entitle them to the advantageous membership of the Town Meeting?(2)

The canal building in 1775 led directly to the release into private hands of much of the township's common land. People used small enclosures of the poorest portions as sites for new homes and, in this, followed the example of earlier Barnton people who had built hovels on the moor at Bestway. Because the heaviest, dampest, and most infertile soil lay around the canal basin below Smithy Brow building operations tended more and more to take place in this area of Barnton. But the possibilities of the site did not immediately capture men's imagination. Families had never lived in the valley, and even the surrounding hill tops had not proved popular.

(1) Once in the township people did not stay still. Moving house provided an escape from the depressing burden of living too long in one small miserable building. Alternatively men moved to better houses as they becameprosperousor when their social standing demanded an improvement in living conditions. Ashton Lightfoot (1820-88) had at least five different homes during his lifetime.

(2) The information about families appears in PRW, PRGB, PRLL, and PRB, the various registers and records of parish churches. Also important are PRO Census 1841 and 1851, CRO QDL (Barnton) 1780-1831, CRO Tithe 1843-46, JRL DDCL Land Tax assessments (Barnton) 1738-77. In the land taxes can be traced owners and occupiers. TB, Barnton Town Book is an invaluable source for family histories.

CANAL COMPANY HOUSE

1790

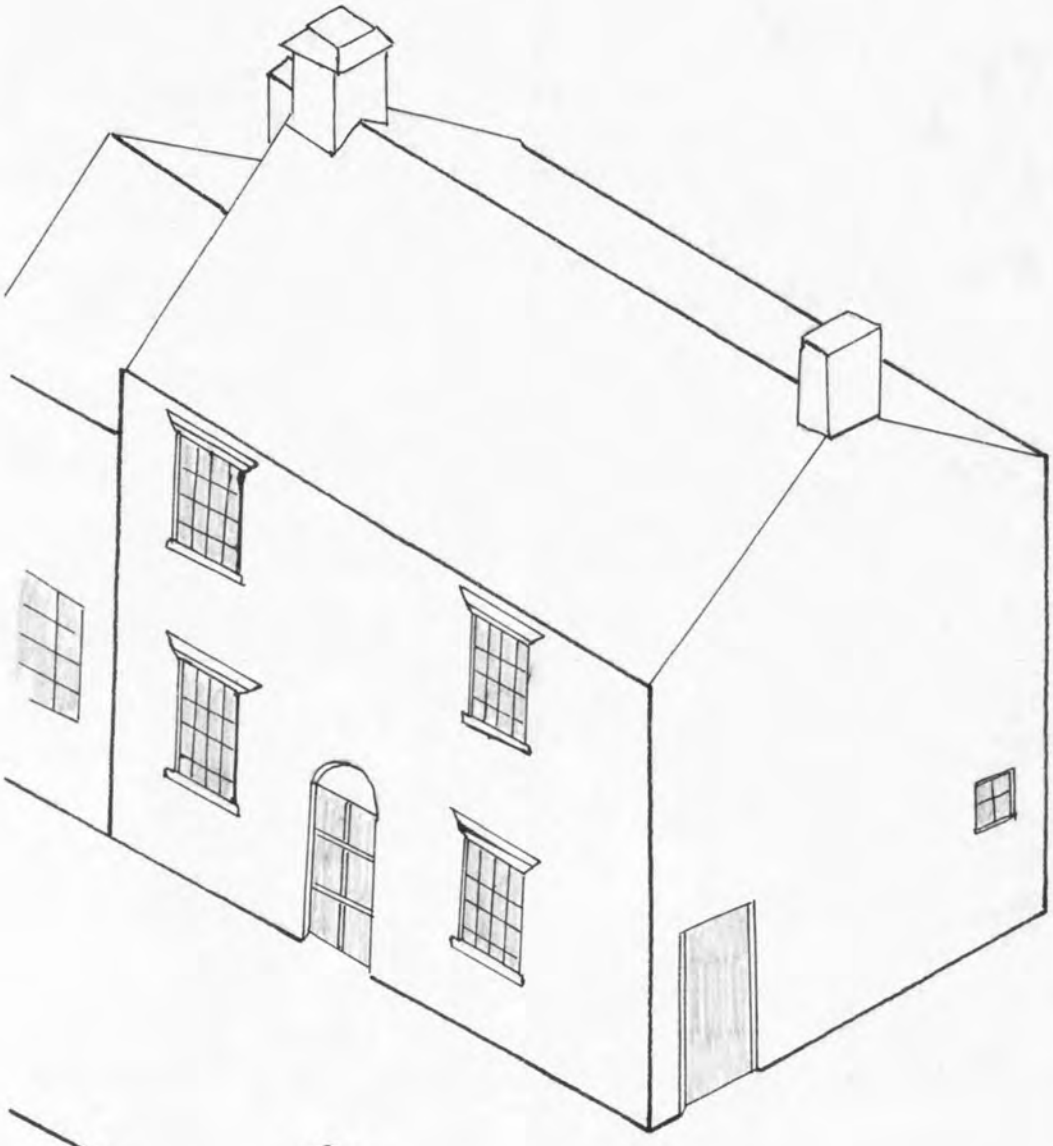
The Barnton Canal Settlement as late as 1845 had by no means become fully developed. The canal company as might be expected led the way by erecting, soon after 1775, wooden workshops for the use of their permanent labourer at Canal Side. In 1790 the company added a brick house, and this lay where the main road crossed the canal.(1) At the same time William Plumbley (1752-1802) of Lowndes farm, a prosperous member of the Town Meeting, purchased land in the Old Boat Road so that he might erect a smithy and stables. Plumbley also took from the township the right to develop the whole area along the western side of the canal basin, and about 1795 he began by putting up a brick dwelling house.(2) A boatman, John Beech (1759-1840), naturally became tenant. Since coming to Barnton soon after his marriage in 1789 to find work in agriculture, Beech had successfully improved his position by changing to transportation. Hence with some help from the township he brought up a large family and eventually purchased and rebuilt his home.(3) John Beech's eldest son, John (1789-1837), boatman and labourer, married Margaret Combs of Rays Brow and the second son, Thomas (1794-1875), also a boatman, married Sarah

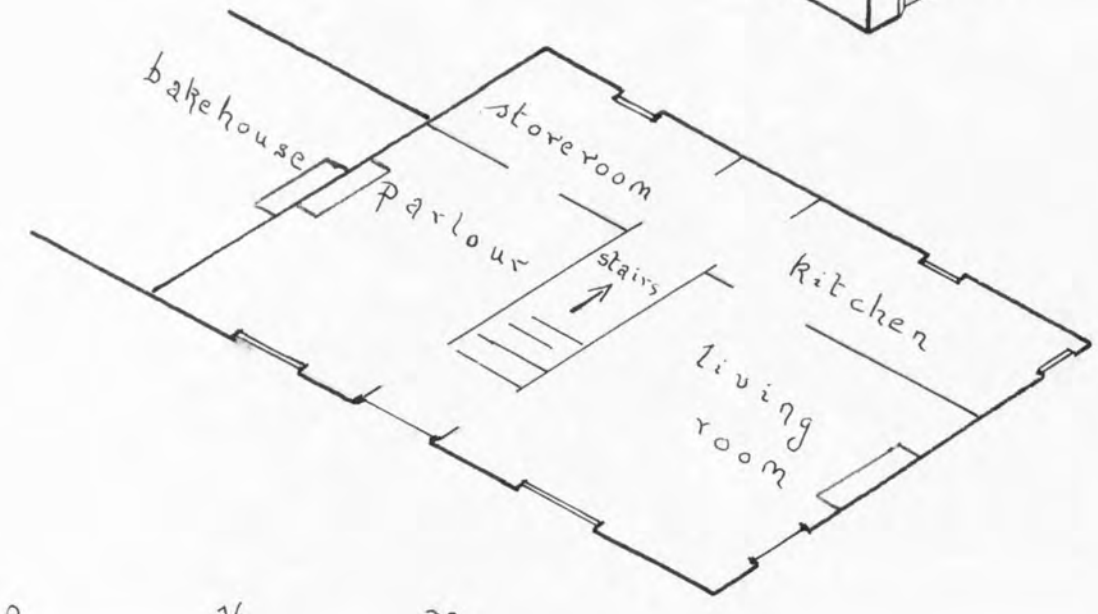
(1) BTC TM 1778 and 1816 Surveys. Tithe 174.

(2) BTC TM 1816 Survey shows buildings in the Old Boat Road. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1790-95. The 1795 house lies at Tithe 202.

(3) CRO Will of John Beech of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 21 May 1841. Beech mentioned the house he owned, together with the "stable and Bakehouse which I have of late erected". This property went to his daughter, Alice and her husband James Woodward (1787-1847), boatman. The son, Thomas, who had already had a gift in kind received "one shilling and no more if it be demanded".

# CANAL SIDE 1836





# BEECH OF CANAL SIDE

BEECH OF CANAL SIDE

John Beech of Canal Side, labourer, I759-I840
=
Elizabeth Morrice I768-I833

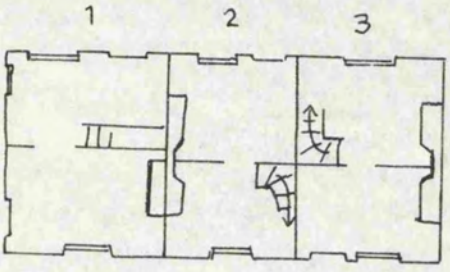
- Alice
  =
  James Woodward of Canal Side, boatman, I787-I847
  - James I826
- John of Canal Side, boatman, I789-I837
  =
  Margaret daughter of Samuel (I767-I816) and Martha Combs of Rays Brow
  - Thomas I826
  - Hannah I828
  - Samuel I833
- Thomas of Bestway and Canal Side, boatman, I794-I875
  =
  Sarah daughter of John (I763-I830) and Mary Ray of Rays Brow I794-I862
  - John of Bells Brow, boatman, I819-7I
    =
    I) Mary I819-49
    2) Hannah daughter of James Platt of Bells Brow
  - Thomas, waterman, I828-87
  - Elizabeth I832-I900
    =
    Zachariah Musgrove of Northwich and Barnton, carpenter, I832-88
- Betty I798-I857
  =
  I) Haddock
  2) Butler
  - Thomas Haddock of Bestway, labourer, I82I-85
    - William I843
    - George I845
- Anne I807
  =
  William Lightfoot of Runcorn and Bells Brow, navigation labourer, I803-54

Ray of Rays Brow. Hence both established their position in Barnton through their connection with old, if poor, families. In 1836 Thomas Beech erected a house on a part of his father's garden, and eventually Thomas' daughter did the same in front of Thomas' house.(1) When in his eighty second year John Beech the elder died the fortunes of both his family and the settlement in which they all lived seemed assured.

Thomas Cross of the Manor, aprosperous farmer, a township officer, and a keen Methodist, did not want to be left out of any exciting and profitable development, and with his lead the settlement began its long period of confident expansion. Cross however did not build on common land at first but in one corner of the Big field which he had purchased in 1809 from Thomas Chantler of Northwich, attorney. High above the tunnel mouth, with a view across the whole canal basin, this speculator erected, back to back, three two-storied brick dwellings in 1810.(2) Soon afterwards, Cross extended his property by taking in all the common land on the hillside and in the valley as far as Old Boat Road. Then in 1814 he

(1) TD GLEAVE Release and apportionment, 20 May 1852, quotes conveyance from John to Thomas Beech in 1836 for the erection of a house. The 1852 conveyance from Thomas Beech to his daughter Elizabeth wife of Zachariah Musgrove of Northwich, carpenter, enabled the Musgroves to build themselves a small dwelling on a site of no more than forty eight square yards. TD GLEAVE Mortgage for £70 to enable a house to be completed, 29 December 1852. Later building and conversion further crowded this side of the canal basin.

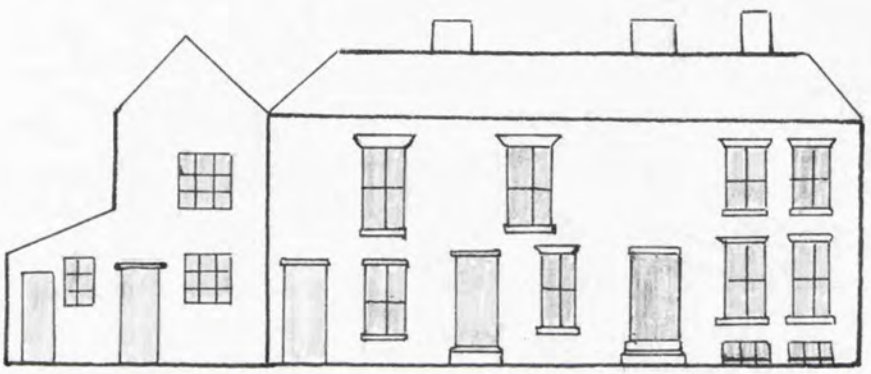
(2) TD CROSS Conveyance of Big field 30 September 1846, quoting lease and release of the same field, 5/6 January 1809. Tithe 187, 198-99.

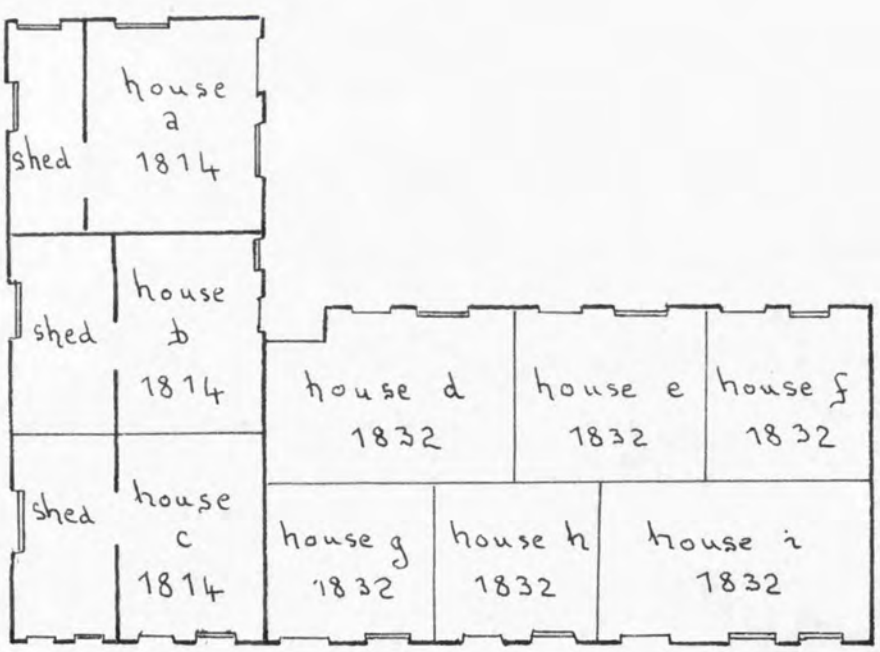



TUNNEL TOP

1810

TUNNEL MOUTH





erected three houses with spacious outbuildings on the roadside at Tunnel Mouth. In 1832 Cross built six back-to-back dwellings in the broad track of Boat Road itself. Since Plumbley had also put his smithy in the roadway no one stopped this later developer. An additional four cottages, each with one living and one sleeping room, completed the estate in 1842.(1) In spite of all his vision, greed, and cunning, Cross got irretrievably in debt and had to mortgage his property in 1843 shortly before his death.(2) The tenants proved to be typical of the new families with industrial jobs who came to Barnton after 1775. William Clarke (1789-1850), a flatman and boatman, arrived from Comberbach in 1810 to marry the girl by whom he already had one child. All the children of this match took jobs on the waterways or at salt works. Samuel (1781-1853) son of Thomas Eaton of the Big Hey farm became a casual labourer at the salt works and a hauler of boats on the canal and river.(3) His nephew, Job son of Peter and Jane

(1) The 1814 and 1832 dwellings, Tithe 180, were very poorly built. They were used by 1840 as eight houses. The 1842 cottages lay at Tithe 181-84. BTC TM 1816 Survey. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1812-31. TD NEILD Abstract of title to three cottages in Tunnel Road, 1928, quoting Cross family conveyances, show how these dwellings were built in the yard between the 1832 and 1842 rows in 1881.

(2) TD CROSS Conveyance, 30 September 1846, quoting mortgage, 25 March 1843. TD PALIN Abstract of title to Tunnel Top houses, 1881. TD HARDMAN Bargain and sale of Tunnel Road estate, 4 January 1881, quoting settlements by the Cross family.

(3) Samuel married Mary (1780-1856) daughter of Robert and Mary Bell of Bells Brow. He worked for a short period at the time of his marriage as a Northwich publican. He had eleven children. PRW christenings 1803.

Eaton, born in 1808, moved to Tunnel Mouth in 1843. He earned a living by hauling boats.(1) Peter Allen (1808-73), a Barnton man, worked as a salt works labourer. Thomas (1815-69) son of John and Ann Houghton arrived from Witton with his parents in 1818 and served with his father as a Weaver flatman. Thomas' wife died of brain disease following the birth of Faithful, their seventh child.(2)

The development of the eastern side of the canal basin proceeded apace. John Darlington of Marbury, yeoman, who married Hannah daughter of Abraham Ball the elder, owned a small estate on the hill top at Smithy Brow. After 1775 he took in common land that lay in the valley towards the canal and soon afterwards opened a coal yard.(3) His son, William Darlington of Comberbach, dealer and chapman, probably extended the business to embrace other articles like timber and bricks which could be landed from canal boats. After 1830 the enclosure also contained stables, hay-sheds, washhouses, and a brewhouse. Ambrose Cotterill took over the business about 1845. Born in Middlewich in 1818, Cotterill came to Barnton with his wife, Sarah (1816-69), and set up as a shoemaker in one of Cross' Tunnel Mouth houses. By 1851 two men carried out the shoe repairs while Cotterill supervised the coal business. Eventually, having purchased the land, this shoemaker and coal dealer began to erect the

---

(1) Job had by Sophia his wife about thirteen children.

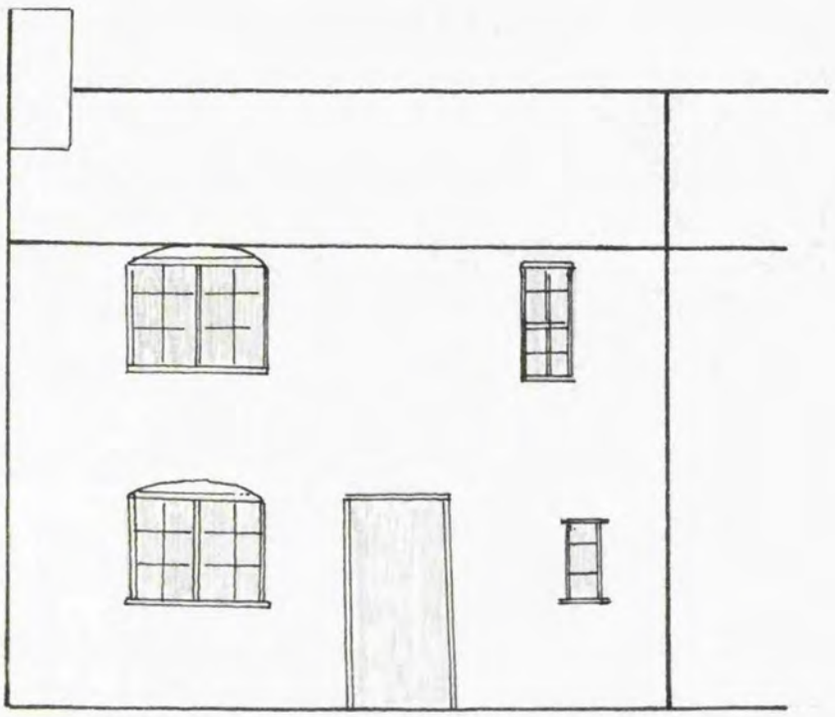
(2) N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1851.

(3) Tithe 179. Additional common was taken by Cotterill in 1859. Tithe 178. TD HALL Bargain and sale, 15 April 1859.

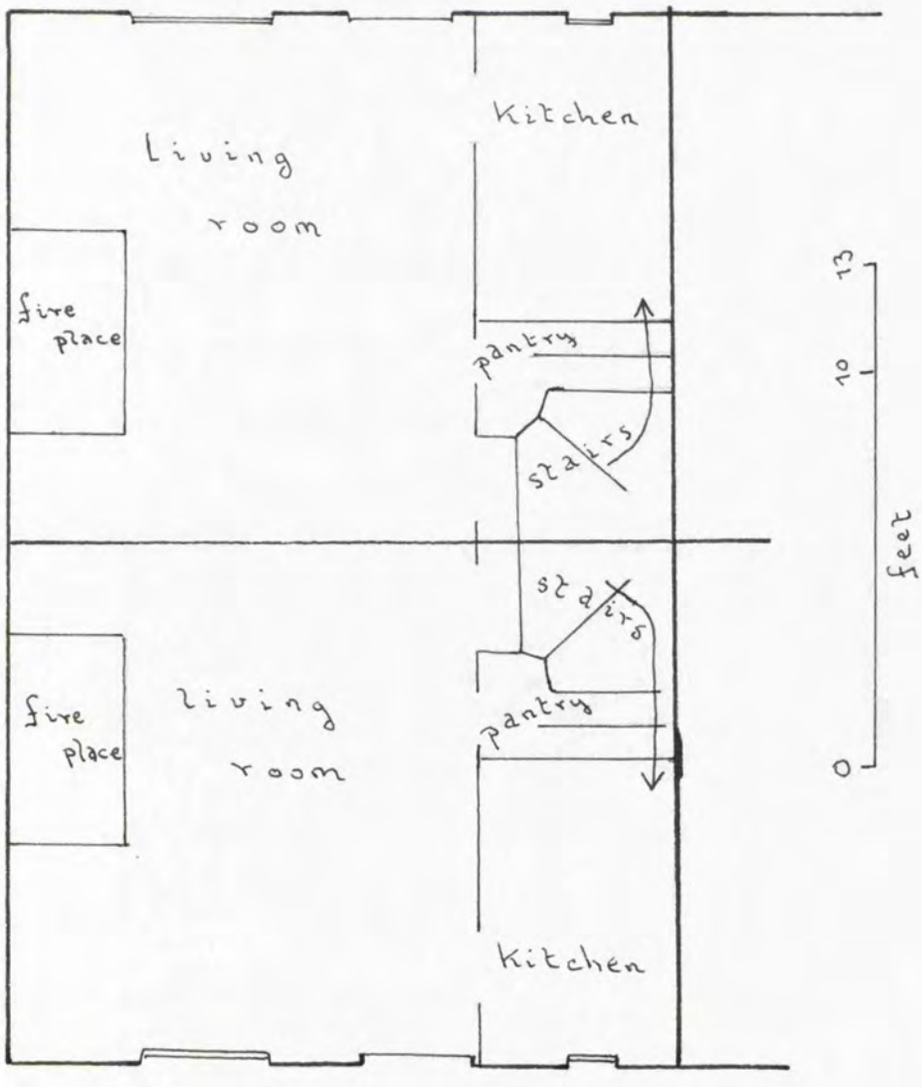
extensive Navigation Inn and the six houses adjoining.(1) Meanwhile in 1820 the Turnpike Trustees had built a cottage for their toll collector. The place stood conveniently near the road gate at Woodworth Bridge.(2) In the same area at Bells Brow just above Darlington's coal yard John Whitley, owner of the Big Hey farm, ordered the building of a row of cottages. Whitley's friend and tenant, Thomas Eaton of the Big Hey, Constable, Overseer, and life-long member of Barnton's government, had obtained the consent of the Town Meeting for the wholesale destruction of Bells Brow common. Hence Whitley and Eaton could put up ten cottages on the common between 1811 and 1813. The estate consisted of five attached

(1) BTC TM 1778 and 1816 Surveys. CRO Will of John Darlington of Marbury, gentleman, prob. 8 April 1784. TD HALL Conveyance with plan of property at the canal side, 5 June 1856, describes the various erections in the neighbourhood before Cotterill built the inn. CRO Tithe 1843-46. PRO Census 1841, 1851. Cotterill purchased the property from Isaac Phillips in 1857 and began building in 1859. TD HALL Bargain and sale, 20 June 1857, mortgage, 22 June 1857, bargain and sale 15 April 1859, mortgages, 16 April 1859 - 22 January 1870. The inn passed to a brewery in 1871, TD HALL Bargain and sale, 18 April 1871.

(2) Tithe 178a. TD FRITH Transfer of mortgage on six houses on the site of the Toll House, 7 May 1855, quoting conveyance, 1 November 1852. Richard Perry purchased the old house in 1852 so that he could replace it with a new row. Perry, a flatman, came to live at Mount Pleasant in 1846. About 1822 a small cottage had been erected in Tithe 347, close to the canal basin. It was occupied by John son of Edward and Martha Musgrove.



BELLS
BROW
1811 -
1813



cottages, each with a single living room and one bedroom above, and five similar dwellings back to back with the first row.(1) The tenants did not need to be agricultural labourers. James Holford (1779-1847) came from Northwich in 1814 to find a job at the salt works. John Street, born in Rostherne in 1788, laboured on the Weaver. William Lightfoot who lived in Runcorn until 1825 moved to Bells Brow on his marriage to Anne daughter of John Beech the elder whom he had doubtless met during one of that boatman's trips. Lightfoot became first an agricultural labourer, but soon found a job on the navigation. Samuel Goodyer (1776-1854) of Allostock arrived in Barnton about 1809 to join his brother Philip. An agricultural labourer, he had by Jane his wife at least thirteen children.(2) Goodyer at times served the Poole family. James Poole (1758-1837) of Balls farm owned Balls garden, an enclosure of the common at Bells Brow and above the canal basin. Poole's son, Ashton of the Manor farm, township officer and leading Methodist, took this property in 1832 and, two years later, invested his capital in building five excellent cottages.(3) Erected in good-quality brick and possessing slate roofs, each house had a living room, kitchen, and two bedrooms. James Shaw (1815-86), a flatman and a member of the independent Methodist society, and George Garton (1783-1858),

(1) Tithe 145-46. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1811-13.

(2) Other tenants included Thomas Fogg (1774-1843), salt boiler and agricultural labourer, and his nephew, William Fogg (1803-54). The Goodyers became in fact the township's largest family, Barnton Parish Magazine September 1891.

(3) Tithe 138. TD PRICE Deed of gift from James to Ashton Poole, 16 January 1832 (copy dated 1876).

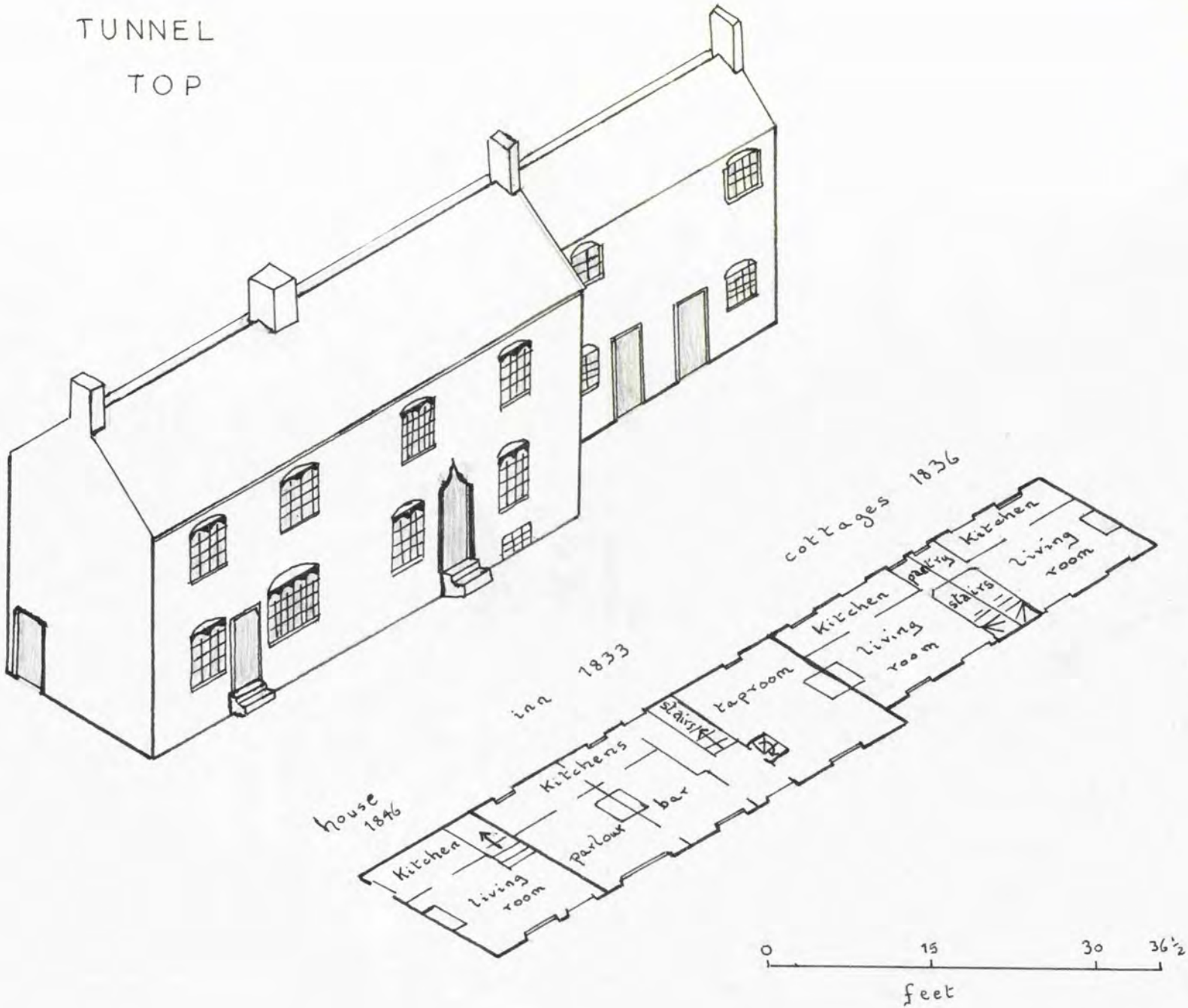
a boiler maker, lived in the row for many years.(1) About 1847 Ashton Poole built a large house and shop at the end of the row, and Isaac Phillips (1813-92), boot and shoemaker, became tenant. Born in Marton in 1813, he had arrived in Barnton in 1835 to find work first as a salt works labourer, then as cordwainer and grocer, and finally as Barnton's first postmaster. He married Martha (1813-95) daughter of Thomas Hickson (1781-1860). She had been left a widow at the age of twenty four. Later one of their daughters married John Clarke (1838-1916) of the Ropery, farmer.(2)

John Clarke's father, William (1806-86) of the Ropery, manufacturer, continued the development of the western side of the canal basin. This wealthy Methodist, chapel trustee, township officer, and coal and lime dealer purchased from the Beech family some of the former common land

---

(1) Samuel Lamb (1804-40) and his wife Ann (1805-75), a member of the Lawson family from Leighs Brow, proved less acceptable tenants. Samuel, a pauper, had been most reluctant to marry Ann who had probably seduced him in 1827. The first child had possibly been born before the parents' marriage and six more children followed. Samuel died young, leaving his family poverty-stricken. PRGB marriages and christenings 1827.

(2) The Phillips had only four children. They led the Wesleyan revival in 1854. CRO Will of Ashton Poole of Barnton, farmer, prob. 12 January 1857. TD PRICE Bargain and sale of Pooles row, 12 April 1876. The village slaughterhouse was later built in the gardens of these houses. The baker's shop at the north end of the row appeared about 1865.

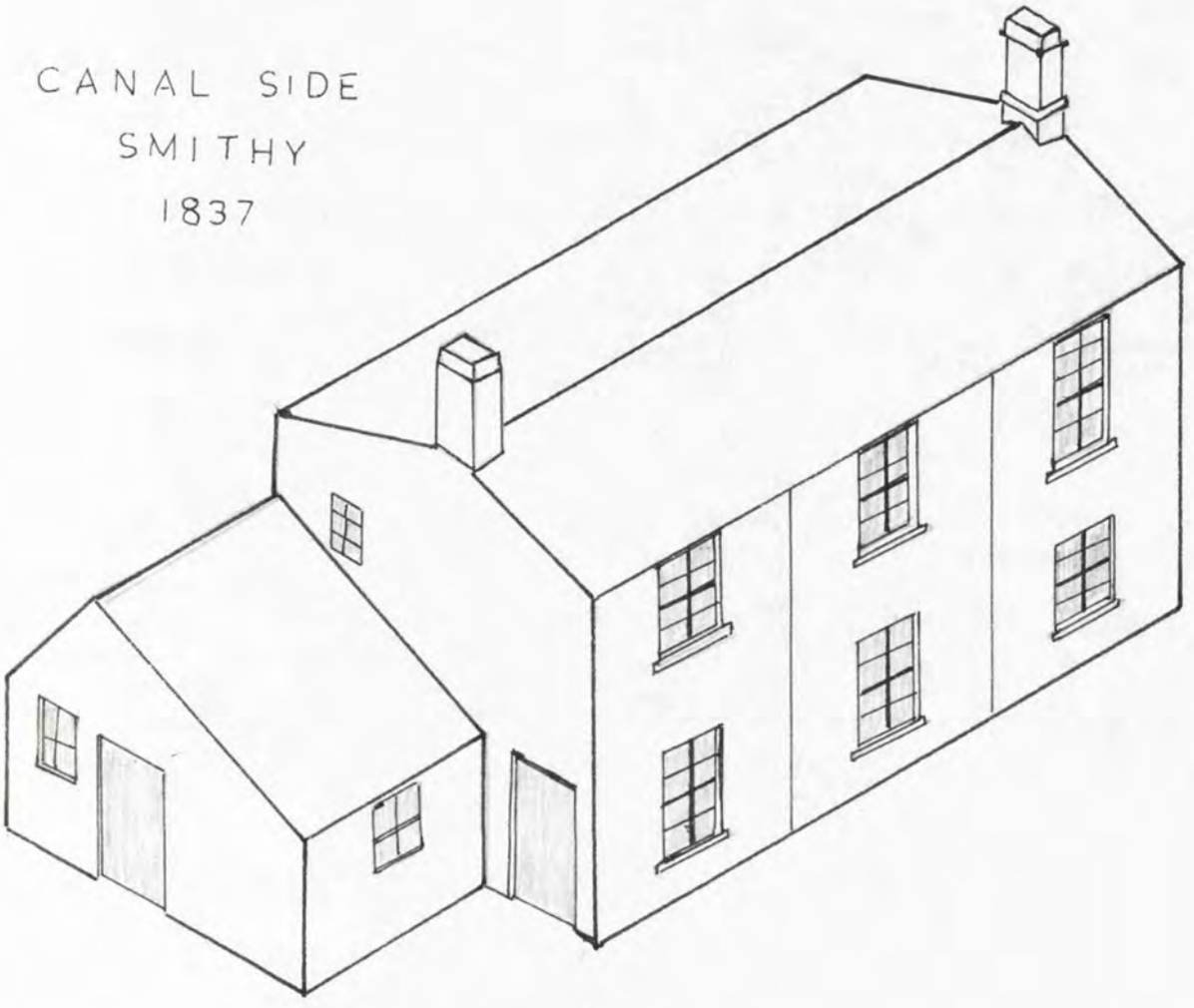

TUNNEL
TOP
cottages 1836
Kitchen
living room
pantry
stairs
Kitchen
living room
inn 1833
taproom
stairs
Kitchens
bar
Parlour
house 1846
Kitchen
living room
0
15
30
36½
feet

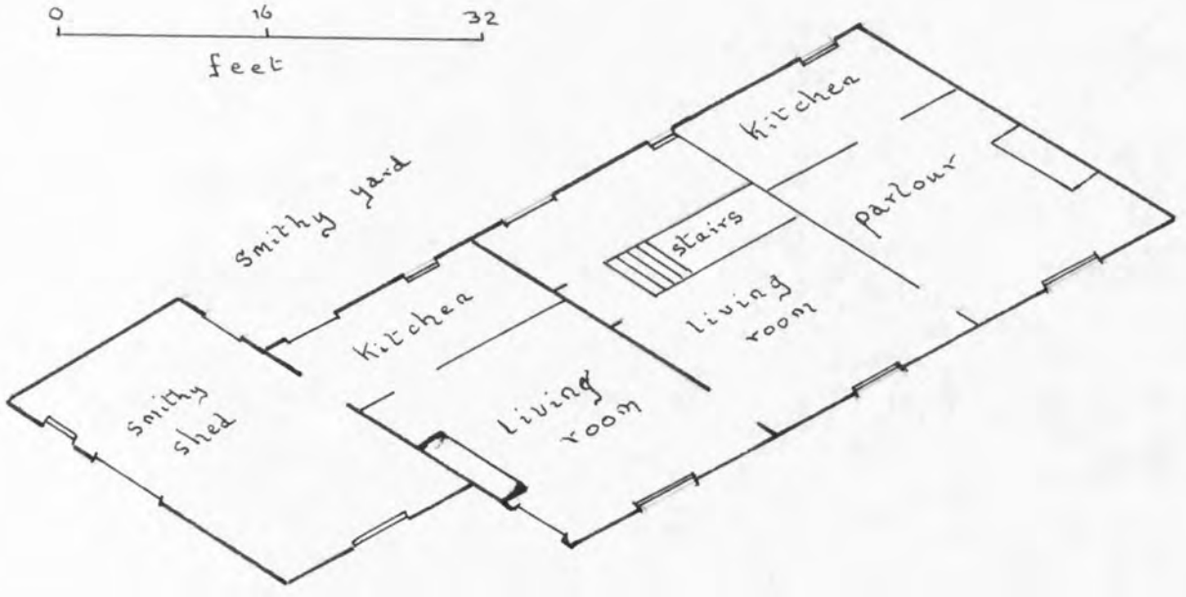
which lay on the steep hillside above the towing path.(1) Taking advantage of the relaxation of strict licensing regulations Clarke put up at Tunnel Top in 1833 an excellent beerhouse with spacious public rooms and adequate cellars. John son of John Deakin of Barnton, yeoman, returned to Barnton in 1832 and became Clarke's first tenant as innkeeper. Deakin naturally joined Clarke's Wesleyan society and rose to be a class leader.(2) About 1844 John Goodier of Barnton succeeded him. Adjoining the inn Clarke erected two cottages in 1836, a storehouse, stables, cowsheds, and coal bunkers. While building at Tunnel Top he had in addition made a business deal with the proprietors of the canal side smithy under which all equipment would be transferred to more adequate premises that Clarke himself erected near his beerhouse. In order to build on the bank of the canal itself William Clarke had to excavate a large portion of the hillside, but by 1837 there existed a brick dwelling house which had three adequate rooms both upstairs and downstairs and a typical nineteenth century long

(1) TD SNELSON Bargain and sale of canal side land, 8 August 1856, quoting deeds, 12 June 1834 and 31 January/1 February 1837. Tithe 200. Clarke probably took some of the land directly from the township authorities in 1833.

(2) PRLL christenings 1834. PRO Census 1841. Warrington Guardian 26 April 1856, notice of sale of that "well-accustomed BEER-HOUSE, ... with the Yard, Skittle Ground, and other premises". The inn, the Reapers Arms, passed in 1867 to Messrs.Greenall, Whitley. TD SAMPSON Conveyance 6 September 1924, quoting 1867 conveyance. Part of Clarke's large beerhouse became about 1844 an additional dwelling house.

CANAL SIDE
SMITHY
1837





narrow kitchen. The smithy shed stood in the yard. Business expanded so rapidly that no less than three families moved into the house, and the premises soon proved too small.(1) After 1848 the smithy moved back across the canal, and the house became a large grocer's shop kept by George (1808-98) son of John and Mary Capper of Bestway.(2) Ten years previously Clarke had erected possibly the most carefully-planned and finely built of all early nineteenth century dwellings. Well situated on the sloping ground above the smithy, the house possessed adequate living rooms, large outhouses, and wide windows.(3)

Within the canal settlement, but a little further from the canal basin, people found many other enclosures of the common. At Bestway, for instance, Pointons garden, taken but not used by the canal company in 1775,

---

(1) PRO Census 1841. CRO EL (Barnton) 1840.

(2) PRO Census 1851. Warrington Guardian 26 April 1856, notice of sale of "all that newly Erected DWELLING-HOUSE, Shop and Bakehouse with the enclosed Coal Yard".

(3) In 1841 Joseph son of Edward and Pleasant Gates, a flatman, occupied the house. Clarke mortgaged his Canal Side and Tunnel Top property in 1851 and sold out in 1856. TD SNELSON 8 August 1856 quoting mortgage, 21 October 1851. Warrington Guardian 26 April 1856, notice of sale on 8 May.

provided in 1776 the site for two cottages.(1) Rebuilt about 1826 to give four rooms and outside washhouses the places attracted tenants like Samuel Parker (1783-1854). Born in Kingsley, he had lived at Bestway since 1804 and gained a living as a casual labourer. Two sons, John, agricultural labourer, and George, salt worker, occupied the houses after their marriages, while the parents moved to the home at Tunnel Top of their daughter, Elizabeth, wife of William Hayes, farm labourer.(2) In 1844 Thomas Maddock (1789-1869) purchased the property and, soon afterwards, evicted George Parker. The son of John Maddock of Oglet near Hale in Lancashire, sailor and flatman, he came to Bells Brow in 1830 and rose from flatman to the position of master of William Jardine's flat, Wright. In 1847 Maddock built a further two houses at Bestway which proved to possess inadequate foundations and cheap brickwork. Nonetheless Maddock obtained a good rent for the three houses and employed a resident female servant.(3)

(1) Tithe 165-66. BTC TM 1778 Survey, the garden is mentioned in the schedule. Presumably John Pointon, owner of the Bestway estate, put up the original cottages. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1812-14. Chester Chronicle 6 March 1812, notice of sale of cottages on 28 March. TD SMEETON Bargain and sale of Bestway property, 26 July 1844, quotes conveyance of cottages, 26 March 1814.

(2) PRO Census 1841, 1851. CRO Admon of Samuel Parker of Barnton, labourer, prob. 19 May 1854.

(3) LRO DRL Hale transcripts, christenings 1789. CRO Will of William Jardine of Anderton, prob. 5 March 1845. TD ROBERTS Abstract of title to Bestway estate, n.d., quotes conveyance of 15 March 1844. PRO Census 1841, 1851.

Above Maddock's houses in an enclosure at Rays Brow the owner of the Hill Top estate had in 1800 put up three cottages.(1) Presumably Thomas Eaton, the tenant of Hill Top at the time, had urged his landlord, as he urged John Whitley in 1811, to make full use of these portions of the common. The houses proved to be large and attractive and suited tenants like Thomas Eaton's grandson, Job, a flat hauler, and, after 1842, Job's uncle, John Eaton (1766-1855), from the Bestway Inn. Near-by John Houghton acquired a narrow garden between Rays Brow lane and the precipitous drop to the canal. John (1786-1871) son of George and Mary Houghton of Hale in Lancashire lived in Witton from 1809 to 1818. His job as flatman based in Winnington however made Barnton a convenient place to reside, and for ten years he rented various houses for the use of his wife and twelve children. In 1829 Houghton purchased some common land and erected two large brick houses that had two storeys and cellars. In one he lived with his wife, Ann, and the younger children, while his son, George (1807-62), a flatman, occupied the other.(2) Later the second son, Samuel (1813-61), a flatman, put up a third house next door to the first block, and this possessed four large rooms and a kitchen. The Houghton family belonged to the Methodist chapel but seceded in 1832 to help found the

---

(1) Tithe 111.

(2) Tithe 149. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1829-31. PRO Census 1841. CRO PB (Barnton) 1832, 1841, Houghton followed the majority in voting for the Whigs in 1832 and the Tories in 1841. TD GOULBORNE Abstract of title to Church road property, 1933, shows the houses passed after Houghton's death to George Capper of Anderton and Barnton, salt proprietor and flat owner.

# HOUGHTON OF RAYS BROW LANE

HOUGHTON OF BARNTON

George Houghton of Hale in Lancashire, flatman, and Mary Bromfield of Hale his wife

John of Witton and Barnton, flatman, I786-I87I = Ann I785-I849

George of Rays Brow, flatman, I807-62 = Elizabeth Jackson of Barnton I807-79

- Samuel I83I
- Thomas I834
- George I835-I9I4 = Martha I839-I9I4
- Enoch I836-I909 = Elizabeth daughter of James and Lydia Shaw I837-I909

Elizabeth I8I0 = James Harrison of Barnton, flatman

- Adam I839

Samuel of Rays Brow, flatman, I8I3-6I = Mary I8I5-92

- Isaac I838
- John I850

Thomas of Tunnel Top, flatman, I8I5-69 = Hannah I8I4-5I

- James I839
- Thomas I849

independent society. This new religious group met in Houghton's house during its early months. In 1845 Samuel Houghton erected another house, divided into two dwellings, in the tiny and crowded garden.(1) In such conditions the family could not remain healthy, and in 1849 cholera took off the mother Ann (1785-1849). She had drunk infected water, and suppression of urine, muscular cramp, and diarrhoea followed. Ann became very weak during this painful process. She began to vomit and to experience intense thirst until her skin became pale and cold and her heart grew weak. Her death did not end the case, for she already had passed infection to the neighbourhood so that swift and ambitious economic development took its toll in human suffering many times over.(2)

Only at Oakwood lane outside the canal settlement did much common land remain to be exploited after 1775. There, two cottages lay on private ground at the very edge of the common or village green. One dated from the seventeenth century and the other from 1750.(3) The later house, a long single-storeyed building with stout beams and thatched roof, had been erected by Richard Amery of Barnton, yeoman. This cottage, converted into two dwellings in 1775, passed through Richard's grandson, John, to

---

(1) TD GOULBORNE Bargain and sale of Church lane property, 17 December 1892, quoting conveyance from John to Samuel Houghton, 8 March 1845.

(2) N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1849.

(3) Tithe 227, 226 (part of) respectively.

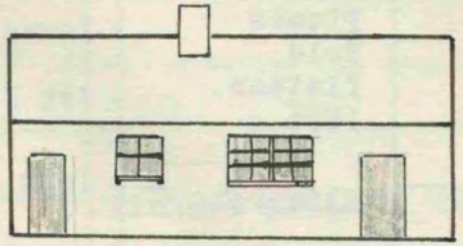
Thomas Plumb of Northwich, weaver.(1) The son of William and Margaret Plumb who had settled in Barnton as farmers about 1762, Thomas (1762-1831) became apprenticed to a Northwich weaver and made a small fortune in trade. After buying the Amery's property in 1801 Plumb erected in 1804 a messuage divided into two back-to-back dwellings.(2) This house stood on the boundary of the Barnton Green. In 1809 Plumb, not yet daring to enroach on the common, gave his old cottages a second storey and added three more dwellings in a similar style to the south. Thomas Plumb moved back to Witton about 1816 to enter the salt trade and his estate passed to his sons, John and James, flatmen. John Plumb (1787-1861), a keen Methodist and good businessman, further developed Plumbs Fold by building himself a large house on the common about 1820, and the row continued northwards in 1835 with three additional cottages.(3) Plumb helped to found the

(1) CRO Will of Richard Amerie of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 4 December 1761, mentions "all that newly erected Building (now converted into a Dwellinghouse) in Barnton aforesaid now in the holding of John Corker Labourer". This passed to Richard's grandson John. CRO Will of John Amerie of Barnton, tailor, prob. 16 August 1776. Will of Ann Amerie of Barnton, widow, prob. 7 June 1777. JRL DDCL Land tax assessments (Barnton) 1775-76. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1798-1801.

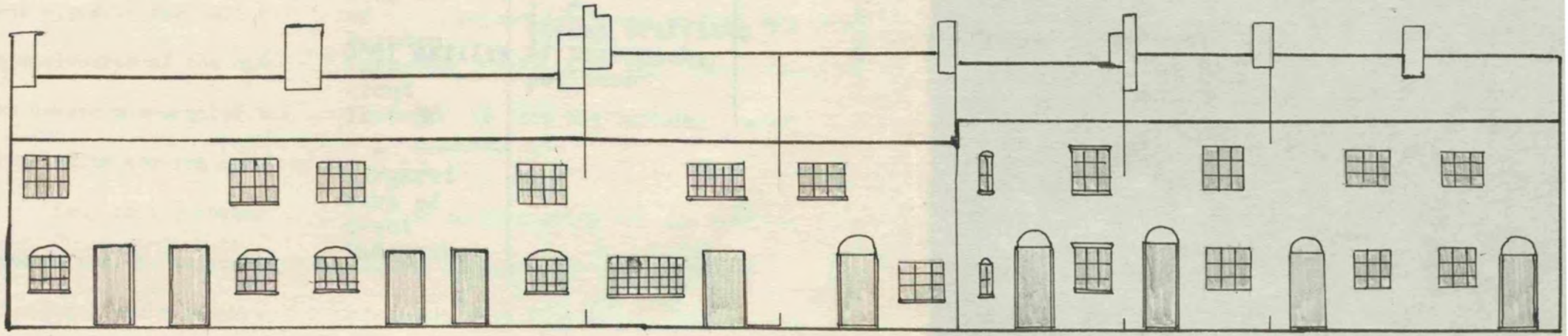
(2) Amerie's daughters mortgaged the property to Thomas Gidman of Northwich and, as Plumb married Gidman's daughter, he presumably obtained the houses at bargain price.

(3) BTC TM Survey 1816 shows the proximity of the row to the remaining common. CRO Tithe 1843 shows the encroachment. Among Plumb's tenants may be numbered Hugh Peover (1802-74), a carpenter, who came from Castle in 1828, and John (1793-1863) eldest son of Philip and Mary Fogg of Barnton, an agricultural labourer.

# PLUMBS FOLD



1750 converted 1775



← 1809 → 1804 ← 1820 → 1830 ← 1835 →

# PLUMB OF PLUMBS FOLD

PLUMB OF BARNTON

William Plumb of Antrobus, Farmer

William of Barnton, farmer, about I726-90
=
Margaret Webb of Great Budworth

Thomas of Northwich, weaver, of Witton, waller, and of Barnton, gentleman I762-I831
=
Mary daughter of Thomas Gidman of Northwich

Richard I764

Mary
=
Thomas Griffiths of Northwich, publican

John of Plumbs Fold, flatman, I787-I86I
=
Kitty Gresty I789-I867

James of Castle, flatman, I790-I864
=
Elizabeth Lyon of Whitegate I79I-I879

John of Plumbs Fold, flatman, I806
=
Elizabeth

Thomas I833

James I835

Job I838

John I84I

William I850

independent Methodist society and in 1836, so that a chapel might be erected, sold the society a portion of the extensive orchard which he had taken from the township. Some years previously John Plumb's nephew had "built a cottage on a stripe of land" that had formerly been common,(1) and his example had been followed in 1821 by the Shingler family, owners of the seventeenth century cottage in Oakwood lane, who seized part of the Green for three new brick dwellings. In 1831 William Birkenhead of Northwich, flatman, who had purchased the Shingler estate two years before, built another five houses on former common land.(2) Four years later Thomas Moreton, owner and occupier of Ropery farm, member of the Town Meeting, and leading Wesleyan, determined also to seize his opportunity and to put up three large two-storeyed houses in the trackway of Oakwood lane opposite the Hall farmhouse.(3) Nineteen dwellings in fact appeared on enclosures of the common in this area between 1820 and 1850. Possibly the owners compensated the township for its loss but certainly never troubled to acquire legal deeds of title.

Many people however did not need to seek sites for new buildings, because they fortunately possessed old houses which with moderate outlaying of capital could be converted into up-to-date dwellings. The process embraced replacing wattle and daub with brickwork, adding second storeys,

---

(1) Tithe 224. CRO Will of John Plumb of Barnton, waterman, prob. 7 August 1862. The nephew, a flatman, had been born in Witton in 1806. He became a trustee ofthe Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel.

(2) Tithe 227. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1818-31. CRO Tithe 1843-46. BTC TM Survey 1816.

(3) Tithe 225. CRO Tithe 1843-46. Here Margaret Bowyer had her shop.

# FRENCH AND GATES OF BESTWAY

FRENCH & GATES
OF BESTWAY

Matthew French (dd.I780) of Bestway, labourer, and Elizabeth his wife (dd.I777)

- Peter, flatman, I730-I815 = Mary I728-I806
  - Sydney I762 = Samuel Lamb of Barnton, flatman
  - Pleasant I767-I852 = Edward Gates of Northwich and Barnton, lock tender, I756-I83I
  - Peter I775
- James I796-I827
- Jane I804
- Joseph of Canal Side, flatman, I80I = Elizabeth daughter of John Woodworth of Woodworth Bridge, labourer
  - John I823
  - James I827
  - Alfred I830-3I
  - William I832
  - Edward I834
  - Levi I84I
- Alfred of Smithy Fold, flatman, I806-8I = Mary I807-77
  - Joseph I832-94
  - Edward I834-7I
  - Hiram I84I
  - Alfred I844-I909
- Levi I8I0

dividing seventeenth century long narrow houses into two or more single-roomed cottages, and building completely new extensions. This policy had already proved successful in several cases before 1775. The Smithy House at Leighs Brow had been turned into five places where paupers could be housed. A dwelling at Bestway on the Big Hey estate became four cottages and an inn. This latter dwelling with its barn and garden had been bought in 1765 by John Gresty the younger of Bostock, cheesefactor.(1) He immediately began to rebuild the long single-storeyed house as four dwellings. The new cottages, entirely of brick but with thatched roofs, each possessed one small living room, a tiny pantry under the stairs, and one bedroom. Gresty converted the great barn which adjoined the row into a house of very ample proportions and accepted as tenant John Pointon of Northwich, carpenter. Peter French (1730-1815), flatman, father of Pleasant French who married Edward Gates, the lock tender, lived in one of the cottages from 1766 and there raised his surviving six daughters and one son. John Pointon meanwhile, possibly knowing the intended course of the canal, purchased the whole row from Gresty in 1766, and during 1770 opened an alehouse, the Bestway Inn, in his own house.(2) The inn possessed detached outhouses, stables, a storeroom, and a gighouse and became very popular among boat people. Pointon however had to sell the estate in 1785 because he had overstretched his resources and partly

---

(1) Tithe 162a, 164a. BTC WN deed 53, quoting 1765 sale.

(2) TD GREENALL, WHITLEY Bargain and sale of inn and four cottages, 2 January 1766. CRO Alehouse recognizances (Barnton) 1770.

because he desired to purchase property at Leighs Brow.[1] John and Thomas Gilbert, the canal promoters, bought the Bestway houses as an investment. At the same time they managed to obtain not only the cottage at Bestway which for three generations had belonged to the French family but also the dwelling next door which adjoined the newly-discovered salt spring.[2]

(1) BTC TM 1778 and 1816 Surveys. CRO Tithe 1843-46. TD GREENALL, WHITLEY Mortgages 9 June 1767, 25 January 1772, 2 January 1779, Bargain and sale, 5 July 1785, and agreement, 5 August 1785, concerning all those four cottages and the inn "now or late in the several holdings of the said John Pointon Thomas Sampson James Bell Samuel Appleton George Darlington William Crofts John Witley or Titley William Fox Samuel Bennett". When the size of the house is considered it cannot be surprising that George Darlington buried six children and two wives while living at Bestway.

(2) Tithe 171, 173. Matthew French left the cottage to his son, John, in 1780. Sir John Thomas Stanley bought it in 1812. From 1817 to 1834 Thomas Beech lived there, and he was followed by Thomas Orme, a gardener. Orme's father George (1791-1832) of Leighs Brow, cordwainer and shoemaker, left his widow Nancy a large family to rear. She worked as a capmaker and washerwoman. The son Thomas and his wife Maria, devout Wesleyans, also had a big family. Orme's successor in 1848 was Thomas Haddock (1821-85), a labourer for the Anderton carrying company and, through his mother Betty, a grandson of John Beech (1795-1840) of Canal Side. His sons included William (1843) and George (1846). CRO QDL (Barnton) 1780. Chester Chronicle 6 March 1812, notice of sale of cottage. PRO Census 1841, 1851.

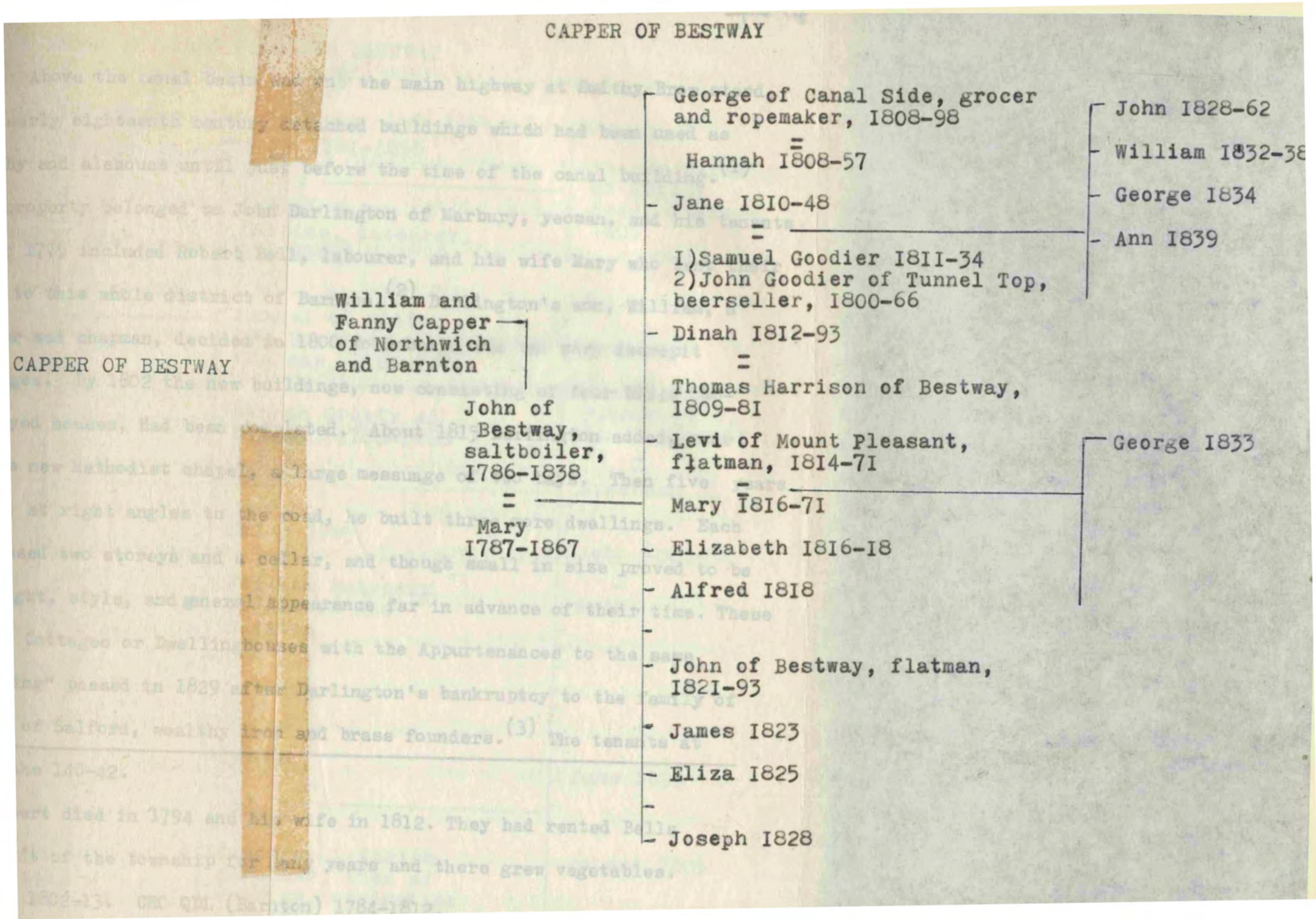
Both these places, close to the canal basin, deserved and received much enlargement and alteration during the ensuing years. The Bestway Inn and the cottages passed in 1814 from the Gilberts' trustees to John Eaton who had been landlord since 1803.(1) Samuel Parker, Richard Boden, Samuel Bell, and John Capper occupied the houses at this date. Samuel (1782-1859) son of Robert and Mary Bell of Bells Brow became a flatman for the Anderton Carrying Company. By Hannah his wife he had at least fourteen children who more than amply filled the two-roomed cottage. John Capper (1786-1838) came from Northwich about 1806. He worked as a salt boiler and general labourer. He made additional money by renting a garden at Bestway where he could grow vegetables for his wife and twelve children. In 1838 he contracted typhus fever and died aged fifty two.(2)

---

(1) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1812-14. TD GREENALL, WHITLEY Bargain and sale of Red Lion Inn, 25 May 1814. Bargain and sale for £756 from John Eaton to Messrs.Dunn of Northwich, brewers, of the inn and cottages, 12 February 1842. The brewing firm's partners included Joseph Dunn of Hartford, gentleman, and Samuel son of Joseph and Martha Fowls of Castle, engineer to the Weaver Trustees, executor of William Leigh of Barnton, and a leading Wesleyan. Warrington Guardian 7 September 1861, notice of sale of the inn which had "been almost entirely rebuilt". In 1900 a completely new inn was erected in the old inn's courtyard.

(2) N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1838. John's daughter Dinah (1812-93) married Thomas Harrison (1809-81) of the Manor farm's cottage at Bestway, Tithe 163. The son of James and Hannah of Barnton, Harrison served by turns as flatman, flat hauler, and flat horse driver.

# CAPPER OF BESTWAY



Above the canal basin and on the main highway at Smithy Brow stood two early eighteenth century detached buildings which had been used as smithy and alehouse until just before the time of the canal building.(1) The property belonged to John Darlington of Marbury, yeoman, and his tenants after 1775 included Robert Bell, labourer, and his wife Mary who lent their name to this whole district of Barnton.(2) Darlington's son, William, a dealer and chapman, decided in 1800 to rebuild the two very decrepit cottages. By 1802 the new buildings, now consisting of four brick two-storeyed houses, had been completed. About 1815 Darlington added, near to the new Methodist chapel, a large messuage of two bays. Then five years later, at right angles to the road, he built three more dwellings. Each possessed two storeys and a cellar, and though small in size proved to be in height, style, and general appearance far in advance of their time. These "eight Cottages or Dwellinghouses with the Appurtenances to the same belonging" passed in 1829 after Darlington's bankruptcy to the family of Hatton of Salford, wealthy iron and brass founders.(3) The tenants at

---

(1) Tithe 140-42.

(2) Robert died in 1794 and his wife in 1812. They had rented Bells croft of the township for many years and there grew vegetables. TBO 1802-13. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1784-1812.

(3) CHAMBERS DBB Conveyance from the heirs of John Darlington to William Darlington of the Bells Brow estate for the purpose of raising money, 30 April 1825. TD HALL Bargain and sale of portion of Bells Brow estate, 5 June 1856, quoting lease and release from specified trustees to William Darlington, 26/27 May 1825. PRO C/54/10793 Conveyance of the estate of William Darlington, a bankrupt, 7 November 1829.

'BELL OF BELLS BROW AND BESTWAY

Robert Bell of Bells Brow, labourer, dd. I794

= Mary dd. I812

Mary I78I-I856

= Samuel Eaton of Barnton, labourer, I780-I853

Thomas Eaton of Smithy Fold, flatman, I803

Samuel of Witton and Barnton, flatman, I782-I859

= Hannah Gresty of Witton, I788-I868

Samuel of Plumbs Fold, flatman, I815

= Susannah

Sally I785

= William Molyneux of Witton and Barnton

John 1820-74

= Anne

Martha

= James Bell of Bestway, canal labourer, then of Leftwich dd. about I8I0

John I799

Robert I805

James of Leftwich, gardener, then of Barnton, navigation labourer, I769-I833

George I790

Bells Brow included Richard Birchitt, boiler maker, James Platt (1793-1870), flatman, William Eyes, tailor, Thomas Cliff (1810-52), shoemaker, and Charles Mellor (1788-1865), also a shoemaker. Thomas Cliff, a Little Leigh man, opened shop in Barnton in 1835. He and his wife Jane became devoted members of the independent Methodist society. Charles Mellor, born in Middlewich, moved with his wife, Ann (1793-1841), to Barnton in 1813. All the children of this marriage became navigation labourers or flatmen. For both Mellor and Cliff their landlord erected extensive shops and workrooms.(1)

Along Rays Brow lane in the canal settlement several old cottages proved ideal for conversion. In 1790 Joseph Baxter of Barnton, yeoman,

---

Elwick The Bankrupt Directory, 1843, 'Darlington 6 October 1829'. TD HALL Bargain and sale, 5 June 1856, quoting conveyance to the Hatton family, 11/12 July 1833. Pigot and Son's Directories, 1813-40, enable the Hatton family to be traced in articles 'Manchester' and 'Salford'.

(1) In 1853 James Hatton sold the property to Peter Bolton of Barnton, sailmaker, a leading Wesleyan. In 1855 five of the houses passed to Isaac Phillips of Bells Brow, shoemaker, and he sold to Peter Hatton (1817-82) of Anderton, sailmaker, in 1868. Bolton's remaining houses passed to Samuel Fogg of Barnton, wheelwright, in 1892. All these landlords were Methodists. TD HALL Bargain and sale, 5 June 1856, quoting conveyance, 9 September 1853. TD LEIGH Abstract of title to house at Bells Brow, 1890, quotes conveyance, 22 September 1855 and 23 April 1868. TD SAMPSON Conveyance of houses at Bells Brow, 12 May 1892. CRO Tithe 1843. TD PRICE Plans of Bells Brow estate, 1901-39.

purchased the ancient Spencer farmhouse and immediately converted it into two dwellings, one for himself, the other for Elizabeth widow of John Cross of the Manor.(1) Thomas Boardman (1750-86) purchased an old cottage nearby in 1775. The son of John Boardman of Pownalls tenement, farmer and member of the Town Meeting, Thomas both owned and rented property on the slope of Barnton hill at Rays Brow.(2) His relative prosperity enabled him to give the cottage a second storey and thus to convert it into two small houses. The property passed to Thomas Woodier of Weaverham, gentleman, in the next century. About 1788 Thomas Percival, a pauper labourer, with his wife and eight surviving children, became one of the tenants. Later, a shipwright, William (1795-1882) son of John Boardman of Kennerleys farm occupied one of the cottages, and from 1819 William Roberts became his neighbour. Born in Winnington in 1794, Roberts worked as a flatman and married Phoebe daughter of John and Martha Hickson. The couple had at least fourteen children who in their turn earned a living on the boats. Not surprisingly, Phoebe suffered, and in 1847 died, from an acute liver disease and a wasting away of the body.(3) Very close to the Boardman property, Charles Steel of Stoney Heys farm acquired, about 1775, two cottages which stood in enclosures from the common. He converted one messuage into three houses and this block passed to Thomas Woodier by sale

---

(1) Tithe 108. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1780-1800. The houses passed to Edward Gandy of Castle, flatman, about 1835. In the garden Gandy put up in 1848 four new houses in one of which lived his son, Thomas, captain of a steam vessel on the Weaver. PRO Census 1841, 1851. CRO Tithe 1846.

(2) Tithe 112. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1780-1820.

(3) PRO Census 1841, 1851. N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1847.

# BOARDMAN OF BARNTON

John Boardman of Pownalls tenement, farm labourer, dd. 1774

- Thomas of Rays Brow, labourer, 1750-86 = Mary 1749-1817
  - John of Kennerleys tenement, farmer, 1761-1838 = Mary Shuttleworth 1754-1826
- Richard of Rays Brow, farmer, 1780-1815
  - John Eaton of the Bestway Inn 1766-1855 = Betty 1783-1867
    - Jenny 1785 = John Gresty of Witton, flatman
    - John of Kennerleys, farmer, 1791 = Mary
      - Job 1833
      - Joshua 1836
    - William of Rays Brow, shipwright, 1795-1882 = Mary 1796-1859
      - John, shipwright, 1828

in 1816.[1] The second place, a single-storeyed, timber-framed, seventeenth century dwelling, became two tiny cottages in 1785. Ralph Jackson of the Hall farm bought these in 1799, and his widow about 1820 entirely rebuilt them.[2] The new houses possessed two storeys, brick walls within the timber frame, and large modern windows. They passed in 1833 to William Jardine of Anderton, salt proprietor.[3] The family of Ray had lived at Rays Brow long before Steel became landlord. James and Sarah Ray had tried to move to Weaverham but had been forcibly removed back to Barnton in 1756. From 1757 they regularly claimed township relief. Yet poverty did not harm their reputation, and their name became attached to a whole area, and a lane, of the canal settlement. From them descended families like Fogg and Beech with whom the Rays intermarried.[4] In 1792 Samuel Comb (1767-1816) arrived in Barnton and settled in one of Steel's houses. An agricultural labourer, he for long rented from the township Boardmans croft at Rays Brow. Samuel's daughter Margaret married John Beech of Canal Side, boatman, and a son, John (1798-1848) of Smithy Fold, became a salt labourer and canal boatman.[5] Comb's successors at Rays Brow included George (1800-71)

---

(1) Tithe 110. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1813-18. Rebuilt 1860.

(2) Tithe 148. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1798-1800.

(3) CRO Will of John Welch of Davenham, yeoman, prob. 5 September 1832.

(4) TBO 1756-57, 1770-71. James and Sarah had twelve children and regularly asked for coal, household goods, and new breeches on their behalf.

(5) TBO 1802-15. John Comb had twelve children and died of a painful rupture of the blood vessels of his stomach. N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1848. A son Samuel (1819-96) died in the Upton lunatic asylum.

# RAY OF RAYS BROW

James Ray of Rays Brow, labourer, dd. I780

= Sarah

- William, labourer, I758 = Ellen Millington of Anderton
  - Hannah I779
  - James I780
  - Priscilla I782
- John of Rays Brow, agricultural labourer, I763-I830 = Mary Swarbrook of Witton I769-I800
  - Thomas I787-88
  - Mary I789-I804
  - Thomas of Rays Brow, canal labourer, I79I-I82I
  - Sarah I793-I862 = Thomas Beach of Bestway, boatman, I794-I875
  - Hannah I796-I873 = John Fogg of Plumbs Fold, agricultural labourer, I793-I863
- Thomas I765

son of Samuel Hind of Northwich, who worked as a flatman, and John Knight of Irlam, salt boiler.

On the bounds of the canal settlement two farmhouses and one cottage became during the first two decades of the nineteenth century no less than nine dwellings. The Stocks House farmhouse lay near the main highway within sight of the canal basin. Between 1766 and 1811 the family of Manning of High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire, descendants of the Basnetts, the original owners, had attempted to keep the small estate solvent.(1) From about 1800 however the valuable smithy, established on the premises about 1775, had to face increasing competition from the rival business at Canal Side. Therefore in 1811 the family decided to sell the property. William Bagnall of Manchester and Barnton, flatman, purchased the house itself, with outbuildings, orchard, garden, and timber, for over five hundred pounds sterling.(2) Bagnall converted the old house into four cottages and to do this borrowed money from Sarah daughter of Joseph Haslehurst of Witton and young widow of Luke Plummer of Chester, excise officer. Bagnall died in 1831 "without parent, child or grandchild". Since he never repaid the debt the estate passed to Sarah Plummer (1778-1863).(3)

(1) Tithe 134-35, house and outbuildings.

(2) Chester Courant, 14 May 1811, notice of sale on 16 May of house and twenty acres of land. TD WHITAKER Abstract of title to Smithy Fold estate, 1883, quoting lease and release, 24/25 November 1813. Bagnall paid £510.

(3) TD WHITAKER Abstract of title, 1883, quoting mortgage for £300, 5 July 1814. CRO Admon of William Bagnall of Barnton, waterman and widower, prob. 5 April 1831. CRO Admon of Luke Plummer of Chester, excise officer, prob. 14 March 1809.

The tenants in Smithy Fold included William Kitchenman, a flatman, born in 1804 the son of a Castleton in Rochdale weaver,(1) Thomas and Elizabeth Hickson, the Hicksons' daughter Mary with her husband Ashton Lightfoot (1820-88), salt works labourer, and the Hicksons' son John, a flatman. The neighbouring Lowndes farm came up for sale in 1820. Peter Plumbley of Allostock, yeoman, brother of William Plumbley (1752-1802), a former tenant, bought the house and barn for conversion into cottages. He managed to create seven small dwellings. On Plumbley's death in 1830 the property passed to his nephew James Stelfox (1787-1832) of Pickmere, innkeeper. Stelfox himself died two years later leaving "all those Seven Cottages or premises" in Barnton to his widow Elizabeth.(2) The tenants at this time included Joseph Bowyer (1795-1873), labourer at the salt works, Samuel Cross (1798-1849), waterman, Robert Palin (1783-1848), waterman, Richard son of John and Ellen Tomlinson, shipscarpenter, and Hamlet son of Thomas and Mary Mills, rockgetter. Thomas and Mary Mills of Marston had come to Barnton in 1817 and taken up residence in Charles Leigh's house when the latter went to live with his son. Their son Hamlet (1800-44) worked as a salt labourer, a rockgetter, and a canal boatman. He married Susan (1803-85) daughter of Abraham and Elizabeth Molyneux of Barnton but died of typhus when still young. His widow, left a pauper,

---

(1) LRO DRM Rochdale transcripts, christenings 1804.

(2) Tithe 131a. TD SAMPSON Bargain and sale of Lydiart lane property, 29 November 1912, quoting lease and release, 24/25 March 1820. CRO Will of Peter Plumbley of Allostock, yeoman, prob. 13 September and 24 December 1830, 4 August 1841. Value £3,000. Will of James Stelfox of Pickmere, innkeeper, prob. 9 July 1832.

# BOWYER OF LYDIART LANE

Joseph Boyer of Wales and Lydiart lane, labourer and weigher at the salt works, 1795-1873

=

Elizabeth daughter of James and Fanny Poole and formerly wife of Samuel Pennel of Little Leigh and Barnton, 1784-1853

- James of Oakwood lane, flatman, 1816
  - Sarah 1839
  - Ashton 1841
  - =
  - Martha of Barnton 1820-83
- =
- Ashton of Lydiart Lane, boiler maker, 1819-90
  - John 1844
  - =
  - Sarah, of Little Leigh
- Fanny 1820
- Lowry 1822
- Josiah 1825
- John 1827

# MILLS OF LYDIART LANE

Thomas Mills of Marston and Barnton Leighs Brow, boatman, and Mary his wife

Hamlet of Witton and Lydiart lane, boatman and rock getter, 1800-44

=

Susan daughter of Abraham and Elizabeth Molyneux of Witton and Barnton, 1803-85

- Betty 1823
- Mary 1825
- John of Lydiart lane, navigation labourer, 1828
- Thomas of Lydiart lane, flatman, 1830-1916
- George 1833
- William 1837
- Abraham 1842

- Martha — Thomas 1822

struggled to raise eleven children.(1) Almost all the tenants of this row joined the independent Methodist society, though the Stelfox family, their landlords, remained keen Wesleyans. Adjoining Lowndes farmhouse stood a timber-framed derelict cottage and barn that had belonged in the seventeenth century to Peter Cooke of Barnton, yeoman. The premises, valued mainly for the three closes in the Town Field which went with the house, passed through several hands during the following century.(2) In December 1799 William Robinson of Anderton, yeoman, a member of Barnton Town Meeting on account of his holdings in the township, did "purchase jointly along with William Plumbley ... yeoman ... certain Freehold property then consisting of Old Buildings and three Closes of land". The two men, prosperous landowners and tenant farmers, decided to rebuild the old cottage in brick and to give it a second storey and then to convert the barn into a second smaller dwelling. When Robinson wrote his will in 1818 he proudly asserted that the estate "now consists of Two new erected Messuages and Dwelling Houses and other necessary Buildings which have

---

(1) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1817-27. PRO Census 1841, 1851.

(2) Tithe 132. The land, Mooreheyes, Farthings, and Diggbutts lay at Tithe 15 and 50. Peter Cooke also owned the Leighs Brow smithy. CRO Will of Peter Cooke of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 31 January 1700/01. TD ALSOP Abstract of title to Leighs Brow estate, 1870, quoting lease and release, 18/19 December 1832.

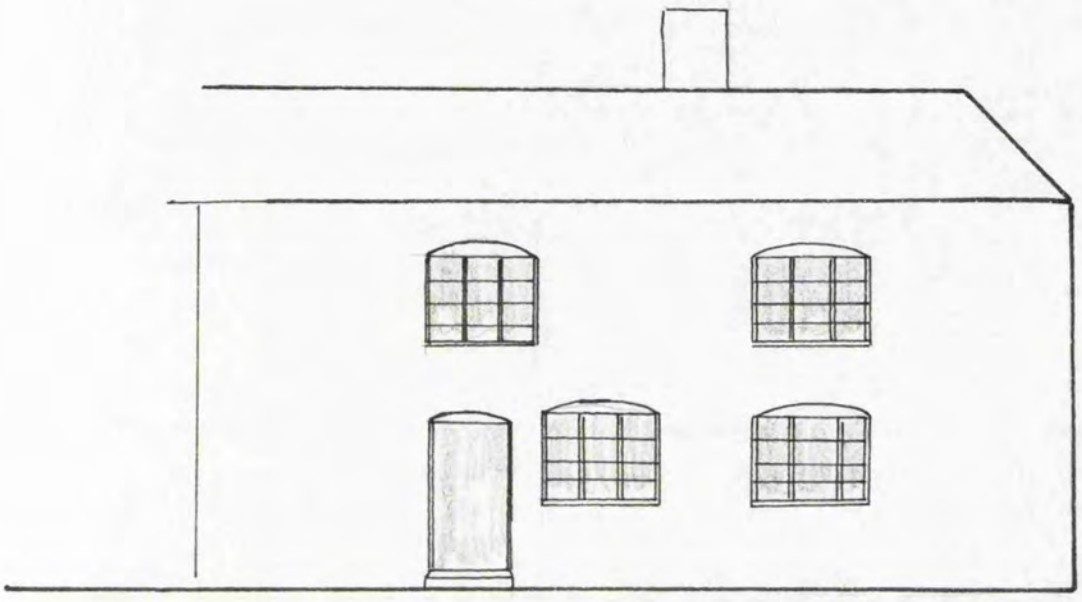
been built on part of the Lands ..." (1) Mary his daughter and heiress, who purchased the share of the Plumbley family in 1834, retained the property until her death in 1861. In May 1840 Fanny (1786-1852) pauper widow of James Percival (1786-1840), a shoemaker and flatman who had just been accidentally drowned, moved from the Stelfox family's houses to Mary Robinson's cheaper cottages.(2)

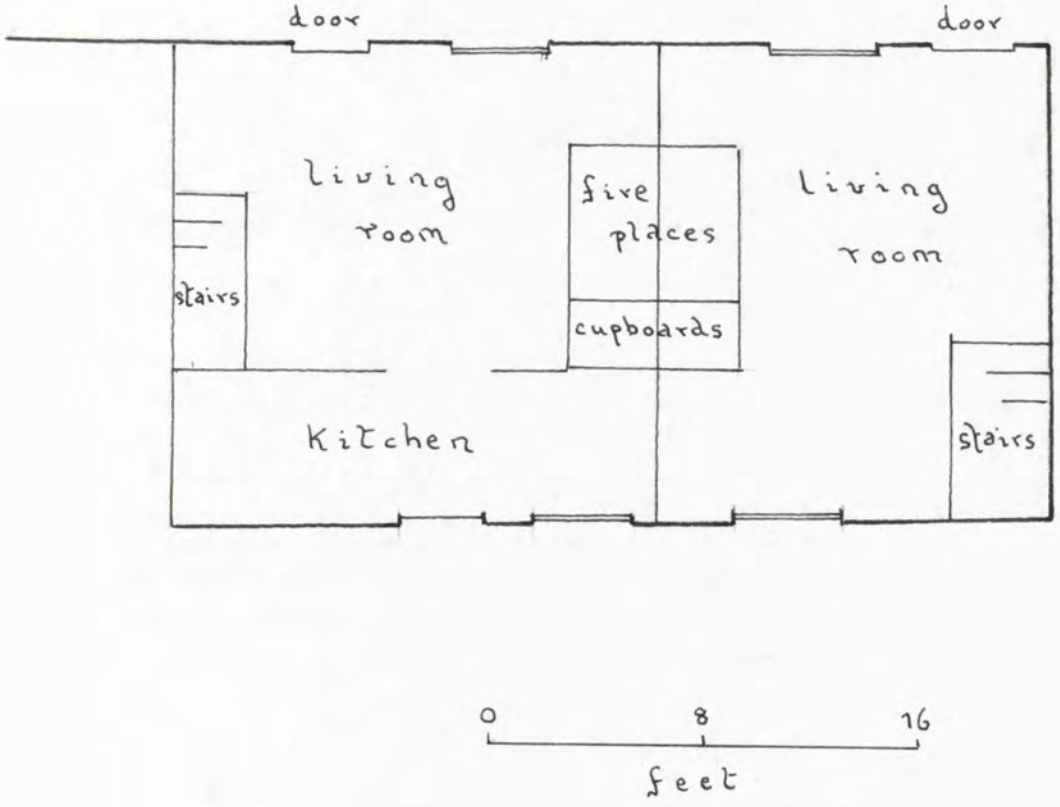
People had seized the common for building purposes or alternatively had converted and extended existing cottages because landowners retained a very tight grip on all their valued agricultural land. The landowners' policy forced developers to adopt a third and worse expedient. Upon the gardens which adjoined older dwellings additional houses could be built. By such overcrowding community spirit might be fostered but health suffered. People, too, had to develop an unnatural reserve in order to secure some privacy, and this hindered the removal of the narrow-minded, bigoted, introspective, and spiteful mood of the canal settlement. The Beech family of Canal Side carried this process of crowding houses on to smaller and smaller areas of land to extremes during the nineteenth century. Elsewhere the policy did not lead to such extremities, though

(1) TD HAYES Conveyance of Cooke's cottages, 25 March 1862, quoting lease and release, 9/10 December 1799. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1799-1800. CRO Will of William Robinson the elder of Anderton, yeoman, prob. 22 May 1819, 4 December 1820. Robinson made extensive purchases of Barnton land after the death of his partner in 1802.

(2) TD HAYES Conveyance, 25 March 1862, quoting lease and release, 4/5 July 1834. Warrington Guardian 7 December 1861, notice of sale on 16 December. Fanny Percival had nine children.

# RAYS BROW LANE 1799





conditions proved bad enough. Thus in 1799 William Plumbley and William Robinson purchased a garden, not twenty by six yards in dimension, which stood in front of Ralph Jackson's newly-acquired house. The two keen speculators managed to erect on the site three comparatively poorly-built, two-storeyed dwellings, which each had one living and one bed room.(1) Through no apparent reason but almost alone among new erections, this row at first attracted people whose families had lived in Barnton before 1775. James Ditchfield, a widower with a large family, John Davies (1753-1834), a casual labourer, and William son of Thomas and Rebeccah Tomlinson of Rays Brow, a labourer with ten children, moved to the property in the early years. In 1834 the three houses, occupied by John Davies, Richard Hickson the elder (1779-1858), and Matthew Molyneux, passed to William Jardine of Anderton, salt proprietor.(2)

Sarah Plummer, who had purchased the Smithy Fold houses in 1832, knew of the demand for accommodation in Barnton because for a century her family had served as tailors to Barnton people. Thus in 1834 she erected five cottages in the garden between the converted Stocks House and its outbuildings.(3) Four years later in place of the derelict barns, and adjoining the 1834 row, Sarah built a large house and shop, and, at the same time, put up two new cottages across the main road.(4) In 1845 she completed her estate by taking the garden of one of the cottages at the top

(1) Tithe 115a. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1798-1810.

(2) TD GREEN Abstract of title to houses in Church lane, 1869, quoting lease and release, 10/11 July 1834.

(3) Tithe 134.

(4) Tithe 134, 137.

# HICKSON OF BARNTON

HICKSON OF BARNTON

John Hickson of the Manor, 1753-1828, and Martha his wife

- Richard 1779-1858
- Thomas of Smithy Fold, flatman, 1781-1860 = Elizabeth, of Halton, 1778-1862
- Martha 1811-95 =
  - 1) Samuel Fogg, ships carpenter, 1809-36
    - Thomas 1830
    - James 1834
  - 2) Isaac Phillips, shoemaker, later postmaster, 1813-92
    - Jane 1838 = John Clarke of the Ropery, 1838-1916
    - Alfred 1840
- Thomas, flatman, 1813
- Mary 1815-49 = Ashton Lightfoot 1820-88
  - Thomas 1842
- John of Bells Brow, flatman, 1816 = Mary 1815-71
  - John 1838
- William, flatman, 1818-79

of Smithy Fold and in it erecting three dwellings.(1) Thomas Edwards, grocer and draper and a leading Wesleyan, eagerly took the shop in 1838. His neighbours included Mary wife of George Ashley (1799-1840) of Cogshall, labourer. A Barnton woman, Mary lived in poverty after her husband's death but brought up her six children by keeping a mangle and taking in washing.(2) Alfred (1806-81) son of Edward and Pleasant Gates lived next door to Mary Ashley. He worked as a flatman and, by Mary his wife, had at least ten children. George (1808-85) son of Samuel and Jane Goodier lived across the road. He had recently returned from Witton, his wife's home, to find a job on a Barnton farm. Most of his sons went into industry and trade. Thomas Haslehurst (1819-1901) a tailor, nephew of Sarah Plummer, lived at the end of the 1834 row in a two-roomed back-to-back cottage which soon proved too small to hold his stock in trade and his growing family at one and the same time.(3)

---

(1) In 1863 the estate passed to Sarah's grandchildren, Thomas Plummer Clarke of Bolton, millwright, and Sarah Ann wife of William Deakin of Witton, draper. CRO Will of William Clarke of Witton, yeoman, prob. 12 November 1846. Will of Sarah Plummer of Witton, widow, prob. 23 February 1864. TD WHITAKER Bargain and sale with plan of Smithy Fold estate, 23 March 1865. Thomas Edwards purchased the shop in 1885. TD HEATH Bargain and sale, 20 February 1885.

(2) Her sons James and Thomas became ropemakers at Clarke's ropery, and William (1823-93) worked as a navigation labourer.

(3) Thomas son of Thomas and Sophia Haslehurst of Witton married Sarah daughter of Edward Musgrove (1782-1865) of Little Leigh and Barnton, carpenter. He later moved to his aunt's large houses across the road. PRO Census 1841, 1851.

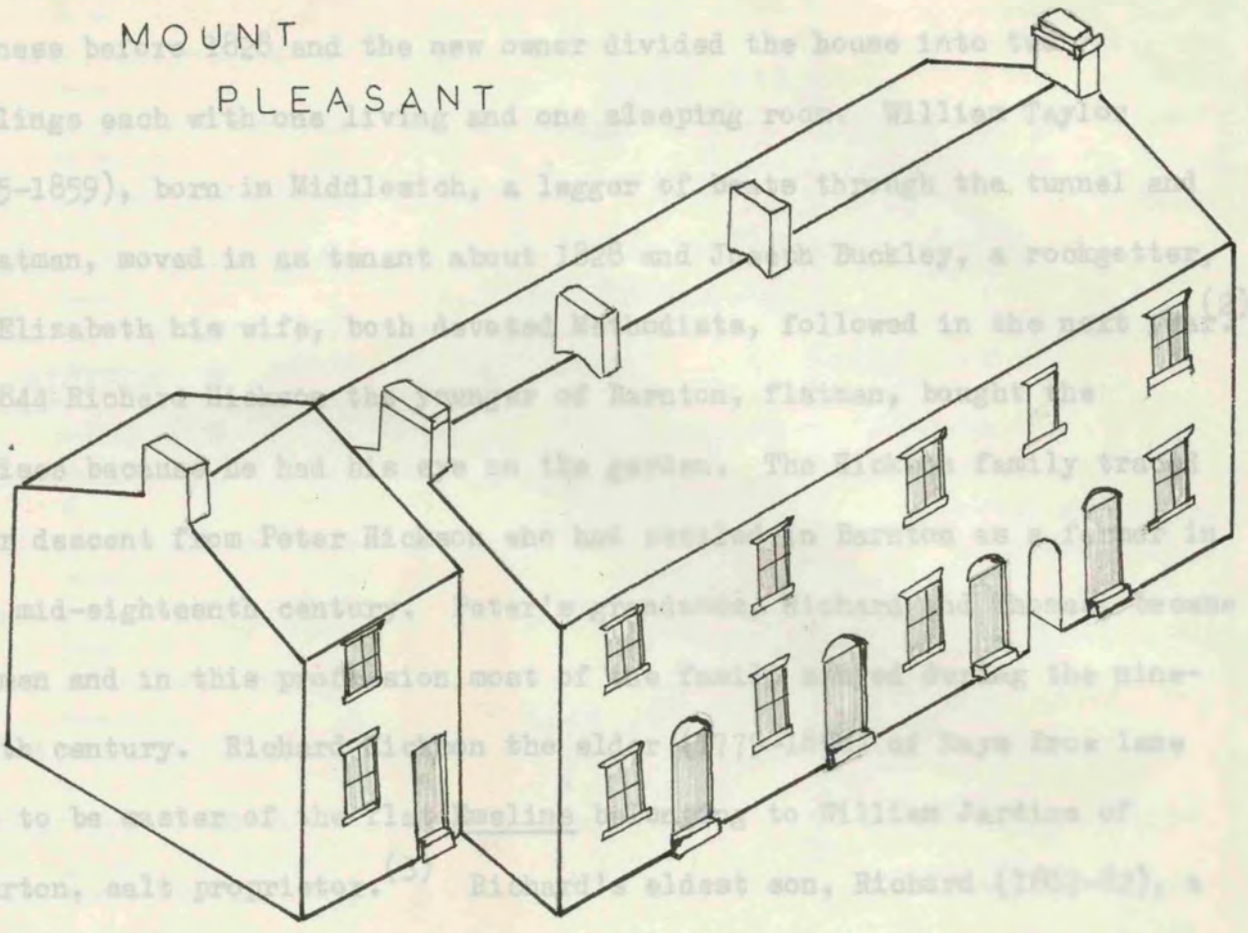
Frenchs garden lay at Bestway between the canal and the highway. The owners advertised it for sale, together with the adjoining cottage, in 1812, but the land alone attracted the eventual purchasers, William and Samuel sons of John Newall of Barnton, blacksmith.(1) William, born in 1780, had earned his living by helping his father and by doing some farming as a sideline. A member of the Town Meeting, he served also as Barnton's militia man during the war years. Samuel's career followed the same pattern.(2) In their newly-purchased garden William and Samuel Newall erected, during the summer of 1815, one messuage. William sold his share to his brother almost immediately, and the money enabled him to begin a new life in Lancashire.(3) Samuel allowed John Bowker to open a general store and bakery in the new house which, like the Bestway Inn, could expect to attract passing boatmen. Newall's "newly erected Messuage or Dwellinghouse Shop Oven and Buildings conveniences and erections built on a certain close piece or parcel of Land with the other land ... then occupied as a garden and potatoe ground ... the Shop and house also fronting to the northwest and the towing path" did not yield a quick return on capital, and Newall had first to mortgage then to sell the

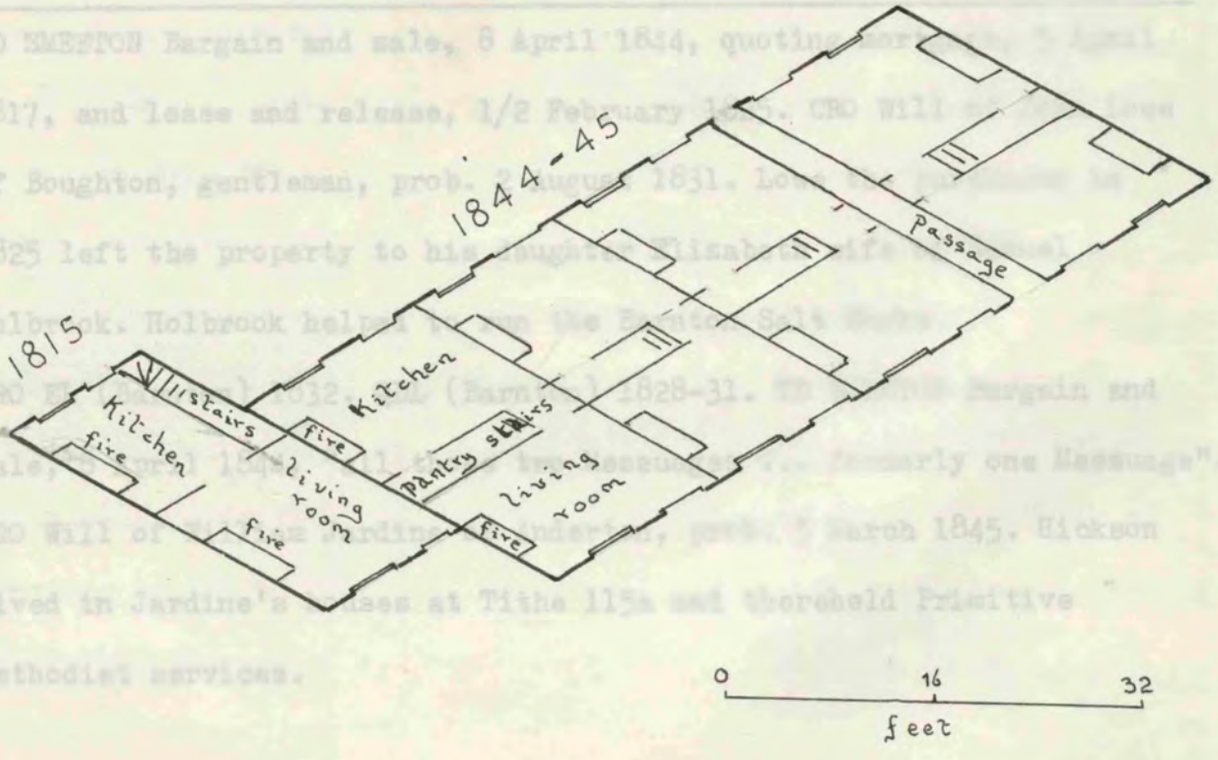
---

(1) Tithe 167-69. Chester Chronicle 6 March 1812, notice of sale of garden at Bestway. TD SMEETON Bargain and sale, 26 July 1844, quoting conveyance of property at Bestway, 24/25 March and 26 March 1814.

(2) TBO 1809-13.

(3) TD SMEETON Bargain and sale, 26 July 1844, quoting conveyance by William to Samuel Newall, 6 October 1815. TBO 1818-19.


MOUNT
PLEASANT


1815
1844-45
Kitchen
fire
Upstairs
Kitchen
fire
Living room
fire
Pantry
stairs
Living room
fire
Passage
0
16
32
feet

property in order to meet his other commitments.(1) The shop ceased business before 1828 and the new owner divided the house into two dwellings each with one living and one sleeping room. William Taylor (1795-1859), born in Middlewich, a legger of boats through the tunnel and a boatman, moved in as tenant about 1828 and Joseph Buckley, a rockgetter, and Elizabeth his wife, both devoted Methodists, followed in the next year.(2) In 1844 Richard Hickson the younger of Barnton, flatman, bought the premises because he had his eye on the garden. The Hickson family traced their descent from Peter Hickson who had settled in Barnton as a farmer in the mid-eighteenth century. Peter's grandsons, Richard and Thomas, became flatmen and in this profession most of the family stayed during the nineteenth century. Richard Hickson the elder (1779-1858) of Rays Brow lane rose to be master of the flat Emeline belonging to William Jardine of Anderton, salt proprietor.(3) Richard's eldest son, Richard (1802-82), a flatman, lived first in Northwich, then in Leighs Brow before he decided

---

(1) TD SMEETON Bargain and sale, 8 April 1844, quoting mortgage, 5 April 1817, and lease and release, 1/2 February 1825. CRO Will of John Lowe of Boughton, gentleman, prob. 2 August 1831. Lowe the purchaser in 1825 left the property to his daughter Elizabeth wife of Samuel Holbrook. Holbrook helped to run the Barnton Salt Works.

(2) CRO EL (Barnton) 1832. QDL (Barnton) 1828-31. TD SMEETON Bargain and sale, 8 April 1844, "all those two Messuages ... formerly one Messuage".

(3) CRO Will of William Jardine of Anderton, prob. 5 March 1845. Hickson lived in Jardine's houses at Tithe 115a and thereheld Primitive Methodist services.

# HICKSON OF BARNTON

HICKSON OF BARNTON

Peter Hickson of the Manor, farmer, about I720-80

John, farm labourer, I753-I828
=
I) Martha dd. I807
2) Anne

Richard of Rays Brow lane, flat hauler and flatman, I779-I858
=
I) Betty
2) Elizabeth Newton

Thomas, flatman, I78I-I860

Phoebe I795-I847
=
William Roberts of Rays Brow lane, flatman

Richard of Mount Pleasant, flatman, I802-82
=
Susannah, of Northwich I798-I880

- John I824
- William I827
- Robert I838
- Enoch I845

John of Bells Brow, flatman, I808-82
=
Maria I804-67

- George I829
- Samuel I830
- Richard, rope maker, I840-87

William of Mount Pleasant, flatman, I812-76
=
Mary, of Davenham I819-84

- Henry I844

ROBERTS

PEMBERTON

George Pemberton of Cholmondeley then of Rays Brow, farm labourer, I805
=
Sarah I817

- William I841
- William I822-46
- James I826
- John I829
- Charles I831
- Richard I834
- Thomas I837-1927

in 1844 to build himself a new house at Mount Pleasant. He had obviously saved diligently over the years, for he needed no mortgage to aid his ambitious plans. He gained back part of the purchase price of the property by selling the old house and a part of Frenchs garden to his brother, William (1812-76). On the remaining land nearest to the Bestway Inn, RichardHickson built five two-storeyed brick dwellings with detached washhouses, kitchens, and privies. His own proved to be of better quality brick and workmanship than others in the row. Here then he made his home, opened his house to Primitive Methodist services, regularly preached, and entertained visiting ministers.(1) Flatmen tenanted almost all the houses at Mount Pleasant during the nineteenth century. Meanwhile William Hickson made the most of his possession of "all those two Messuages occupied by William Taylor and John Hickson and the plot of land adjoining now staked out and on which the said William Hickson is erecting three additional cottages". He came to live at Mount Pleasant and accepted tenants, engaged in Weaver transportation, like Peter Bolton, sailmaker, and Levi Capper, flatman.(2) Hence Frenchs garden had been diminished in three stages by the building of ten houses, but the remaining portion proved too narrow and steep for further development.

---

(1) TD SMEETON Bargain and sale from the Holbrook family to Richard Hickson, 8 April 1844. Hickson paid almost £150. He gained back £100 in July. Bargain and sale to William Hickson, 26 July 1844. PRO Census 1851. Hickson served as a trustee of Primitive Methodist property in 1862.

(2) TD SMEETON Bargain and sale, 26 July 1844. William's brother John (1808-82) already occupied one of the older cottages.

Development at Leighs Brow, well away from the canal settlement, in some ways followed the pattern set in the rest of the township. But the area had been enclosed as gardens before 1775, an ancient cottage and a smithy existed by 1700, and new buildings began during the early eighteenth century.(1) Peter and Margaret Holdford erected a new dwelling about 1720 and this eventually passed to John Pointon, owner of the Bestway Inn, in 1785. He immediately added a messuage divided into three dwellings. His son, William Pointon of Sandiway, gentleman, between 1807 and 1810 erected a row of seven cottages in a garden adjoining the main highway.(2) The tenants included Samuel (1802-75) grandson of Peter Leicester of Little Leigh and son of John and Betty Leicester of Preston Brook. Samuel came to Leighs Brow in 1818 at the age of seventeen primarily to marry the girl he had got with child but also to find a job at the farm and salt works which his uncle, a Barnton man, had told him about. The young wife soon died, but in 1822 Leicester had again to marry a woman who for seven months had carried his child. Though the second wife, Ellen Appleton (1804-34) of Leighs Brow, did not long survive, this marriage founded the important Leicester family of Barnton, agricultural labourers and traders. Pointon's estate passed to William Leigh in 1822 and from him to William Jardine of Anderton, salt proprietor and

---

(1) Tithe 268. This sixteenth century cottage belonged to the Manor estate. The Poole family inhabited it in the nineteenth century. Tithe 269. Smithy House.

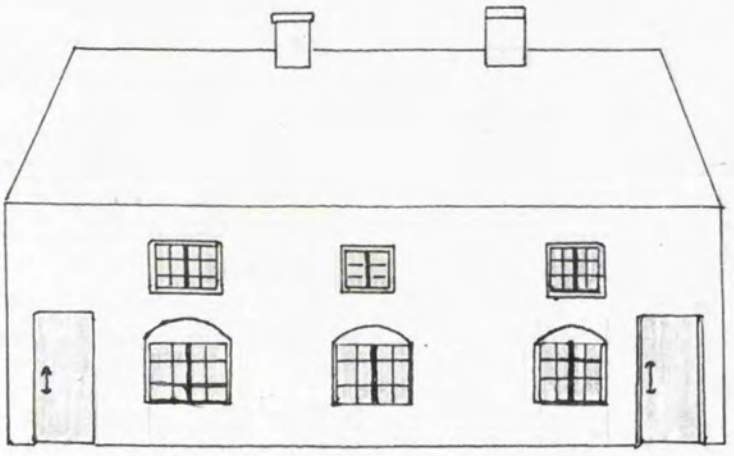
(2) The Pointon houses lay respectively at Tithe 273 (rebuilt 1830), 266, and 274. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1784-86, 1807-10.

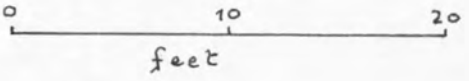
agent, in 1832.(1) The Ball family founded a second valuable estate about 1720. William and Mary Ball, who had lived in Barnton since the beginning of the eighteenth century, built a large messuage for use as an alehouse, and this business probably began the family's rise to prosperity. Next door their son, Abraham the elder (1712-95), a tenant farmer and member of the Town Meeting, erected in 1775 two dwellings which provided a link between traditional Barnton styles and the industrial buildings of the early nineteenth century. Abraham's grandson, Joseph Ball (1762-1833), a salt boiler, in 1800 converted an old barn into a house for his own occupation.(2) Finally Charles and William Leigh both built for themselves

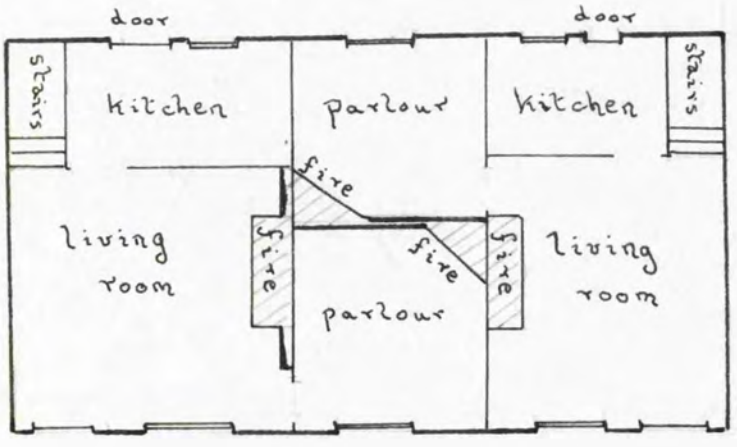
(1) TD ALSOP Abstract of title to Leighs Brow estate, 1870, quoting lease and release, 18/19 December 1832. Chester Chronicle 18 May 1832, notice of sale on 29 May. Jardine paid £1,761 but this sum burdened his family's finances until 1870 when the estate was sold. William Jardine acted as agent to Broughton, Sutton, Reid & Co. of Anderton, salt proprietors, but his good earnings tempted him to purchase too much landed property. He died in 1844, before he could work out his financial affairs and repay necessary debts. His widow, Sarah, lived in William Leigh's former residence until 1868. TD ALSOP Abstract of title, 1870, quoting various mortgages from 1832 onwards.

(2) The Ball family houses lay at Tithe 272, 270, 271, 276. Ball's 1775 houses had great roof timbers and thatched roof but had greater depth than older cottages and possessed a typical modern long narrow kitchen. The alehouse underwent a rebuilding about this time also. Joseph Ball's house, originally part of the Plumbley family property, passed to Ball's son-in-law, Samuel Cawley, labourer. CRO Will of Joseph Ball of Barnton, saltboiler, prob. 27 May 1836.

# BALL'S NEW HOUSE 1775





very commodious dwellings at Leighs Brow in 1779 and 1814 respectively.(1)

At the very end of the period, from 1843 onwards, plans for the building of Princes Park began to be discussed among Barnton flatmen. This area, lying on the boundary of the canal settlement but close to the canal basin, had been the centre of the Litler estate which, from 1786, George Cross (1757-1817) had farmed. On the final disintegration of the estate in 1809 Cross, a member of the Town Meeting, bought the farmhouse and some surrounding land so that he could build dwellings on the site. Thus in 1810 he erected three two-storeyed houses which each possessed, downstairs, a tiny living room and a small kitchen.(2) Cross died in 1817 without further developing the property and left the whole to his widow Ellen, daughter of William and Elizabeth Holland of Barnton Lock House.(3) About 1825 Philip Goodyer of Barnton took over the farmhouse with the neighbouring closes. Goodyer (1776-1830), a farm labourer, had arrived in Barnton with his wife, Nancy, in the early months of 1800. He established himself over the years by marrying his sons into the

---

(1) Tithe 270, 232.
(2) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1808-11. Tithe 210-13.
(3) CRO Will of George Cross of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 1 April 1818. Ellen survived her husband until 1842. The property passed to her son, John Cross of Over, gentleman. The tenants in 1817 were Charles Mellor, George (1785-1860) son of George and Martha Bowyer, salt works labourer, father of ten children, and eventually a pauper, and George's cousin, Daniel Bowyer.

CROSS OF LITLERS FARM AND PRINCES PARK

William Holland
of Barnton,
lock tender,
I73I-I806
=
Elizabeth
I738-64

Ellen I760-I842
=
George Cross,
purchaser of
the Litler
estate,
I757-I817

Elizabeth I784-85

Thomas I786-I858

William of Winsford,
shipscarpenter,
I792-I869
=
I) Julia I794-I817
2) Sarah I794-I862

John of Ways Green
in Over then of
Sandiway, gentleman,
I797

GOODYER OF LITLERS AND PRINCES PARK

GOODYER OF LITLERS AND PRINCES PARK

Samuel Goodyer of Allostock, Minshull Vernon, and Barnton, agricultural labourer, I776-I854
=
Jane I782-I86I

George, agricultural labourer, I808-85
=
Elizabeth
- Joseph I836
- William I843

John I8I0

THomas I8II

Joseph of Litlers farm, agricultural, I816
=
Jane
- John I839
- James I84I
- Mark I845
- William I848

Samuel, flathorsedriver, I8I8-92
=
Elizabeth
- Thomas I846
- William I848

Philip I82I

Mary I829

Philip Goodyer of Allostock and Barnton, farm labourer, I776-I830
=
Nancy Hickson I777-I840

John of Tunnel Top, engineer, salt boiler, and beerseller, I800-66
=
I) Mary Bowker I802-32
- George I824
- Thomas of Tunnel Top and Bridge Inn, publican, I829-I905

2) Jane widow of Samuel Goodier I8I0-48
- Mary I836
- John I840

Thomas of Litlers, farm labourer, and of Old Boat Road, navigation labourer, I806
=
Alice daughter of Peter Eaton, farm labourer, I8II-85
- John } I84I
- Philip }
- Thomas I844

Samuel I8II-34
=
Jane daughter of John and Mary Capper of Bestway I8I0-48
- Philip I83I
- Ann I833-34

families of Bowker, Eaton and Capper.(1) Nancy took over the farm after her husband's death and there entertained members of the new Primitive Methodist society.(2) The Goodier family rented a large field near their home from Thomas Cross of Barnton and Holmes Chapel, farmer, township officer, and Wesleyan Methodist. The field, formerly part of the Litler estate, tempted builders because it stretched to the canal basin, and when Thomas Cross got into financial difficulties in 1843 people began to make offers for the property. Eventually in 1846 Cross sold a portion, not far from the canal basin, to four Barnton flatmen, Samuel Cross (1798-1849) of Bells Brow, Thomas Cross (1819-71) his son, Joseph Stockton of Plumbs Fold, and George Carter of Bells Brow.(3) These men put up twelve good houses between 1846 and 1848. Both owners and occupiers, besides working

---

(1) Most of Philip's children drifted into industry or transportation. A son, Thomas who married Alice Eaton (1811-85), became a flatman. Another son, John, worked as an engineer, salt boiler, and publican.

(2) Various members of the Goodyer family followed Nancy but none stayed long. CRO Admon of Nancy Goodier of Barnton, widow, prob. 7 July 1840.

(3) Tithe 209, 209a. TD CROSS Bargain and sale of the Big field, 30 September 1846, quotes proposed mortgage, 25 March 1843. Each of the purchasers had a similar deed of title and three exist in the collection, TD CROSS.

as flatmen, attended the Wesleyan Association chapel.

Although about sixty different people contributed in some way to the housing development in Barnton between 1775 and 1845, only forty or so made available increased accommodation by providing new houses or enlarging old dwellings. Half the builders earned a living as tenant farmers or landowners. But flatmen and boatmen, beginning with William Bagnall in 1813, took an increasingly active part in nineteenth century expansion. Manufacturers like William Leigh, William Clarke, and John Whitley provided seventeen houses. Few traders and craftsmen as such took part in building. John Pointon, a carpenter and beerseller, owned houses and land which made him very independent of his trading activities. William Darlington, a dealer and chapman, possessed landed estates in Comberbach and Frodsham. Therefore it cannot be surprising that half the developers already had some kind of property before they began their new houses. Even property like a rope or salt works held on lease provided the investor with an income which could both help towards the costs of construction and ensure against unforeseen disasters. But for men like Thomas Beech, Joseph Ball, John Houghton,

and Richard Hickson the new messuage meant all the real property they possessed. Hence the building of even one cottage by such men demanded praiseworthy courage and the completion of whole rows unprecedented and foolhardy stubbornness. Two out of every three people who built in Barnton actually lived in the township during the relevant years of construction. But only one-third put up houses which they themselves intended to occupy. Indeed around the canal basin, only Thomas Beech both built and occupied his own home. The quality of workmanship naturally tended to be highest in Plumbs Fold or Leighs Brow where builder-occupiers abounded. The majority of Barnton's house builders served as members of the Budworth Vestry or Barnton Town Meeting and took their turn to act as town officers. Hence these people would naturally get to know when and where the cheapest land could be obtained. They could persuade the authorities in the township to release large areas of common and could prevent the interference of undesirable developers. Thus the largest area of common, lying round the canal basin, passed to Plumbley, Cross, and Clarke, leading Barnton politicians. Hence uninfluential inhabitants, who would live in the cottages they erected, did not get a chance to possess land in the centre of the canal settlement. Methodists erected very nearly all Barnton's dwellings. The Clarkes, Pooles, Crosses, Houghtons, Hicksons, Balls, Leighs, Plumbs, and Moretons stood out among speculators. The canal basin area indeed virtually owed its existence to members of the Wesleyan Methodist society and it could not be without significance that the first Methodist chapel stood on the hill high above this settlement. Only a handful of the builders who lived in Barnton did not belong to this religious society. Though this fact may merely illustrate the

completeness of Methodist victory in the township it must also show the influence on men and women of Methodism's teaching concerning diligence, thrift, and economy.

[illegible]. * * *

During the seventy years after 1775 most of Barnton's houses appeared to the onlooker to be clean and new. "The buildings, for extent, and convenience of arrangement, equal almost any in the Kingdom."(1) Indeed at the end of 1821 four out of every five houses had been rebuilt or newly-erected during the preceding half century. One in three dated back no more than ten or eleven years. Thus merely a handful of houses could claim an existence since the sixteenth century. These one-storeyed places possessed cruck frames, wattle and daub walls, and thatched roofs.(2) When necessary they had been extended in length, but not in width or height, through the addition of further sets of crucks. The old cottage in which the Farrel family lived during the nineteenth century probably

(1) Cooke County of Chester, 1830, p.43.

(2) Two crucks or posts could often be made by splitting one tree trunk so that the crucks followed the same curve. The two posts were based on foundations of rubble some fourteen feet apart and were inclined inwards until their tops met. The tops could be secured together by a joint or nails. The builder joined, with a ridge pole, this first pair of crucks to a second pair and the five posts together made a house of one bay. On this framework the walls and roof could be hung. Daub consisted of clay, straw, and dung and when spread over the wattle walls gave a good, warm, and weather-proof finish to the cottage.

dated from Elizabeth's reign and it underwent an extension about 1844 in order that a second family might be accommodated.(1) Such places did not usually stand for long. Isaac Bradburn's hovel fell down during bad weather early in 1781.(2) Seventeenth century dwellings, though timber-framed, could be larger than cruck-framed erections because, after about 1590, people insisted on the new rectangular box shape. Such houses might possess rooms in the roof and a proper staircase in place of the old ladder. Cottages in this style existed in Oakwood and Rays Brow lanes and at Bestway. Peter Cooke's house in Lydiart lane, a typical long narrow erection, consisted of two main rooms with a hallway in the middle and a barn at the east end. The new owner in 1800 added a second storey. He made use of part of one room as a kitchen and part of the other for a staircase.(3) The Big Hey farmhouse had the same ground plan but seemed always to have possessed a second storey since its erection early in the seventeenth century. Brick houses appeared during the late seventeenth century, and the handsome Hall farmhouse, entirely of brick, dated from about 1690. An early eighteenth century cottage at Leighs Brow, built in brick by the Ball family, served as the township's alehouse. Brick constructions would not possess the picturesque wattle and daub sloping walls of cruck-framed dwellings but they could have greater depth and height. Hence by 1775 houses made up in height and width what they had lost in length and appeared at first sight to be no more than neat cubes

---

(1) Tithe 136. PRO Census 1851. A ladder gave access to a room in the roof (tradition).

(2) TBO 1781-82.

(3) Tithe 132.

of brick. By this time the art of using this valuable material had become very advanced. Consequently owners could more easily safeguard their property against fire, damp, and rats which hitherto had been terrible threats to the fabric of a building and the lives of the inhabitants. Proprietors of estates rebuilt their tenants' farmhouses in brick. Thus in the late eighteenth century the Stoney Heys and Little Hey dwellings and in the early nineteenth century the Hill Top, Manor, and Litlers houses underwent a complete reconstruction from the foundation upwards.(1)

The outside face of eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings consisted most noticeably of brick, thatch, and slate. Barnton's boulder clay and other drift material, with straw and dung, provided ample raw material for bricks. A brickyard existed behind Smithy Fold in the canal settlement,(2) but obviously once the canal had been opened people could order bricks of all prices and qualities from anywhere, almost, in the country. Manufacturers shaped to size the raw material in wooden moulds and then baked the neat rectangular blocks in kilns. The quality of the finished product depended on the richness of the raw material and the skill of the maker. The excellent bricks in William Clarke's Tunnel Top row possibly cost twice as much as the irregular and soft bricks of the

---

(1) The dates of rebuilding can be gathered from observation. See also BTC TM 1816 Survey when the Manor farmhouse appeared to be under reconstruction.

(2) Tithe 133. This belonged to William Clarke of Witton who had married Sarah Plummer's daughter, Ann (1806-63). TD WHITAKER Will of William Clarke of Witton, yeoman, prob. 12 November 1846.

cottage adjoining the salt works. Early eighteenth century bricks, though not standard in size, tended to be small, but dimensions increased after the imposition of a tax on bricks in 1784.(1) Clarke's Tunnel Top houses contained these big bricks, and obviously the builder saved tax by using fewer bricks of greater dimension. Bricks tended to be well-burnt and in colour varied from reddish-brown to purple.(2) All outside walls remained nine inches, or the length of one brick, thick. Bonding differed vastly. The English bond, in which walls consisted of alternate rows or course of bricks laid first with their ends showing outwards and then with their long sides facing out, proved the strongest of all methods of construction. But on account of its appearance people did not like this arrangement in Barnton.(3) They preferred Flemish bond, which had alternate headers and stretchers in the same course. This looked very good, and appeared at Bells Brow in 1802 and 1811-13, in Sarah Plummer's shop in 1838, in Houghton's house of 1842, and in John Beech's reconstruction of his old house in 1832. William Clarke however used Flemish bond only for the front of his inn, and this practice appeared many times throughout the

(1) Up to 1784 measured nine inches by four and a half inches by two or two and a half inches. Afterwards increased often to nine and a half inches, four and three-eighths inches, and three inches. 24 G.III sess. 2 c.24 (1784).

(2) Trans.Hist.Soc. volume CIV (1952), W.A.Singleton 'Traditional House Types', p.81.

(3) Too much mortar appeared in the rows containing all headers. When the end of a brick shows it is a 'header', but when the full length appears it is called a 'stretcher'.

township. English Garden Wall bond consisted of one course of headers to three or more course of stretchers. This bond proved both strong and economical. Bricks which faced outwards had to look expensive and to stand up to the weather. Hence they cost much more than ordinary bricks which lay inside this protective outer shield. Builders therefore tried to use lengthwise almost all the costly bricks so that comparatively few in all would be needed. William Plumbley's houses, where any bond at all appeared, had one course of headers to four or five of stretchers. This pattern appeared in the reconstructed Smithy Fold of 1813, the Manor house of 1816, and Ashton Poole's Bells Brow row of 1834. Naturally virtually all side and back walls consisted almost entirely of stretchers.(1) Many brick houses, even in 1845, still had thatched roofs. This oat or wheat straw covering gave warmth but provided also a good target for fire. Thatching never proved cheap and the township paid almost eight shillings as early as 1781 for the repair of a pauper's modest roof. The Leighs Brow Poorhouse had a regular thatching with oat straw.(2) Slates naturally had great advantages and could be easily, if not inexpensively, obtained after the opening of the canal. The Hill Top farmhouse, rebuilt in the early nineteenth century, remained "brick built, part slated, part thatch"

---

(1) Clarke's Tunnel Top houses had one row of headers to six rows of stretchers. This meant that the outer walls of the messuages consisted of two virtually independent walls of bricks laid lengthwise. Headers every six rows to bind the two lots of brickwork together proved hardly adequate to make a sound construction.

(2) TBO 1781-82, 1783-84. PARL 1833 Agricultural distress, p.284, query 6122.

while three adjoining cottages all possessed thatched roofs.(1)

Windows, chimneys, and doors tended to be small. Where these survive unaltered, as in Abraham Ball's house of 1775, it is possible to make measurements to prove that contemporary descriptions of such matters as inadequate ventilation were not exaggerated. Thus one bedroom of Ball's house had a single window thirty inches by twenty inches. The larger sash windows did not appear in Barnton until the Hicksons built at Mount Pleasant in 1844-46. Perhaps on account of the window tax many dwellings had virtually no light through their back walls. William Clarke at Tunnel Top in 1833-36 put all his windows at the front, leaving only doors at the rear.

Most Barnton houses had four rooms before 1800, though the number fell after that, and some places erected as late as 1840 did not have more than two rooms.(2) Of course the township had homes like the Manor farm or William Leigh's house, commodious and well-built, and a number of houses put up in the years 1775-1811 were also excellent for the period and place. Abraham Ball's dwellings, erected in 1775, each had three rooms downstairs probably used as living

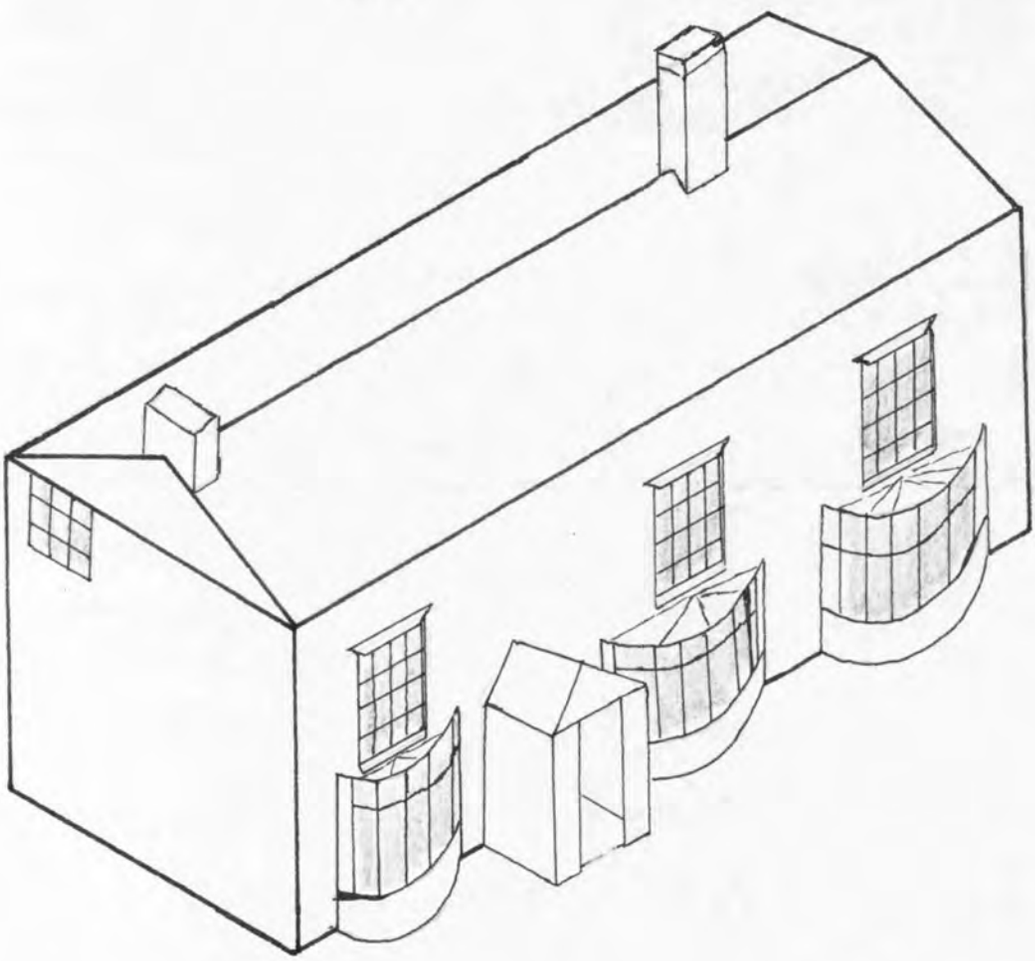
---

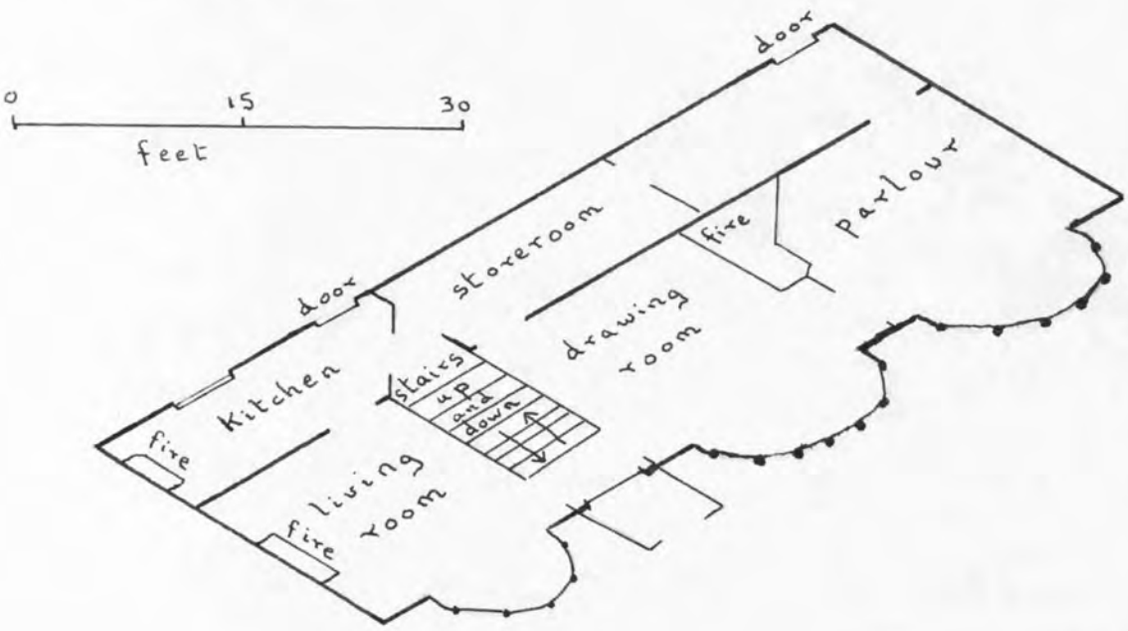
(1) CHAMBERS SHT Particulars of sale of Hill Top, 1864.

(2) For a description of small Cheshire dwellings in 1833 to supplement the Barnton account see PARL 1833 Agricultural distress, 1833, p.285, query 6149.

# MANOR FARM

1816





quarters, parlour, and kitchen. John Pointon's row in 1785 did not consist of such large houses, but each place nonetheless contained two adequate rooms and two smaller spaces for kitchen and children's bedroom. The canal company house, dating from 1790, had four rooms and a cellar. On the other hand one of William Plumbley's cottages of 1799 contained only one room on each floor. John Whitley's houses at Bells Brow, built between 1811 and 1813, afforded the tenants but one living and one sleeping room together with a pantry under the stairs.(1) In other cottages the single living room lay in front of a long narrow kitchen, and the kitchen faced a back yard and outhouses. Two of Plumbley's Rays Brow lane houses, built in 1799-1800, John Plumb's row of 1809, and William Clarke's Tunnel Top cottages of 1836 possessed this kind of ground plan. None of the main rooms provided much space for any tenant. Abraham Ball's room measured twelve feet square. Plumbley's single-roomed house provided living quarters no more than sixteen feet long by thirteen and a half feet wide. Out of this area had to be taken space for cupboards, fire, and staircase.(2) John Beech's house at Canal Side, reconstructed about 1832, possessed two living rooms eleven feet square. One of Sarah Plummer's back-to-back cottages had a living room twelve feet long by

(1) PARL 1833 Agricultural distress, 1833, p.285, query 6149, "the living room takes the whole space of the building; and with an outer lean or shoring, or a side for a pantry". Such outside pantries and kitchen grew common after 1830.

(2) The other two houses possessed rooms eleven feet by seventeen feet. Their narrow kitchens, facing the lane, measured four by seventeen feet.

less than ten feet wide. Of course some buildings gave more adequate quarters. The Manor farmhouse's living room measured twenty four feet by seventeen feet. Hill Top farmhouse had three sitting rooms, a kitchen, larder, and cellar, four bedrooms, a large attic, and washhouses.(I) The Leighs' house contained an entrance hall, sitting and dining rooms, kitchen, cellar, scullery, pantry, attic, closet, and four bedrooms.(2) Richard and William Hickson's dwellings, built in 1844-46, possessed not only two rooms downstairs but a brick kitchen and washhouse across the yard. Many tenants could not claim to be so fortunate, and had to live in one room and to sleep in the second.(3)

Barnton houses therefore remained very overcrowded. Of the township's twenty four dwellings in 1664 half would belong to farmers and would be sufficiently large to hold five or more people.(4) The standard of housing improved until the end of the eighteenth century, even though many ancient hovels survived. The improvement continued during the war. Thus the average

---

(I) CHAMBERS SHT Particulars of sale, 1884.

(2) CHAMBERS LB Draft particulars of sale, 1832.

(3) Bedrooms had to be divided with curtains as children grew up. Hence parents found it advantageous to send their offspring out to service at homes where sleeping accommodation would be provided. This meant either farms or shops like Thomas Edward's grocery business.

(4) The average number of people in each dwelling in 1664 stood at 4.8. See the Table of houses, 1664-1851.

number of people to a house fell steadily in the period 1775-1815. But between 1815 and 1845 dwellings grew smaller and population began to outstrip housing development. Usually five, sometimes up to twelve, people could find themselves crowded into a two-roomed cottage.(1)

Many houses had no separate kitchens, and wives must have given up parts of their living rooms as cooking and washing places. The pantry lay in most cases under the stairs. Plumbley's row built in 1799-1800 and Plummer's row 1834 possessed as their only storage space one cupboard under the stairs for food and another between wall and fireplace for clothes and crockery.

Some people obtained their water supply from deep wells in back yards and gardens. Others relied on springs, like the Catch Well, which fed public troughs. The settlement did not suffer from a water shortage though most had to be carried some distance to the kitchen.

The township did not help in the disposal of household waste and there was no piped water to assist in getting rid of human waste. Old people still remember dunghills and cesspits in the 1880's , so the position could hardly have been more satisfactory before 1845. The ten houses of Whitley's row shared one privy which emptied into a cesspit, and household rubbish probably went on to a dunghill nearby. Among

---

(1) PRO Census 1841, 1851, especially entries relating to Bells Brow. In one two-roomed house here in 1851 lived seven adults and five children of three different, though related, families. The average number of people to each house rose by 1831 to 5.6.

Barnton's most crowded places must be numbered the tenement belonging to Thomas Cross in the Old Boat Road built between road, canal, and steep hillside, which possessed only one small yard and two privies for its eight houses. In some areas sewage tended to become mixed with the water supply because cesspits lay so near to wells and springs. The resulting water caused fever and death. Lack of good clean water and of sewage disposal arrangements meant that houses grew damp, smelly, and germ-ridden. People, even if not ill, proved unable to give of their best at work, and the economy suffered more from disease than from all wars and famines put together.(1)

Barnton men and women could boast of new houses but not really good houses. They saw ceaseless building activity but themselves built up families ceaselessly. On account of their busy industrial lives they abandoned the habit of tending animals but tended themselves to adopt animals' habits. Hence they thought first and foremost of keeping alive, and their pleasures to a large extent lay in eating, drinking, and sexual intercourse.(2) Apparently simple and costless, such pastimes produced the diseased bodies, underdeveloped minds, and huge families which proved in one sense the scourge of the times. Houses, ugly outside and bleak, inhospitable, and unhealthy inside, possessing small yards cluttered with outhouses, filthy privies, and obnoxious dunghills or cesspits led to living conditions which tended to the "demoralization of large numbers of human beings" and produced "an adult population short-lived, improvident,

---

(1) PARL 1842 Sanitary Condition, p.97, 206-11, 369.

(2) PARL 1842 Sanitary Condition (local reports), p.232, "the animal wants are far more importunate than the proprieties of life."

reckless, and intemperate, and with habitual avidity for sensual gratifications."[1] On the other hand the devotion to and respect for family life characterized a sound and healthy society. Women, who continued to bear twelve, thirteen, or fourteen infants until the effort resulted in painful death, who looked after husband, grandparents, and offspring in one room that served as cooking, washing, eating, living, recreation, and meeting place, deserved the admiration of their expanding and prospering community. The triumph of family and human life over fearful odds proved indeed worthwhile for the spirit of the canal settlement, even though most inhabitants turned for relief now and again to religious enthusiasm and frenzied drunkenness.

---

(1) PARL 1842 Sanitary Condition, p.370.

People needed jobs

The range of jobs available and the proportion of the population employed in various kinds of work

## People needed jobs

People came to the canal settlement mainly because jobs were available. At the time of the canal building three in five Barnton men worked as tenant farmers or farm labourers. Casual labourers made up the remainder.(1) During the years 1775-1811 navigation workers grew in number, and Weaver flatmen by 1811 became the largest single group of Barnton men.

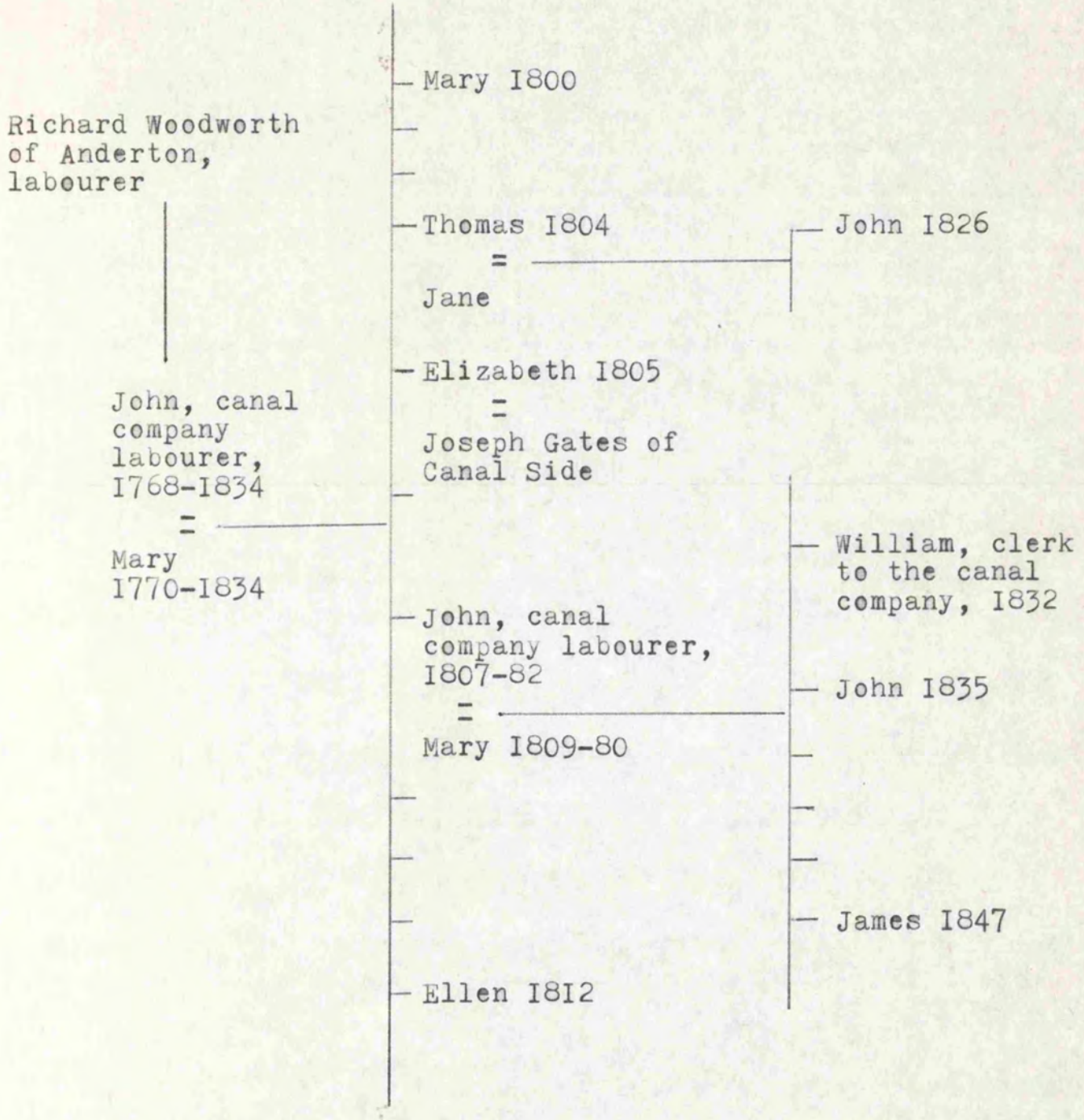
The range of jobs on the Weaver embraced flatmen and their mates, flat haulers, flat horse drivers, and lock tenders. Boatmen and leggers of boats through the tunnels received employment on the canal. Both navigations needed many full-time and occasional labourers. Large numbers of Barnton's casual labour force could thus be given work. The 1841 Census of Barnton noticed only three full-time labourers on the navigations, John Street, William Fogg, and Richard Poole the elder.(2) The position of canal company labourer, which entailed much responsibility in fact in connection with navigation upkeep, was sought partly because it brought also a comfortable house as a perquisite. The Woodwards held the job for three generations. Families like the Appletons and Minshulls often moved between Weaver and canal, and from job to job on each navigation also, very frequently. Joseph Minshull is variously described as general labourer, legger of boats through tunnels, boatman on the canal,

---

(1) The numbers of workers in jobs come from the census returns 1801-51, and parish registers, 1775-1845, both relating specifically to Barnton. The three main groups comprise agriculture (farmers, labourers, and servants who seemed to engage mainly in labouring), industry (transport, salt manufacture, shopkeeping, handicrafts and general salt proprietors, casual labourers, domestic servants.) Paupers are excluded.

(2) Poole (1754-1842) was already eighty seven years old. He was the son of Thomas and Jane Poole of Barnton and had laboured on the Weaver since his return to Barnton in 1783. By Lydia his wife he had at least ten children. He retired in 1842 on a pension of 3s 6d a week. CRO WN Minutes 4 April 1842. PRO Census 1851. There are eighteen navigation labourers by this time.

# WOODWORTH OF WOODWORTH BRIDGE



# APPLETON AND MINSHULL OF LEIGHS BROW

APPLETON & MINSHULL
OF LEIGHS BROW

Joseph Minshull of Middlewich then Leighs Brow, legger and waterman, 1795-1852
=
Catherine 1800-78

- John of Leighs Brow, legger, 1825
- Peter of Leighs Brow, legger, 1827
  =
  Sarah of Holywell in Flintshire
- Samuel 1840
- William of Leighs Brow, agricultural labourer, 1807
- Peter of Leighs Brow, labourer, 1811
  =
  Ellen
  - William 1840
- Samuel of Leighs Brow, flatman, 1814-51
  =
  Eliza 1814-49
- Moses of Leighs Brow, waterman, 1817
  =
  Elizabeth, of Warrington
  - Moses 1845
  - Aaron 1847
- Aaron of Leighs Brow, farm labourer, and Tunnel End, navigation labourer, 1820
  =
  Martha
  - Enoch 1848
- George 1822
- John of Old Boat Road, canal labourer, 1824
  =
  Ann, of Anderton
  - George 1846

Thomas of Bestway, labourer, 1767-1828
=
Sarah Davies 1776-1853

flatman on the Weaver.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century there were already about twenty eight men employed in all capacities on the waterways, eighteen per cent of the labour force.(1) This had risen to seventy three men in 1841, one-third of all male workers.(2) The proportion continued to rise as trade and industry expanded and watermen became more prosperous. Many of Barnton's houses after 1840 were built by watermen for watermen. Thus at Mount Pleasant or Princes Park landsmen felt themselves intruders.

Moreover salt works, smithy, shoemaking, shops, carpentry, and tailoring, with other crafts, trades, or occupations, which generally could be termed industrial rather than agricultural jobs, also attracted an increasing force of men. By 1815 many people tended to choose and stay in one job, either industrial or agricultural, so that the casual labour force continuously diminished. For every twelve men who worked in industry by 1811, only five remained in farming and three in miscellaneous and general occupations. Little Leigh at this time embraced almost entirely farm workers, with a few casual labourers, craftsmen, and landed proprietors.

Although the total number of Barnton's farm population remained around forty between 1775 and 1845 the proportion of this group in the total labour force naturally fell, at least until 1836.(3) Only one man in six worked on the farm by 1836, though it would be untrue to see a drift from the land in absolute terms before 1850. The casual labour force had also so greatly diminished that at times a labour shortage resulted. With these labourers must be included the male domestic servants who found employment entirely at farms. Most of these people however had not reached manhood, and some probably worked as much in the fields and farmyards as about the house. Even prosperous people like John Eaton at the Bestway Inn or

---

(1) Evidence of parish registers

(2) PRO Census 1841, 1851.

(3) Forty or more people worked in agriculture between 1775 and 1841, evidence of parish registers and census returns.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF BARNTON'S WORKERS 1811-51

The employment of Barnton's labour force in various jobs as revealed on census and parish records.

| | AGRICULTURE | INDUSTRY TRANSPORT MANUFACTURING TRADE | YOUTHS AT FARMS DOMESTIC SERVANTS PROFESSIONS MISCELLANEOUS |
|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % |
| 1811 | 26 | 58 | 16 |
| 1813-22 | 22 | 58 | 20 |
| 1821 | 18 | 65 | 17 |
| 1823-32 | 17 | 71 | 12 |
| 1831 | 16 | 78 | 6 |
| 1833-42 | 17 | 73 | 10 |
| 1841 | 25 | 68 | 7 |
| 1851 | 15 | 76 | 9 |

William Leigh could afford to pay only girls and women.(1) A temporary improvement in conditions of service at farms, coupled with the depression between two industrial booms, gave agriculture between 1836 and 1845 a more important place in the economy than had been known at any time since 1810. Meanwhile industry absorbed more and more people, from a mere dozen in 1775 to two hundred and thirty in 1851. As early as 1831 four in five Barnton men had full-time industrial work. But the speed and ease with which men changed between industry, agriculture, and general occupation, whether domestic, casual, or professional, always made accurate assessment of the position impossible. John Goodier, an agricultural labourer in 1824 and a salt boiler in 1829, returned to agriculture in 1836. He became an engineer by 1838, an agriculture labourer in 1841, and a beerseller from 1844 onwards. His changes had good reason, for he worked in Barnton's basic industry, agriculture, until economic expansion led to boom conditions. Then he entered trade or manufacturing. The diversification of occupations in Barnton also led people to sample many jobs before deciding on a career. George Garton, boiler maker, eventually saw his sons follow him in that craft. But in 1841 his son George worked as a ropemaker, his son John as a flatman, another son William as a shoemaker, and a fourth son Thomas as a gardener. The 1851 census returns showed Barnton had two hundred and ninety nine m.f. male workers. By far the largest number, one hundred and thirty nine, served as flatmen, boatmen, navigation labourers, leggers, or haulers. Then followed ninety men engaged in manufacturing, retail trade, and handicrafts. Industry therefore took four-fifths of the labour force. Forty three men remained in agriculture. Not one man in ten described himself as casual labourer, domestic servant, or professional person. The impact of economic change had certainly affected the lives of very nearly the whole population of Barnton.

(1) PRO Census 1841, 1851. Joseph and Hannah Allen of Rays Brow sent a son, George, as servant at the Big Hey farm, while two daughters, Hannah and Elizabeth, worked for Thomas Edwards of Runcorn Road, grocer and draper.

# Wages and prices:
# the cost of living in Barnton

## Wages and prices
## The cost of living in Barnton

The money which Barnton men received as wages varied considerably in amount from place to place within the township.(I) Neither employers nor their workers could coordinate wage rates and demands over even a small area for each trade or job. Economic expansion in Barnton tended to keep wages high especially for valued skilled men. Seasonable variations had long been inevitable for agricultural labourers and these men might double their average pay at harvest time by long hours and hard work. Some industrial workers were affected in this way: watermen could not expect steady work in winter, and the

---

(I) The sources which reveal Barnton wages are difficult to use for the purpose of making accurate statistical tables mainly because the documents were not intended to be studied by historians. The table of wages is therefore merely an approximate statement. See TB Barnton Town Book. Chester Chronicle. Chester Courant. CRO WN Minutes 1770-1845. PARL 1833 Agricultural distress. Sir William Beveridge Prices and Wages in England, London 1939. E.W. Gilboy Wages in eighteenth century England, Cambridge (Mass.) 1934. Mark Blaug 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New' in Journal of Economic History, New York 1963, vol. XXIII (June 1963) number 2. A.L. Bowley Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century, 1900. Wedge General View, 1794. PARL 1843 Women in Agriculture.

WEEKLY BUDGET AND WAGES

| | WEEKLY BUDGET | WEEKLY WAGES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | FOOD CLOTHES FUEL RENT RATES FOR SMALL FAMILY WITH ONE BREADWINNER | Agricultural labourer (adjusted to include gifts in kind and lodging ) | Industrial labourer | Skilled labourer and craftsman |
| 1770 | 7s 6d - 8s 6d | 6s - 8s | 6s - 6s 8d | 9s - 10s 6d peace<br>canal building |
| 1782 | 8s 10d - 10s 1d | 7s - 9s 6d | 7s - 9s 6d | 9s 10d-12s 10d war |
| 1790 | 8s 6d - 9s 6d | 7s -10s | 7s - 9s 6d | 10s - 14s peace<br>French war |
| 1801 | 14s 6d-16s 10d | 10s -16s | 10s-14s 10d | 14s- 20s war crisis |
| 1809 | 14s 6d-17s 2d | 12s -15s | 9s 6d-14s 6d | 13s-20s war |
| 1813 | 16s 2d-19s 1d | 14s -20s | 15s - 22s | 20s - 30s war crisis |
| 1820 | 10s 9d-12s 3d | 11s -13s | 12s - 19s | 18s- 24s peace |
| 1830 | 8s 3d - 9s2d | 10s -14s 6d | 15s - 24s | 24s- 28s depression |
| 1833 | 7s 10d-8s 11d | 9s -10s 3d | 13s 6d-18s | 19s- 24s prosperity |
| 1840 | 8s 2d - 9s 5d | 10s -12s 9d | 13s - 18s | 18s- 22s average |
| 1845 | 7s 10d-8s 10d | 9s 6d- 12s | 14s - 21s | 21s- 27s depression<br>Corn Law repeal |

ropemakers certainly found themselves idle in prolonged periods of rain or snow. It remained the custom to build houses and farm buildings only during spring and summer months, for the woodwork especially in beams, floorboards, windowframes, and trusses had to be given time to dry out. Wages of course mainly depended on the kind of job. Farm labourers received less than labourers at the salt works or on the navigation, though this became really true only after 1800 and really apparent only after 1815. The skilled man, the shoemaker, captain of a boat, salt boiler, or ropemaker, remained always better paid than almost all labourers. Employers in Barnton could pay different men for the same job wages which varied greatly according to each worker's worth, his personal strength of body, his enthusiasm or his need of work. With men who often dared not argue over wages employers naturally did not trouble to confer about better pay. With employers who did not dare leave abundant and valuable crops in the fields labourers did not hesitate to argue over wages.

Money wages of farm labourers could often be supplemented with food and lodging, and this custom remained valuable and common until about 1810. Even after this date many farm hands who possessed their own homes ate at least one meal with the farmer. As late as 1845 women, girls, and boys lived at Barnton farms both as labourers in fields and farmyards and as household servants. Thus James Robinson at Stoney Heys had resident in 1841 two male labourers over twenty years of age, one youth, and two young women.(1) Other farmers also kept male labourers in their homes permanently so that unbelievably low farm wages represented in many ways merely pocket money. Moreover low wages might be accepted by all sorts of workers for a large

(1) PRO Census 1841.

number of, often personal, reasons. For kindnesses received or in the hope of winning a bed mate people could slave for years for almost no money. Similarly a house might go with a particular job, and shelter could be as important as cash in an overcrowded township. The men who worked at the locks had houses provided. Whitley's row of cottages at Bells Brow seems to have been used by workers either at the Big Hey or the Barnton Salt Works which both belonged to John Whitley. Some workers who received poor relief or had their cottage rents paid discovered that to press for higher wages meant the loss of township allowances. Since the latter could be more valuable than mere wages labourers often acquiesced gladly in low pay. Alternatively, workers who possessed crofts or gardens where food could be produced remained somewhat independent of the weekly money wage. Casual labouring often brought in sufficient to subsidize the regular pay, and the Beech family of Canal Side, boatmen, usually undertook farm or road work to enable them to live in relative prosperity.

Any consideration of wage rates between 1775 and 1845 must therefore be inadequate and incomplete on account of the many variations and factors involved even in so small a township as Barnton. Wages differed not only from year to year and from job to job but just as commonly for one and the same job within a matter of months. Wages, too, need never be regarded as a family's sole means of support. Hence it is not difficult to overemphasize the importance of the daily or weekly pay which any Barnton man took home with him. During the years between the canal building and the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War wages in general tended slowly to rise from about fourteen to seventeen pence a day. Thereafter a swift and staggering increase occurred until about 1814 when a man might be earning forty or more

pence each day. Naturally wages fell with the return of peace, and in many years between 1815 and 1845 remained at pre-war levels. These figures of course demand many adjustments and corrections. The keeper of Saltersford locks in 1776 had but sevenpence a day, though doubtless the amount could be doubled by casual labouring. This salary did not rise at all until 1790 when the rate became fixed at ten pence a day or five shillings a week. During the war the wage rose to thirteen shillings and this total did not fall at all between 1815 and 1843.(1) In 1842 Richard Poole, the navigation labourer, retired on three shillings and six pence a week and in 1849 John Boden, the lock tender, received five shillings retirement benefit.(2) Barnton paupers each could expect one shilling a week between 1770 and 1790. The rate increased to two shillings by 1801 and to three shillings in 1813. By 1820 weekly poor relief had fallen again to two shillings.(3) Labourers sent by their employers, the tenant farmers, to work for the township on Barnton roads between 1801 and 1811 could expect eighteen pence a day. To meet the increased cost of living an extra sixpence was granted in 1811 and this did not disappear after the return of peace. Similarly each farmer who provided a team of three horses for road repairing between 1801 and 1811 could claim six shillings a day. Two increases, to eight shillings in 1811 and to ten shillings in 1813, reflected the general course of wage rates. But the township did not deduct the additional sixty per cent which had been granted in the years 1811-13 during at least the first five years of peace.(4) Presumably

(1) CRO WN Minutes 3 October 1776, 21-22 June 1790, 5 June 1828, 2 October 1843.

(2) CRO WN Minutes 4 April 1842, 3 September 1849.

(3) TBO 1770-1820 passim.

(4) TBO 1801-20 passim.

the landed interest which controlled the Town Meeting did not dare treat the farmers in the same way as the paupers had been treated. Thus independent and pauper labourers like Ralph Harrison who worked for the township and managed to earn two shillings a day by 1813 found that their lack of connection with a farmer reduced their pay to eighteen or even twelve pence a day by 1818.(1)

An agricultural labourer's weekly pay stood at six to eight shillings when the canal first took traffic through Barnton, though a man who received board and lodging could expect much less. Improvements on the farm, higher food prices, and the influence of the American and French wars tended to push wages up more or less steadily until 1814. By this last date the labourer got from fourteen to twenty shillings a week. Out of this the farmer took for his resident workers about one shilling a day for board and lodging. But already in 1815 wages dropped to twelve or fifteen shillings a week, and the fall continued unsteadily but surely uhtil about 1836. A Cheshire farmer reported to Parliament soon after the great Reform Act that agricultural labourers could already expect no more than nine or ten shillings a week without any addition of gifts in kind.(2) The farming community remained distressed for many of the twenty years after Waterloo on account of good harvests and thus low prices, industrial expansion with increasing competition for labour and government favour, and finally the influence of cheaper foreign food products. Improved wages after 1836

---

(1) TBC 1812-19 passim.

(2) PARL 1833 Agricultural distress. Evidence of Joseph Lee of Malpas, p.285, queries 5801-2. Wages rose after this to ten or twelve shillings. Palin Cheshire Farming, 1845, p.33.

brought new hope to the agricultural community. The labourers at salt n.p.
works, rope works, or smithy, and to a large extent the navigation workers
also, found their wages consistently rising. Though somewhat worse paid
than farm labourers in 1775, these industrial workers attained comparable
economic status by 1790 and by 1810 had begun to draw ahead. Hence while
the farm hand faced disastrous losses of wage after the war, his fellow at
the works did not by any means experience a decrease that could not be
overcome. By 1830 even the poorest-paid industrial labourer, getting
fifteen shillings a week, received more than the highest-paid farm worker.
The change in the relative position of the two sorts of labourer which had n.p.
taken place during the great period of economic expansion between 1811 and
1825 became most easily marked in the decade 1830 to 1839. For some years
after this however the gap in wages between farm and industrial workers
tended to be closed. On the other hand by 1845 a highly-paid industrial
labourer might not only get twice as much money as a farm worker but even
expect as much pay as a skilled craftsman. The skilled man had not benefited
by economic growth to the same extent as had the industrial labourer, mainly
because the latter began in 1775 with a relatively low wage rate. The
craftsman and tradesman received ten shillings a week even at the period of
the canal building. Admittedly the figure varied because the skilled man in
Barnton remained mainly self-employed and thus could earn virtually as much
or as little as they wished so long as customers continued to ask for
service. Wages doubled or trebled between 1775 and 1814 mainly during and
on account of war conditions after 1795. Demand for skilled workers at the
Barnton Salt Works and Ropery and in workshops throughout the township kept
weekly wages in general over twenty shillings. At times of industrial

recession, in 1819, 1826, 1832, and 1837, wages tended to fall. But the loss of pay in the thirty years 1815-45 stood at only one shilling. An agricultural labourer's pay had dropped by over six shillings.(1)

Wage rates between 1775 and 1845 partly reflected changes in economic conditions and partly stimulated additional movement of capital and labour between farm, shop, works, and building site. The agricultural labourer gained on average and over the whole period only two shillings and ninepence, whereas the skilled man gained fourteen shillings and ninepence and the industrial labourer twelve shillings and twopence.(2) The percentage increase indicated clearly that the industrial labourer gained even more than his more skilled neighbour from economic growth. Over the years of general wage increases between 1770 and 1813 the wages of all three types of worker advanced on average two and a half times. The farm hand gained as much as the skilled man while the labourer at works or on the navigation gained more than both. Wage reductions between 1813 and 1833 reduced the pay of both industrial and skilled workers by one fifth or one sixth and the pay of farm workers by two-fifths or one half. There can be little wonder that Barnton men left agriculture between 1811 and 1839 so that the township became almost completely industrialised by the time of the 1831 census returns. On the other hand between 1833 and 1845 agricultural labourers increased their wages to the same extent as industrial labourers. The skilled worker lagged behind considerably.(3) Hence agriculture took

(1) The skilled man's loss stood at only four per cent against the labourer's thirty seven per cent.

(2) The percentage increases respectively were thirty nine per cent, one hundred and fifty one per cent, and one hundred and ninety two per cent.

(3) Agricultural labourer, eleven per cent gain. Industrial labourer, eleven per cent gain, skilled man seven per cent gain.

heart, and Barnton seemed to be returning to its old economic organization towards the close of the seventy years following the canal building.

From their wages, whether large or small, Barnton families had to purchase and pay for the necessities of life.(1) The different needs of various families make generalization about the cost of a weekly budget almost impossible. Obviously the cost of living in the poorhouse remained very low because the township paid the rent and rates and pauper families could happily exist by long habit on coarse bread and potatoes. But labouring families generally had their own rents and rates to pay. Clothes, especially for the daughters, became necessary. Good wheaten bread and vegetables proved always expensive. Nonetheless a weekly budget ought to account for rent, rates, fuel, clothing, food,and drink for an independent labourer, his wife, and three children not yet at work.

Rents of houses and gardens tended to rise between 1775 and 1820 but

---

(1)Prices have been obtained mainly from TB Barnton Town Book, 1770-1820. CRO Q Sessions records of market prices, 1775-1845, are incomplete but valuable. Review of Economic Statistics and Supplements, Cambridge (Mass.) 1923, prelim. volume V (October 1923) supplement 2, p.219-62, N.J.Silberling 'British Prices and Business Cycles 1779-1850'. Sir William Beveridge Prices and Wages in England, London 1939. Chester Courant 1775-1845. Chester Chronicle 1775-1845. Journal of Economic History, volume ix (1949), supplement p.19-38, T.S.Ashton 'The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790-1830' gives in tabular form the costs of living in Lancashire, 1791-1831.

increases often awaited the departure of the old tenants.(1) The Landowners cottage rented at fifty two shillings a year until Benjamin Johnson took over in 1797. The rent rose to eighty four shillings but showed no further increase even in the most expensive war years. Similarly John Beach's rent did not rise between 1801 and 1815. Small farm cottages cost sixpence a week from 1775 to 1795, eightpence in the early war years, one shilling by 1807, and sixpence again from 1820 to 1840. A half acre potato ground like Bells Croft cost sevenpence a week between 1801 and 1820, and tended to drop in price slightly after that date. Hence in the cheap year 1833 a cottage and garden could be had for twelve or fourteen pence a week and an additional three acres of land might be rented for little more than two shillings. Prices naturally depended greatly on the quality of the building and on its position. The rebuilt poorhouse consisting of five

(1) The following account of house rents and prices comes from TBO 1770-1820. PARL 1833 Agricultural distress, p.297-98, queries 6113, 6114, 6119. TD GREENALL, WHITLEY deeds of the Red Lion, 1766-1842. See also TD SMEETON Bargain and sale, 8 April 1844, when two dwellings in one messuage sold at £149.10s. Rents of the new houses in Barnton would naturally be twice of much as the rents of the old farm cottages. PARL 1843 Women in Agriculture, p.290. Palin Cheshire Farming 1845, p.33, shows rent of a house and garden had reached one shilling a week. Probably two shillings a week could be charged for a good house like that built at Tunnel Top in 1838 by William Clarke. See also MISC Particulars of sale of Manor and Advowson of Witton and property in Cheshire, 1808 and 1829. New small houses cost from £30 to £50 and larger dwellings from £70 to £130 in 1828.

dwellings produced a yearly rental of ten pounds sterling after 1807. The five dwellings at Bestway could be purchased for seventy five pounds in 1766 on account of their remoteness. But after the opening of the Bestway Inn in one of the cottages and the expansion of the canal settlement the cost to the buyer in 1842 rose to £756. Generally newly-built houses sold at from forty to seventy pounds in 1775, sixty to one hundred pounds in 1805, and eighty to one hundred and forty pounds in 1845. The fuel to heat the houses did not greatly rise in price. Barnton coal cost sixpence a hundredweight in 1770, sevenpence in 1782, eightpence in 1801 and 1813, but sevenpence again in 1820.(1) Improved means of communication kept prices down. Clothing costs increased until 1815 and then dropped greatly as manufactured articles became readily available.(2) Linen, a material very commonly used by Barnton housewives before 1820, cost ninepence a yard in 1770 but one shilling in 1801 and thirteen or fourteen pence by 1813. A pair of men's shoes cost from forty to fifty pence before 1795. The price rose to fifty five pence by 1801, to sixty or seventy pence in 1813 and to almost one hundred pence in 1820. A petticoat could be had for four shillings at the time of the canal building. The same kind of petticoat brought seven shillings in 1813. A pair of women's stockings rose in price from tenpence before 1790 to one shilling and sixpence by 1810. A man had to pay just over one shilling for a serviceable hat in 1775. A similar product cost two shillings in 1801 and three shillings in 1814. An outfit for a youth cost about twenty shillings in 1770. The price did not necessarily rise much after 1795 because materials became comparatively

---

(1) TBO 1770-1820. Some coal cost tenpence in 1813.

(2) Clothing prices come from TBO 1770-1820.

cheaper and linen or wool replaced expensive leather in the breeches. Even in 1813 only three or four shillings had been added to the 1770 price. [The n.p. cost of food could always be kept low by poaching, by the eating of wild fruits and plants, by growing vegetables in private allotments, and by changing continually to the cheapest foods available each week. To this end Barnton people in general changed their staple diet about 1800. Previously they had consumed barley or oats with some wheat and rye. A quartern loaf had varied in cost before 1794 from sixpence to eightpence and consequently had not made deep inroads into a family's income. But after the outbreak of war bread began to grow dearer so that a housewife had to pay for the same loaf in 1795 one shilling and in 1800 one shilling and threepence.(1) Hence it became cheaper to exist on potatoes which though doubling in price between 1780 and 1812, seemed to last longer and be more feeding than corn.(2) Barnton

(1) For corn prices see TBO 1770-1820. Very little corn of any kind appeared in the accounts after 1800. Lord Ernle English Farming Past and Present, new edition, 1961, gives wheat prices in appendix III. The quartern loaf weighed 4 lb. 5½ oz. It cost by 1812 seventeen pence, but dropped in price after this. But people did not forsake their other means of subsistence entirely when bread grew cheaper. See also Chester Courant 16 September 1800, price of loaves in Chester. The quartern loaf of 4 lb. 4 oz. cost 17½ pence when made of wheat. The household variety cost 13½ pence. A labourer needed twenty ounces of bread a day according to the Speenhamland scale of allowances in 1795.

(2) TBO 1781-82 a measure of potatoes cost one shilling. TBO 1802-3 a half measure cost one shilling. TBO 1810-11 one measure cost over two shillings.

people therefore used their allotments almost entirely as potato grounds between 1815 and 1845.

A housewife had to spend about eight shillings a week on food, rent, rates, clothes, and fuel in 1770 if she had a working husband and three small children. This budget did not greatly rise before 1795 save during the American war. But from 1795 to 1801 a fifty to eighty per cent increase took place. Although prices fell again after 1801 there could be no return to a peacetime level. In 1812 there began another rise sufficiently sudden and swift to stagger even the most prosperous and far-sighted housewife. The simplest weekly budget could amount to seventeen or eighteen shillings. However by 1821 a pre-war level of prices had again been attained, though rents and rates tended still to make the average budget level higher than it had been in 1790. After 1821 the housewife found that her weekly budget became very stable.(1)

The comparison of the cost of the weekly budget with the breadwinner's wages gave the housewife an indication of her family's ability to survive independent of township relief. Between 1770 and 1795 most labouring families found that income only just covered normal expenditure so that during times of abnormally high prices wages alone could not keep people alive. In 1794 a family might have to spend six shillings on food and two, three, or more shillings on rent, rates, fuel, clothing, soap, candles, and other goods every week. The labourer's wage ranged from seven to ten

---

(1) There always remained good and bad harvests to contend with which made fluctuations inevitable.

shillings a week.(1) Hence the standard of living of most Barnton people at this time remained very poor. During the twenty years of war however wages increased and often kept pace with prices. Every kind of worker found employment as the economy expanded. Thus people tended to earn more money than they needed to spend on the essential weekly supplies and, except in the worst crisis years, began to enjoy a rising standard of living.(2) Between 1815 and 1845 wages never fell as swiftly or as absolutely as prices. The farm worker certainly found himself in difficulties, but his fellow at the works or on the waterways for the first time felt able to save a few pennies each week. The skilled man might save five or more shillings a week so that in time he could own his own house or shop, could purchase

(1) TBO 1779-85. Eden State of the Poor, 1797, volume III, appendix XII. Bread cost weekly forty pence, milk one penny for three pints, small beer threepence or fourpence a week, potatoes fivepence or sixpence a week. In addition a family might need tea, sugar, yeast, salt, bacon, and butter.

(2) Journal of Economic History, volume ix (1949) supplement p.19-38, T.S. Ashton 'The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790-1830.' This article sees a rising standard when all factors are considered. Economic History Review, second series, volume XIII (1961), R.M.Hartwell 'The Rising Standard of Living in England, 1800-50'. Economic History Review, second series, volume X (1958), E.J.Hobsbawm 'The British Standard of Living, 1710-1850.' Barnton people's living standards certainly rose when only wages and prices are considered. In this present paragraph other factors are excluded, and the "rising standard of living" becomes almost meaningless on this account.

land, and could invest money in industrial enterprises. Thus the canal settlement tended more and more to produce its own developers. Money begat money, and flatmen, boatmen, smiths, salt makers, and shoemakers doubled and trebled their fortunes and their standards of living.

The people's standard of living

The people's standard of living.

But did economic change produce beneficial effects? Would the standard of living be raised? And might not the entire canal settlement share in the fruits of industrial expansion?

Development on a scale never known previously turned the township into a thriving settlement but caused as much distress as prosperity among local families. Swift change, even for the better, necessarily brought upheavals and dislocation. The creation of a new community could hardly go forward without some discontent and pain. The loss of the common, for example, stripped some families of their livelihood but provided others with building plots. The provision of a home seemed to many men the answer to a prayer. Yet that same dwelling harboured for hundreds of people disease and death. Adequately-paid jobs could be found by most men, though economic growth brought also disastrous periodic depressions and enslavement to machines and the clock. Modern industry all too often relied on ancient methods and tools, so that men had by sweat to make up the deficiency.

All workers tended to be earning more than they needed to spend on essential items like food, rent, fuel, and clothes. Wages rose between 1775 and 1815 and fell only slowly after that during the remainder of the century. Prices did not rise as swiftly as wages so that, except in the war years 1807-14, families could expect a surplus of wages over prices. In this sense the nineteenth century saw excellent living standards appear because people seem to have used this surplus to buy additional goods. Many men of course saved the money to purchase land and houses, and the settlement therefore more and more produced its own developers. Money begat money, and flatmen, boatmen, and traders doubled and trebled their living standards and their fortunes.

Certain jobs like tenant farmer, waterman, merchant, retail trader, and craftsman produced after 1775 a good standard of living. More and more men took on these jobs, so that by 1851 three in five could be described as generally contented, prosperous, and secure.

Another group lived precariously close to poverty but in the main

THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF BARNTON'S PEOPLE

The proportion of the population having good, moderately good, and wretched living standards in the years 1781, 1811, 1831, and 1851.

| THE THREE GROUPS | JOBS | PERCENTAGE OF MALE POPULATION IN THE VARIOUS JOBS IN : 1781 | 1811 | 1831 | 1851 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| generally content, prosperous, little unemployment on account of industrial growth. | farmers | 20 | 10 | 5 | 2½ |
| | flatmen, boatmen | 8 | 24 | 24 | 37¼ |
| | merchants, clerks, teachers | 0 | 1½ | ½ | 3¼ |
| | retail trade & handicraft | 5 | 10¾ | 13 | 18 |
| This group had good living standards | | 33% | 46¼% | 42½% | 61½% |
| living precariously close to poverty, regularly unemployed. | half the farm labourers | 20 | 11 | 7½ | 7 |
| | half the general labourers on roads, waterways and at works | 10 | 10 | 15½ | 6½ |
| | salt labourers | 6¼ | 9¾ | 11 | 9 |
| | domestic servants | ¾ | 2 | ½ | 2½ |
| This group had at best only moderately good living standards | | 37% | 32¾% | 34½% | 25% |
| poverty, almost always reliant on town relief | half the farm labourers | 20 | 11 | 7½ | 7 |
| | half the general casual labourers | 10 | 10 | 15½ | 6½ |
| This group had wretched living standards | | 30% | 21% | 23% | 13½% |

avoided it. Salt labourers, farm workers in a reasonably secure position, and household servants lay in this economic section. But these people tended to form a decreasing proportion of the population after 1800. Hence only a quarter of the families by 1851 lived precariously close to starvation, and the proportion dropped to one-eighth by 1891.

People always reliant on township help embraced thirty per cent of the population in 1781, twenty per cent in 1811, and but thirteen per cent in 1851.

Thus industrialization in general benefited the population materially. Eighteenth century paupers found work. Hence four-fifths of Barnton families during the nineteenth century could not really complain of their living standards. Standards improved from 1775 to 1811 and from 1842 onwards. The years 1811-42 saw stagnation rather than deterioration. Some people experienced during the years around 1813 and 1830 a suffering as intense as any in history. They had probably suffered as much in previous centuries. But once men and women had tasted a better standard of living, and virtually every family at some time between 1775 and 1811 benefited from economic advance, any stagnation would seem doubly disastrous, would seem like deterioration.(I)

---

(I) This section should be used along with the fully documented discussion on the cost of living above. The years at the end of the Napoleonic War and during the first decades of peace seem to show more examples of distress than earlier or later times. See for example pages 67-70, 118-22, 185, 196, for figures and family histories which indicate that this period 1811-42 was for some people as difficult a period as any in Barnton's recorded history.

BARNTON CANAL SETTLEMENT 1843

from the tithe survey

GOVERNMENT

## Economic growth overburdened township government

Economic growth overburdened township government by presenting to institutions created for an agricultural community the problems of a growing industrial society. Therefore in the years after 1775 people tested this government and found it most inadequate. It proved however difficult to find workable and acceptable alternatives and in the meantime Barnton inhabitants had to live with decayed and inefficient institutions.

The government of the parish of Great Budworth and of its constituent townships like Barnton dated from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Vestry Meeting governed the whole widespread parish. Composed mainly of tenant farmers as representatives of the landowners, the Meeting dealt with the upkeep of church and yard, the support of the Grammar School, and parochial charities for education and the poor. For these activities the Meeting levied a compulsory Church Rate.(1)

---

(1) PRCB Churchwardens' accounts, 1699-1845.

The authority of the Vestry was transmitted to Town Meetings in each of the townships. These meetings dealt with matters like highways and poor relief which concerned only individual townships. They also carried out any business which had once been transacted by informal meetings of inhabitants within the township, such as the management of the town fields and commons. By 1775 most townships in the vast parish of Budworth had thus become virtually independent of the Vestry, and they had assumed all the authority which successive Parliaments placed on the parochial Vestry Meetings.

The Town Meeting of Barnton consisted of men who could be prevailed upon to help govern the township. Elections were never held for all voters were automatically members of this legislature. In theory a union of all freeholders,(1) in practice the Meeting contained in any one year tenant farmers representing no more than half the landowners. Occasionally the membership embraced a man like William Leigh of Leighs Brow whose wealth arose mainly from the ownership of houses and industrial property. At a meeting held before Christmas 1768 two women were present.(2)

---

(1) This is made clear when members sign on behalf of the non-resident freeholders, e.g. George Lough "for John Whitley" in TBC 1819-20.

(2) TBS 1767-68 They were women who had smallholdings. Never again however were women invited. George Leigh of Oughtrington, owner of the Hall farm, was present at some meetings in the mid-eighteenth century.

The meetings took place in any convenient houses because there existed no town hall. Farmhouses were visited in turn, but the alehouse tended to be favoured most, especially after 1770 when the Bestway Inn was opened.(1) In general there existed a regular schedule of meetings which varied little over the years. Before Michaelmas a meeting had to find suitable men to serve the offices of Constable and Supervisor whenever the previous officer was retiring. In the middle of October the accounts of these two men were examined and passed. When farm work became less time-consuming during December, January, and February, meetings considered a wide variety of important township matters. The Overseer was appointed in Easter Week, and his predecessor's accounts were scrutinized at a special meeting often held as late as June. This June Town Meeting remained usually the last before the end of the harvest. Thus Barnton's government remained tied to the needs and demands of the farmers until far into the nineteenth century. Public meetings were held, according to a 1739 decision, at one week's notice and a simple majority decided all contested issues. Moreover it was agreed that "all orders If Signed by a Majority shall stand good as if Signed by the whole town."(2) The Town Meeting acted as a law-making body, recording its decisions in the Town Book.(3) It could enforce its laws by the arbitrary imposition of

(1) TBC 1784-85. Ale was usually provided at public expense and the bill was paid by the constable, e.g. TBC 1736-37 "Spent on Making these Accounts being 15 In Company 00-2-6".

(2) TBM p.12. Any member who went to law about a decision was fined £1 by the Meeting.

(3) The seventeenth century Town Book lasted to 1731 and was then lost.

a fine or could take offenders to the magistrates. In practice few rules became necessary beyond those published for the whole county by the justices at Quarter Sessions.

Hence the main task of the Meeting was often the choice of officers to serve Barnton and the supervision of their activities and finances. Though the chief officers, Constable, Overseer of the Poor, and Supervisor of the Highways, were appointed at Quarter or Special Sessions by the magistrates, the Town Meeting had had first to draw up a list of suitable men. In 1736 the members partially solved the difficulty of treating all families alike by producing a list of nineteen tenements in Barnton and by obliging each in turn to provide a man for public office.(1) Some families, having no connection with any tenement, naturally escaped this obligation. Cottagers were never expected to serve. But some men found themselves serving twice or more for the several estates with which they had connections. The list however was not strictly followed, especially after 1780 when long terms of office became usual, and was, with other customs, abandoned by 1810. It is unlikely that the justices ever rejected a man who had been nominated by the Barnton Meeting, partly because they realized how fortunate they were to have a candidate at all. They never dismissed an officer or inspected the accounts. In this sense the Town Meeting had absolute power and Barnton was more independent than it had ever been.

The accounts, written daily in draft form by the officers, were

---

(1) TBM p.397-99. An order of 1702 in the old Town Book had provided for a similar solution, quoted in TBM p.399.

passed and signed by the Town Meeting, which erased errors, ordered details to be inserted or omitted, and gave permission for a fair copy to be made in the Town Book.(1) It is significant of the disturbance which the canal building caused in Barnton affairs that the only years between 1731 and 1823 when none of the officers engrossed their accounts in the Town Book were from October 1774 to October 1776.

All township property was administered by the Meeting. The Town Book, settlement and removal certificates, and many miscellaneous documents in the Town Chest needed preservation.(2) The Stocks, Oakwood lane Pinfold, town gates, town weapons, highways, and watercourses demanded constant repair. Rules were produced for the use of the Moor and offenders were fined. The Weaver Navigation in one way or another persistently caused damage to the Moor and the town authorities as a result charged a yearly rent "for wharfage".(3)

Charities for Barnton township were managed by the Town Meeting. But its record in this field remained deplorable. Peter Cooke of Barnton in his 1701 will left "£5 as a stocke to be putt forth for the use of the poor of Barnton". Isaac Basnett, the owner of the Stocks House estate, by his will of 1705 gave "the sume of tenn pounds to be put

---

(1) TBM p.394. The fair copy alone survives and even the signatures are copies made by the relevant officer.

(2) TBM p.1. memoranda, 1737, 1738.

(3) TBM p.3 rules concerning "the Cutting Down the gerst growing on the Common", 1734, Offenders could be fined five shillings; p.391 wharfage, 1828.

forth as a stocke for the poor of Barnton ... the yearly interest to be distributed ... upon every St.Thomas Day".(1) These charities however received inadequate attention until in 1739 the Town Meeting ordered the making of a list of persons who received the money. Apparently only three people benefited and they received from two to four shillings a year.(2) But, soon after, the charities became forgotten entirely. An official reported to Parliament in the next century that the Barnton Town Meeting had no money in its hands for distribution.(3) The township almost obtained a new charity when William Leigh died in 1825, but his fortune was not as big as he had thought.(4) Hence from 1775 to 1845 the parochial charities alone were available to supplement statutory township relief.

The Town Meeting supervised the collection of the rates which supported the fabric of local government. The money itself was in general gathered by each officer according to his needs. The Meeting had no accounts of its own. Even the ale it drank at the Bestway Inn was paid for by one or another of the town officers. The Meeting insisted that

(1) CRO Will of Peter Cooke of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 31 Jan.1700/01. Will of Isaac Basnett of Spurstow, gent., prob. 12 June 1705.

(2) TBM p.12, 22.

(3) PARL 1818 Poor Rates for 1812-15, p.38-39, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton query 12. But see also PARL 1837 Charities, p.734-36 which states that from examining the Town Book it was clear that Basnett's money "had been received and was in the township's hands, with another legacy from Peter Cooke."

(4) CRO Will of William Leigh of Barnton, gent., prob. 12 Apr.1826.

no officer should allow debts to accumulate. All were paid within a year by the imposition of higher rates. Similarly no reserves of capital were ever built up, partly because of the difficulty of storing coins.(I) Thus the income from sales of the common was always used to reduce rates. This policy ensured that future generations would not be burdened with debt repayments. But capital reserves would have been useful in periods of war and famine like I8I2-I5.

From I794 the Overseer of the Poor made himself responsible for collecting all rates and for paying money to the other officers on demand. But this reform did not solve the main problems. The burden of rates still fell on land not on industrial premises. The township was grossly under-valued. Rates were spent by members of the Town Meeting who in a sense did not have any interest in getting value for money because they could always pass on higher rate burdens to their landlords under the terms of contemporary leases.(2) The financial basis of local government remained until beyond I845 very unsound as a result.

---

(I) TBM p.393-94.

(2) These problems were not mentioned as such by Barnton men but the records, for example of rateable property, prove the seriousness of the position.

Town Officers: a description of their work; overburdening of Barnton's administration after 1810; the virtual breakdown of good government; reform

Self-help: Friendly Society

The Town Meeting of Barnton divided the administration of affairs into three partially overlapping sections: the poor, the roads, and the law. Three officers, the Overseer of the Poor, the Supervisor of the Highways, and the Constable, dealt with these matters.

## The Constable

The office of Constable was ancient being in origin a manorial appointment. The lord of the manor had, long before 1775, given up this duty to the authorities

# AN EXAMPLE OF THE ACCOUNTS OF A CONSTABLE

## FROM THE BARNTON TOWN BOOK

# The Constable Accounts of Abraham Ball Serving for Esqr. Starkies Estate for the Year 1779

| | | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1779 | | | | | |
| Oct | 27 | To my Journey to Horton Warrant and Oath | | 2 | |
| | | Given to a Woman with a Pass | | 1 | |
| Nov. | 5 | Given for Gunpowder as Usual | | 1 | |
| | | Paid the four Quartely pays as p Receipts | | 3 | 16 6 |
| | | Paid for the four Receipts at paying the same | | 1 | 4 |
| | | To my four Journeys to pay the same | | 6 | |
| | | Given to a Man with a Pass | | 1 | |
| 1780 | | For Searching for Vagrants as by Warrant | | 2 | |
| March | 16 | To a Journey to Knutsford to a Months-meeting | | 1 | 6 |
| April | 5 | To a Journey To High-Leigh to return Overseers of Hor | | 1 | 6 |
| | | Paid for the Order of the Overseer | | 2 | |
| | | To Syning the out Ring fence | | | 6 |
| | | To a Journey to Sheldwich Court | | 1 | 6 |
| May | 12 1 | To a Journey to High Leigh to return Ass. of Land tax | | 1 | 6 |
| | | Paid the Ass.rs for making Assesments | | 5 | |
| | | Paid them for going to be sworn to Assesments | | 3 | |
| | | Paid them for being sworn about Gentlemens Servants and Houses | | 3 | |
| July | 13 | To a Journey to Knutsford with Militia mans list | | 1 | 7 |
| | | To putting a Copy on the Chappel Door | | 1 | |
| | | To a Journey to High-Leigh to a Months meeting | | 1 | 6 |
| | | To a Journey to Esqr. Leighs for advice about the Militia mans Family | | 1 | 6 |
| | | To a Journey to Knutsford to a Months-meeting | | 1 | 7 |
| | | To a Journey To Marbury and Oath about Freeholders | | 2 | |
| | | To putting a list of D.o on Budworth Church Door | | 1 | |
| Oct | 19 | To a Journey to High-Leigh to return Surveyor of Highways | | 1 | 6 |
| | | To a Journey to Horton to return new Constable | | 1 | 6 |
| | | To Drawing Constable Ass.mt & Writing these Acc.ts | | 2 | |
| | | Spent at passing these Acc.ts | | 3 | |
| | | Disburst | £ 6 | 8 | 7 |

6 Disburst by Acc.t 6.. 8.. 7
Paid the old Officer 0.. 19.. 4½
7.. 7.. 11½

Gathered by Assesment 8.. 8.. 2

In Pocket £1.. 0.. 2½

Thes Acc.ts Seen and allowed by us

Therefore

of the barony of Halton probably during the fifteenth century. Therefore as late as 1845 the Constable travelled to Halton each October to be sworn in. Since the Constable enforced the common law he had to be acceptable to the magistrates, and from the seventeenth century the Court of Quarter Sessions had a general responsibility for appointments. The initiative in choosing a man for the office lay with the Town Meeting however, and until October 1790 the job of finding a candidate could be given to the family of each estate in turn. The system had not worked well and from 1790 men might be prevailed upon, or agreed to serve, longer terms without regard to the estate they occupied.

To be appointed to the office a man had to be acceptable of course to township, baronial, and magisterial authorities. But he also had to be able to write, to fill in large numbers of official forms, to account for his receipts and expenses, and to travel over the county to meet magistrates and other constables. No one demanded that he be sufficiently active to chase criminals. Barnton's Constable usually worked as a tenant farmer, a busy but prosperous man, and tended to be middle-aged. William Leigh, Constable from 1796 to 1801 proved an exception for he possessed an education and had only just reached his twenty first year when appointed. In any case a man must possess sufficient wealth to take a virtually unpaid job, though expenses proved generous and probably allowed the officer

a little profit.[1] Thomas Eaton (1739-1820) of the Big Hey and Hill Top farms provided a good example of the kind of man chosen to be Constable. He came to Barnton in 1781 and had immediately to serve as the Constable for his farm between October 1781 and October 1782. A member of the Town Meeting and the Budworth Vestry, Eaton agreed to follow William Leigh in October 1801 when he had already reached sixty years of age. Overseer of the Poor in 1801-5, and 1813-17, Eaton remained Constable until his death at the age of eighty one during the summer of 1820 and in his nineteenth consecutive year of office. The handcuffs he purchased in 1819 could not have been much used except as ornaments. But he had continued to fill in forms and even to visit the magistrates to discuss perhaps not criminals but certainly taxes, removals, and settlements.[2]

The Constable enforced the law but rarely found himself called upon to deal with criminals partly because of the expense of holding prisoners and taking them to the magistrates. Many of the laws he enforced remained merely administrative or financial measures, important but time-consuming.

---

(1) "The independent rectitude of action, sought for in the sufficiency of the estate" of the constable, was theoretically a sound policy but in practice meant little. PARL 1839 Constabulary Force p.109. All the officers made charges for their services which must have allowed some profit. The Constable charged one shilling whenever he nailed a paper to the door of Little Leigh chapel. Because he could do this task when attending the Sunday service he probably lost no working time. Similarly one shilling was charged for the writing of each tax list. Since the work could be done in spare time only the paper cost the officer anything

(2) TBC 1818-19. TBC 1817-20.

The officer yearly organized the collection of taxes. He returned the lists of those men who might be willing to assess the tax on each property, saw them appointed by the magistrates, checked their lists, and guided their choice of tax collectors. Thus in 1784 Ralph Jackson chose John Newall of the Stocks House and Thomas Woodward of Litlers as assessors of the Land Tax and they chose as collectors Richard Plumbley of Big Hey and Richard Steel of Stoney Heys.(1) Simetimes the Constable himself assessed and collected the tax, as did Thomas Eaton in 1812.(2) The Land Tax proved only one of many taxes, which existed separately on windows, houses, servants, carriages, horses, dogs, horse dealers, hair powder, and armorial bearings.(3) The Constable had to read instructions concerning additional taxes like the "new Duties on Horses and Carts" of 1785 or the unpopular income tax of 1799 and the property tax of 1803.(4) William Leigh appointed Daniel Massey to familiarize himself with the income tax in 1799, and Thomas Speakman became the unpaid expert on the property tax. He regularly journeyed to Knutsford Sessions to fight unpopular

---

(1) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1784.

(2) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1812.

(3) These taxes were consolidated by 44 G.III c.99 (1804). The tax on windows, levied till 1851, cost most Barnton cottages with six or fewer windows six shillings a year. Houses worth £5 to £20 a year paid 1s 4d. Burn Justice of the Peace, 1805, article on 'Taxes (assessed)'.

(4) Imposed respectively by 25 G.III c.49, 39 G.III c.13, 43 G.III c.122. TBC 1785-86.

decisions of magistrates.(1) The collecting of the County Rate four times a year remained always one of the most burdensome of the Constable's duties. He had to prepare the assessment himself, collect the money, and take the quarterly payment to the High Constable at Daresbury, Grappenhall, or Preston Brook. The rate often accounted for half the money the officer annually handled and rose from sixty five shillings in 1769-70 to almost one hundred and twenty shillings in 1790-91. During the war the rate doubled twice, reaching almost thirteen pounds sterling in 1808-9 and twenty six pounds in 1813-14. Additional sums were regularly collected for the repair of county or hundred bridges.

Even when the Constable was not writing tax and rate assessments he found that yearly he had to make other kinds of lists. For instance a return had to be completed of all freeholders, and this served as the list from which jurors could be chosen.(2) The freeholder's list had to be written out in duplicate, so that one copy could be put up at Little Leigh chapel and the other taken to a magistrate, usually at Marbury or High Leigh, to be certified. Finally one copy was sent or taken to Chester. A similar return of ale sellers was prepared and, at various times, of

---

(1) TBC 1798-99, 1803-6 passim. The property tax fell on landlords, house occupiers, public offices, stipends, and pensions, and was in effect the 1799 Income Tax re-imposed. Under this scheme incomes were divided into five classes, with schedules A to E, in order to bring a semblance of fairness to the system.

(2) A juror had to own free or copy hold land worth £10, or land on a long lease at a rent above £20. Thus Thomas Cross of the Manor served as a member of the Grand Jury in 1812. CRO Q October 1812 (251c) f.4.

badgers, tinkers, papists, and lunatics. The justices never seemed satisfied. Moreover Parliament sometimes instructed the Constables to undertake special tasks like the preparation of a list of gentlemen's servants in 1777, of landowners in 1799, of incomes less than £50 a year in 1813.(1) In 1818 Thomas Eaton provided "a return of the Poor Rates from the year 1800 to 1817 distinguishing every charge viz: the Poor Rate, Law expenses, repairing Bridges, Pay$^{ts}$ to Militia Men, Relief to Persons with Passes, Fines for Indictments, Highway Rate &c.&c".(2) The figures were used in Parliamentary Papers, though the surviving accounts of the town officers show that the adequate distinguishing of the various charges proved hardly possible. In 1821 James Poole the younger helped in the revaluation of rateable property when he made "a return of the Annual Value of the several Estates and rateable Property in the Township" with a schedule of the acreage of land, the state of its cultivation, the number of houses, farms, and mines, and the value of the tithes.(3) All such lists had to be delivered personally to the magistrates or other county officers, and journeys proved tedious, time-consuming, and expensive for all concerned.

Every year also the Constable had to carry out the provisions of the militia laws. Lists were prepared of men eligible to serve in local and Cheshire militia groups. In peacetime the duties of militia men seemed not burdensome and there existed little difficulty in persuading the

(1) TBC 1778-79, 1798-99, 1812-13. The Constable also supervised census returns from 1801 onwards.

(2) TBC 1817-18. See also PARL 1818 Poor Rates for 1812-15, p.38-39, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton.

(3) TBC 1820-21.

necessary one or two men to undertake two weeks of training a year. However in periods of war or civil disturbance, and especially during the years 1778-81 and 1796-1817, this overworked township officer found his duties more difficult to carry out. He had to provide men not merely for the ordinary militia but also for the regular army, the navy, the Supplementary Militia of 1797, the Army of Reserve of 1802, and the great levy en masse of 1806-7.(1) The local war effort depended on him. During such time of crisis the Constable found himself fully engaged in the preparation and publication of lists of militia men, of "Persons Names who had Guns", and of people who "have had Soldiers Billeted at their houses". He had by law to provide billets for soldiers in "inns, livery-stables, alehouses, victualling houses", and large private dwelling houses. Moreover he continually had to make many journeys to get the needful men to serve in the forces and to see that serving men did not desert.(2)

But in wartime sufficient volunteers for all purposes could not be

(1) During the war of 1756-63 the Constable's duties had been perfected. He had to find men for the militia, the army and the navy. Hugh Jackson asked for two shillings, for example, "for going severall times through the Town to search for seamen", TBC 1756-57. During the crisis of the American war in 1779-80 the Overseer undertook some of the Constable's militia duties, TBC 1780-81. TBC 1806-7 levy en masse. TBC 1797-98 Supplementary Militia. The army of reserve was raised under 42 G.III c.90 and made permanent under 44 G.III c.56 (1804).

(2) TBS 1797-98, 1802-3, 1804-5. The Constable's militia duties may be found in Paul Parish Officer, 1806, p.167

found. Therefore a ballot had to be organized to provide the Constable with the required number of men. Those who were chosen in this way could always pay for a substitute should service be inconvenient.(1) Thus busy Barnton farmers and flatmen preferred to stay at home, and less than half the militia men whom Barnton provided during the French Wars of 1793-1815 in fact belonged to the township. The Constable thus journeyed throughout Cheshire in order to find people who appeared willing to serve in the various branches of the militia. In 1803 men from as far afield as Warrington and Manchester were hired as substitutes. Thomas Eaton provided the uniform and the money for the induction ceremony.(2) Needless to say the cost proved very high, especially in years like 1806-7 when fourteen men were summoned. Families of the militia men had to be cared for and the men themselves could usually demand additional pay by threatening retirement or desertion.(3) Hence the men who served Barnton as constables in wartime rarely gained either profit or rest during their dealings with militia affairs, and Hugh Jackson of the Hall, Constable for 1756-57, became not the last officer to claim extraordinary expenses "for Trouble

---

(1) TBS 1793-94. TBC 1796-97 "To a Journey to Knutsford to draw for the Cavalry". TBS 1812-13 "my Journey to Knutsford to Ballot for 7 Men" for the Cheshire Militia.

(2) TBC 1802-3. See also TBS 1813-14 when three shillings were given to "the Bellman, at Warrington, for warning, bringing a Man &c. for the local Militia." The cost of the induction, including dinner, reached fifty two shillings.

(3) TBC 1813-14 "for a Substitutes relief, in Cheshire Militia" two guineas was paid.

more then Common Occasion'd by the Justices to bring in Persons for Soulders".(1)

More leisurely but not less important duties concerned the administration of township property. The constables were continually troubled by cottagers' unthinking abuse of moorland privileges, by beasts and birds which destroyed crops, and by farmers whose carts damaged roads and fences. Every day therefore the officer had to keep his ears and eyes open. The town fields were given fences or hedges, stiles, and gates, though with the enclosure of most lands much of this work fell to the individual owners. Yet some areas, especially bordering Lydiart and Townfield lanes, remained open and the fence round the remainder of the Town Field had therefore to be repaired.(2) But in 1821 these fences ceased to be the township's responsibility, and the Lydiart or Town gate, giving access to the Town Field, could be removed in the spring of 1822.(3) Similarly the Oakwood Field was hedged and gated but ceased to be so about 1815.(4) In order to safeguard crops the township gave a reward for the capture of "Sparrows, Bulfinches, Tomtits" and the destruction of their eggs.(5) From public funds the Moor and Moor Hills were hedged round, and yearly the Constable "tyned" the hedge

---

(1) TBC 1756-57. This occurred during a war which proved incomparably less dangerous than the Napoleonic struggle.

(2) TBC 1790-91 "To Gates and stumps and rails and Iron Work and Workmanship for the Townfields as per Bills."

(3) TBC 1821-22. See also for repairs to the gate, TBC 1790-91, 1801-2, The further Townfields were separately gated.

(4) TBC 1796-97, 1798-99.

(5) TBC 1794-96, 1808-9.

and cleared out the ditch. Expensive railings had to be put up in some places, especially along the line of the Barnton and Anderton boundary. Thus animals from other townships could be kept away from the grazing lands of Barnton beasts. Rules were made concerning the use of the moor so that it might be of the utmost value for the production of fuel and food.(1) The Constable repaired the Pinfold, an enclosure on Oakwood lane common where stray animals were kept, and provided a gate with stout locks.(2) The Stocks, used until about 1830 for the detention of prisoners, stood where Lydiart lane joined the main highway. A new pair were erected in 1748, given new stone sides and a flagstone base in 1763, and repaired as late as 1823.(3) Barnton possessed no permanent lock-up, but the alehouse could be used at times. Finally a close guard had to be kept on the Town Box or Chest, with its heavy locks and keys, the Town Book, and the age-old pikestaffs which made up the town arms.(4)

But the Constable remained above all a conservator of the peace. He fought against wrongdoers in order to protect Barnton people and their property. Of the Natural Rights of the inhabitants which the officer

---

(1) To "tyne" is to make up gaps in the hedge. TBC 1814-15 "for railing &c at Sut-hill". TBC 1801-2, 1822-23 Horses from other towns were warned off the moor.

(2) Tithe 229. Still in use in 1846. TBC 1822-23.

(3) Tithe 134. Removed when the shop was built in 1838. TBC 1747-48, 1762-63, 1822-23. The last repair was by James Hayes of Canal Side, blacksmith. BTC TM 1816 Survey showed clearly the space occupied by the Stocks.

(4) TBC 1731-32, 1802-3, 1737-38.

had to do his best to guarantee, life seemed to be by no means as highly regarded or as adequately protected as property whilst liberty, through the antiquated methods of law enforcement, remained as often as not for the criminal.

The enforcement of the law consisted in a regular watch and ward throughout the township. Four times a year the Constable sought suspicious people in "a general privy search in one night". Vagrants proved most likely to cause trouble, and the law included in this despised section of the community beggars, jugglers, "common players of interlude", gipsies, unlicensed pedlars, the unemployed, and travellers who possessed "any picklock key, crow, jack, bit or other implement".(1) Such people could not easily hide themselves. Men and women could be arrested merely on suspicion of their being idle, disorderly, and incorrigible rogues and vagabonds. A vagrant could be taken before a magistrate and confined in a house of correction, but was more often whipped "till his body be bloody" and then escorted out of Barnton. Generally if an offender's name was known and time allowed, the constable made his arrest either after indictment by a Grand Jury or in obedience to a special warrant obtained beforehand from a justice of the peace. Thus in August 1778 William Appleton the younger found himself arrested by a magistrate's warrant and taken to Middlewich House of Correction.(2) If there existed difficulties in the way of making an arrest the Constable could raise a hue and cry so that all inhabitants would search for the wrongdoer.(3) He could even gather a posse,

(1) The quotations come from 17 G.II c.5 (1744) and from Paul Parish Officer, 1806, p.151. See also ibid, p.133-74 for the duties of constables.

(2) TBC 1777-78 PARL 1776 Vagrants, p.64, shows the Barnton Constable had to take vagrants to Middlewich.

(3) TBC 1755-56 William Appleton the elder raised a "hueinory".

employing deputies on foot or horseback to search the neighbourhood. In certain circumstances he could ask for a posse comitatus to seek for and pursue a felon throughout the county.

The Constable of Barnton rarely took any interest in offences which had been committed outside the township even by Barnton people. He found neither time nor money to spend in helping other constables in their pursuit of criminals. When in 1819 Thomas Eaton broke this custom, the arrest and conveyance to prison of the stranger cost the township six pounds sterling.(1) Since this expenditure would have paid Mary Percival's pension for eighty five weeks and Sarah Poole's for sixty four weeks the cost of arrests seemed to be far too high to make them acceptable to the ratepayers. Thus, some months later, the township had nothing to do with the arrest, for "stealing three silver tea-spoons, and two cups and saucers, of the value of ten shillings", of two Barnton girls, Sarah Yarwood, aged fifteen, and Mary Fogg, aged sixteen.(2) Since the goods belonged to a Northwich innkeeper it did not seem that Barnton could gain from the girls' arrest. On the other hand the township did benefit, for it was spared the expense of supporting Sarah and Mary, who were paupers, during their three months' hard labour at the Middlewich House of Correction.

But the Constable made comparatively few arrests even after an offence was committed within Barnton. If the culprit had come from outside the township, the Constable did not want the trouble of organizing a pursuit. If the culprit proved to be a Barnton resident, the Constable did not desire

(1) TBC 1818-19. The township however obtained 14s 2d from selling the "cotton wool" the man was carrying.

(2) CRO Q October 1819 (258c) f.4 Calendar of prisoners at Middlewich; QSO 1 p.167.

to apprehend a friend or a neighbour, or the friend or the neighbour of one of the powerful and respected Barnton farming families. His position remained difficult, for after his term of office he still had to live in the township. Thus the punishment of theft, arson, or assault was often left to the individual householder and private associations had to be formed, pledged to chase and prosecute malefactors.(1)

The Constable however made exceptions to this policy whenever it proved profitable, or at least not costly, to do so. Offences against the bastardy or settlement laws remained a source of such financial loss to the township that punishment of the culprits became one of the officer's main duties through fear of the ratepayers. In 1802 Joseph Baxter of Rays Brow, a farmer and adherent of the Quakers, was arrested for getting Ellen Foster of Barnton with a child who seemed likely for many years to need poor relief. Baxter refused to admit his guilt or to marry the woman, partly because he was already over fifty years of age. Thomas Eaton took him before the magistrates at Hoo Green and Knutsford, where he was bound over to support the child. Twins were in fact born in 1803. Baxter contributed over forty four pounds sterling towards their upbringing, though the township had to add an equal sum between 1803 and 1816.(2) In this and many other cases the Constable's action saved the ratepayers substantial amounts of money. On

(1) Chester Chronicle 11 July 1776, Notice of subscription in Little Leigh to such an association. Barnton examples have not yet been found.

(2) TBC 1801-2, 1802-3, 1803-16 passim. Mary and Benjamin were christened at Budworth on 19 June 1803. They were left all Baxter's household goods in 1815, CRO Will of Joseph Baxter of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 2 October 1815.

the other hand no Barnton Constable interfered when Barnton men got women of other townships with child.(1) The officers found plenty to do in removing people who settled illegally in the township and threatened to overburden the financial resources of Barnton. The place could absorb dozens of skilled and unskilled workers every year, but could never afford to give out to all of them even occasional relief. Any person who settled in Barnton and seemed likely to become or actually was a charge on the poor rate might be arrested and removed, if he could not prove his legal right to remain and receive relief. Thus in 1785 William Plumbley had a warrant for Timothy Ormond or Allman (1746-1813) and his son John. On this occasion the family won the case and remained to demand relief until 1817.(2) The ratepayers were never happy and reopened the matter several times without success. Their failure to remove the Allmans left Barnton with a problem family. Timothy Allman's son, William, born in 1775, found himself arrested by warrant for stealing in July 1802 "from a certain booth or tent, then situated or erected on the raceground, at Nether Knutsford ... a barrel

---

(1) CRO Q January 1775 (214) f.1, no.139. Thomas Dutton of Barnton, labourer, had been arrested by the Constable of Seven Oaks for getting a Seven Oaks woman with child.

(2) TBC 1784-85, TBO 1816-17. The family had come to Barnton at the time of the canal building. Timothy the younger (1773-1817) was the last member to remain in Barnton to trouble the ratepayers. He died while negotiations were going on for his removal.

or cask, containing British brandy".(1) But the Constable of Barnton took no part in the long search for Allman or in his commitment late in August to the House of Correction. Indeed the accounts of the constables would suggest, erroneously, that Barnton people remained very law-abiding and the township itself exceptionally peaceful.

The prevention of all riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies, especially at election times or in periods of famine and unemployment, fell to the Constable. He could if necessary read the Riot Act, and arrest demonstrators or those who combined to raise wages or shorten working hours. He arrested "all persons drinking in an alehouse disorderly, at any unreasonable time of the night" and all labourers whose orgies hindered their ability to work or support their family. Similarly, profane swearing and the selling of lottery tickets without a licence could be punished, often merely with a fine.(2)

The Constable however tended to retreat from active law enforcement and "either through a mistaken lenity, or the expense of prosecuting" allowed offenders to remain free.(3) He contented himself with reporting to the

---

(1) CRO Q October 1802 (241c) f.4 Calendar of prisoners at Middlewich to be tried at Knutsford. Allman and his accomplices were found "severally not Guilty", possibly for lack of evidence but probably because the jury refused to convict men for a comparatively minor offence which bore the penalty of transportation or perhaps death.CRO QSO 28a p.682.

(2) Paul Parish Officer, 1806, p.145.

(3) Chester Chronicle 11 July 1776, Notice of subscription in Little Leigh criticizes the constables in these phrases.

Bucklow Hundred magistrates at their monthly meetings or making presentments to the Quarter Sessions about abuses like stray cattle, bad roads, or troublesome, and usually old, women. These statements proved ofcourse useful in giving a true picture of the state of the county to justices who remained accountable to the central government. In order that abuses should be remedied the constables of the district were given precise orders by the magistrates. But the Barnton officer responsible for law and order found himself loaded with jobs which no other servant of the township could or would undertake. He acted thus as the fire officer of Barnton, responsible for searching for secret stocks of gunpowder and firearms.(1) He examined and checked the shopkeepers' weights and measures and administered the war-time bread and flour regulations.(2) He gave relief to servicemen who travelled with passes through Barnton on their way home and to all people who appeared obviously in distress, like the six "Americans who had been Shipwrecked" in 1793.(3) In addition the many people who in any way served the township had to be rewarded, compensated, or thanked by the Constable. This busy man, as the senior officer of the township, remained also responsible for ensuring that the other officers received legal appointment. Thus early in March each year

---

(1) He yearly supplied gunpowder for Guy Fawkes Night.

(2) TBC 1800-1, 1799-1800, "weighing examining & carrying home the Shopkeepers Weights".

(3) TBC 1792-93. See also TBC 1731-32 a most generous 5s 6d. was given to "the Cutlandish Prince" and he was escorted to the Little Leigh boundary; TBC 1776-77 "an Old Soldier with a pass" 6d; TBC 1784-85 several sailors were relieved; TBC 1793-94 seven Americans were given four shillings after their "ship was destroyed by Lightning and Thunder".

he returned the name of the proposed Overseer of the Poor to the magistrates and obtained from them an appointment order. Similarly the new Supervisor was installed at Michaelmas. The Constable had in addition to see that his own successor's name was given to the justices and was known at Halton before the October Court took place. As senior officer he remained generally answerable to the authorities fof the good conduct of all other officers.

Finally deaths that appeared in any way suspicious had to be investigated. Drownings in the canal accounted for most unnatural deaths, and formal inquests were arranged. Adventurous children were killed by accident and such disasters struck families of all degrees of wealth and social standing. John Cross lost a son in 1778 soon after taking over the Manor farm. Joseph Boyer, a labourer, lost his son in 1787. But inquests on the bodies of the prosperous cost no more and seemed no better arranged than those on the poor. There occurred in addition more unusual cases. In the middle of May 1781 Isaac Bradburn's house fell down. Bradburn was at home at the time. Being a cripple he could not escape and was killed. John Cross travelled to Knutsford to find the coroner, who promised to come almost immediately. In the meantime a jury had been summoned from neighbouring townships, a room was booked at the Bestway Inn, and ale was ordered. The inquest duly took place on 26 May, seven shillings were paid to the landlord and the jury for their trouble, and a verdict of accidental death was returned. Bradburn went on 27 May 1781 to a pauper's grave at Budworth.(1)

The Constable's varied and ever-increasing range of duties became evident in his yearly budgets. About 1775 the officer needed a threepenny

---

(1) TBC 1780-81.

rate which raised over six pounds sterling. He demanded an additional penny during each of the next two decades. War duties proved expensive however, and after 1800 a rate of one shilling proved necessary to raise the essential minimum expenditure of twenty five pounds. A peak expenditure of over fifty seven pounds occurred in 1812-13, and even in years of peace after this became hardly reduced. The officer spent most of the money at all times on administration rather than on law enforcement. He charged one shilling a time to write out tax lists and demanded huge sums to pay the county rates. In the year 1783-84 two-thirds of the budget went in collecting and paying the rates. Large amounts disappeared on other tax matters and on returning yearly lists of freeholders and militiamen. Just over one-twentieth went on law enforcement in the widest sense, which embraced inquest duties, warrants for bastardy and settlement, and the drawing up of the yearly accounts.(1) This may partly reflect a peaceful township but also hints at the inefficiency of eighteenth century constables.

The constables were supposed to be, through their presentments and warrants, the eyes and hands of the justices of the peace. But "it is proved that at present the eyes are almost blind and the hands powerless".(2) Appointments were sanctioned of men who proved physically unfit, engaged in other full-time work, unwilling to arrest friends and neighbours, underpaid, and if not open to bribery at least always glad to abandon a case on the slightest excuse.(3) They became encouraged in their attitude by ratepayers

(1) TBC 1810-11 Thomas Eaton spent only $2\frac{1}{5}$ per cent of his budget on constabulary law enforcement duties proper.

(2) PARL 1839 Constabulary Force, p.168, 114-15.

(3) PARL 1839 Constabulary Force, p.101-3, 118. Barnton did not suffer from "broken down publicans and shopkeepers", but the tenant farmers could hardly have been adequate officers, especially in spring or at harvest time.

who seemed unwilling to spend money on arrests and prosecutions.(1) Procedure remained slow. Warrants had to be obtained from distant magistrates and the culprit, provided he had not disappeared, had to be taken under escort long journeys before he could be imprisoned and prosecuted. Moreover the officer found too much of his time occupied with formal administrative matters.(2) Such activity reflected the speed of the canal settlements's development, the regular arrival of immigrant families, and the disastrously unsettled condition of an uprooted population. Economic expansion in Barnton had thus in part led to the overburdening of the Constable with work. The administration of law and order virtually broke down by 1820. Rarely could any man feel certain that his person and property remained safe or that his neighbours, so often new arrivals in Barnton, could be trusted, but, bewildered by the swift development of the township and oppressed by forces he could no longer understand or control, would often feel isolated and alone in an alien environment. Indeed "the only real security of the subject consisted in his own power of self-defence".(3) Crime became attractive because it paid well and rarely led to the House of Correction. Therefore people saw no reason to slave for long hours as wage earners. Young men between the ages of seventeen and twenty one proved the worst law-breakers, especially the

---

(1) PARL 1839 Constabulary Force, p.25-26.

(2) TBC 1814-15 Much effort was expended in the case of James Stelfox's rates.

(3) PARL 1839 Constabulary Force, p.2.

the vagrants who remained mobile, intelligent, and unscrupulous.(1) Robbery on roads and waterways, often accompanied with violence, became a scandal. The countryside filled with thieves, cheats, and liars.

Reformation could not be long delayed. Trafford Trafford of Oughtrington, chairman of the Cheshire Quarter Sessions, struggled for many years to obtain wider powers for the magistrates of the county. In 1829 he obtained an Act to enable the justices of the peace to appoint "Special High Constables for the Several Hundreds ... and Assistant Petty Constables for the several townships".(2) These officers, appointed by and under contract to the Court of Quarter Sessions, had to be under forty years of age, able to read and write, and willing to take up residence in any district to which they might be sent. They did not replace the township constables, but were not bound to observe in their duties ancient township boundaries. The Act proved to some extent a success in Cheshire and there appeared an increase in the number of arrests.(3) But on the other hand far too few constables were

(1) PARL 1839 Constabulary Force, p.181. Criminals were encouraged to break the law "from the temptation of obtaining property with a less degree of labour than by regular industry, which they are enabled to do by the impunity occasioned by the absence of the proper constitutional protection to the subject." PARL 1839 Constabulary Force, p.16, showed the age of prisoners at Knutsford. Of 1,220 persons committed in 1836-37 to prison 581 came from Cheshire, 275 from "anywhere", 210 from Lancashire and 154 from Ireland.

(2) 10 G.IV c.xcvii. This was repealed by the Cheshire Constabulary Act, 15 & 16 Vict. c.xxxi (28 May 1852).

(3) PARL 1839 Constabulary Force, p. 111.

appointed and the authorities moved them after a few months to places where the administration of law and order had not yet been organized. Thus Barnton had resident police constables only for short periods. Each left before he knew the township and its people properly. Lewis Lipsett, constable in 1846-47, remained hardly one year.(1) Despite the success of the Constabulary it became criticized for its expense by ratepayers and disliked by many magistrates. In 1839 a Report on the best means of establishing an efficient police force urged the national adoption of many features of the Cheshire system. The same year Parliament passed an enabling Act,(2) and during the following twenty years the enforcement of law and order was placed on a more satisfactory basis throughout the county.

## THE OVERSEER OF THE POOR

The relief of poverty became an ever-increasing burden on the people of Barnton after the opening of the canal. Economic development certainly brought prosperity to many families. But a long working day in the unsatisfactory conditions of a salt works panshed or a cobbler's shop, wages which could hardly buy a sufficiently nutritious diet for the bread-winner, and above all recurring crises in agriculture and manufacture meant also much unemployment, illness, and the premature ageing of the population. Few believed that the problem of poverty could ever be solved and therefore the

---

(1) W.Sup.Reg. Death Certificates of Lipsett's wife and daughter in July 1847 give the last date of his residence in Barnton. He had not arrived at the time of the 1846 Tithe Apportionment.

(2) PARL 1839 Constabulary Force, p.111 2 & 3 Vict. c.93 (27 August 1839). A county constabulary was made compulsory by 19 & 20 Vict. c.69 (21 July 1856).

task of Overseer, the officer in charge of the township poor, concerned merely the alleviation of as much hardship as possible by the donation of unemployment, old-age, and sickness benefits, by the gift of family allowances and the promotion of private employment of paupers, and by the maintenance of the real income of wage earners in times of scarcity through wage subsidies.(1)

The office of Overseer of the Poor was created under a 1572 Poor Law Act, and the duties were defined by the Act of 1601 which consolidated and clarified the provisions of previous sixteenth century statutes.(2) The Overseer, under the supervision of the churchwardens and from two to four substantial householders, had to divide the poor into three sections. Those who proved able to earn a living but refused to do so could be denied all help and, in certain circumstances, sent to the House of Correction or common gaol. Those who seemed able to earn a living but could not find work might be employed by the Overseer who was allowed to use a specially-purchased "Stock of Flax, Hemp, Wool, Thread, Iron and other necessary Ware and Stuff". Thirdly,"towards the necessary Relief of the Lame, Impotent, Old, Blind, and such other among them, being poor and not able to work" the officer gave money or gifts in kind. For these helpless

---

(1) Eden State of the Poor, 1797, volume I, p.413. It seemed unlikely that the "Poor will ever cease out of the land". For a defence of the old Poor Law see Mark Blaug 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New' in Journal of Economic History, New York 1963, number 2, p.151-84.

(2) 14 Eliz. I c.5, 43 Eliz.I c.2.

people he could provide "fit and convenient Places of Habitation" which labourers usually built on the common at public expense. Pauper children found themselves counted among this third section of the poor and were often apprenticed to tradesmen rather than relieved.

The Overseer was not however left to carry out these already-burdensome duties, forduring the following two centuries the authorities presented him with a large amount of additional work. In 1662 Parliament developed the law of settlement more adequately to restrict the movement of the poor from township to township.(1) A man became entitled to relief only in the place where he had by birth, estate, profession, or office acquired a legal settlement. Any man likely to be a charge on the poor rates could be removed from all other places within forty days of his arrival. Barnton ratepayers insisted that their Overseer fulfil his duties in this respect as literally as possible. In 1722 Parliament allowed townships to combine for the purpose of erecting places where the unemployed might be given work. But Thomas Gilbert's Act of 1782 changed the emphasis of this statute by allowing the relief of only the old, crippled, diseased, or very young in such buildings which therefore became in effect merely poorhouses.(2) The able-bodied unemployed remained a problem. Many justices in their Quarter Sessions followed the example of the Berkshire magistrates at Speenhamland in 1795 who abandoned schemes for workhouses in favour of outright monetary payments. Such pensions

---

(1) 14 Chas.II c.12. A poor man was a person who did not own or rent a house worth £10 a year or who could not give a sufficient security against becoming a charge on the rates. This Act was amended many times.

(2) 9 G.I c.7, 22 G.III c.83.

varied in accordance with price of bread and the size of a man's family. This method led to grave abuses and scandal. Moreover from the late seventeenth century onwards the central government tended no longer actively to attempt the control of economic distress. Formerly the Poor Law had been coupled with many other measures that regulated prices, unemployment, and evictions. By 1775 it had become the sole and inadequate means of dealing with poverty, and the Overseer, deserted by the government, assumed the lonely and burdensome duty of relieving the poor without much outside help or guidance.

The men chosen to carry out these duties in Barnton had theoretically to represent each estate in turn. But in general any willing member of the Town Meeting might be appointed. The nomination and election took place at Eastertime and the officer was installed soon afterwards with the assent of two magistrates.(1) Like the Constable the Overseer of the Poor remained necessarily a prosperous man and virtually without exception a representative of that interrelated farming community which ruled Barnton till at least 1820. Thus John Cross of the Manor served from 1781 to 1782 and Thomas Hughes of the Hall from 1817 to 1820. There existed a small salary(2) and all expenses were paid, but these profits seemed by no means sufficiently attractive to encourage men to serve for long periods. Therefore the motives for acceptance of office, after the breakdown of the strict obligatory rotation, probably embraced not only a desire for the social standing which the serving of public offices provided and a love of

(1) TBC passim. Paul Parish Officer, 1806, p.43-47.

(2) From 1781 two guineas, from about 1801 three guineas, and from 1810 four guineas.

the personal power which accrued to office holders but also a sense of duty if not to the community at large at least to the social and economic group of tenant farmers and prosperous traders. Three men served as Overseer during the crisis of the Napoleonic War and the troubled years of peace which followed when the duties proved more burdensome than ever before or after. Thomas Speakman, who worked at the Stoney Heys between 1800 and 1818, served for the six years from April 1805 to April 1811. A member also of the Town Meeting and Barnton's Townshipman at Budworth, he was fortunately, when first appointed, only thirty years old. James Poole of Balls was over fifty during his strenuous term of office between 1811 and 1813, while Thomas Eaton of the Big Hey who served for four years from 1813 to 1817 was approaching eighty years old.

The duties of the Overseer had fallen by 1775 into three groups. Firstly he carried out miscellaneous tasks not directly connected with the poor. Secondly he dealt with matters directly related to the poor but not strictly to poor relief. Thirdly he relieved poverty by giving out money or goods and by providing work.

The first group of duties became onerous as its diversity increased with the expansion of the canal settlement. All bills which were sent in by the other township officers had to be paid. This duty, originating fully only from 1794 when both Constable and Supervisor ceased to collect their own rates, entailed the handing over of thirty three pounds by 1806 and ninety three pounds by 1813 to the Constable, the Supervisor of the Highways, the Moletaker, and the Budworth Vestry for church rates. Sums of money might be given at various times to Budworth school and to militia men.(1) Tax assessments were written out, and Barnton people had to be

(1) TBO 1804-5, 1780-81.

defended at law against the unjust exaction of rates, taxes, and excise duties.(1) Information was returned to county and national authorities perhaps to give an account of "what every Person in the Township Paid last year to the Poor Rate, and what every Persons Rent now is", of the number of cattle and the amount of corn in Barnton, or of the condition of the countryside in general.(2)

Within this section of duties fell the administration of township property. The Overseer supplemented the efforts of the Supervisor by paying and organizing teams of horses and men to work in the highways, though often the labourers "with shovels" proved to be merely paupers earning in this way additional poor relief.(3) The Overseer also protected the common land by issuing rules for the guidance of all inhabitants, though he continually found that here his activities overlapped those of the Constable and the Supervisor, partly because one man had so often served two of the three offices at once and had consequently confused the separate duties.(4) Enclosures of common land might be leased to householders and tenant farmers. The rents amounted to over twenty pounds a year by 1810. The township also owned cottages at Bells Brow and Leighs Brow for which the officer was obliged to organize repairs, especially daubing and thatching, to return land and property taxes, and to pay the

---

(1) TBO 1810-11, 1816-17. The case of the Board of Excise against Thomas Chantler's assignees is detailed in TBO 1811-12.

(2) TBO 1803-4.

(3) TBO 1806-7. Thomas Speakman employed eight farmers with their teams at a total cost of £7 for an average of six days work each.

(4) Thomas Eaton served as Constable and Overseer from 1801 to 1805.

church, poor, constable, and highway rates.(1) In addition sales of common land, for instance to the Weaver and canal proprietors, were negotiated to the best advantage of Barnton ratepayers.(2)

The second section of the duties of Overseer concerned the poor, but entailed the spending of money not on relief but on journeys, correspondence, and solicitors' fees in order that laws should be carried out which, though considered very necessary, had little positive bearing on a pauper's welfare. The administration thus fell into disrepute not merely among the poor but with angry ratepayers too. Provisions which had been added to the Poor Law in 1662 clearly defined the township's power to remove from Barnton potential and actual paupers. Such persons could be transported to their own places of legal settlement.(3) Alternatively Barnton ratepayers had to accept all paupers who had a legal settlement in Barnton. A man gained a settlement in the place where he had been born, or where his parents lived, and in any township where he rented or owned property of a certain value, paid rates and taxes, became hired for a year by a farmer or tradesman, undertook a public office, or served an apprenticeship.(4) The law of settlement was enforced in Barnton partly because the ratepayers disliked giving relief to paupers who had homes elsewhere and partly because the township possessed limited resources which could not ordinarily be supplemented by subsidies from a county or national

---

(1) Tithe 155 and 275. TBO 1801-2.

(2) TBO 1772-73, 1773-74.

(3) After 1795 only people who had actually asked for relief could be removed (35 G.III c.101).

(4) Paul Parish Officer, 1806, p.84-115.

administration. Overspending would bring about the breakdown of a local government which, until 1836, remained virtually independent. Hence the Overseer of the Poor went to any length to remove paupers, and Speakman for example on one occasion travelled on the officer's behalf as far as Holyhead.(1)

The law of settlement did to some extent restrict population movement but not economic development, for Barnton was not short of skilled or unskilled labourers and did not suffer from overpopulation. The people who found themselves removed from Barnton were, especially after about 1795, the old, the useless, the unemployed, and unmarried mothers. Those accepted from other places proved again to be unmarried mothers together with casual labourers and old women.(2) Removals and settlements figured largely in township affairs especially in times of crisis when the law became strictly enforced. Five cases had to be dealt with during the worst years of the American War from 1779 to 1781, eight cases during a similar

---

(1) TBO 1815-16. See also TBO 1813-14 when he also went to Birmingham.

(2) The families of tenant farmers were generally secure, though younger sons who became labourers were often dangerously near to finding themselves removed. The only example in the century 1733 to 1834 when a member of the immediate family of one of the dozen most prosperous tenant farmers found himself removed occurred in 1759. The wife and children of Thomas Steele, son of Thomas Steele of Stoney Heys, were sent from Marston to Barnton after they had been deserted by their bread-winner. This case is in fact the first of the long and expensive struggles of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. TBO 1759-60. CRO Q January 1760 (199) f.1, no.15-17.

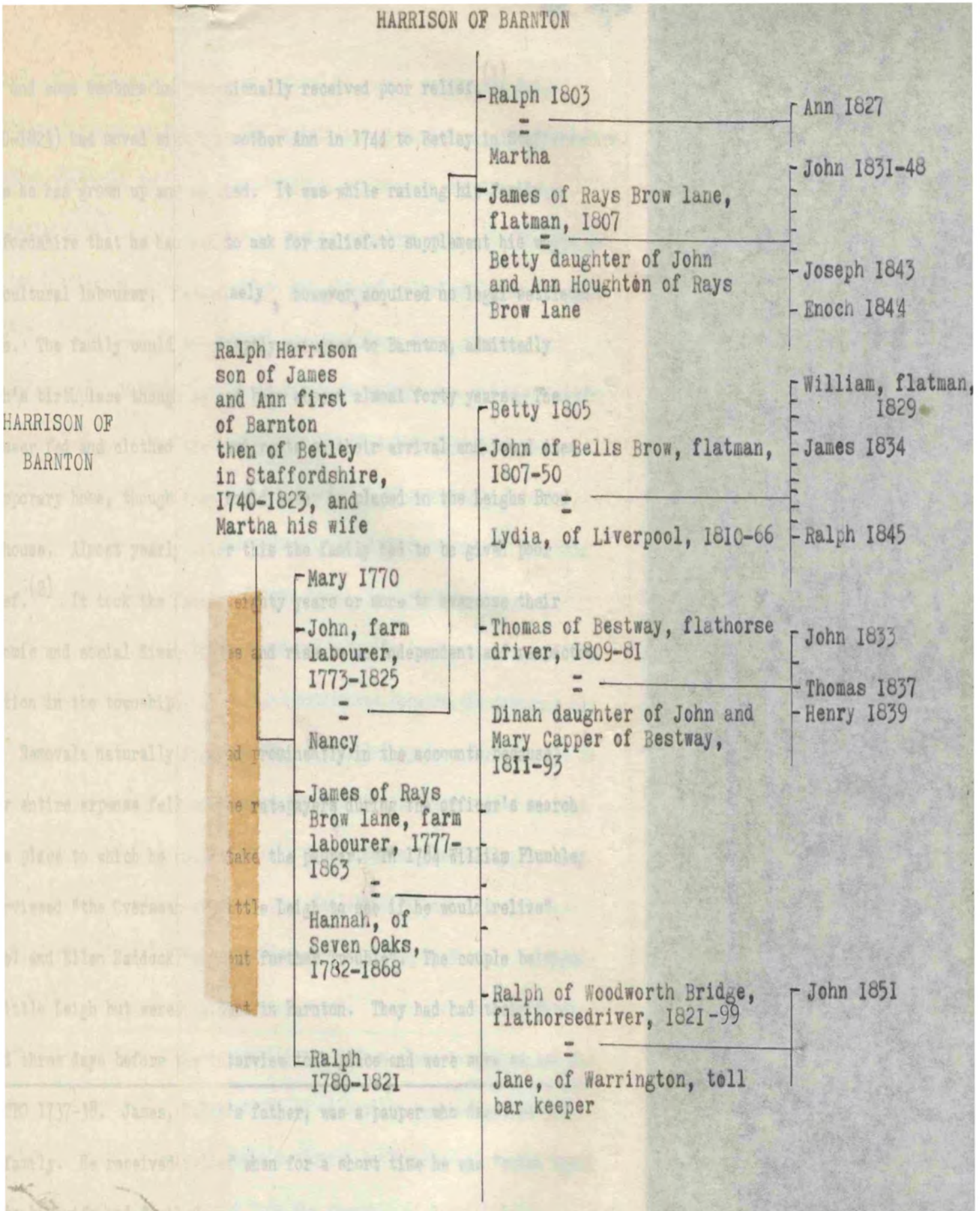
period of the Napoleonic struggle between 1812 and 1814, and four cases in the troubled year 1817-18. Some paupers naturally left quietly after they had received official warning and others settled legally in Barnton without notice or disturbance. In both cases they left no record so that the number of settlements and removals proved always greater than the township accounts would imply. There occurred few cases before 1770, but from 1801 an average of more than one case a year had to be investigated by the Overseer. There seemed always more settlements than removals and this may in part accouht for the increase in population of the canal settlement.

Randle son of Thomas and Jane Poole of Barnton was removed from Leftwich in 1800. Born in 1762 he had moved to Northwich after his marriage and worked mainly as a flatman in the salt trade. Unfortunately he had found it necessary to claim occasional relief and on this account was returned to Barnton, his birthplace, with his wife and four surviving children.(1) In 1806 Thomas Speakman allowed the aged Elizabeth Jackson to be removed from Northwich to Barnton. There existed no doubt of her place of settlement for her family had been in Barnton since about 1700. Fortunately for the ratepayers she died in 1808.(2) The following ten years saw a record number of such settlements involving for instance the families of Holland, Wilkinson, Newall, Tomlinson, and Palin. Earlier cases had not proved so common, but included the settlement in 1780 of Ralph and Martha Harrison. The Harrison family had lived in Barnton since

(1) CRO Q July 1800 (239a) f.3, no.90.

(2) TBO 1806-7.

# HARRISON OF BARNTON



1690 and some members had occasionally received poor relief.(1) Ralph (1740-1823) had moved with his mother Ann in 1744 to Betley in Staffordshire. There he had grown up and married. It was while raising his family in Staffordshire that he had had to ask for relief.to supplement his wages as agricultural labourer. He unwisely, however, acquired no legal settlement there. The family could be promptly returned to Barnton, admittedly Ralph's birthplace though he had been absent almost forty years. The Overseer fed and clothed the immigrants on their arrival and found them a temporary home, though they could later be placed in the Leighs Brow Poorhouse. Almost yearly after this the family had to be given poor relief.(2) It took the family eighty years or more to overcome their economic and social disabilities and rise to an independent and respected position in the township.

Removals naturally figured prominently in the accounts because their entire expense fell on the ratepayers during the officer's search for a place to which he could take the pauper. In 1784 William Plumbley interviewed "the Overseer of Little Leigh to see if he would relive" Samuel and Ellen Haddock "without further Trouble". The couple belonged to Little Leigh but were resident in Barnton. They had had their first child three days before the interview took place and were sure to ask for

---

(1) TBO 1737-38. James, Ralph's father, was a pauper who deserted his family. He received relief when for a short time he was "comen again to his wife and family".

(2) TBO 1779-80, 1780-81, 1783-84. In his first year Harrison received coal, cash, beds, "a spade to work with", and other goods worth £8 11s. In 1780-81 he was "Paid Relief at 32 Different times".

relief. The Little Leigh officer refused to accept responsibility. Therefore the case went before the magistrates at Knutsford, and William Plumbley presented sufficiently convincing evidence to win the case. The Haddocks had to be removed with their newly-born girl.(1) Thomas and Ann Littler belonged to Hartford but claimed relief while in Barnton in 1808. Thomas Speakman commenced investigations for a removal, but Littler probably agreed to serve as Barnton's militia man and was therefore reprieved. In 1811 he served once more the statutory fortnight at Chester but obviously then stated his intention of retiring. Late in 1812 he and his family found themselves removed to Hartford.(2) At this time James Brooks was living in Leighs Brow. He worked as a casual labourer. Though he and his wife had had a family in Barnton from 1788 onwards they had not acquired a legal settlement because the township had never had any need of their services. Brooks belonged as far as could be seen to Crowton. Thus when he asked for eleven shillings relief in 1816 Thomas Eaton tried to be rid of him by obtaining for the family places at the Middlewich Workhouse. This plan failed and it was not till the beginning of 1818 that Brooks' family could be taken by Eaton's successor to Crowton.(3)

Not all paupers were necessarily moved from place to place after they had demanded relief. Some might be allowed to remain if their home town regularly sent money for their support. Ann Harrison's family lived in Betley but received a pension from the township of Barnton between 1744 and 1779. William Palin remarried in Barnton, to which he had come

---

(1) TBO 1784-85. Peggy was born 9 November, PRLL christenings 1784.

(2) TBO 1808-9, 1811-12, 1812-13.

(3) TBO 1816-17, 1817-18. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1812.

in 1812 as a militia man and where he had married, and yet was supported when necessary at the expense of his place of settlement, Monks Coppenhall. "If he is in want of Relief he must send sumbody over to us at Monks Coppenhall and we will alowe him a Reasonable thing", wrote his Overseer to William Hughes, Overseer of Barnton, in 1832.(1)

The problem of bastardy, which greatly worried all overseers, became partly connected with the law of settlement. Unmarried mothers were almost always returned to their place of legal settlement if they proved unsuccessful in finding a man to support their offspring. Even a costly removal seemed worthwhile in order, firstly, to prevent the child's gaining a legal settlement that would give him the right to lifelong relief and, secondly, to save the pension which mother and child would have to be paid. The fate of such women and children illustrated to some extent the hard-heartedness of the age but mainly the fear of hard-headed ratepayers that township finances would be overloaded. It showed the impossibility of administering poor relief while the township remained a small independent unit. People justified their callousness by insisting that women who had bastard children defrauded the deserving township poor and tended "to evil example and encouragement of lewd life".(2) The problem became more

(1) TB Letter, 7 March 1832. There is no evidence that these people had settlement certificates, or indeed that Barnton made any use of these documents after 1775 in any case. The certificates were promises, entered into by a person's own township, to take back this same person if he became chargeable to the poor rate in his new place of residence. Abraham Ball the elder had such a certificate put in Barnton Town Box, TBM p.1.

(2) 18 Eliz.I c.3 (1576).

acute as the canal settlement expanded. Large numbers of immigrants, especially casual uneducated labourers and unattached young women, entered the township. Such people found in sexual relations a welcome relief after a long working day or during the boredom of unemployment. Thus whereas there occurred only four bastardy cases during the ten years 1790-99, there were by 1820-29 as least twelve.(1) Many couples got married as a matter of course when they knew a child was expected and such unions indeed produced perhaps not contented homes but certainly some of the most important of nineteenth century Barnton families. But with these people the Overseer had no concern. Nor need he interfere when married women had children by other men, for the husband dealt with that problem. The officer's task related only to women who appeared unlikely to be married either before or after the birth of their child. He remained moreover concerned only with Barnton women. Strangers resident in the township might be simply removed, and Barnton men who had seduced women of other townships could be ignored.(2)

The Overseer of the Poor acquired in most bastardy cases two main duties. Firstly he had to provide a home and relief for the woman before and after the child's birth. Secondly he had to find the reputed father and obtain an order from the justices to command the parents to support the child. The woman alone was never expected to support her child. She could name any man, within reason, as the father and her word was always

---

(1) TBO passim.PRGB, PRIL, PRW christenings 1790-99, 1820-29.

(2) No Barnton officer helped to take Thomas Dutton of Barnton to court for begetting a Seven Oaks woman with child. CRO Q January 1775, f.1, no.139.

preferred to any statement a man made. After the bastardy warrant had named one man as the father there remained little for any party to do. The man could enter either a marriage based not on love but "on fear on one side and vice on both" or a prison of the magistrates' choice.(1) Usually the officer experienced a little trouble with the man but rarely did the case at Quarter Sessions or afterwards prove long extended. The woman gained perhaps a husband, perhaps a man to support her child, and, if neither, at least the undisputed right to poor relief. "To the woman, therefore, a single illegitimate child is seldom any expense, and two or three are a source of positive profit."(2)

Martha, the twenty-year-old daughter of James and Mary Ditchfield of Rays Brow lane, took her bastard son, James, for baptism at Budworth in July 1805. Thomas Speakman had been spending on her behalf the record sum of twenty one pounds, sufficient to keep a family in comfort for half a year. He journeyed to Little Leigh, Manchester, Hoo Green, and Knutsford

---

(1) PARL 1834 Poor Law, p.97. Seduction brought not disgrace but marriage to many lonely spinsters, ibid, p.101-2. "I know of many instances in which the mothers have themselves been instrumental in having their daughters seduced, for the express purpose of getting rid of the onus of supporting them, and saddling them upon any unfortunate young men of the neighbourhood whom they could get to the house." Ibid, p.102.

(2) PARL 1834 Poor Law, p.97. The pension given to such women "enables them to live as comfortably, or indeed more so, than most families in the neighbourhood", ibid, p.98. Martha daughter of Benjamin Johnson of Leighs Brow had two bastards, PRCB christenings 1825, PRLL christenings 1828.

to discover the whereabouts of the father and to interview lawyers and magistrates. He paid out money to the mother and to the women who nursed her. The problem became acute afterthe mother died, for the child became absolutely dependent on the township. The ratepayers thus gave him sixpence a week. Very probably, Speakman found Thomas Rutter to support the child, for Rutter's bastard was relieved from 1806 to 1814.(1) In October 1805 Catherine daughter of Samuel Buckley of Barnton produced a bastard daughter. She named as father Ralph Simms of Davenham. He however fought the Overseer for over a year before conceding victory. The township lost in the long run nonetheless, because Simms, who refused to marry the girl or live in Barnton, had continually and at great expense to be reminded regularly to pay his debts. From 1806 to 1818 the township spent over fifty pounds sterling in relieving the child, while Simms contributed only eleven pounds of this.(2) When Catherine Brown's bastard son Thomas was fathered on William Clarke of Comberbach in 1808, Speakman's costly journeys proved worthless to the township but a blessing to the girl. The child died after living just eight months and he had been supported during the whole period not by his father but at the expense of the township and was indeed also buried at the ratepayers' expense. On the other hand William Clarke (1789-1850) later moved to Tunnel Top above the canal basin and married Catherine. He had by her a big family

---

(1) TBO 1805-6,

(2) TBO 1805-6, 1806-7, 1806-19. TBC 1804-5. After 1809 Simms refused to contribute anything. PARL 1834 Poor Law, p.99. "not more than one-fifth of the expenses is recovered from the fathers, and <u>that</u> subject to the deduction of heavy law expenses."

between 1811 and 1830. He and his sons worked as boatmen.(1) His action provided one of the rare satisfactory endings to a bastardy dispute.

The death of the child solved many bastardy cases quickly. Mary daughter of John and Ann Burgess of Barnton went to Manchester in the autumn of 1817 with the intention of finding the father of the child with which she was six months pregnant. She probably desired to escape the censure of the already well-established Barnton family of which she was a member. She came to the notice of the township officers in Manchester who discovered that she had not traced her man and who therefore in November petitioned for her removal on the grounds that she seemed liable to be a charge on the poor rate.(2) After an examination preliminary to the January Quarter Sessions the justices adjudged her place of settlement to be Barnton, and a demand for her removal was sent to the Barnton Overseer by the authorities in Manchester. By this time speed became vital if Barnton ratepayers were to save the expense of giving poor relief to Mary Burgess. Her return had to be prevented. Therefore the Overseer, Thomas Hughes, contested the decision of the Manchester authorities. He rode as far as Liverpool to prove that Mary's settlement lay elsewhere. No one wanted her or the expected child.(3) Meanwhile the girl remained in Manchester and she gave birth to a daughter there early in December. The justices in their January Sessions at Salford ordered her immediate removal. Mary Burgess struggled penniless to Barnton. But the child had

(1) TBO 1808-9. PRCB christenings and burials 1808.

(2) PRLL christenings 1795. LRO QSP January 1818 (Salford), petition of 6 November 1817.

(3) TBO 1817-18. LRO QSP January 1818 (Salford), appeal of 20 January 1818.

suffered too much from cold and hunger. In the middle of January 1818 it died.(1) The case could be dropped at once by the Manchester and Barnton authorities. But Thomas Hughes' journeys had cost a sum that would have been sufficient to support the child with its mother for at least the crucial first eighteen months after birth.(2) On the other hand the case had been brought to an end that seemed satisfactory in the long run for township finances and merciful for the child. Life proved always hard for bastard children. Mary died. Others became pushed from place to place by resentful ratepayers. A few stayed in Barnton to work as labourers in agriculture, like Benjamin and Ann the children of Martha Johnson of the Landowners cottage in Leighs Brow.(3) But none of the male bastards overcame the initial hardship to become prosperous, socially accepted, and founder of an ordinary family.

The Overseer's duties connected with apprenticeship, paupers' funerals, the poorhouse, and militia men's families proved not as important but probably as time-consuming as settlement and bastardy work. Children who became a charge on the rates might be apprenticed as young as possible. The Overseer took the unfortunate wretches to craftsmen who, in return for a fee from the township and hard work from the terrified paupers, provided food, clothes, shelter, and a training in some trade. The negotiations

---

(1) PRGB burials 1818.

(2) LRO QSP April 1818 (Salford). The petition was "struck out per Curia". TBO 1817-18, cost £11.

(3) They proved exceptions partly because Peter Lawson of Barnton married their mother and accepted her children as his own, as indeed they may have been. PRO Census 1841 and 1851.

leading to an apprenticeship were not simple. When James son of Thomas Fogg the elder (1735-1803) was apprenticed in 1783 several tradesmen, when consulted, refused, and the solicitor's charges for the making of the indenture seemed high.(1) The officer had also to arrange a decent funeral for paupers. The grave was acquired and dug, a coffin put together, and a cart hired for the conveyance of the corpse to Budworth. The bellringer and parson demanded a fee. The funeral meal usually consisted of bread, sugar, ginger, butter, nutmeg, spices, and ale. It generally took place at the Bestway Inn.(2) But poor people had to be cared for during their lives also, and the township continually sought householders who seemed willing, or could be compelled on account of close relationship, to undertake this duty. Usually a fixed fee might be given to persons who made available rooms in their homes for the use of paupers.(3) A special house was also rented where the destitute could live. About 1766 Jane Hough of Bartington allowed the building in Leighs Brow, which had formerly served as a smithy, to be converted into a poorhouse. The township continued

(1) TBO 1783-84.

(2) The family of Worrall of Little Leigh were employed as carpenters by the township and made coffins as well as fences and gates. John Worral was one of the craftsmen interviewed in connection with James Fogg's apprenticeship. TBO 1754-55 At William Buckley's funeral ale, butter, sugar, and spices were provided at public expense. After 1775, although good meals might be given, the items were not recorded by the Overseer.

(3) An early example of an agreement is in TBM, p.221 (1742). Examples occur yearly after 1775. Small cottages were also taken where paupers could live. The Buckley family lived in a Manor estate house.

to pay rent for this place until about 1836. Throughout this period the Leighs Brow Poorhouse remained a home for up to five pauper families and never in any sense became a workhouse where the poor laboured in return for their keep.(1) For some able-bodied and obstinate paupers the township sought places at the Newton by Middlewich Workhouse. A regular annual rent of two guineas was paid. Gilbert's Act of 1782 interrupted the arrangement to some extent, but in 1814 once again the township donated a sum of two guineas, "entrance Money for joining Newton Workhouse".(2) Finally relief

(1) TBC 1743-44 "a New End to the poor house". TBO 1766-67. TBO 1767-68 "Rent for Severall of the Poor dewelling in her house" to Jane Hough. The rent rose from £2 to £7 10s by 1804 and reached £10 in 1807. CRO Will of William Leigh of Barnton, gentleman, prob. 12 April 1826 mentions the five dwellings called Smithy House occupied by the Overseer. So also does Chester Chronicle 18 May 1832 Notice of Sale on 29 May of Smithy House.

(2) PARL 1777 Poor Rates for 1775-76, p.15, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) showed general workhouses existed at Altrincham, Grappenhall, Knutsford, and Mobberley. See also ibid, p.18-19, Cheshire (Northwich Hundred) where Newton workhouse, holding fifty paupers, was one of four in that hundred. It is necessary to distinguish this from the Middlewich House of Correction to which vagrants might be sent to hard labour before they were removed from the district. TBC 1763-64, visits to see if the poor could be put in workhouses at Grappenhall and Middlewich. TBC 1779-80, rent to Kinderton (Middlewich) Workhouse. TBO 1814-15. TBO 1818-19, Sarah Knowles was sent to Middlewich Workhouse. PARL 1818 Poor Rates for 1812-15, p.38-39, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton, query 8, showed Barnton had no poor in a workhouse within its boundaries.

might be provided for militia men's wives who were not generally paupers but needed money temporarily during their husbands' two weeks' absence. Thus Thomas Speakman gave a pension to the wives of William Newall, William Stoneley, and Richard Boden who trained in the Army of Reserve in 1809. Newall worked as the Barnton blacksmith. Stoneley, a Hartford labourer, had married Newall's sister, Elizabeth. Boden, a Barnton flatman, really belonged to Northwich but had been welcomed in Barnton so long as he undertook the unpopular militia duties. In 1812 he refused to serve again, and ventured to ask for poor relief, on account of the high prices of foodstuffs, for his wife and family. The Overseer promptly took him to court. The magistrates ordered his removal, and the Northwich Overseer who contested the case had to pay expenses of twenty shillings.(1)

It may well be doubted whether any of the overseers had time for the third group of duties, the direct relief of poverty. Poor relief had to be given in the form of cash grants, gifts of food or clothing, and service. Money payments became most important, especially after 1775. Some paupers received a regular weekly pension. Sarah Leather obtained one shillings in 1772, two shillings by 1801, and from that date till her death in 1808 half a crown. By 1813 the usual pension had risen to four

---

(1) TBO 1809-10. CRO Q January 1813 (252) f.1 removal order, 6 January 1812. Richard Boden, wife Mary, and four children were alleged to have "lately come to live in Barnton not having gained a settlement nor having a certificate to show their settlement elsewhere." CRO QSO 31a, p.250-51, appeal of the Northwich officer, 27 April, but order confirmed 13 July 1813. See also TBO 1780-81 when £11 12s. was paid to the militia man and his family during the short crisis of the American War.

shillings. Many people however relied on occasional grants in hard times and on the concealed relief which arose when the township gave a pauper cash in order that he might pay his rates, taxes, rent, clothing bills, or doctor's fee.(1) In addition tradesmen were paid to supply lengths of cloth and clothing to the poor. Materials for clothes, like wool, linen, striped cotton or dimity, worsted, and flannel, and yarn for stockings might be provided. Some raw materials enabled the poor to set themselves to work for a living. John Darlington, a pauper tailor, received a donation "to buy Toe to make Shirts".(2) Shoes, clogs, stockings, breeches, shirts, petticoats, waistcoats, smocks, caps, coats, hats, bedgowns, and stays were ordered and often made to measure. Household necessities were purchased and included coal, grates, spinning wheels, spades, saws, bed mats, blankets, nails, window glass, soap, and salve.(3) Food could less be commonly given though barley up to 1800 and potatoes from that date, the staple diet of the poor, appeared yearly in township accounts.(4) Finally the Overseer hired women to do housework and to act as nurses during any illness. This service would rarely be given unaccompanied by any other form of relief.

The aged and disabled comprised the largest section of paupers who

---

(1) TBO 1782-83 Joseph Leather had "additional pay as the Times are so dear".

(2) TBO 1779-80 Toe is tow, coarse or raw flax from which linen was made.

(3) TBO 1779-80 "a Box of Itch Salve" for Hannah Buckley.

(4) TBO 1804-5 Ellen Foster had "Expenses for a Whiskey". TBO 1809-10 Elizabeth Walker, when ill, was given a bottle of gin worth half a crown.

could legally claim relief.(1) To these people who could do no work the Overseer remained bound to give money or goods. Wages had never been sufficiently high to allow the accumulation of much capital during even the most prosperous years of a man's working life. From 1795 to 1815 prices rose so swiftly that savings became anyway worthless. James Peacock (1736-96) and Elizabeth his wife received relief from 1781. At first this remained merely occasional money or coal but later became a regular pension. Thomas Speakman gave to Elizabeth after her husband's death a one shilling a week pension, coal supplies, occasional money, and her rent. In 1812 James Poole arranged that she should be nursed during a serious illness and, when she died, that she should have a fitting funeral. Her mourners were entertained to a good meal, and "ale at Funeral" worth five shillings, by John Eaton of the Bestway Inn.(2) A great feature of poor relief remained the paying of cottage rents and the completion of house repairs. The rent of Hannah Holland, widow of Ralph of Plumbs Fold, wheelwright, was handed over between 1810 and 1817 to Thomas Plumb, and this allowed Hannah to clothe and feed herself from her own resources.

(1) About one-half or two-thirds of paupers were old people. A person above forty years old might generally be termed old on account of the effect of poor houses and food, long working days, and much child-bearing. Ellen Fogg was forty five when she first drew her old-age pension.

(2) TBO 1806-7 Elizabeth received a total value of ninety shillings. TBO 1812-13. When Elizabeth Woodward was buried at Budworth on 21 December 1813 the Overseer spent on ale 2s.8d., food and church services 12s.8d., coffin 28s., and the cart to convey the coffin 4s. TBO 1813-14.

The ratepayers allowed the hiring of gardens and potato patches to encourage the poor to feed themselves.(1) Children had to be supported until they could be apprenticed according to the law. Though there seemed much contemporary criticism of the amount which had to be expended on the many children of pauper parents, the Barnton ratepayers escaped comparatively lightly.(2) The Overseer also gave relief to those who became temporarily disabled by illness or through childbirth from earning a living. The doctor had to be paid. Thomas Speakman settled a bill of over six pounds sterling for James Walker in 1806 when his wife and daughter lay ill.(3) Other people relied on the help of their neighbours, and these good people could be remunerated by the township for their shopping, cleaning, cooking, and nursing services.(4) Isaac Bradburn did not hesitate to ask for money to buy "Salve for his leg" and Ellen Holland demanded fifteen shillings "for a bottle of Stuff to Cure her Head".(5) It must however be remembered that herbs, the most common of medical supplies, grew in many Barnton gardens and could also be found on the

(1) PARL Second Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1836, p.406, App.B, no.18. TBO 1804-5, Elizabeth Peacock's windows glazed. TBO 1811-17. TBO 1819-20, "James Harrison, towards his Potatoe Rent".

(2) TBO 1806-7. On children £27, on adults £55. PARL 1817 Poor Law, p.13.

(3) TBO 1806-7. Both patients died.

(4) TBO 1781-82. George Holford received two shillings "for curing Sarah Lamb of the Itch". TBO 1784-85. Hannah Buckley nursed Elizabeth Peacock. TBO 1813-14. Hannah Harrison cared for Betty Woodward during her last illness.

(5) TBO 1772-73.

commons. During a woman's lying-in period a neighbour received payment to care for the house and menfolk. Food, clothes, and blankets might regularly be added. Such help proved particularly necessary for an unmarried mother like Sarah Knowles.(1)

But the Overseer of Barnton went beyond the provisions of the definitive Poor Law of 1601 in openly giving relief rather than work to the able-bodied. Naturally some of these people especially young widows or unmarried mothers with children could hardly be expected to work for the township in exchange for their poor relief. On the other hand large numbers of able-bodied inhabitants during years of famine, war, and trade depression might be given money outright, and this practice increased disastrously after 1790. Often the officer provided an excuse for his not organizing jobs for the unemployed, but after the widespread adoption of the 1795 Speenhamland decision he ceased to worry about the letter of the law.(2) In addition concealed relief could be expended, like the twenty shillings for Thomas son of Randle Poole to pay "for Leys and Taxes" and the house repairs completed for James (1777-1863) son of Ralph Harrison.(3) Nonetheless many paupers did actually work for their money. Thomas Tomlinson, of Rays Brow lane, born about 1745, had twenty seven shillings

(1) TBO 1818-19.

(2) TBO 1784-85, 1815-16, "pay in hard Weather". PARL 1822 Poor Rates, p.523-26. The poor weather and high prices of 1765-1818 made the Overseer continue the practice of wage subsidies to tide the labourer over what always seemed temporary hard times. The justices frowned on wage subsidies even after 1795.

(3) TBO 1811-12, 1813-14.

"for assisting in making a new Road" in 1817, and this replaced part of his normal pension.(1) Payments for miscellaneous work on the highways were scattered by the Overseer throughout his accounts. But the administrative difficulties of setting the poor to work remained enormous. During the financial year 1806-7 Thomas Speakman had all the highway repairs for which he was responsible completed by eight farmers and their labourers. It appeared more satisfactory to get the work done by men who had an interest in good roads, who did not need continuously to be supervised, and whose bodily strength was not sapped by disease and hunger.

It proved significant that the number of families which received a regular weekly pension did not greatly alter between 1770 and 1820.(2) The increase in the range and number of jobs which became available even to old people in this period steadily absorbed an ever-larger percentage of the population. The improvement in the health of the township, at least till 1815, enabled men and women to work to a greater age before retiring. But the number of families which needed occasional relief varied with the political and economic condition of the countryside. In years of war like 1779-80 or 1812-14 when the economy became most affected an

---

(1) TBO 1817-18. By Rebeccah his wife, who died in childbirth, Tomlinson produced at least six children, four of whom died young. The surviving sons, John (1769) and William (1771), worked as carpenters.

(2) A family may be defined as a unit relieved by the Overseer. A pensioner similarly received a regular, not an occasional, payment for ten or more consecutive weeks. The table of Overseer's Duties has been compiled from figures in the Town Book and from PARL Fourth report of the Poor Law Commissioners, appendix D, Poor Rate returns 1838.

additional ten families, perhaps, demanded relief. These occasional pauper families seemed usually to be the struggling households of young couples. These groups consisted of many children who all needed careful feeding and clean clothing. The families of the regular pensioners rarely contained above two persons. Hence the Overseer in 1813-14 found himself dealingwith one hundred or more paupers, one-fifth of the population.(1) On the other hand even in the most prosperous years like 1818-19 the proportion of the population in receipt of poor relief rarely fell below one-tenth, and even this was an improvement on the normal peacetime figure during the eighteenth century.

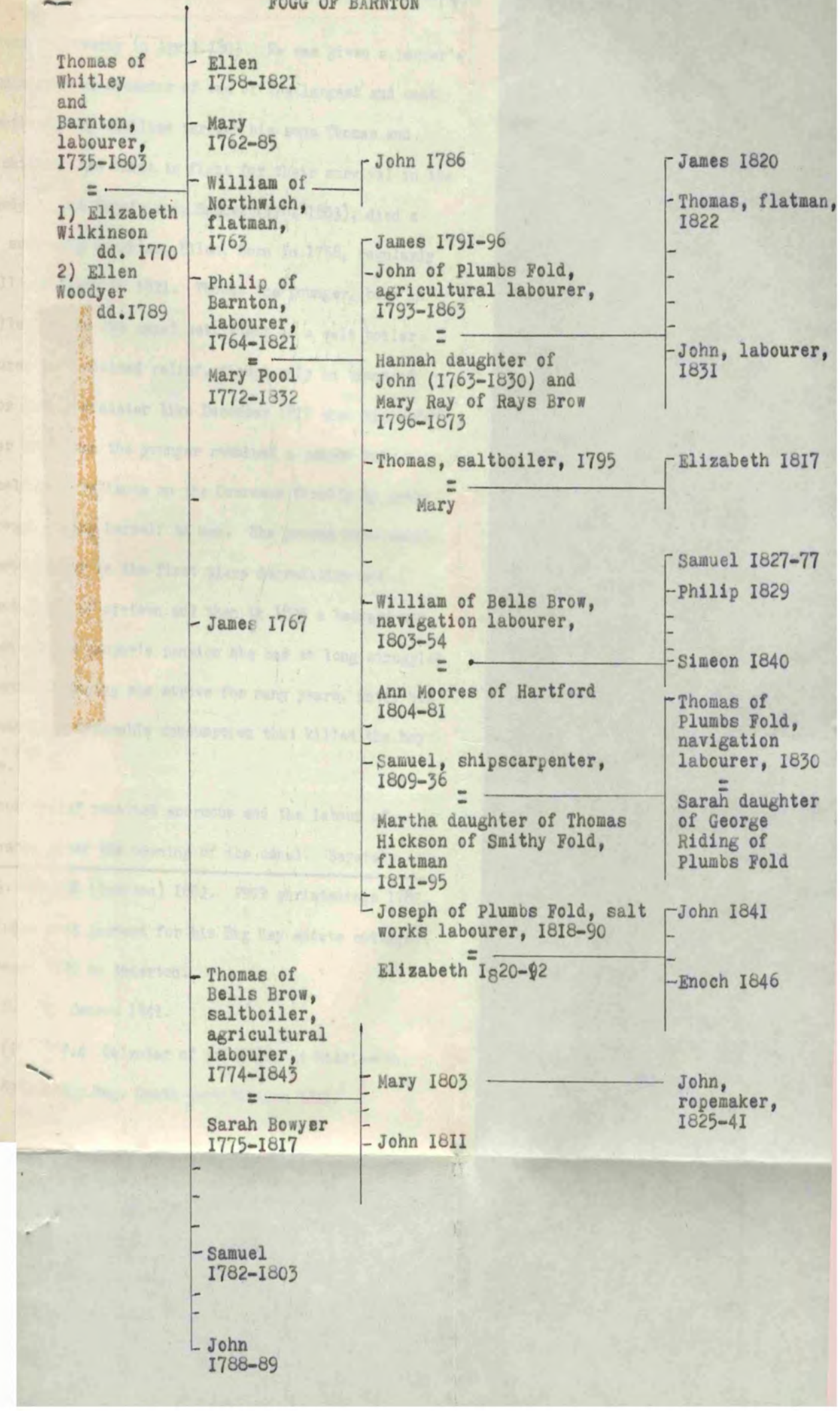
The history of the Fogg family illustrated the Overseer's duties over a long period. Thomas Fogg (1735-1803) came to Barnton in 1762 from the Whitley district.(2) He gained a settlement in the township but, perhaps through ill-luck, perhaps through shiftlessness, never managed to make a success in his new home. Fogg had about fourteen children, at least five of whom died in infancy. In 1770 his first wife died and his second followed her in 1789. He had from 1767 claimed occasional relief to supplement his wages as a farm labourer, but after his second wife's death he broke down completely. He found himself moved to the Leighs Brow

---

(1) PARL 1818 Poor Rates for 1812-15, p.38-39, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton, queries 8 and 9. TBO 1812-16. PARL 1804 Poor Rates for 1802-03, p.48-49, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton, queries 10-13. The occasional pauper families must have contained at least five persons, and the number of pauper families has been multiplied by three to give the pauper population.

(2) TBO 1762-63.

FOGG OF BARNTON



Poorhouse and died there in poverty in April 1803. He was given a pauper's funeral.(1) Fogg became however ancestor of one of the largest and most prosperous of nineteenth century families through his sons Thomas and Philip. But all the children had first to fight for their survival in the township. Some succeeded. But Fogg's son, Samuel (1782-1803), died a pauper and the eldest surviving daughter, Ellen, born in 1758, regularly received a pension till her death in 1821. Thomas the younger, born in 1774, who lived at Bells Brow in the canal settlement as a salt boiler and agricultural labourer also claimed relief, though only in times of exceptional economic or family disaster like December 1817 when his wife died.(2) Mary daughter of Thomas the younger remained a pauper but attempted to free herself from reliance on the Overseer firstly by petty thievings and then through giving herself to men. She proved unsuccessful in her efforts which brought her in the first place degredation and imprisonment at the tender age of sixteen and then in 1825 a bastard son John. For him she received the pauper's pension she had so long struggled to avoid. For his decent upbringing she strove for many years, until his coughings and fever became the incurable consumption that killed the boy in his seventeenth year.(3)

Expenditure on poor relief remained enormous and the labour of keeping accounts burdensome after the opening of the canal. Separate

---

(1) TBO 1767-68, 1802-3. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1802. PRGB christenings 1782. Fogg's relief included rent payment for his Big Hey estate cottage. The family lived around 1782 in Anderton.

(2) TBO 1812-13, 1817-18. PRO Census 1841.

(3) CRO Q October 1819 (258c) f.4 Calendar of prisoners at Middlewich. PRGB christenings 1825. N.Sup.Reg. Death certificates 1841.

# THE OVERSEER'S DUTY 1770-1820

| financial year from April to April | families in receipt of poor relief a) regular weekly b) occasional a | b | percentage of paupers in total population | direct relief to poor (rent, pension, clothes) | administrative charges, paying church rate, pauper burials, workhouse upkeep | towards expenses of c) constable d) previous deficit h) highway labour s) supervisor | TOTAL | percentage of total expenditure used to relieve the poor | percentage of total expenditure less c,s,d,h used to relieve the poor | expenditure per head of total population | rate raised for the poor per head of population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| years of peace | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1770-71 | 10 | 15 | 16% | £35 | £14 | 0 | £49 | 71% | 71% | 3s 8d | 3s 8d |
| 1773-74 | 10 | 14 | 16% | £64 | £10 | 0 | £74 | 86% | 86% | 5s 6d | 5s 5d |
| crisis of the American war | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1779-80 | 13 | 19 | 20% | £65 | £13 | 0 | £78 | 83% | 83% | 5s 5d | 5s 3d |
| 1780-81 | 12 | 18 | 19% | £67 | £28 | 0 | £95 | 71% | 71% | 6s 6d | 6s 1d |
| peace | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1784-85 | 8 | 16 | 15% | £49 | £17 | d | £2 | £68 | 72% | 74% | 4s 4d | 4s10d |
| war | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1802-03 | 8 | 14 | 12% | £60 | £29 | csdh | £37 | £126 | 48% | 67% | 6s 0d | 6s 2d |
| 1807-08 | 10 | 17 | 11% | £71 | £50 | csh | £50 | £150 | 47% | 59% | 6s 8d | 4s 7d |
| crisis of the French war | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1810-11 | 9 | 19 | 12% | £95 | £49 | csdh | £80 | £224 | 42% | 66% | 9s 1d | 7s11d |
| 1811-12 | 7 | 26 | 16% | £113 | £34 | csdh | £111 | £258 | 44% | 77% | 10s 9d | 11s 0d |
| 1812-13 | 10 | 31 | 19% | £140 | £51 | csh | £80 | £271 | 52% | 73% | 11s 0d | 8s 6d |
| 1813-14 | 11 | 34 | 20% | £161 | £106 | csdh | £145 | £412 | 39% | 60% | 16s 4d | 11s11d |
| end of war & advent of post-war years of distress | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1814-15 | 12 | 27 | 16% | £105 | £42 | csdh | £198 | £345 | 30% | 71% | 13s 4d | 13s 8d |
| 1815-16 | 11 | 26 | 15% | £87 | £66 | csh | £94 | £247 | 36% | 57% | 9s 4d | 9s 0d |
| 1816-17 | 9 | 30 | 17% | £99 | £59 | csh | £86 | £244 | 41% | 63% | 8s11d | 8s 8d |
| 1817-18 | 9 | 28 | 15% | £113 | £48 | csh | £44 | £205 | 55% | 70% | 7s 4d | 6s 4d |
| 1818-19 | 6 | 22 | 11% | £69 | £43 | csh | £64 | £176 | 39% | 62% | 6s 2d | 5s 2d |
| 1819-20 | 10 | 29 | 15% | £86 | £37 | csh | £67 | £190 | 45% | 70% | 6s 5d | 6s 0d |
| DATE | FAMILIES | | | EXPENDITURE | | | | | | RATE | |

# THE OVERSEER'S DUTY 1770-1820

statements had to be built up through the year for each pauper family. These were taken at the end of the year to the Town Meeting and, if passed, engrossed in the Town Book. The township's spending on poor relief proper, that is, the giving of money, clothing, and food and the paying of cottage rents, rose from under forty pounds a year before 1775 to about seventy pounds in a prosperous year and over one hundred pounds in a distressed year after that date. A record £161 had to be spent during perhaps the worst year that Barnton people ever had to endure, the crisis year of war, famine, and economic depression, 1813. Yet direct expenditure on the poor amounted to but seventy per cent of the Overseer's budget, because the remainder became consumed in administration and in miscellaneous charges. The officer undertook settlement and bastardy cases, arranged funerals, paid the church rate and the moletaker, and made any investigations that were demanded by Parliament. These duties proved costly. Indeed they took forty per cent of the budget in 1813 when, above all, the poor needed every penny that might be available.(1) Such expenditure caused bitter criticism from both ratepayers and paupers alike. They felt themselves defrauded and wondered how it could cost sixty six pounds to distribute eighty seven pounds to the poor.(2) From 1794 the critics found even firmer grounds for abuse because the Overseer began settling the accounts on behalf of the Constable and Supervisor and also took upon himself the organizing of labour teams in the highways. Hence the total expenditure,

---

(1) PARL 1822 Poor Rates, p.532, App.B. Twenty two per cent of Cheshire's rate went on administration. TBO 1780-81, Elizabeth Lamb's removal cost £9. TBO 1807-18, militia charges took two-fifths of the total.

(2) TBO 1815-16.

inflated by these charges, rose swiftly. It reached over £200 in the financial year 1805-6 and £412 in 1813-14. The latter sum would have been sufficient to keep a family for nine years at current prices, to pay the five paupers in the poorhouse their pensions for twelve years, and to settle the poorhouse rent for forty years. When all these charges had been taken into consideration the Overseer appeared to spend directly on the giving of poor relief only about forty per cent of his budget.(1) The population doubled between 1770 and 1814, and with it the number of paupers increased twofold. But the Overseer's expenditure had increased eight times.

Fortunately the Overseer had several sources of income. His power of levying a rate on all property produced the greatest and most regular amount of money. A rate of one shilling in the pound sterling yielded from twenty five to thirty pounds sterling.(2) The highest rate of the early

(1) The payment of the previous year's deficit often amounted to a large item. TBO 1813-14, £21. TBO 1814-15, £92. The Constable's bill amounted to £57 in 1812-13, £30 in 1816-17, and £55 in 1822-23. PARL 1830 Poor Rates for 1824-29, p.236, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton. Barnton's expenditure in the crisis year 1827-28 to have been over £386.

(2) The amount varied with the valuation at the time. PARL 1777 Poor Rates for 1775-76, p.15, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton. PARL 1787 Poor Rates for 1782-85 and 1787 Poor Rate abstract for 1782-85, p.19, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton, queries 3-6. PARL 1804 Poor Rates for 1802-03, p.48-49, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton, queries 2-3, PARL Poor Rates for 1812-15, p.38-39, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton, query 2.

nineteenth century, the twelve shilling assessment of 1814-15, raised £355 to help solve the financial crisis occasioned by the previous year's unprecedented expenditure.(1) In addition to the rates, a welcome rent was received for property owned by the township and leased to yearly tenants. The estate included a house and many enclosures in the canal settlement with the Landowners cottage and gardens elsewhere in the township. Over ten pounds sterling came in yearly from this source between 1801 and 1820.(2) Moreover the fathers of bastards often paid something towards the keep of their offspring. A pauper's goods could be sold to help pay at least a portion of the funeral costs. Hannah Darlington's whole personal estate amounted to twenty eight shillings when she died in 1804, and this left the ratepayers to find only seven more shillings for her burial.(3) Subsidies in aid of militia men's wages were received from the county authorities.(4) Together with money handed over by the previous officer all these sums additional to the rates could amount to over ten pounds in 1772, twenty pounds in 1811, and even fifty pounds in 1816.(5) In this way the Overseer paid his bills, though in eleven of the thirty

---

(1) TBO 1814-15.

(2) TBO 1813-14. The rent roll produced nearly £17. TBO 1779-80, compensation came for "damage for the Moore". TBO 1780-81, "for Intacks 0-8s". TBO 1782-85, rent of Bradburns croft and intake, twenty five shillings a year.

(3) TBO 1804-5, 1805-6. TBO 1780-81, for Ellen Holland's clothes the township received five shillings.

(4) TBO 1807-8.

(5) TBO 1772-73, 1811-12, 1816-17.

surviving accounts between 1770 and 1820 he ended with a deficit which had to be made good the next year.

The tendency towards an ever-increasing expenditure on the poor and consequently the demand for higher rates remained both very evident between 1770 and 1820. The situation did not greatly improve after 1820 despite the many years of peace and relative prosperity which followed.(1) The administration of the poor relief could not therefore long continue in the old way. The officers were inadequately remunerated for their complicated dealings with large numbers of paupers and vast sums of money.(2) They were also men who had other work to complete in order to earn a living. For weeks on end at times these private duties absorbed all possible working hours. So much property became either exempt from rates or under-valued that the annual yield remained, for a prospering township, comparatively low. Moreover since the rates in the long run fell on property owners who stayed mostly non-resident, the tenant farmers who governed Barnton tended not to keep an efficient check on expenditure.(3) Though after 1810 Special Sessions could be held through which the justices might disallow exorbitant charges by overseers, magisterial control meant virtually nothing in Barnton, and the poor relief accounts were never properly broken down to make easier the process of auditing.(4) Ratepayers felt crushed by an"almost overwhelming"burden.(5) Those who employed men

---

(1) PARL 1830 Poor Rates for 1824-29, p.236, Cheshire (Bucklow Hundred) Barnton.

(2) William Leigh, Barnton's only trained accountant, never became Overseer.

(3) PARL 1843 Local Taxation, p.94-95, 100-101.

(4) PARL 1822 Poor Rates, p.522.

(5) PARL 1819 Poor Law, p.256.

tended to reduce wages, knowing that the Overseer would give relief to supplement the labourers' income. A growing number of families became thus "reduced to the degradation of a dependance upon parochial support". Some found outdoor relief pleasant, for it superseded "the necessity of providing ... for the wants of sickness and old age." Hence the Poor Law might justifiably be attacked for "diminishing this natural impulse by which men are instigated to industry and good conduct" and for destroying the independence of the labouring people.(1) As more families received additional relief, rates increased, and ratepayers found their ability to pay adequate wages greatly diminished. They reduced wages even more, so that the system ended by "perpetually encouraging and increasing the amount of misery it was designed to alleviate".(2) The social cleavage widened between poor labourers and the more prosperous householders and farmers and gave rise to bitter, and often unjust, abuse. Paupers were held to be wasteful. They bought new clothes and did not trouble to patch old garments. They chose expensive food. They worked as little as

---

(1) PARL 1817 Poor Law, p.4.

(2) PARL 1817 Poor Law, p.4. The 1601 Poor Law came under attack from the group of people who most benefited by economic advance, flatmen, traders, boatmen, house builders, and salt makers. "Such a compulsory contribution for the indigent, from the funds originally accumulated from the labour and industry of others, could not fail in process of time ... to produce the unfortunate effect of abating those exertions on the part of the labouring classes, on which ... the welfare of mankind has been made to rest." Such sentiments of Barnton's leading people soon destroyed the old political system.

possible. Yet they remained "dirty in their persons and slothful in their habits". "Wages and parish allowance were spent in two nights at the beer-houses". People who had once received relief remained by choice lifelong paupers and "stout able-bodied men ... actually obtained admission into poorhouses and resided there very contentedly".(1)

There grew demands therefore for a return to the strict enforcement of the 1601 Poor Law. Yet in practice this proved impossible. Barnton could not administer a workhouse where the poor might be employed. The Overseer would still be burdened with the duties that had been given him by later statutes. Many official enquiries were conducted, and finally under the pressure of a rapidly rising expenditure and the angry, and newly enfranchised voices, of thousands of ratepayers, the proposals of a royal commission, set up in 1832 to consider the Poor Law, were accepted. The report of the Poor Law Commissioners, published in 1834(2) proposed that new districts should be created by the union of many townships. These Unions should be independent of all existing local government authorities. The Union would take out of township hands the whole burden of poor relief. A Board of elected Guardians, served by salaried officials, would govern the Union and each district would be

(1) The quotations appeared in PARL 1834 Poor Law, p.55 and 53, and in Eden State of the Poor, 1797, volume I, p.449. Holland General View, 1808, p.329, "when a man has once received relief ... his inclination to recur to the same source for subsistence is increased".

(2) PARL 1834 Poor Law, p.131-209. Bentham greatly influenced the authors, who included Edwin Chadwick, later secretary of the Commission.

empowered to build a workhouse where alone the poor might receive relief. All authority within the new Poor Law administration was to be channelled up to a central Commission in London. These proposals received the force of law in 1834.(1)

But the 1834 Poor Law Report, like its predecessors, had many faults. The members of the committees which heard evidence about the laws were mainly landowners, magistrates, and merchants, followers of Malthus and Bentham. They found most acceptable the reports of men of their own station in life, from tenant farmers, industrialists, yeomen, and country clergymen. Naturally such people criticized the laziness of labourers and asserted that the law provided too comfortable an existence for the mass of the population. They were not statisticians and tended to be bored with, and thus to ignore, the figures which townships returned according to Parliament's instructions. No proper analysis was completed of the information which remained available about the workings of the Poor Law. Therefore the 1834 Report overestimated the number of able-bodied paupers who had been permanently relieved. In Barnton few if any such men received money or gifts except occasionally in years of distress. Wages had indeed to be subsidized often for years on end, but this system proved very different from and much cheaper than the full-time support of an able-bodied man. The burden on ratepayers was also overestimated. When relief became most needed by labourers, in times of high food prices like 1782-83, 1799-1800, and 1810-13, the farmers, who were the chief ratepayers, remained undoubtedly most prosperous since they received high prices for their crops. They could thus most easily afford the higher

(1) 4 & 5 Will.IV c.76.

rates. Moreover the rates and the expenditure on the poor for each person in the population rose, with prices and wages, during the French wars. But after peace returned both rates and expenditure per head fell to a position usually only slightly higher than the pre-1790 figure. The advantages of the old law and the faults of the new became apparent after 1837. But the men who wrote the Parliamentary reports were often brilliant scholars whose writing proved sufficiently persuasive to blind readers to all faults, omissions, and misstatements and to convince both voters and legislators of the rottenness of the old Poor Law.(1)

The Northwich Union was set up on 20 October 1836 and a workhouse was erected at Leftwich in 1837. The Union embraced sixty townships in Mid-Cheshire, including Barnton.(2) In order that men would be encouraged to find work and be indeed glad to accept any job rather than ask for indoor relief, the conditions in the workhouse became deliberately neither "really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourers of the lowest class".(3) But at times, and the year 1837 provided a good example, men could find no work on account of industrial recession. The old law, expensive though it proved, had given temporary relief without disturbing family life. But the new law took men, women, and children who asked for relief and put them, separated, into the

---

(1) Mark Blaug 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New', p.155, 164, 177 , in Journal of Economic History, New York 1963, volume XXIII (June 1963) number 2.

(2) PARL Third Report of the Poor Law Commission 1837, App.C, p.247, No.2, and p.267-68, No.12. Population 27,000. Barnton elected one Guardian.

(3) PARL 1834 Poor Law, p.131.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE ACCOUNTS OF AN OVERSEER
OF THE POOR
FROM THE BARNTON TOWN BOOK

The Accounts of Tho: Hughes serving Overseer of the Poor, for the Township Barnton, from the 23d Day of April 1819 to the 23d day of April 1820

388

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paid for the Order | | | " 5 |
| Samuel Barrow's acct Paid Dr 52 Weeks @ 1/6 £3.10 Relief 2/. | | | 4 " |
| Paid Sarah Barrow 32 Weeks @ 1/6 £2.0 20 Weeks @ 2/. £2 | | | 4 0 |
| " Ellen Fogg 52 Weeks @ 1/6 £3.10 " Coals 10/. relief 3/6 | | | 4 11 |
| " Mary Percival 52 Weeks 1/6 £3.10 " for getting Dr Potatoes 5/. | | | 4 5 |
| " Mary Davies for Journey to Herbal Doctor 4/. relief for Son John 24/ | | | 1 8 |
| " Hannah Bell 52 Weeks Pay | @ 4/. | 10 0 | " |
| " Sarah Poole 52 dr dr @ 2/ £5 " 4 " Relief 3/6 | | | 5 7 6 |
| " Wm Eyes, for Fanny Wilkinsons Child 52 Weeks Pay | @ 1/. | 2 12 | " |
| " for removing Wm Jamlinson's Goods from Anderton to Northwich | | | " 8 " |
| " James Bell 45 Weeks Pay @ 5/. £11 " 5/. relief £2 " 2 " relief 3/. | | | 13 7 " |
| " Ralph Poole, for relief | | | " 8 6 |
| " Sarah Holland, 6 Weeks Pay | @ 2/6 | " 15 | " |
| " John Knowles's Acct | | | |
| " Dr Dr 15 Weeks Pay | @ 7/. | 5 12 | 6 |
| " Postage of two Letters from Manr | | | " 1 10 |
| " my Journey to Manchester settle with the Overseer | | | " 11 " |
| " Coach Hire and expences at same time | | | " 19 " |
| " Sarah Knowles relief at sundry Times | | | 1 7 6 |
| " Ra: Harrison, for 20½ days Labour in the Highways | @ 1/. | 1 0 | 6 |
| " Dr Dr for relief at sundry Times | | | " 11 6 |
| " James Harrison, towards his Potatoe Rent | | | " 10 " |
| " Dr Dr for relief at sundry Times | | | 1 0 |
| " Josias Boyer, for Dr Dr | | | " 5 " |
| " James Walker, for Cloathing for Dr | | | " 14 11 |
| " my Journey to Northwich to pay Dr | | | " 1 4 |
| " Wm Eyes, for Cloathing for Dr Son | | | 1 2 6 |
| " Dr towards his Rent £3, relief at sundry Times 11/6 | | | 3 11 6 |
| " John Vernons Rent | | | 3 " " |
| " Rent, for Poor Houses £10, Land Tax 2/9 Poor Lovies 9/. | | | 10 11 9 |
| " Land Tax for Land owners Cottage 2/9 Poor Lovies 9/. | | | " 11 9 |

workhouse. Of course this did not happen in all cases, and paupers are seen in the Barnton census returns of 1841-61 obviously receiving outdoor relief.

Poor relief expenses did not diminish as swiftly as the Poor Law report had promised. Ratepayers contributed in 1837 slightly more than they gave in 1825. Barnton poor had £140 in 1812, £161 in 1813, and £177 in 1837. All were years of distress. But the expenditure per head of the population could be reduced by one-quarter over the same period. On the other hand the costs of administration still took up over one-fifth of the budget in 1837.(1) Nonetheless by 1845 an improvement in the economy generally and the better organizing of the new Union allowed a reduction in the burden which ratepayers had borne for seventy years.

## The Supervisor of Highways

The office of Supervisor was created in 1555. The officer's duty consisted mainly in keeping the township roads in a reasonable condition. The accounts of the Supervisors end in 1773, though from 1794 to 1820 the Overseer kept a record of money spent and work done on the highways. The officer dealt not only with the main Runcorn-Northwich road but also with all the ways which gave access to fields, woods, and meadows. It is unfortunately impossible to say with certainty whether the ways remained as atrociously rutted after 1775 as they had been up to 1773. Comparatively little money was spent on the roads up to 1820, though unpaid labour on the

---

(1) PARL 1830 Poor Rates for 1824-29, p.236, Cheshire (Bucklow) PARL Fourth report of the Poor Law Commissioners 1837-38, App.D, p.136, Northwich Union (Barnton). TBO 1812-14.

part of some farmers would be a great help. In general however all workers on the roads received payment, if the notes in the Town Book are to be trusted. Thus small expenses must imply little road repairing activity.

The main highway through Barnton was turnpiked from 1819 to 1852.

## The Friendly Society

The activity of various governmental bodies did not penetrate far into the daily life of Barnton people. Inhabitants had to a large extent to rely on their own efforts in the fields of public health and insurance against illness and the problems of old age. Families governed themselves , and this self-government became more evident as the Town Meeting asserted itself and destroyed itself in the process after 1800. The years following 1775 saw the creation of a new community with a fresh spirit of independence and self-help. Naturally the reverse side exhibited insularity, narrow-mindedness, and suspicion of strangers. The formation of the Barnton Friendly Society sometime before 1813 as an instrument of social insurance illustrated this power of self-government in the settlement. The society, an offshoot of the Methodist society, attracted the prudent, conservative, and ambitious, those who believed in individual effort.(I) The society had fifty seven members as early as 1813. After 1840 the single society was replaced by half a dozen clubs like the Foresters that catered perfectly for the thrifty independent community.

---

(I) PARL 1818 Poor Rates for 1812-15, p.38-39, Cheshire (Bucklow) Barnton query II.

# RELIGIOUS & EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

People turned for consolation to religious
and educational activity.

Economic development on a scale not known previously turned Barnton into a thriving new settlement. Between 1820 and 1840 however living conditions for many people deteriorated. Prosperity too brought its problems. Men and women began to look beyond the basic human needs to the vision of a fuller satisfying life. The removal of obstacles in the way of this dream's fulfilment would demand positive action on the part of the administration. A third, more sinister, force turned to government and asked for the protection of property and established economic conditions in the face of destructive threats from the discontented and disgruntled populace.

Hence almost the whole community at once placed demands on the political structure of the township. Could the various authorities deal with unprecedented distress, exploitation, and degradation and at the same time satisfy men who had begun to enjoy the pleasant fruits of economic advance?

Political institutions failed to aid the weak or to gratify the desires of the strong or to protect the interests of the propertied. When faced with the problems posed by economic expansion these institutions proved as rotten as the timber in some Barnton houses. One by one the authorities collapsed.

Fortunately for the peace of the district the collapse of the polity did not mean the end of Barnton people's hopes. Instead men and women looked to religion and education to create a new society which should both compensate for earthly sufferings and justify or bless all earthly gain.

1. Religion.

The Church of England, established by law to embrace all Englishmen, did not adequately meet the religious needs or satisfy the demands of Barnton people at least until 1850. The Anglican Church continued to exist because people had grown so used to its presence that they could not easily imagine in what ways it could be replaced or reformed. The church

functioned inefficiently and did not bring out people's loyalty or enthusiasm. Many people attended by habit, and the clergy made of their vocation a mechanical grind.(1)

Services at both Great Budworth and the chapel of ease at Little Leigh took place irregularly. People going to Little Leigh never knew when the minister would attend.(2) Despite this lack of service people still had to pay the hated tithes in kind and cash.(4)

And yet within this same church existed small bands of devoted men dedicated to acts of charity, to learning, and to piety.

The sects which dissented from the Anglican Church did not provide a satisfactory alternative religious community partly because quarrels, schism, social or political disabilities, lack of money, and disorganisation discouraged potential converts. Education tended often to be the main work of these sects. Only the Society of Friends and the Roman Catholics, though small in number, remained active and devout in central Cheshire throughout the years up to 1810. Persecution discouraged the habitual or careless worshipper. Yet neither society became established in the canal settlement. Their lack of interest in the new population proved disastrous, and the two societies declined about 1820. When asked the number of Papists in his huge parish in 1825, the curate of Budworth stated "I know of none but one old drunken woman."(3)

One society broke the habit of centuries. This new society could not be ignored because the message and its presentation swept listeners off their feet. Reason disappeared before emotion, and yet more reasonable an ideology for the early industrial age could hardly have been formulated. The depressed state of religion provided an opportunity for fresh

---

(1) The bishops of Chester as well as local clergy lived, as often as not, miles from the district. See CRO EDV. 7/1-7 Queries Preparatory to Visitation, 1778-1825. Budworth's vicar from 1787 to 1825 lived in Essex.

(2) Both curates had two churches to look after.

(3) See CRO EDV. 7/1/116 (1778) and 2/80 (1789); EDV. 7/7/79 (1825). PARL 1851 Religious Worship.

(4) CRO Tithe 1844. The tithes in kind were commuted for cash by award dated 22 October 1844. There is no evidence of movements in Barnton against tithes and church rates.

beginnings, and an Anglican society seized the initiative.

John Wesley's Methodism is basing itself on the best Christian traditions of doctrine and organization appealed to every kind of Englishman, and the society grew rapidly in numbers right into the nineteenth century. Wesley himself led worship in Little Leigh and Northwich, and at Whitsuntide 1788 during a great bout of religious enthusiasm a society seems to have appeared in the Barnton Canal Settlement.(1)

The Methodist society exactly suited contemporary needs. A growing number of labourers, ignorant and overworked, stood ready to be won over, if only temporarily, by enthusiasm and sincerity, because they were discontented with their economic, political, and religious position. They rejoiced in the groanings of utter abasement which made them forget reality. Such people rarely kept their loyalty to Wesley's brand of Methodism. But the self-made prosperous watermen, salt wallers, tenant farmers, and craftsmen eagerly accepted the new religious group which emphasized as Christian duties perseverance, abstinence, punctuality, energy, application, and thrift, virtues very necessary for survival and progress in the industrial age.

Methodism emphasized exactly what people wanted to hear. Wesley urged his followers to be thrifty, and this pleased most people. He urged people to be longsuffering, to obey political authority. The religious revival, with the help of and to the relief of those men who feared upheaval, tended to channel off the agitation of at least the most articulate and prospering of the labouring population into religious rather than political activity.(2) The labourers who might otherwise have organized party political and industrial activity strove to be appointed local preachers. Methodism gave to the prosperous but dissatisfied a very real taste of education, culture, and spiritual joy which money had not bought. It seemed to assure to the propertied the preservation of the

---

(1) Wesley Works volume IV, p.413, 480, Journal 14 April 1788 and 16 July 1789. NLR CB I note of societies 1793.

(2) La Revue de Paris July-August 1906 E. Halévy 'La naissance du Methodisme en Angleterre', p.865.

constitution.

The Methodist society therefore preserved much that remained worth saving from Barnton's past and broke the habit of saving what had become past preserving. Its constructive work and prayers revolutionised life so that the achievements of centuries did not fall prey to destructive revolution. The society kept close links with the national church, and Barnton Methodists had to attend the parish church every Sunday.(1) They remained Anglicans but also something more: devout dedicated even holy men.

---

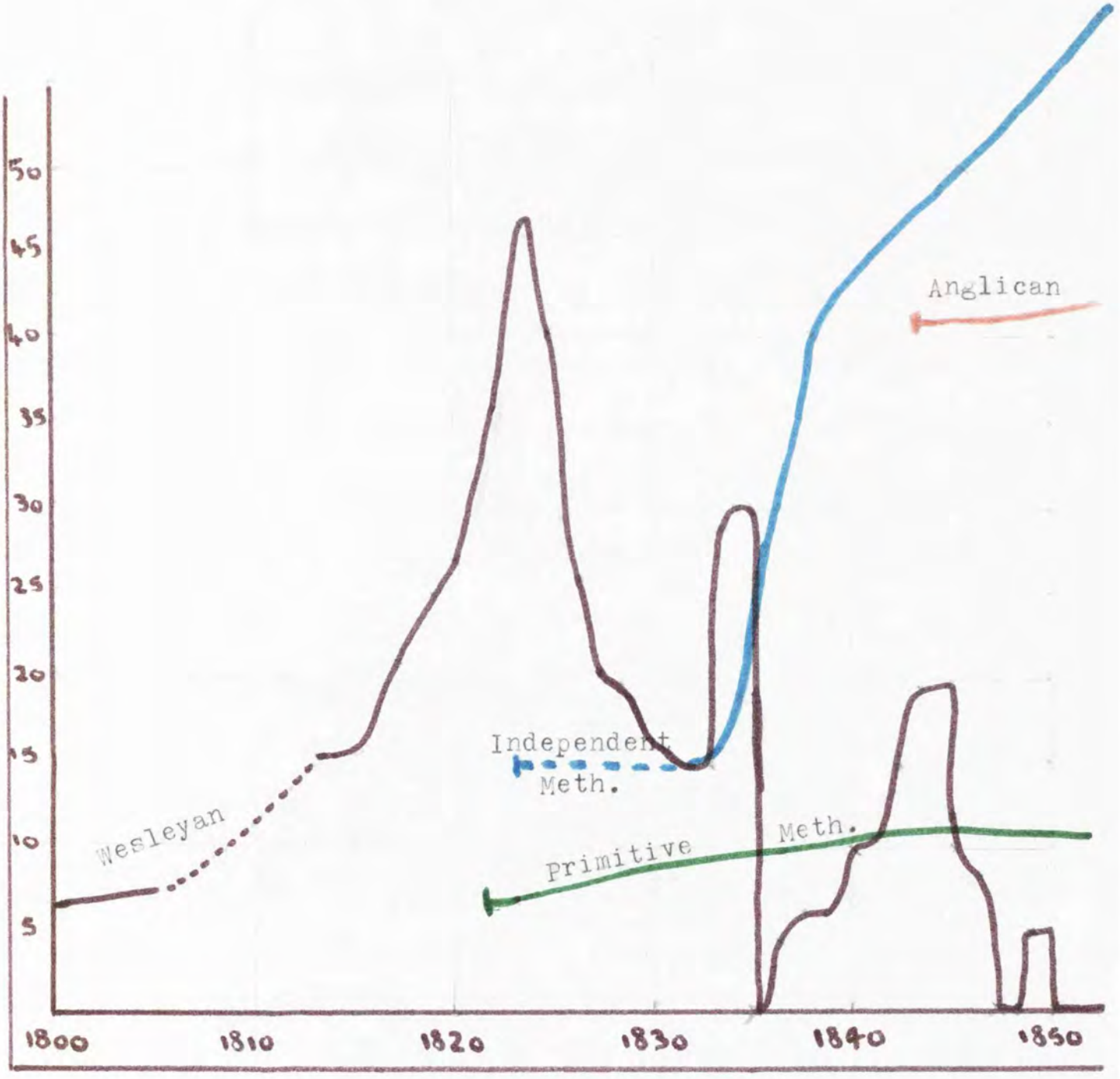
(1) CRO EDV 7/3/79 (1804).

BARNTON

MEMBERSHIP OF RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES 1800-52

(from society records)

The dotted lines indicate records are missing; the Anglican figure is an estimate of attendance by subtracting those who attended elsewhere from the total population; all figures are members not mere adherents.



## Barnton Methodist Society

Membership of the Barnton society rose slowly in the first quarter century and reached possibly twelve in 1812. There would in addition be many adherents and children who attended worship. The circuit membership had doubled between 1792 and 1812.(1) In 1798 twenty two active societies existed in the circuit but Barnton did not seem to be one of the most flourishing. In 1811 the curate of Great Budworth reported with apprehension that "there are many Methodists in this Parish of the Wesleyan Society".(2) He knew many of his congregation would rush home for a meal, a rest, and a Methodist service. Early members of this Barnton society included Abraham Ball the elder of Balls farm and Leighs Brow, ancestor of many Barnton Methodist families. His son Abraham (1739-1805) and grandson Joseph (1762-1833) presumably also joined. A daughter Catherine brought in her husband William Buckley, and the Buckleys' daughter Sarah introduced her husband James Lightfoot. Frances daughter of Abraham Ball married James Poole (1758-1837) and the couple became the strongest supporters of

---

(1) Methodist Minutes July 1792, 475 members; July 1812, 985 members.

(2) METH NLR CB I. In the years around 1800 Barnton gave five or six shillings a quarter. But fifteen societies gave more. CRO EDV.7/4/53 (1811).

Barnton Methodism. Ellen, granddaughter of Abraham Ball, and her husband John Wilkinson provided an example of the poorer labouring members. Thomas Cross of the Manor, and possibly his mother Elizabeth (1744-1827), actively worked for the society. George Lough, an accountant and agent at the Barnton Salt Works from 1795 and son of John and Elizabeth Lough of Witton, remained in the township until 1828. Lough a devout member had become the friend and executor of Thomas Waters, Landlord of the Bestway Inn from 1789 to 1803. Waters may have acted as a leader of the Methodists, for he certainly could provide a meeting room and he devoted much of his will to a long prayer of dedication to "God my Saviour" and to an earnest desire to be buried "without Pomp or State".(1) Undoubtedly many poorer people had to attend meetings because they lived near or could claim a relationship with the proud families of Ball, Poole, or Cross. Servants could hardly refuse to go with

---

(1) PRW christenings 1802. Pigot and Dean Directory, 1824-25. CRO Will of George Lough of Knight's Grange, agent, prob. 11 August 1832. LRO DDCs/uncalendared, copartnership agreement to lease Winsford salt works, 4 October 1828. To these works Lough moved in the same year. CRO Will of Thomas Waters of Barnton, prob. 30 November 1803. Waters was not a Quaker.

their employers to worship. But William and Sarah Swarbrick, very poor agricultural labourers, did not seem to possess any reason for their attendance save a desire to be saved from their sins and to worship their God. This couple owned a tiny enclosure of the common at Bells Brow above the canal basin. After Sarah's death in 1805 William had no heirs and thus could think of a new use for his land.

William Leigh proved to be the most influential of early members. His father Charles Leigh (1747-1823) of High Legh had arrived in Barnton in 1770 probably on account of his budding friendship with Sarah (1746-1811) daughter of Abraham Ball the elder. Their romance led to conception out of wedlock, and a marriage had to take place in February 1771. The couple bore only three children. Betty born in 1771 and Ashton born in 1774 both died in the December of the plague year 1778. This terrible event so impressed itself upon the minds of the family that the names Betty and Ashton became favourites for the children of the Balls, Buckleys, Lightfoots, Boyers, Pooles, Hayes, and Wilkinsons, relations of Charles and Sarah Leigh. William, the third child, had been born in January 1776 and christened at Budworth on 11 February. He escaped the disease which killed his brother and sister and could have the upbringing of an only child. Charles Leigh, a farmer and possibly a salt trader, became sufficiently prosperous to erect for

his family a large house in Leighs Brow during 1778.(1) William his son had therefore a good start in life. He received his education either at Witton or at Budworth Grammar School and specialised in classics and arithmetic. About 1794 Leigh became a schoolmaster, presumably using a room of his own house.(2) He served as Constable of Barnton from 1796 to 1801. When chosen he had just passed his twenty first birthday and proved to be the youngest Constable ever appointed. His accounts indicated a neat scholarly mind and his expenses showed an activity unusual in a township officer.(3) He became, almost certainly, a teacher in a Barnton Sunday School founded about this time and loosely connected with the Methodists. This remarkable man worked as an accountant with salt firms in Northwich and Winnington and invested his money in the salt trade. By 1812 he acted in partnership with John Lowe of Boughton, father-in-law of Samuel Holbrook of the Barnton Salt Works, and the firm owned salt springs in Winnington and two flats called the Swallow and Friends. The yearly turnover in

---

(1) Tithe 270. Later converted into the Beech Tree Inn.

(2) CRO Q alehouse recognizance, 1797 (Barnton).

(3) TBC 1796-1801. CHAMBERS The muniments of William Leigh contain business and family papers, 1770-1854.

1821 amounted to well over six thousand pounds sterling.(1)

But the purchase of landed property made Leigh not only influential and wealthy but, more important, respected and socially acceptable in every home. Land yielded a good income and provided social standing and political authority. In 1800 William Leigh purchased the row of five cottages known as Smithy House which lay near his father's messuage.(2) He took advantage of the sale of the Litler estate in 1809 to buy a piece of land at Leighs Brow and by 1814 had accumulated sufficient money to build himself, at the age of thirty eight, a home in the same area.(3) The dozen rooms, servants' quarters, gighouse, and stable formed a dwelling bigger than any other erected by a Barnton man between 1775 and 1845. From the sale of the Lowndes farm

---

(1) METH NLR 1812 trust deed describes Leigh as an accountant. CHAMBERS LB Accounts of Winnington salt works, 1812-25. Holbrook, Caldwell, and Whitley had business dealings with the partners. CRO Will of John Lowe of Boughton, gentleman, prob. 2 August 1931. Will of William Leigh of Barnton, gentleman, prob. 12 April 1826. A.F. Calvert Salt in Cheshire, London 1915, p.684-92, William Leigh as a salt trader.

(2) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1799-1800. Tithe 269.

(3) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1809-10 and 1814-15. Tithe 282 b and 232 respectively.

in 1820 this speculator acquired seven acres of the Brooms in the Town Field.(1) At Leighs Brow Leigh bought a small garden from John Poole (1763-1839) of Little Leigh, yeoman, in 1821, and in the following year the entire estate of land and twelve houses owned by William Pointon of Sandiway, gentleman.(2) In 1823 Charles Leigh left his son the family home then occupied by Thomas Mills, the boatman and Methodist.

The wealth and position of William Leigh brought him constantly into the public gaze. His private life seemed beyond reproach. He married in 1819, but by his wife Margaret had no children. Leigh regularly attended worship at Little Leigh where he owned a large double pew for himself and his wife and a seat in the gallery for a servant. He also served as a leading member of the Barnton Methodist Society, being a trustee of the chapel in 1812.(3) As a former schoolmaster he took an active interest in the day

---

(1) CRO QDL (Barnton) 1820-23. Tithe 36 and 35, Big and Little Brooms.

(2) CHAMBERS LB conveyance of Pooles croft, 28 February 1821. Tithe 279. CRO QDL (Barnton) 1821-23. Tithe 266, 274, 270, 273.

(3) Chester Chronicle 18 May 1832. Notice of sale of Leigh estate. METH NLR 1812 trust deed.

school at Little Leigh and the Methodist Sunday School in Barnton. William Leigh spared no effort to help his neighbours especially in the bewildering legal problems which worried unlearned persons. Thus Thomas Waters of the Bestway Inn and Mary Fowls of Barnton, widow and member of the Northwich Methodist family, both asked him to serve as executor of their wills. He also acted for Mary, widow of Joseph Boyer of Leighs Brow, who left no less than eight hundred pounds sterling in personalty when she died in April 1824.(1) William Leigh's interests appeared clearly in the provisions of his own will signed on 30 June 1825.(2) This wealthy and influential man left all his estate on trust for his widow. But after her death the whole had to go to pay certain legacies and donations. For eleven neighbours and relatives he provided sums amounting to £1,250. For the poor of the parish of Great Budworth he left one hundred pounds sterling to be invested at interest. The yearly accumulated profits of the quillet of land taken from the Litler estate and occupied by James Poole, his

---

(1) CRO Will of Thomas Waters of Barnton, prob. 30 November 1803. Will of Mary Fowls of Barnton, widow, prob. 8 February 1814. Will of Mary Boyer of Barnton, widow, prob. 25 May 1824.

(2) CRO Will of William Leigh of Barnton, gentleman, prob. 12 April 1826.

uncle and fellow Methodist, were to be given every Christmas Day to ten poor persons of the township of Barnton. The schoolmaster at Little Leigh chapel could possess the rents of Little Brooms for the "education of ten poor children in reading and writing" selected from pauper families in Barnton. Similarly the rent of the house and garden at Leighs Brow occupied by Thomas Mills went "annually and for ever" to the "person for the time being lawfully appointed to attend every Sunday to instruct the children of the Barnton Sunday School". Finally the profits of Big Brooms could provide a substantial yearly sum to be shared equally between the minister and "the person who instructs the Singers" at Little Leigh chapel.

William Leigh died on 13 October 1825 aged forty nine. He left his wife personal goods worth three thousand pounds and real property amounting to eight thousand pounds sterling. His funeral procession wound its way to Budworth on 17 October, and a week later the Chester Chronicle published the obituary of this salt proprieter, Weaver flat owner, landlord, schoolmaster, lifelong member of the Town Meeting, faithful Anglican, and zealous Methodist whose "charitable disposition and exemplary conduct" might be admired by all Barnton. He would indeed "be long and deeply lamented by his friends and poor neighbours".(1) The newspaper could not realize how

---

(1) Chester Chronicle 29 October 1825.

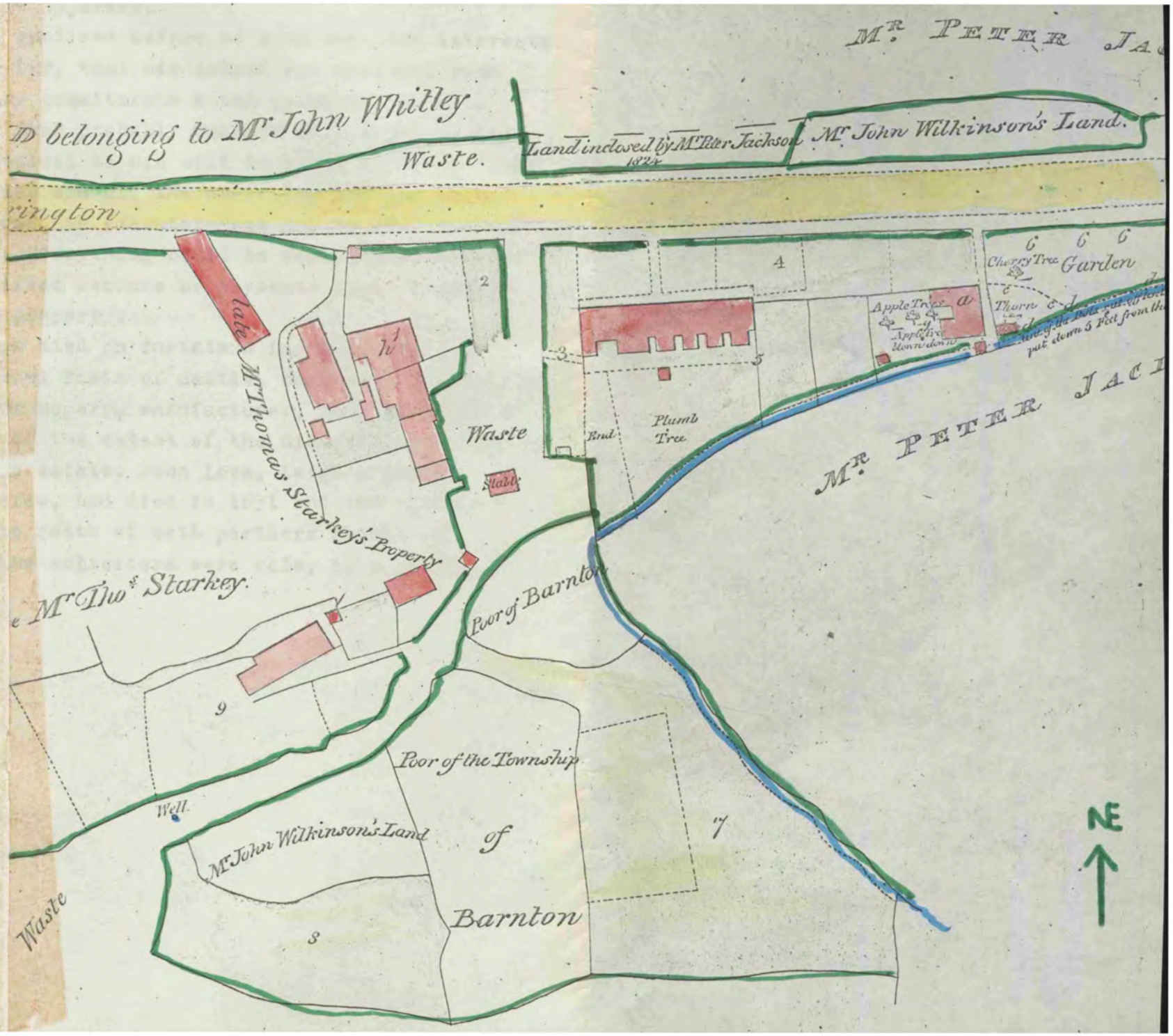
LEIGHS BROW
1824

from William
Leigh's
muniments

h The Leighs'
family house (1778)

a William Leigh's
new house (1814)

Barnton Poorhouse
adjoins the 1778
house across the
alley to the west



truly it spoke, though some years passed before the reality of the situation became apparent.

William Leigh realised before he died that his interests had been extended too far, that his estate was burdened with debts, that he had many commitments which required personal and careful handling. Thus probably unknown to his neighbours Leigh had written a codicil to his will in order to cancel many of the personal legacies and all the charities for the poor, religion, and education. His executors now had to sell the whole estate for cash. Everything could be kept secret however while Margaret Leigh lived because no payments began during her occupation of the property.

Margaret Leigh died on Christmas Day 1831. William Leigh's executors, Samuel Fowls of Castle, engineer, and William Sylvester Clarke of the Ropery, manufacturer, both Methodists and both apprehensive of the extent of the disaster, had already begun to dispose of the estate. John Lowe, Leigh's partner in the Winnington salt works, had died in 1831 and the agreement had stipulated that the death of both partners should be followed, as soon as the solicitors were able, by a public

PART OF A BARNTON NOTICE OF SALE
FROM THE MUNIMENTS OF
WILLIAM LEIGH

SALE OF LEIGHS BROW ESTATE
29 MAY 1832

auction of the works.[1] Fowls and Clarke advertised the remainder of the property in the Chester Chronicle in May 1832.[2] At the ensuing sale the largest portion went to William Jardine of Anderton, salt agent, for £1,761. Jardine himself had to obtain a mortgage on this property immediately in order to pay the purchase price and in fact the Leighs Brow estate never became free of debt until its sale in small portions in 1870.[3]

The executors found they could not meet all the requirements of the wills of William and Margaret Leigh. Joseph Ball (1762-1833), salt boiler, grandson of Abraham Ball and

---

(1) Chester Courant 1 March 1831 Notice of Lowe's death. Chester Courant 29 March 1831 Notice of sale of one flat, one storehouse, two stoves and seven pans, two stables, an office and a cottage, amounting to five thousand square feet.

(2) Chester Chronicle 18 May 1832. Sale of fifteen lots on 29 May.

(3) TD ALSOP Abstract of title to an estate at Leighs Brow, 1870, quoting lease and release, 18/19 December 1832, mortgages and assignments of mortgages, 20/21 December 1832, 2 May 1845, 18 October 1869. TD ALSOP Bargain and sale to William Lightfoot of Barnton, boilermaker, of three cottages, portion of the above estate, 7 February 1870. The land in the Town Field went to two farmers.

# BUCKLEY AND LIGHTFOOT OF BARNTON

BUCKLEY & LIGHTFOOT OF BARNTON

William Buckley of Barnton, labourer, = Catherine daughter of Abraham Ball (1712-95) of Balls farm

- Catherine 1783 — Sarah Buckley 1805
- Samuel of Anderton, saltmaker, 1761-1816 — LIGHTFOOT

Sarah 1769-1834 = James son of Joseph and Martha Lightfoot of Netherton in Frodsham 1772-1839

- Ashton, salt worker, gardener, and watchman, 1798-1845 = Martha daughter of Samuel and Sarah Burgess of Anderton 1801-54
- James of Leighs Brow, labourer and salt boiler, 1800-59 = Mary daughter of Randle and Kitty Poole of Northwich 1800-81

Sarah Buckley 1805

- John, pansmith, boilermaker, and grocer, 1823-84 = Mary
  - William 1853
  - John 1857-88
  - George 1865
- William, pansmith and boilermaker, 1825-89 = Mary daughter of William Boardman of Rays Brow lane, carpenter, 1830-97
  - William 1865
- Ashton 1839

Ashton of Smithy Fold, farm labourer, and of Bells Brow, labourer at the salt works, 1820-88 = Mary daughter of Thomas Hickson of Smithy Fold, flatman, 1815-49

- Thomas 1842
- Elizabeth 1843-
- Elizabeth 1844
- Sarah 1849
- Sarah 1826
- William 1829
- Catherine 1832
- Thomas 1835
- James 1841 = Sarah
  - Frank 1877

therefore Leigh's cousin, made his will in 1833 and left his unpaid one hundred pounds sterling legacy to his children.(1) John Wilkinson (1768-1844) and his wife Ellen (1772-1850), Leigh's cousin, had the right to another one hundred pounds legacy. This remained unpaid as late as 1849.(2) James Lightfoot (1772-1839), son of Joseph and Martha Lightfoot of Netherton in Frodsham, similarly eagerly awaited the one hundred pounds left to his wife Sarah, daughter of William and Catherine Buckley and Leigh's cousin.(3) Lightfoot, a poor salt boiler, had arrived in Barnton in 1795 and had settled in Leighs Brow as the tenant of Pointon and Leigh. He had had to marry Sarah when she became pregnant, and the couple's two sons founded an increasingly prosperous nineteenth-century family. Sarah Lightfoot died in poverty in 1834. Her life might have been prolonged by the valuable gift from her cousin had it been paid. But even her husband, who died in 1839, saw only a small

---

(1) CRO Will of Joseph Ball of Barnton, salt boiler, prob. 27 May 1836.

(2) CRO Will of John Wilkinson of Barnton, labourer, prob. 16 February 1849. Wilkinson, son of James Wilkinson (1748-1815) of Barnton, was not poor, for he owned a cottage in Leighs Brow.

(3) CRO Frodsham transcripts, christenings 1772.

A DOCTOR WRITES TO WILLIAM LEIGH'S EXECUTOR TO ASK THAT A LEGACY BE PAID TO A PATIENT IN POOR HEALTH **1833**

To Mr Clarke, Barnton..

Winnington April 12th. 1833

Dr Sir /

I beg to inform you that Josh Bale of Barnton is in a dangerous state of Health, in consequence of an extensive scald over the greater part of his Body and Limbs. It is requisite that he should be well supported with wine and very nutritious Diet, otherwise there will be no hope of his Recovery, and I am informed he has not the Means of procuring the necessary support, at the present time.

I remain, Yours truly,
Jas Dean, Surgeon &c

portion of the money, and since his whole estate, including this portion of the legacy, amounted to just over eighty pounds sterling the disappointment must have been heart-breaking.(1) James' son, Ashton (1798-1845), worked by turns as a gardener, a casual labourer, and a salt boiler. He lived at Leighs Brow all his life. His wife Martha, daughter of Samuel Burgess of Anderton, gave him eight children. Ashton Lightfoot should have received fifty pounds sterling from William Leigh, and his wife Martha had ten pounds "for her kind service" from Margaret Leigh. The executors managed to pay the latter sum but the larger amount remained inaccessible as late as 1845 when Lightfoot died of a liver disease.(2)

---

(1) CRO Will of James Lightfoot of Barnton, salt boiler, prob. 21 March 1840. Value of estate £83 8s 6d. "As a legacy was bequeathed to me some years ago by Mr William Leigh of Barnton eighty pounds of which remain unpaid, I give and bequeath £20 ... to my son Ashton Lightfoot of Barnton, aforesaid, and Watchman at the new Salt Works". The second son James had the residue.

(2) CRO Will of Margaret Leigh of Barnton, widow, prob. 5 September 1833. Margaret's executors were George Stringer of Winnington, timber merchant, and William Clarke of the Ropery. She left only £530 in legacies, including £20 to her "dear friend" Maria wife of William Clarke. Will of Ashton Lightfoot of Barnton, labourer prob. 25 June 1846. N. Sup. Reg. Death certificates 1845.

Hence the Wilkinsons, Balls, Lightfoots, and other of the Leighs' "friends and poor neighbours" had cause indeed for long sincerely to lament the death of this couple. Fortunately no tales of dishonesty emerged from the accounts of the winding-up of the estate. Since lack of money had never threatened a man's social position in Barnton, Leigh's memory did not suffer half as much as his neighbours' wives and children in the lean years that followed.

Meanwhile William Swarbrick had decided to offer his enclosure at Bells Brow to the Methodist society so that a chapel could be built on the site. The society had long needed a permanent meeting place, even though some members feared the loss of the primitive fervour and sincerity of cottage meetings and others feared the expense of building. A war raged throughout Europe, prices and wages did not cease to rise, materials and labour remained difficult to acquire. However the circuit authorities eased the task of raising a building fund in Barnton by waiving the society's obligation of giving the regular quarterly payments between 1803 and 1813. Prosperous Methodists in the district could well afford generous donations because both agriculture and industry continued to produce good returns. Hence the society erected a small chapel in Swarbrick's garden probably between April and June 1812.(1)

---

(1) METH NLR CB I and II. Tithe 144. The dimensions were twenty four feet by thirty three feet. This rectangular shape was typical of eighteenth century Anglican buildings.

It is significant that the chapel lay close to and just above the canal basin on land that had been common moorland before 1775. Members realized that this place would soon be the centre of the township. Thomas Cross and William Darlington had just put up dwellings nearby. Ten cottages were being built across the road from the chapel. Only a few yards away lay the ropery, salt works, smithy, coal yard, and canal. Members too insisted that the tabernacle should lie correctly east and west like their Anglican churches. The pulpit and altar could lie at the east end despite the inconvenience of the arrangement. Constructed of brick with a slate roof, the chapel, in obedience to Wesley's wish, appeared "not gay or splendid which might be a hindrance on the one hand; nor sordid or dirty which might give distaste on the other; but plain as well as clean".(1) It became one of the earliest rural Methodist chapels in mid-Cheshire and the first place of worship ever

---

(1) The east end adjoined the highway from which entry had to be made, possibly by a door behind the altar but probably by a door in the north side half-way along the rows of pews. Wesley Works volume XIII, p.185, Letter of 20 September 1757. The central pulpit in front of the altar remained common in contemporary Anglican churches and was probably copied from Little Leigh chapel, rebuilt in 1718.

built in Barnton.

On 1 July 1812 William Swarbrick formally conveyed the property for a nominal five shillings to fifteen trustees of the Methodist society.(1) George Lough, the salt works agent, acted as Swarbrick's attorney and James Poole of Balls acted as the trustees' attorney. Like the people whom the chapel accommodated the trustees came from various trades and professions. Three tenant farmers, a corn miller, two accountants at salt works, a rock salt agent who worked also as a farmer, the excise officer at Barnton Salt Works, two tailors, a joiner and carpenter, and one slater set their names to the trust deed. The trustees possessed wealth and social position because the members presumably felt that such men alone had the learning, the influence, and the time adequately to protect the society's interests. Barnton Methodist Society indeed became associated with money and power at an early date, despite its overwhelming majority of poorer or moderately prosperous members, and did not realize until too late how disastrous such a reputation could in certain circumstances become. The necessity of choosing men of wealth and high social position forced the society to look outside Barnton for most

---

(1) METH NLR 1812 trust deed. Swarbrick died a month later. The three circuit ministers counted among the trustees.

of its trustees. Only four lived in the township and these could not really be called old Barnton inhabitants. William Leigh's father had arrived in 1770 and Thomas Cross had come with his parents in 1778. James Stelfox, though born in Barnton in 1787 during his father's short stay at one of the farms, worked at the Little Hey only from 1808 to 1816. John Tanfield, the excise officer, had come only in 1809 and very soon moved to Coventry. Hence the society's chapel and government remained very much a product of the new township of the later eighteenth century. The trustees from outside included the wealthy John Fowls the elder of Witton, yeoman and rock salt agent, and Edward Dignum of Witton, an exceedingly prosperous tailor.(1) Neither the trustees nor the members considered it advisable or necessary to register the chapel as a Nonconformist meeting house. In this they followed the highest Methodist tradition. But undoubtedly there appeared also traces of that suspicion of and contempt for outside official interference in Barnton

---

(1) CRO Admon of John Fowls of Witton, agent, prob. 2 April 1824. Samuel Dyer of Cogshall, corn miller, and of Witton, flour dealer, and owner of property at Rays Brow was also a trustee. See his will, prob. 9 December 1822.

affairs which became so marked a feature of the canal settlement community.(1)

* * *

The society grew rapidly in members and financial stability especially after the terrible period of food shortages, falling real wages, loss of harvests, and war disasters in 1813 and 1814. The membership rose from twelve in 1812 to twenty two in 1816. On 30 June 1817 the first official return gave a figure of nineteen, and seven more joined within a year.(2) There would of course be twice as many adherents. From its position as the poor member of the circuit the Barnton society became one of the most prosperous. In the last quarter of 1814 it had contributed thirty one shillings, more than almost all the other seventeen societies. Each person gave at the rate of twopence a week. This appeared a very small portion of weekly wages but had to be in addition to the church rate, tithes, offertory at Little Leigh, and special collections at Barnton. The membership figures tended always to fluctuate on account of deaths,

---

(1) CRO The Name of the places certified to the Sessions for Divine and Religious Worship, 1689-1853. Return of Places of Meeting for religious worship, 1814-27.

(2) Figures of membership and contributions appear in METH NLR CB II, 1806-44.

removals, and strict conditions of entry. Leaders showed no hesitation in withdrawing the class ticket temporarily if personal, social, or religious duty seemed to be lacking. Nonetheless by June 1820 Barnton boasted of thirty members, and the number rose to thirty five in 1822. In June 1823 forty three full members had been accepted and a further eight waited on trial for their class tickets. A peak of forty six full members had been attained by September of the same year. At least seventy or eighty people must have worshipped in the small chapel and its garden, and possibly well over one hundred Barnton people had connections with the society. New families had joined, like the Buckleys, Harrisons, Houghtons, Shaws, and Bowyers together with younger members of the Cross and Poole families.

The people who accepted Methodist discipline remained convinced that their lives had to be of such outstanding purity and joy that the community in which they moved would eventually be transformed by the power of their example. Members often knew themselves already "entirely sanctified" and "freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers." The highest standards had been demanded of members by Wesley. There could be no brawling, cheating, drunkenness, or "singing those songs or reading those books which do not tend to the

knowledge or love of God".(1) Every member had to help his neighbours and especially his fellow Methodists. Thus William Leigh acted as executor of the wills of Barnton people, and his executors in turn worshipped as Methodists. Methodists patronised shops that belonged to Methodists and Margaret Bowyer and her son Thomas later made much money from this trade. Methodists intermarried, and their faith tended to obscure social divisions between families. Members had to attend the Sunday services and observe the sacrament of Holy Communion. They cleaned the chapel and tidied the chapel yard. They practised fasting and abstinence, especially in Lent. At all times they eschewed strong spirits and costly foods. They never missed daily devotions, evening family prayer, and grace before meals. Those who could read regularly studied the Hymn Book and Bible. Small groups met for communal searching of Scripture and souls.

---

(1) The first quotation appears in Wesley Works volume VI, p.19, 'Sermon on Christian Perfection', II paragraph 28. The second quotation, and much of the following account, is found in Wesley Works volume VIII, p.269-71, 'Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies', 1 May 1743. Some idea of the working of the society appears in METH NLR CB I.

In Methodism's early days ten or twelve people had been gathered into classes under a leader in order that the weekly penny might be more easily collected. Each member possessed a class ticket given quarterly to prove his payments. But the groups began to meet for worship, prayer, and Bible reading, and in 1743 Wesley gave the leaders definite duties to "advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort" and to enquire of members "what they are willing to give toward the relief of the poor". The leader made a report of all who fell sick, got into trouble, or "walk disorderly and will not be reproved". The meeting of a weekly class open only to full members embraced prayer, Bible study, testimonies of faith, of sins forgiven, and of work done, and direct praise or criticism of each member's activities over the week.(1) The meeting consisted of laymen, and not a

---

(1) Every member could be expected to agree when asked by his leader, "Do you desire to be told of all your faults, and that plain and home?" Wesley Works volume VIII, p.309-10, 'Twelve Rules of a Helper'. The major part of the will of Thomas Waters of Barnton, prob. 30 November 1803, reads like a testimony to a class meeting. "Jesus Christ ... who, I trust, will not reject me a returning penitent Sinner ... humbly beseeching the most blessed and glorious Trinity ... to take me to himself into that Peace and Rest ... prepared for all that Love and fear his holy Name ... " See also J.C. Buckmaster A Village Politician, London 1897, p.39, "the ranting and groaning and the confessions of some of the converted were frightful. I had no idea I had been living and working with men who ought to have been in prison."

landlord, magistrate, parson, constable, or employer had any control over the proceedings. Generally the only supervision lay in a quarterly visit by the minister who distributed personally the class tickets and admitted new members who had satisfactorily behaved during their trial period. While the class meeting remained strong, meetings of Bands and other Select Societies tended to cease after 1790. Similarly the Love Feast, originally strictly for the devout Band Meeting members, became opened to all, and the testimonies rapidly lost all worth.

* * *

All societies deteriorate in time, and swift economic change in Barnton could hardly have left the Methodists unmoved. Important divisions appeared between the employer and his worker, between the farming and the industrial communities, between the pauper and the independent labourers, and between people of different social standing. Hence the unity of all evangelical Christians could not long survive. The Pooles and Leighs, and new members like Thomas Moreton of the Ropery, yeoman, and William Clarke of the Ropery, manufacturer, had little in common, save in some cases a distant relationship, with the Houghtons, Hicksons, Bowyers, Lightfoots, Harrisons, and Foggs, flatmen, salt workers, and labourers. The questions asked in class meetings tended to become impertinent, and members who dared to speak

sincerely found themselves open to many forms of blackmail. Money payments alone could not satisfy the cruel and deadly gossip which might easily result from a careless turn of phrase.

Moreover some people had joined for other than religious motives. Craftsmen and shopkeepers who desired trade needed at least to attend worship. Depressing homes, the cost of fuel and light, overcrowded, insanitary living and working conditions, the boredom of daily labour, and overlong contact with simple, ignorant, and narrow-minded neighbours naturally drove people to chapel or farmhouse rooms which seemed always to be warm, well-lit, and filled with singing, with joyful testimonies, and with words of wisdom and comfort. There often existed an opportunity in the farmhouses for a good meal after a class or prayer meeting.(1)

The making of money could be reckoned as a quality of the greatest worth and trustees might be chosen solely on account of their bank balance. Methodists accepted private pews and pew rents, and, as in Anglican churches, free seats

---

(1) Cobbett, Cottage Economy, 1824, paragraph 148, tells how a man killed a pig to provide food for a whole season. He returned home and "found his wife, the Methodist parson, and a whole troop of the sisterhood, engaged in prayer, and on the table lay scattered the clean-polished bones of the spare rib".

appeared for the use of the poor. The gracious and accepted social division between families, which did little harm, became therefore linked disastrously with an economic split between prosperous and poor. The society tended to favour men like William Leigh, Ashton Poole, William Clarke, and Thomas Moreton, manufacturers and farmers, who worked hardest and gave most generously to advance the cause of Methodism.

Some members naturally had not gained their money in a manner which pleased other, perhaps jealous, perhaps narrow-minded, Methodists. The Fowls family, trustees in 1812 and 1836, served as shareholders in the Northwich brewing firm of Dunn and Company. William Clarke erected the Reapers Arms at Tunnel Top. Thomas Waters worked as landlord of the Bestway Inn and John Deakin of the Reapers Arms. Such contented and propertied men, on the defensive always, saw in the preservation of the society a good means of ensuring their own economic and political survival. On the other hand the Houghtons, Hindleys, Shaws, Harrisons, Lightfoots, Bowyers, Goodiers, Mills, and Hicksons, who had nothing to lose by reform but a world to gain, grew impatient with an increasingly conservative society that once had seemed to promise so much.

Moreover as it became clear that Methodism and Anglicanism would soon be two separate churches many Barnton people made their choice in favour of the Established Church. Methodism also began to criticize and to preach

against the temperance and teetotal movements partly because so much of its income came from brewing interests. Reformers, generally loyal members, found no help within their societies. The seven men of Preston who signed the teetotal pledge in 1832 supported Methodism but in 1841 by order of Conference found all chapels in the country closed to their meetings.(1)

Discontent finally led to a quarrel in Barnton late in 1823. The unity of Christian worship in the township disappeared, and the parent society never fully recovered from this first and terrible disaster. Though confined on this occasion to the township, the schism followed a pattern that had become common within the district since 1790.

People had been shocked by division even while Wesley lived, and after 1791 the situation worsened. The clerical authorities in Northwich frowned upon the cottage meetings held by Peter Phillips (1778-1853) of Warrington, chairmaker, and forbade them in 1796. Phillips united with

---

(1) W. Pilkington, The Makers of Wesleyan Methodism in Preston, and the Relation of Methodism to the Temperance and Teetotal Movements, London, Manchester, and Preston 1890, p.224. METH NLR CB I shows how the Methodists used real wine at their Communion and beer at church and Sunday School festivals. Only after 1873 did Conference support temperance with regard to beer and wines.

(1) Janion Methodism, 1823, p.88.

(2) Primitive Methodist Minutes, 1820-45.

a group of Quakers to form the Independent Methodist Church which held its first Conference at Warrington in 1806. In 1797 Alexander Kilham (1762-98) and William Thom broke away from the Methodists and formed the New Connexion. A number of trustees of the Leftwich chapel in 1797 wished to close the door against orthodox Methodists and to invite preachers of independent persuasion.(1)

Revival meetings began to be held in the open-air. At Mow Cop since 1800 the preachers had been William Clowes (1780-1851) and Hugh Bourne (1772-1852). The latter found himself expelled by the Methodists in 1808. He however attracted followers like James Crawfoot, expelled by the Northwich circuit in 1808, and revival meetings spread to Delamere forest. In the woods these "Magic Methodists" fell into trances and saw visions. In 1811 the Camp Meeting Methodists united with the Clowesites, and in 1812 the two groups founded the Primitive Methodist Communion whose members received the name Ranters because they sang so fervently. The first Conference of 1820 had two laymen to each minister, partly on account of the shortage of ordained men. Membership increased rapidly, and women could be used as preachers, missionaries, and society leaders.(2)

---

(1) Janion Methodism, 1823, p.88.

(2) Primitive Methodist Minutes, 1820-45.

At the same time the Methodist Conference heard of the first decrease in membership since records began in 1766. Only forty out of six hundred and forty members had been lost in Northwich circuit but the report came as a great shock.(I) In Barnton decline soon ceased. But in 1823 began a further loss of members which did not stop for ten years.

The strict Anglicans on the one hand and the zealous Methodist reformers on the other between them pulled to pieces the old Methodist society which, in uniting most Christians, had helped to hold together a new canal community that knew no stronger cohesive force.

## Barnton Primitive Methodist Society

From about 1820 Primitive Methodist missionaries had been in the habit of visiting Barnton to urge their new plan of church government and a less traditional form of worship. Some people began to loathe the Anglican service and thus to cut themselves away from the main body of Methodists of

---

(I) METH NLR CB 11. Methodist Minutes July 1820.

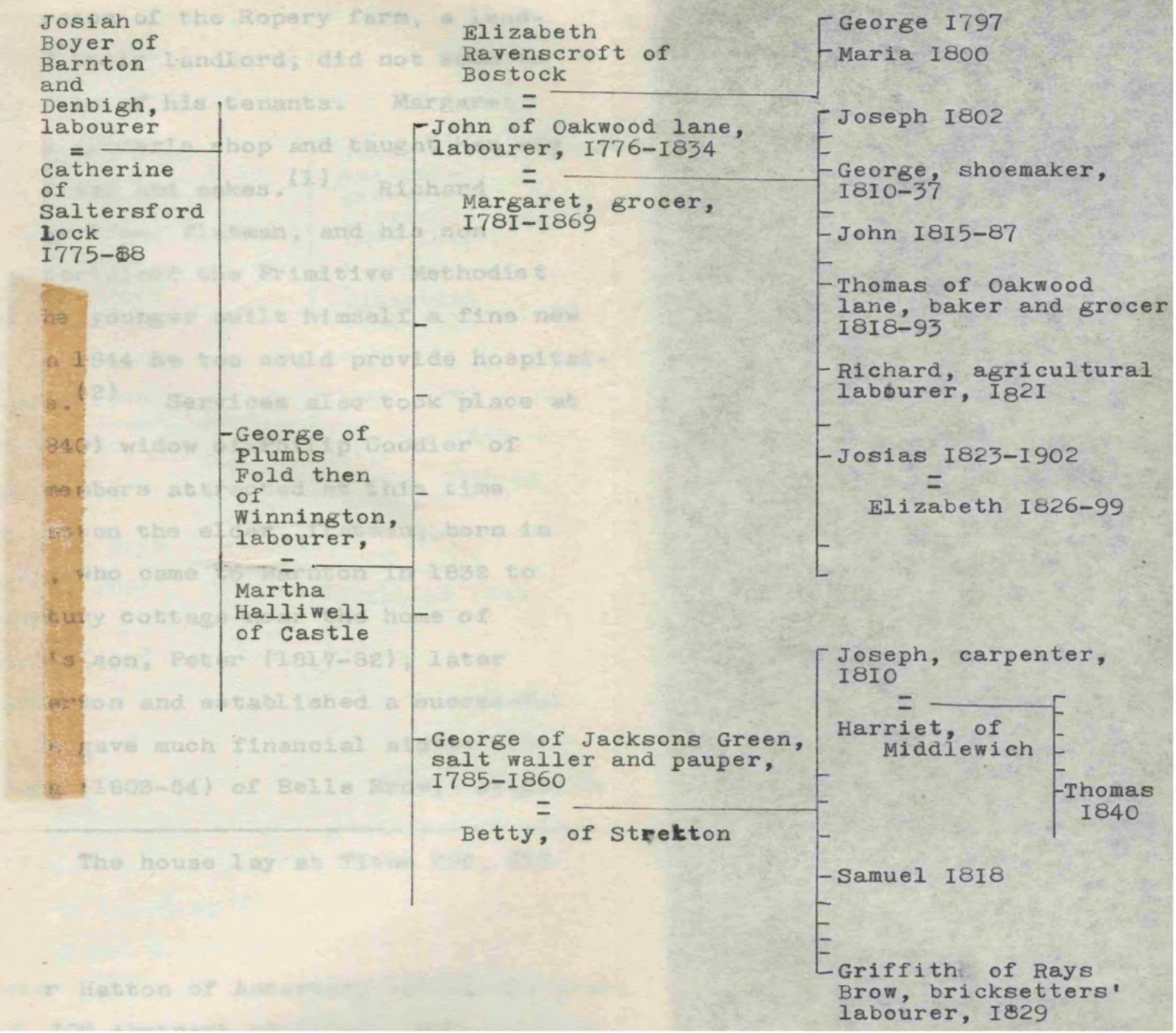
Wesley's persuasion. In 1825 the curate of Budworth deplored the fact that "many of the Methodists have quite forsaken the Lord's table".(1) Primitive Methodist meetings took place out of doors and in the cottages of converts. Members of the Methodist society became interested, and in 1832 a mission from Preston Brook, the head of the mid-Cheshire Primitive Methodist circuit, founded a society which had a permanent existence until 1962. Early members gathered at the home and under the leadership of Margaret (1781-1869) wife of John Bowyer. The Boyer family had lived in the township since about 1750 and had worked as casual labourers. John (1776-1834) never greatly improved his position and indeed remained regularly out of work and in receipt of poor relief. Despite this, he and his wife had at least thirteen children. Margaret alone brought this family up after the death of her husband in 1834. At this time the family moved into a new cottage on the common

---

(1) CRO EDV.7/7/79 (1825). Portions of the following account appeared in a highly inaccurate and misleading centenary article in Northwich Chronicle 10 December 1932. The article, for example, asserted that a former Weslyan, converted in 1832, George Chesters Allcock, helped found the society. Allcock, born in Hartford only in 1819, came to Barnton no earlier than 1849.

BOWYER OF BARNTON

BOWYER OF BARNTON



near the Hall. Thomas Moreton of the Ropery farm, a leading Wesleyan Methodist and their landlord, did not seem to mind the religious activities of his tenants. Margaret opened the front room as a grocer's shop and taught her son Thomas (1818-93) to bake bread and cakes.(1) Richard Hickson (1779-1858) of Rays Brow, flatman, and his son Richard (1802-82) also entertained the Primitive Methodist society. When Richard the younger built himself a fine new house at Mount Pleasant in 1844 he too could provide hospitality for visiting preachers.(2) Services also took place at the home of Nancy (1777-1840) widow of Philip Goodier of Litlers. Among the new members attracted at this time could be numbered Peter Hatton the elder, flatman, born in Ince near Runcorn in 1791, who came to Barnton in 1832 to live in a seventeenth century cottage near the home of Richard Hickson. Hatton's son, Peter (1817-82), later moved from Barnton to Anderton and established a successful sail-making business. He gave much financial aid to the society.(3) William Fogg (1803-54) of Bells Brow, navigation

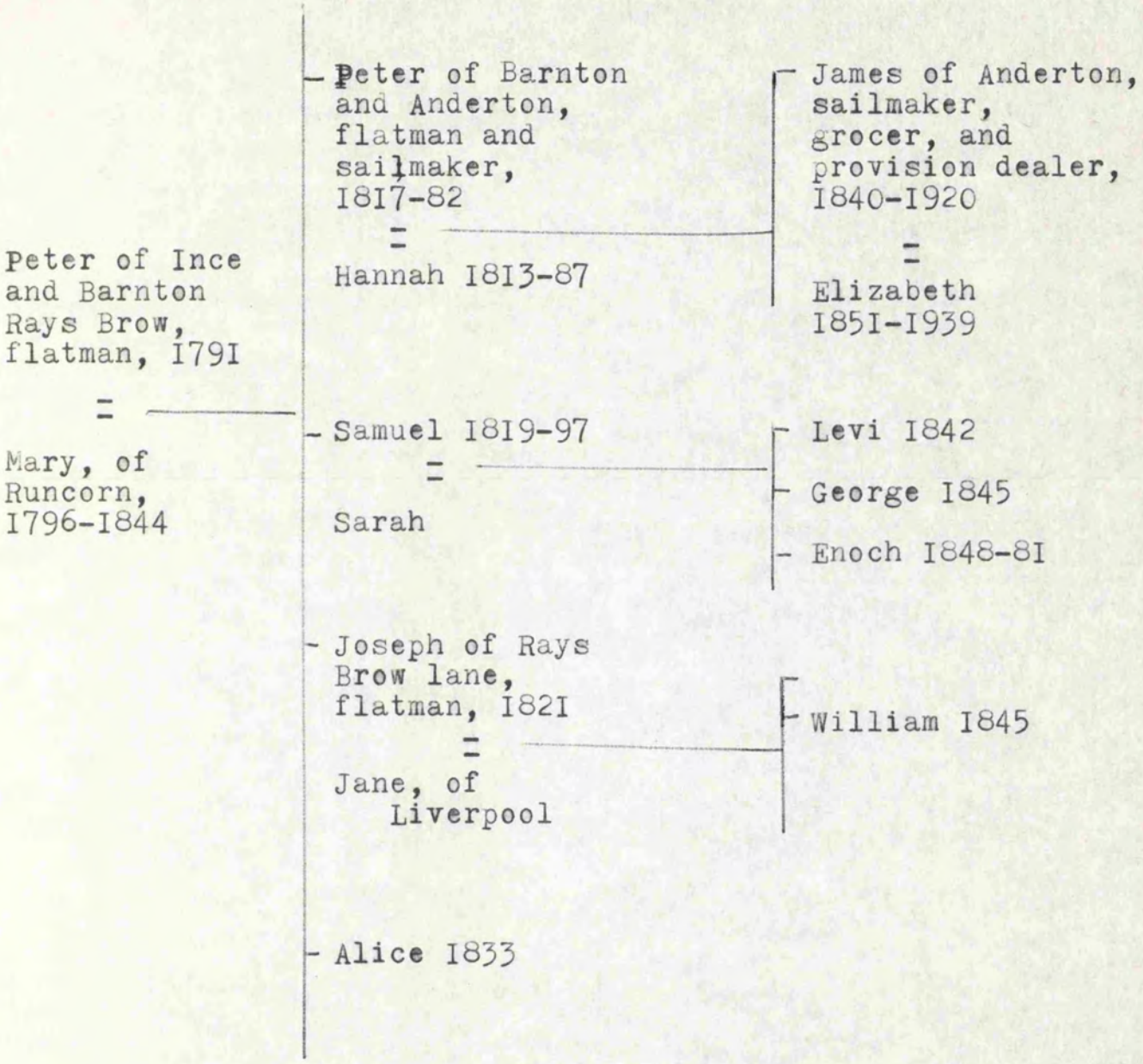
---

(1) TBO 1812-13, 1814-17. The house lay at Tithe 225, PRO Census 1841.

(2) PRO Census 1851.

(3) TD PRICE Will of Peter Hatton of Anderton, sailmaker, prob. 3 June 1882. TD SMEETON Abstract of title, 1883, quoting will of Richard Hickson, shows that Hatton acted as executor of Hickson.

# HATTON OF RAYS BROW LANE



labourer, the son of Philip and Mary Fogg, became a valued member because he served as a local preacher.(1) His early death dealt a blow to this small group of ten or twelve Methodists. The society erected a chapel in Lydiart Lane only in 1862. It is significant of the society's poverty and of its position on the very edge of Barnton's religious growth that the members did not belong to ~~the~~ any of the old Methodist families and could not establish between themselves any links through marriage.(2) Moreover the Primitives attracted the lonely, the unattached, the desperately poor, the labouring population, the unlearned and ignorant, and the social outcasts. Their simple doctrine, dependent

---

(1) PRO Census 1851, "labourer and Primitive Methodist local preacher".

(2) METH NBM Circuit Book of the Northwich Primitive Methodist Circuit, 1851-72, shows that Barnton rarely had even ten members as late as 1858. METH NLR 1863 trust deed, conveyance by John Ankers of Anderton, banksman, a Methodist, to trustees who includedThomas Bowyer, Richard Hickson, and Peter Hatton. James Hatton (1840-1920) sold the land for a new chapel across the road in 1896. Nancy Goodier had in fact been a Hickson before her marriage but the statement in the text remained true till beyond 1860 in other cases. Most members were already married by 1832.

on understandable and short biblical statements, together with the stirring hymns and ranting incendiary sermons, appealed greatly to this portion of the population which had been deprived of colour, warmth, solid food, and regular employment in their daily life. However this group of the people did not for long attach itself to any religious society. Indeed the majority of the poorer, most unlettered, and simple men and women of Barnton never allowed themselves to be influenced by religion at all. Hence the Primitive society, gaining virtually all its membership from the poor, remained notoriously weak, and Barnton community never rid itself of a nucleus of law-breakers, rioters, and depressed, drunken, and unhappy paupers and labourers who remained outside the civilizing pale of organized religion.

### . Barnton Independent Methodists

The most damaging blow however to the unity and strength of Barnton Methodism lay in repeated secessions of members to form independent societies. These groups could be governed and financed by the members themselves. The independent societies fought against the despotism of Wesleyan ministers on behalf of freer church government and religious practice. But like independent congregations elsewhere the Barnton groups remained weak and poor. Hence in 1832 most Methodists who had left the parent society agreed regularly

Wesleyan Methodist Association Chapel
erected 1838
brick built with slate roof
from photograph taken about 1860 in
the possession of the society

to meet as one body in the newly-built home of John Houghton (1786-1871) of Rays Brow lane, flatman.[1] There could hardly have been more than fifteen adults at first. George Houghton (1807-62), John's flatman son, with his wife Elizabeth, joined in 1832. George's sister, Elizabeth, had recently married James Harrison the younger of Rays Brow, and this connection brought in James' uncle, James the elder (1777-1863) of Rays Brow Lane, agricultural labourer, and others of the same family. Anne (1800-73) wife of Samuel Cross of Bells Brow, flatman, and John Plumb (1787-1861) of Plumbs Fold, flatman, his wife Kate (1789-1867), and nephew John, a flatman born in Witton in 1806, also began to attend meetings. William (1806-77) son of John and Mary Rutter of Comberbach, born in Cogshall and married in Northwich while

---

(1) Tithe 149. Some details of the following account appeared in Anon. History and Records of Mount Tabor Chapel, Barnton, 1832-1932, privately published 1932, referred to hereafter as Mount Tabor, 1932. Very inaccurate, the book is useful because it was based on notes and recollections of James Shaw (1815-86), an early member who made use of financial account books of the society. Shaw, however, cannot be trusted concerning dates or the identity of many founder members. The pages of the history are not numbered and so no accurate references can be given.

CROSS OF BELLS BROW AND PRINCES PARK

Samuel Cross of
Bells Brow, Lydiart
lane, and Princes Park,
flatman, I798-I849

=

Ann I800-73

- Thomas, flatman,
  I8I9-7I
  =
  I) Anne Wild I82I-52
  2) Arabella
- Sarah I823
  =
  Abraham Molyneux of
  Princes Park, flatman,
  I822-9I
- John of Princes Park,
  flatman, I825-9I
  =
  Adelaide Eliza I830-I9I0
- Elizabeth I828
  =
  William Hickson of
  Liverpool, merchant
- Samuel of Bells Brow,
  waterman, I830

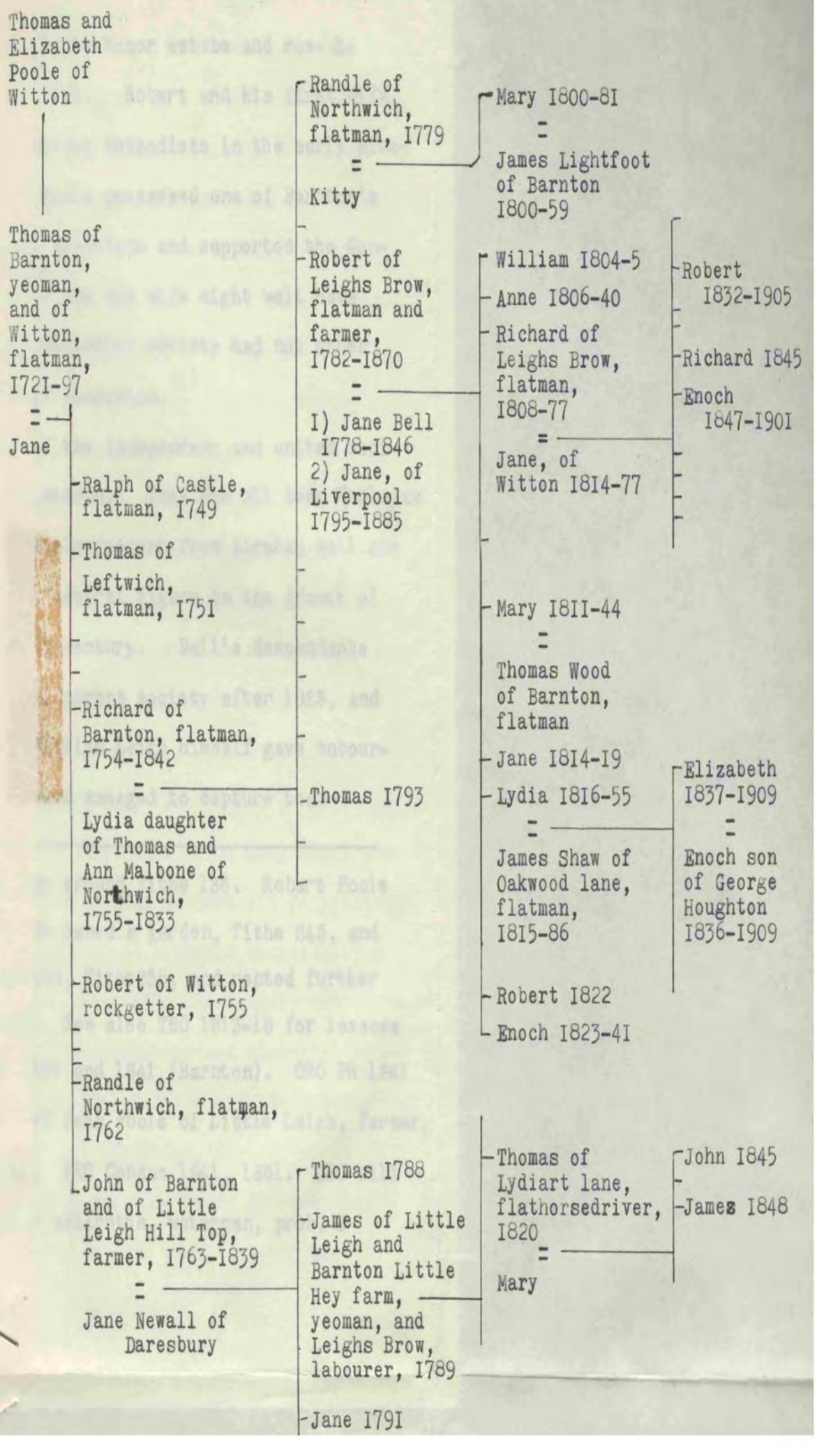
working as a casual labourer, moved to Barnton in 1830. He lived first in Rays Brow Lane, then in a cottage which lay on the Big Hey estate near Litlers and earned a living by working on the farm, on the navigation, and on the roads. By his wife Catherine (1806-69) he had numerous children, and the whole family became members of the independent society in 1832.(1)

Perhaps Robert Poole (1782-1870) of Leighs Brow, flatman, proved to be the most important founder member. The Pooles had been in Barnton since 1714 when Thomas and Jane Poole of Witton became tenants of a smallholding on the Manor estate. The children of Thomas in leaving Barnton found employment on the waterways and at salt works in Leftwich, Northwich, Castle, and Witton. The youngest son John (1763-1839) alone remained as a farmer in Barnton, though even he moved to Little Leigh in later life. Richard Poole (1754-1842) of Leighs Brow stayed in Barnton. He rented potato lands of the township and worked as a flatman. He had at least ten children including Robert born in 1782. Robert rented Pooles smallholding which his grandfather had farmed, and eventually purchased land at Leighs Brow for use as potato grounds and vegetable gardens. He occupied a house

---

(1) His home, Pownalls tenement or the Poplars, lay at Tithe 84a. PRO Census 1841, 1851.

# POOLE OF BARNTON



in Leighs Brow belonging to the Manor estate and rose to become master of a Weaver flat. Robert and his first wife, Jane Bell, worshipped as devout Methodists in the early nineteenth century. By 1832 Poole possessed one of Barnton's few votes in Parliamentary elections and supported the Conservative party. Hence he and his wife might well have become leaders of the old Methodist society had not other considerations forced their secession.(1)

The founder members of the independent and united society had several things in common. They had all been Wesleyan Methodists. Many could claim descent from Abraham Ball the elder who seemed to be the central figure in the growth of Methodism in the eighteenth century. Ball's descendants moved as one man out of the parent society after 1823, and it remains possible that William Leigh himself gave encouragement. The society indeed managed to capture that

---

(1) Pooles smallholding lay around Tithe 136. Robert Poole lived at Tithe 268. He owned a garden, Tithe 245, and Long Croft potato ground, Tithe 238, and rented further lands, Tithe 246, 260. See also TBO 1813-18 for lessees of gardens. CRO EL 1832 and 1841 (Barnton). CRO PB 1841 (Barnton). CRO Will of John Poole of Little Leigh, farmer, prob. 3 February 1840. PRO Census 1841, 1851. CRO Will of Robert Poole senior of Barnton, waterman, prob. 3 November 1870.

stronghold of Methodism, Leighs Brow, and eventually to convert all the families of that area. The society did not therefore possess any vital connection with the canal settlement's economy. The members did not work as boatmen, craftsmen, salt boilers, traders, coal merchants, or rope makers. They did not build houses around the canal basin. Most remained neither wealthy like the Moretons and Clarkes of the Wesleyan chapel nor poor like the Bowyers, Foggs, and Goodiers of the Primitive society. They worked mainly as flatmen, at a time however when transportation provided as much profit as farming. They owned property, had rents coming in from land and houses, engaged in trade, and in the cases of Plumb and Poole became heirs to substantial sums of money. They did not generally serve as members of the Town Meeting or take on public duties. These secessionists possessed no great social standing, even though Houghton and Plumb owned houses and Poole had land. But they could not claim to be the equals of the tenant farmers and proprietors of the Wesleyan Methodist chapel. Although necessarily a product of Barnton's growth since 1775 the society exhibited a reaction against many of the qualities and characteristics of the canal settlement community and its Methodist society. Hence seriousness, respect for tradition, dislike of swift change, and social distinctions tended to be abandoned.

John Houghton fell ill early in 1833, and the meeting

in 1834 began to gather at William Rutter's cottage. Next door lived George Hindley (1771-1849), a shoemaker formerly of Antrobus, who had come to Barnton about 1826 in order to find work. He, his wife Sarah (1774-1846), and son Peter (1810-89) could not remain unaffected by the crowded meetings in their neighbour's house.(1) Later, Peter's wife Martha (1818-1903), a Frodsham widow, became the principal woman organizer and member of the society. Another woman, Lydia (1816-55) daughter of Robert Poole and a founder member in 1832 at the age of sixteen, became responsible for bringing into membership her young sweetheart and husband, James Shaw (1815-86), a trustee of the society's property in 1836 and the historian of the secession in Barnton.(2)

The society developed quickly as it continually both gained converts from the Wesleyans and made a strong appeal

---

(1) CRO Will of George Hindley of Barnton, shoemaker, prob. 27 September 1849. He left freehold property to his bastard sons. To his legitimate children he gave in common two houses and three hundred pounds in money and goods. Hindley's house later provided a meeting place for the town band, and during practices tradition asserts that Peter Hindley drew teeth.

(2) Son of William Shaw of Barnton, shipwright. CRO Will of James Shaw of Barnton, waterman, prob. 7 September 1886.

to the large numbers of people newly-settled in the township at that time. Samuel son of Joseph and Ann Farrel of Frodsham, born in Overton in 1812, had been a Wesleyan but joined the new society in 1834. He worked as an agricultural labourer and through the influence of Robert Poole became tenant of Pooles smallholding on the Manor estate. Farrel married Mary (1814-81) daughter of Samuel and Mary Cawley of Leighs Brow and great-great-granddaughter of Abraham Ball the elder. John Mayers son of Thomas Stockton of Speke, sailor, became a Weaver flatman, met a Barnton girl, and settled in Barnton on his marriage in 1832. John Stockton (1812-89) and Ann his wife lived in John Plumb's cottages and naturally joined their landlord's society.(1) Ashton (1798-1845) son of James Lightfoot and great-grandson of Abraham Ball the elder worked as a gardener and labourer and served as a valued member of the Wesleyan society until about 1834. He then joined the independent group and became a trustee of its property in 1836. Lightfoot died in 1845 "by the long continuance of a disease reduced to great weakness of body but (by the mercy of God) without any decay of understanding".(2) Joseph Bowyer (1795-1873)

---

(1) LRO DRL Hale transcripts, 13 December 1812.

(2) CRO Will of Ashton Lightfoot of Barnton,labourer, prob. 25 June 1846. N. Sup. Reg. Death certificates 1845. Ashton's son Thomas became the first child christened in the new Barnton church 9 October 1842.

of Lydiart lane married Elizabeth widow of Samuel Pennel of Little Leigh and granddaughter of Abraham Ball. The couple naturally joined the new society. Other converts included Thomas Cliff of Bells Brow, shoemaker, who came to Barnton in 1835, and John Bellard (1785-1855) of Smithy Fold, born in Speke, who came to Barnton as a flatman in 1818. Hence by 1835 there could hardly be less than thirty two adult members, and services must have attracted over one hundred people. Open-air evangelism had of necessity to be adopted in the Rutters' garden. The Wesleyans, reduced in number if not in courage and stubbornness, shivered at the enthusiasm and primitive fervour of these ranting Methodists.

b. Barnton Wesleyan Methodist Association

The united independent society had followed with interest the struggle of Samuel Warren (1781-1862) of Manchester, once Wesleyan minister in Northwich, on behalf of the rights of Methodist lay folk. Warren hated the insolent despotism of Jabez Bunting and made a crisis out of Bunting's proposal to establish a Richmond Theological Institution.(1)

---

(1) W.J. Townsend, H.B. Workman, G. Eayrs A New History of Methodism, London 1909, volume I, p.516-18. The quarrel became both personal and national. A theological college seemed to threaten, further, lay influence in Methodism, and Bunting already seemed to possess too much power. In 1834 he helped to condemn J.R. Stephens, a preacher who was demanding the disestablishment of the Church of England.

Warren's agitation between 1833 and 1835 came under bitter attack from Samuel Sugden, the minister of the Northwich Wesleyan Methodist Circuit. Sugden expelled without question all Warren's sympathizers. The crisis came early in 1835. All Wesleyans who had attended a meeting in Northwich Congregational Church to discuss the issues at stake found their membership stripped from them. Those expelled included James son of George Edwards of Frodsham together with many local preachers.(1) Between March and May 1835 twenty more preachers lost their class tickets, and the circuit membership dropped by half. "Such a record of havoc and slaughter" had seldom been seen in local religious affairs.(2) The independent Methodists gained many adherents as a result, and after the Wesleyan Conference of 1835 had ignored a petition from Rochdale which called for the admission of laymen to Conference, exploratory talks took place to discover a method of uniting loosely the scattered societies. Finally delegates from the whole country met in Manchester in August 1835 under the Chairmanship of Samuel Warren.

---

(1) George Slater Chronicle of Lives and Religion in Cheshire and Elsewhere, London 1891, p.159.

(2) George Slater op. cit, p.169. METH NLR CB II. On Sugden's arrival in September 1833 the circuit had 1600 members. It had 680 in September 1835. Often two preachers of different persuasions fought to gain admittance to a chapel pulpit.

This Wesleyan Methodist Association did not deviate from Wesley's doctrine or rules of membership but protested to the Wesleyan Conference concerning "Violations of Methodist law, and infringements upon the rights and privileges of the Members of the Methodist Societies." All independent groups might be welcomed as members of the Association but each society could be "at liberty to have such particular rules of Church Government, and as to its ministry, as each may think proper".(1) The Conference in the following year appointed a minister to serve societies in the Northwich district where there appeared to exist almost seven hundred full members. By August 1838 advance had been so rapid that the district had seven new chapels and used fifteen other preaching places.(2)

The Barnton independent society had joined the Wesleyan Methodist Association in 1836 and thus no longer needed to

---

(1) Methodist Association Minutes 3 August 1836. Northwich representatives were James Edwards, Edward Dignum,, and George Robinson.

(2) Methodist Association Minutes 2 August 1837 and Statistics, 1836-37, show 669 members, 27 leaders, 25 local preachers, seven Sunday Schools with 792 scholars. Methodist Association Minutes 2 August 1838 and Statistics, 1837-38, show 873 members and 57 on trial. Each chapel possessed a Sunday School. The new society in a small area round Northwich had far more members than the large Wesleyan circuit.

rely solely on its own resources for preachers and advice. A member of the former Wesleyan family of Dignum of Witton, for instance, conducted the first Sunday School anniversary in 1836, and the authorities advised the society to begin collecting money in order that a chapel might be built. Rutter's house became in October 1836 the first building in Barnton ever to be registered "as a place for the worship of an Assembly of Protestants".(1) The earliest public collection in 1836 had raised over six pounds sterling and on 1 November 1836 John Plumb the elder of Plumbs Fold sold to the society for five pounds a plot of land in Oakwood lane "on trust that a tabernacle be erected for the use of members of the Wesleyan Methodist Association at Barnton and in the neighbourhood." Some members realized the immensity of the task of building for the quickly-growing society and they reflected their doubts in providing for the return of the land to Plumb if the society failed.(2)

Eleven of the sixteen trustees of the land lived in Barnton. This partly illustrated the increase in wealth of Barnton people since the days in 1812 when the Methodists vainly sought trustees in the township and partly emphasized

---

(1) Mount Tabor, 1932. METH BMT Application for registration, 28 September 1836, with certificate, 13 October 1836.

(2) Mount Tabor, 1932. METH BMT 1836 trust deed. Tithe 226a.

the closer connection with the lives of the local people that the new society maintained. The trustees did not think of themselves as men of high social position in the district although not one could properly be termed poor. Ten worked as flatmen. At least seven of these owned houses, land or shares in Weaver flats. In addition to early members like Robert Poole and his son Enoch, John Houghton and his son George, John Plumb the younger, and James Shaw, the society invited as trustees the wealthy James Deakin the elder of Witton, flatman, and his son, Thomas, a prosperous salt proprietor, John Moores of Anderton, barrowmaker, who had formerly lived in Barnton and worshipped at the Methodist chapel, and Ashton Lightfoot, the gardener and labourer.(1) William Rutter, chosen for obvious reasons, and Joseph Bowyer of Lydiart lane remained by far the poorest of the trustees.

In order to raise capital for a chapel four members volunteered to make a weekly collection from those people who could afford to donate money. William Rutter, Samuel Farrel, and James Harrison served in Barnton and Thomas Griffiths of Anderton, labourer, worked among Anderton sympathizers. In 1837 the second anniversary proved to be

---

(1) CRO Will of James Deakin the elder of Witton, flatman, prob. 28 January 1852, value £1000 not counting the landed estates. Will of Thomas Deakin of Witton, salt proprietor, prob. 15 March 1855.

a means of raising much money. James Shaw, who had offered to be choirmaster, introduced to accompany the singing a small orchestra of the kind that people had enjoyed to hear in their Anglican churches. The Wesleyans shuddered at the sound.(1) By July 1838 the building fund reached ninety eight pounds sterling, a sum which an industrial labourer needed two years to earn, and members consequently decided to begin their chapel. William Rutter cut the first sod in Oakwood lane. During the summer of 1838 the members themselves built the chapel to plans prepared by James Shaw.(2) It is significant that a lay member, Robert Poole, led the final service in Rutter's garden, that a woman, Kate Plumb, led the singing, and that the general fervour, gaiety, and reverence, so long recalled, reminded people above all of the primitive Methodism of Wesley's day. Then Robert Poole led a procession to Oakwood lane and Kate Plumb opened the chapel door. Thomas Griffiths, Robert Poole, and George Houghton, local preachers and society class leaders, conducted the service of commemoration of the Lord's Supper.

---

(1) Mount Tabor, 1932. In 1850 the orchestra included two violins (John Stockton, Thomas Cliff), bass violin (James Cross), concertina (Joseph Stockton), and accordion (Edward Allen).

(2) The records of the building fund were drawn on by Shaw in his historical memories. The total cost of the chapel touched £120.

Despite crises in the Wesleyan Methodist Association from 1838 to 1841, the Barnton society developed swiftly.(1) Additional members came in rapidly. George son of William Riding of Hale in Lancashire, a salt boiler, with Sarah (1792-1878) his wife and nine children, arrived in Barnton from Anderton in 1838. Riding (1788-1878) worked as a flatman in the salt trade. The whole family, including a son, William (1815-82), joined the society which met near their Plumbs Fold home. Richard (1808-77) son of Robert Poole joined as a full member. His sister Mary (1811-44) married Thomas Wood of Witton, flatman. Wood, a trustee of the chapel land in 1836, settled at Leighs Brow in 1839. Thomas (1819-71) son of Samuel Cross and with his father a builder of the Princes Park estate proved a valued member. Joseph Williamson (1820-80) of Northwich, flatman, married Ann daughter of Edward and Martha Musgrove, settled in Plumbs Fold in 1841, and asked to be received into membership. Joseph Stockton (1813-92), brother of an early member, settled

---

(1) Methodist Association Minutes 1 August 1839. The Northwich circuit lost 170 members. Methodist Association Minutes 6 August 1840 and Statistics, 1839-40, show further losses. Samuel Warren became an Anglican and rector of Ancoats All Souls in 1840. The Association's foundation deed was signed in 1840 and Edward Dignum represented the Northwich circuit.

in Barnton about 1845 and became a member of the society. He also helped develop Princes Park. Thomas son of John and Mary Hayes of Little Leigh and Barnton worked like his father as a bricklayer. He married Ann daughter of Samuel and Mary Cawley, and thus great-great-granddaughter of Abraham Ball the elder, and joined the Association about 1845.(1)

Many members ceased altogether to go to Anglican churches even for christenings. Instead they began to take their children to the Northwich Tabernacle where the preacher performed the necessary baptismal ceremony.(2) On the other hand the Established Church continued to exercise a fascination over even these independent Methodists. The tradition of centuries of worship in the parish church could not easily be cast aside by the most revolutionary of men. William and Catherine Rutter with James and Elizabeth Harrison went to the tabernacle to have their offspring

---

(1) Other members, in addition to sons and daughters of existing Methodists, who were given class tickets included Edward Allen (1815-74) of Rays Brow, flatman, George son of Thomas and Sarah Appleton, and John (1820-74) son of Samuel and Hannah Bell of Oakwood lane.

(2) METH NBM Baptisms solemnized in the Northwich Tabernacle, 1838-1944.

baptized in 1841. But two years later they took their children to the new Barnton church, partly on account of convenience and partly in obedience to tradition. Joseph and Ann Williamson had their son baptized first in the Anglican church and then, a week later, in the Northwich Tabernacle in order to make sure of the blessing of both communions. People grew to love the gay and free services at Barnton chapel. The exaggerated devotion, silences, orderliness, and tradition of the Wesleyans disappeared. Worshippers talked among themselves immediately before and after service. They interrupted lessons and sermons to shout praises and disagreements. They brought the Deity into their lives and into their chapel and tended to address Him as though He were an easy-going, absent-minded, retired, and somewhat deaf master of a Weaver flat. A service resembled nothing more than a packed theatrical concert. Yet the control of members over church organization and discipline remained absolute, and the society had become by 1845 the most vital and attractive, the most prosperous and meaningful, the most useful, and by far the largest of all organized township groups. The chapel needed a new gallery in 1844, a massive extension in 1868, a new schoolroom in 1880, and a

complete and ambitious rebuilding in 1912.(1)

### Barnton Wesleyan Methodists

After the crisis of 1823 and the following ten years of secession the Wesleyan society began slowly to recover. The fifteen members in 1832 became thirty two by 1833, possibly on account of trouble in the independent society when John Houghton fell ill.(2) The return of old members and the influx of new families to Barnton helped the Wesleyans. Yet Barnton had up to 1823 possessed the strongest of village societies in the district. But in 1834 even tiny

---

(1) METH BMT Bargain and sale for £34 17s by Kate Plumb of land adjoining the chapel for the purpose of extensions, 22 December 1865. BMT 1866 and 1867 trust deeds. Mount Tabor, 1932, chronological list of events after 1838. In 1845 there existed fifty full members and two hundred and fifty adherents. Changes after 1838 were financed not immediately by savings but through mortgages, METH BMT trust deeds, passim. The Wesleyans never resorted to this method but paid for all alterations as necessary. The latter of course were both wealthy and thrifty.

(2) Membership figures appear in METH NLR CB II, 1806-14, CB III, 1845-86, CS I, 1838-45, CS II, 1845-85. These books also give financial contributions which indicate when official membership figures cannot be trusted.

Comberbach boasted of thirty three members. Moreover most societies had doubled their membership since 1820 while Barnton had not even held its own. The crises in Barnton between 1823 and 1833 gave way to dissension in the circuit as a whole from 1833 to 1835. In the last six months of 1834 Barnton Wesleyans gave smaller sums to circuit funds than ever before. Membership dropped to twenty two by the end of that year. Only five people remained in March 1835, and during the summer of that disastrous year the society ceased to exist. However at the end of 1835 three members opened up the chapel again and six or seven people gave the society a tentative existence during the following three or four years. The leading families of Barnton provided the backbone of the movement. Thomas Moreton, Ashton Poole, and William Clarke remained loyal. James Robinson of Stoney Heys, farmer, gave much help. Poorer members included Joseph Buckley of Canal Side at Bestway, rock getter, and Betsy, his wife, William Duncalf, shoemaker, and his wife Ann, and from about 1839 James Bratt of Canal Side, blacksmith, Thomas Ormes of Bestway, gardener, and James Poole of Leighs Brow, agricultural labourer, son of John Poole (1763-1839) and cousin of Robert Poole (1782-1870) of the independent society.(1)

---

(1) The names of leaders appear in METH NLR CB II, 1806-44, and names of all members in PRO Register of baptisms in the Northwich Wesleyan Methodist Circuit, 1813-37, and in METH NLR Register, 1837-45.

The Wesleyans naturally had immense trouble in finding trustees again in 1836. The six surviving and fifteen new men remained typical conservatives, and the choice of these people illustrated not only the weakness of the old society but the reasons also why the mass of the labouring population deserted the Wesleyans. Only two of the twenty one trustees lived in Barnton. Seventeen at least possessed a high position in society and much wealth. This number embraced seven farmers, two salt agents and one coal dealer, two rope manufacturers, a wealthy ironmonger, a timber merchant, a prosperous wheelwright, an excise officer, and the local minister. Three members of the rich Fowls family from Witton had been prevailed upon to serve. The four remaining trustees possessed little social standing and one at least, Edward Dignum of Witton, tailor, a surviving 1812 trustee, stood upon the threshold of the Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel to which the Wesleyans' attitude soon consigned him.(1)

---

(1) METH NLR 1836 trust deed. Ashton Poole and William Clarke (1806-86) alone lived in Barnton. Moreton lived temporarily in Winnington. CRO Will of John Fowls of Winnington, merchant, prob. 23 June 1836. Methodist Magazine November 1837, p.873, obituary of Ellen Fowls, and December 1837, p.951, obituary of John Fowls. He died of a broken heart five days after the death of his young wife. The writer called him "a thorough Bible Christian". CRO Will of George Stringer of Winnington, timber merchant, prob. 20 July 1841, value £2,000. Stringer's daughter, Ellen, had married John Fowls of Winnington. Both Stringer and Fowls were trustees in 1836. Two members of the Caldwell family from Shurlach also served. This family became linked in marriage with the Clarkes and Moretons of Barnton. Both Thomas Cross of Holmes Chapel and John Tanfield of Coventry, 1836 trustees, had been original trustees in 1812.

The society's activities became naturally very limited as members left. Wesleyans tended to become more strict in worship and doctrine and to form a High Church of Methodism that appeared very similar to the evangelical Anglican churches. The minister began to hold the Communion service "occasionally for the principal country places, on a weekday evening" and members found themselves drawing away from Little Leigh chapel.(1) The Sunday evening service, the most typical of early Methodist activities, had to be withdrawn at Barnton in 1841 partly on account of lack of worshippers but possibly to break a tradition which many conservative members had grown to dislike.(2) From April 1839 to July 1840 the society had again become virtually extinguished and contributed nothing to circuit funds. But as before the few leaders like Thomas Moreton, society steward, with a number of poorer members together saved the chapel. By the middle of 1843 nineteen members could be counted, and for a year or more progress seemed possible. Thomas Barlow of Bells Brow, the Wesleyan schoolmaster, leader, and society steward from 1842 to 1846, relieved the farmers of part of their burden. He received help from John Deakin of Tunnel Top, publican, leader and steward in 1842 and 1843. Thomas Edwards (1799-1875), brother of James Edwards, the expelled

---

(1) METH NLR Minutes, September 1833.

(2) METH NLR Minutes, 27 March 1837, 1 October 1841 Service times had been six or seven o'clock in an evening.

Wesleyan, had opened a grocery and drapery business at Smithy Fold in the canal settlement in 1838. He remained a Wesleyan until about 1849.(1) By this time the old society had endured a further crisis. Since 1844 membership had been dropping. In 1845 no more people belonged to the society than had attended the opening of the chapel in 1812, and in 1847 the chapel closed again. No members remained in the society in 1848 and from 1850 to 1854.(2)

The Wesleyan society survived partly through the determined loyalty of a few members and partly through the advent of new families to the canal settlement in which the chapel lay. Partly also the society benefited from the prestige of religion in Victorian England, the necessity of attending some form of religious worship, and the ability of Wesleyanism to provide a service which avoided the extremes found too often in the Anglican and schismatic Methodist churches. Nonetheless the chapel which should have been built for a growing society before 1835 did not need erecting until 1875.

* * *

---

(1) Members appear in METH NLR CS I, 1838-45, CS II, 1845-85.

(2) This period covered the years of greatest disaster for Methodism as a whole. The influence of Jabez Bunting, four times President of the Conference, had led to bitter disputes, and several hundred thousand people formed a new Connexion.

Barnton Anglican Church

The crises within Methodism in Barnton, together with the virtual disappearance of the only Methodist society where true evangelical Anglicans could feel at home, convinced members of the Established Church that they too would have to build their own place of worship. The Church of England had indeed experienced some degree of revival and reform so that extension of activity to the canal settlement might have happened regardless of Methodist disunity. When Thomas Jeffes, curate of Little Leigh, died in 1826 his successor Richard Jones performed "two services every Sunday, instead of one as had been usually done."(1) Richard Jones (1785-1840) served first in Shrewsbury then for thirty six years at Great Budworth as curate. Twice High Sheriff's chaplain and for fourteen years curate of Little Leigh "He concluded a life of piety and usefulness, in speaking of the grace, mercy, peace and righteousness of his Redeemer Christ, and his last word on earth at the closing scene was "Allelujah! Allelujah!" "(2) Jones' life and pious death showed the extent of the change in the ministry since the end of the eighteenth century. Parochial organization needed a complete reform, and as early as 1811 Richard Jones had asserted "that more places of Publick Worship are wanting in this extensive

---

(1) PRLL Christening register, memorandum 1826.

(2) PRLL Christening register, memorandum 1840. Chester Courant 21 July 1840, Notice of funeral.

Parish, & that for want of them, the people are more easily led to the Methodist-Meetings."(1) In 1840 the Weaver Trustees obtained power to build an Anglican Church for watermen at Castle Northwich, and in 1842 the National Society for the Education of the Poor according to the Principles of the Church of England purchased land in Rays Brow lane near to the Wesleyan chapel so that a church might be built for the canal settlement. The Society erected a large stone building that appeared exceedingly plain but strong.(2) The consecration took place in October 1842, and the first christenings occurred on 9 October. Burials began in March 1843. The cost amounted to fourteen hundred pounds sterling, twelve times the expenditure on the Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel in 1838. The main burden however did not fall on Barnton people. The Reverend Richard Greenall of Stretton "and other well disposed Christians" provided large sums for endowment and repair, and the National Society gave much of the remainder. At least one-third of sittings remained free so that pew rents did not return an adequate income.(3) The living produced for the

---

(1) CRO EDV.7/4/53 (1811).

(2) Tithe 147.

(3) CRO EDA.2/17, p.519-21, Declaration of Patronage, 6 October 1842. Greenall gave £1,000, and a repair fund of almost £70 to be invested at interest. EDA.2/17, p.521-26, Declaration of trust of bank annuities, 5 October 1842.

incumbent only one hundred and twenty pounds a year. The parsonage house received its first resident in 1842 with the appointment as vicar by the Bishop of Chester of Edward William Burton (1813-90).[1] Burton, born in Chatham in 1813, brought to Barnton evangelical, progressive and Low Church practices which stood between the Wesleyan and the independent Methodist traditions. Hence the new society appealed to former Wesleyans and to disillusioned schismatics. It drew in farmers like the Eatons and Morreys, flatmen like the Cappers and Gates, and salt workers and labourers like the Leicesters, Robinsons, Hayes, and Appletons. Indeed the Anglicans attracted the same wide range of families as had the Methodists in the earlier part of the century. Barnton people also liked the financial stability of Anglicanism, the defined doctrine, and the well-established but liberal organization. Burton proved exceptionably capable to serve an industrial community. Not yet thirty years old when

---

(1) The parish of Barnton was carved out of Great Budworth in January 1843. CRO EDA.2/17, p.606-7, 22 August 1843, and p.619-27, 23 August 1843. CRO EDA.1/13, p.156, Assignment of district, 18 January 1843, and p.162, Licence for marriages, 13 February 1843. PRO Census 1851. Burton's wife was an Irish Protestant. Burton died at Rathmichael, county Dublin, in 1890.

appointed, his ideas had not become set, and he welcomed Methodists into his home as often as possible.(1) ~~This church too attracted those people who realized that connection with any of the chapels inevitably hindered social advance and acceptance.~~ Very similar in doctrine and practice to Wesleyanism, the Established Church had the advantage of conferring status. It therefore permanently kept away from the Wesleyans many potential members. On the other hand the prosperous group of flatmen and their associates who belonged to the independent society at Plumbs Fold and who might have been expected to drift to the church in Rays Brow lane during their rise in wealth nonetheless remained outside the pale of Anglicanism because they liked freedom of religious worship and doctrine above social advance. Partly for this reason a canal settlement composed mainly of prospering families that elsewhere drifted through Wesleyanism to the Church of England stayed extremely low in the social scale according to the opinion of neighbouring township people.

---

(1) PRO Census 1851. Burton's two servants were Elizabeth Molyneux and Alice Hatton, both of Methodist families.

## 2 EDUCATION

Religious societies had for centuries worked almost alone in the field of education. The educational opportunities of Barnton people prior to the Methodist revival remained therefore limited by the restricted extent of religious activity in the neighbourhood. Yet during the late eighteenth century the demand grew for people with some education. Managers of salt works, shops, roperies, and navigations called for clerks, accountants, and overseers. The growing burden of town government led to a demand for men who could read complicated forms, make accounts, write letters, and deal intelligently with the magistrates. Employers moreover found that men who had submitted to a schoolmaster's discipline turned out to be docile, adult, farsighted, sober, and able to make decisions.(1) Education of course might be sought for exalted motives, because, for example, religious people desired to read the Bible, their Hymn and Prayer books, and weekly tracts. Family prayers meant each member in turn had to read a lesson.

On the other hand the labouring population did not seem interested, partly because no one convinced them of the real advantages of an education. Many had neither faith in nor desire for betterment. The lazy, spendthrift, drunk, and

---

(1) PARL 1835 Education, p.773.

overworked inhabitant had rarely received any schooling and did not see why the younger generation should need educating, "Of all the hindrances that thwart teachers ... the greatest and most usually complained of, is the want of cooperation on the part of the children's parents."(1) Such stubborn people did not even join Sunday Schools or purchase periodicals of "moral value".(2) Naturally many young couples possessed no time or money to spare for their children's schooling. The problem of earning a living had first to be solved, and by the time a man had a job and savings his brain could not usually submit to academic discipline. Children stayed at home to help with housework, went to the fields to sow and weed, and sailed down the Weaver with their fathers. As late as June 1851 an inspector reported half the children of a Barnton school had gone with their parents "down the river".(3)

---

(1) PARL Council on Education, 1851-52, volume XL, p.378. PARL 1819 Education, p.75, stated "though assistance is afforded them they refuse to send their children regularly."

(2) Gaskell Manufacturing Population, 1833, p.276, 280.

(3) Cobbett Cottage Economy, 1824, paragraph 12, "It is the duty of parents to give, if they are able, book-learning to their children, having first taken care to make them capable of earning their living by bodily labour." PARL Council on Education, 1851-52, volume XL, p.422, number 102.

Several kinds of school existed in the neighbourhood for the use of Barnton people between 1775 and 1845. Grammar schools had long been established at Budworth, Witton, and Weaverham, though no evidence remains to indicate whether local boys ever went to these places.

The school attached to Little Leigh chapel lay near Barnton, and the syllabus more adequately met the needs of Barnton children than the syllabus of a grammar school. The schoolmaster was so badly paid that usually the chapel minister took on the duties. He taught reading, writing, and the costing of accounts to his class which sat huddled in a space underneath the chapel gallery. In 1778 about fifty boys and girls attended, and the master took care "to instruct them in Religion and to bring them regularly to church". (1) The children were expected to learn several of their reference books by rote.

---

(1) CRO EDV.7/1/116 (1778). EDV.7/2/60 (1789). PARL 1819 Education, p.75.

Since the Little Leigh school had for centuries fostered many, later prosperous, Barnton men and women, the master had accumulated a small number of charities. In 1705 Isaac Basnett of the Stocks House, yeoman, left "tenn pounds to be put forth as stocke for the use of a Schole master at little Leigh". The interest had "to be paid yearely provided the said Scholemaster be by his consent settled there and teach and Instruct his scholers according as the Church of England requireth". Ralph Horton of Little Leigh, tailor, in 1728 gave twenty pounds for the schoolmaster's use. William Leigh intended in 1825 to leave money for the "education of ten poor children in reading and writing".(1)

In Barnton the facilities for learning consisted of establishments in which old women looked after children whose parents went out to work. One room of a house, a reading book, a Bible, a few forms and stools, and possibly a slate comprised the whole capital expenditure before a school of this kind could be opened. Some of the proprietors could neither read nor maintain discipline, but their fees remained very low. In 1818 two such establishments existed and each

---

(1) CRO Will of Isaac Basnett of Heycroft in Spurstow, gentleman, prob. 12 June 1705. Will of Ralph Horton of Little Leigh, tailor, prob. 12 September 1728. Will of William Leigh of Barnton, gentleman, prob. 12 April 1826.

had one teacher. No less than sixty six boys and girls found accommodation in these two places. Apparently the same two dame schools existed also in 1833 and at this time educated forty one boys and forty five girls.(1) The dame schools in 1841 lay in a small cottage at Rays Brow and in one of Abraham Ball's houses at Leighs Brow.(2)

* * *

Reform in education as in much else awaited the influence of the Barnton Methodists. As early as 1794 this society founded a Sunday School in order that both children and adults who worked six days a week should receive instruction in reading and writing.(3) The Sunday School movement had been organized by Robert Raikes, an Anglican clergyman. He noticed that the children who attended the schools "are become not only more cleanly and decent in their appearance,

---

(1) PARL 1819 Education, p.75, 87. PARL 1835 Education abstract, p.74.

(2) CRO Census 1841, Mary Worrall, aged sixty eight, and Amelia Ann Hanby, aged thirty five, were teachers. Tithe 111 and 270.

(3) The traditional date of establishment, 1810, is embroidered on a nineteenth century banner in the custody of the society. But William Leigh served as schoolmaster long before 1810, and the Methodists would hardly fail to use his services.

but are greatly humanized in their manners, more orderly, tractable, and attentive to business, and of course more serviceable".(1) Barnton Methodists, employers of labour, supervisors of workers on the highways, overseers of the poor, wealthy, and far-sighted, but fearful also of violent upheavals, became naturally attracted by any means of civilizing, of making "more serviceable", their neighbours and social inferiors. Hence the Balls, Leighs, and Pooles set up a committee to govern a Sunday School, to pay the teacher his one or two shillings salary, and to find a schoolroom. Until 1812 Charles Leigh's house at Leighs Brow could provide a suitable room. The hours of instruction stretched from eight o'clock in the morning till five in the evening with breaks for attendance at church services and for hurried meals. The master, for some years William Leigh himself, taught reading and writing as a priority in order that children should be enabled to use the Bible and Hymn Book at an early age. All people could attend the school regardless of denomination but the scholars had to learn by heart the church catechism and to obey strict rules of behaviour and morality.

---

(1) Alfred Gregory Robert Raikes, A History of the Origin of Sunday Schools, London 1880, p.72, quoting letter of Raikes, 24 May 1784. Wesley Works volume VIII, p.292, Journal 18 July 1784, reporting on a visit to a Sunday School.

The fear of the hell which awaited wrongdoers terrorised infants and adults alike.(1) Nonetheless the Barnton Sunday School became most valued for its instruction in secular subjects, and rapidly grew to embrace over one hundred pupils. Though William Leigh failed to provide an endowment to pay the person "lawfully appointed to attend every Sunday to instruct the children", private donations and an annual collection at the Sunday School Anniversary both helped to maintain the institution's existence. In 1833 fifty eight males and fifty four females attended class regularly.(2) By this time however it had become the custom for each religious society to run its own school and to place religious and moral instruction first and foremost. Such a policy appealed to people who saw a danger in teaching labourers to read and write, but the community lost greatly when the old

---

(1) Methodist Minutes July 1817. School hours should "be so arranged as not to interfere ...with the punctual attendance both of teachers and children on those ordinances of public worship which are appointed by God". CRO EDV. 7/4/93 (1811). Teachers generally "require the children to get by heart chapters in the Bible as they learn to read them." Alfred Gregory Robert Raikes, London 1880, p.109, quoting Raikes' rule that scholars should have "clean hands, clean faces, and their hair combed". Bennett The Advantages of Sunday Schools, 1785, p.3, stressed teachers' duties.

(2) Not once did contemporaries speak of the "Methodist" Sunday School until beyond 1840. PARL 1835 Education abstract, p.74, revealed the school as completely undenominational. At Little Leigh the Anglican Sunday School, founded in 1827, had eighty seven scholars and the Baptist School, founded in 1831, had fifty. CRO Will of William Leigh of Barnton, gentleman, prob. 12 April 1826.

Sunday School disappeared. The independent Methodist society in 1835 and the Anglicans in 1843 each opened their own school, and the Wesleyans had of necessity to follow suit.(1)

The Methodist society had inspired the foundation of a day school. Possibly William Leigh's private school had expanded under society protection to become this church day school. But this Methodist venture did not last very long. ~~permanent existence in township life~~. Henry Steel (1769-1841) of Rays Brow probably served as master until his death. His successor, Thomas Henry Barlow of Bells Brow, held the post until the closing of this "small Wesleyan school" about 1846.(2) The destruction of the Methodist society since 1823 had greatly weakened the school, and the educational work of the Methodists, which had promised to transform the community, fell into other hands.

By this time the Anglican National Society, founded in 1811 to promote education, had decided that Barnton needed

---

(1) The Wesleyans above all grew to dislike secular teaching on the Sabbath despite their early lead in that field.

(2) PRO Census 1841, for Steel. N. Sup. Reg. Death certificates, 1843 and 1845 for Barlow. PARL Council on Education, 1843-44, p.768-69 (p.430 of published volume). PRB christenings 1843-44, Barlow is described as a "dissenting teacher".

a new school. The population of the district had passed twelve hundred, probably half the men still could not read at all, and Methodism had given up its duties. In 1833 Parliament devoted money for the purposes of education and this grant continued in the ensuing years. In 1838 a special committee of the Privy Council began work to administer greatly-extended grants, to appoint inspectors for schools, and to push forward the education of the people. The National Society, having chosen "part of a Field or Close called The Long Croft" or Woodyers Croft at Bells Brow as the "Site for a School for poor persons" and for a master's house, applied to the committee for a grant in November 1842.(1) The committee knew that even after all subscriptions had been received the building fund still needed four hundred pounds sterling. It could not however grant even half this sum.(2) Nonetheless building began in Barnton.

---

(1) PARL Council on Education, 1843-44, p.768. The land would cost £60, legal expenses would take £10, and the building could be erected for £500. Towards this £150 had been donated and £10 a year came in from supporters. PRO C 54.13143 no.19 Conveyance in trust by John Smith Entwisle of land for a school, 10 October 1844.

(2) PARL Council on Education, 1843-44, p.768. The grant amounted to £175.

Fortunately donations did not cease, and on the completion of the schoolroom late in 1844 a deficit of only one hundred and twenty pounds appeared. A further grant had to be made by the authorities in November 1845 in order that enlargements might be finished for the already-overcrowded school.(1)

The master's house could be tenanted only in 1846, but, before this, Thomas Cowle of Manchester, a thirty-year-old unqualified teacher, had agreed to take up his duties. "A single-minded and painstaking man" Cowle worked for years to improve his qualifications. By 1851 he taught seventy boys while his wife Ann helped with the fifty girls. An inspector that year reported that "the school pleases me much, and bears evidence of being well cared for".(2) The seventy six

---

(1) PARL Council on Education, 1845, p.672-73 (p.458-9 of published volume). PARL Council on Education, 1854-55, p.148.

(2) PARL Council on Education, 1851-52, volume XL, p.422, number 102, 1854-55, p.964, 1855-56, p.1036, 1856-57, p.75 and 843. The three last references, from 1854 onwards, do not appear in the Commons papers, and page numbers are those in the published volumes. PARL Council on Education, 1852-53, volume LXXX, p.506, number 116, the pupils' progress reflected "very great credit on their excellent master, Mr Cowle."

infants remained in the sole charge of Elizabeth Edmonds (1820-95) of Rays Brow. Born in Moston, she had been left a widow while still young and had to take a job in order to bring up her son, Thomas.(1) In order that the teachers should be relieved of a portion of their enormous burden, the National Society allowed the appointment of pupil-teachers. The parents of these children received a small sum as compensation, because at the normal leaving age of eleven or twelve a child might be expected to begin earning a living.

The new school never became strictly denominational, though the Anglican teachers gave religious instruction and examinations. According to the terms of the 1844 foundation deed Barnton children had to be instructed for all time in the art of "reading writing and common arithmetic and in other useful matters". They would receive instruction in the Christian religion on Anglican lines mainly once a week in the Barnton Church Sunday School which shared the same building.(2) A payment of threepence a week had to be made by all attenders, for nowhere in the district could a family find free education. These fees did not by any means cover the National Society's expenditure. Wealthy parishioners

---

(1) PRO Census 1851. PARL Council on Education, 1851-52, volume XL, p.422, number 102.

(2) PRO C 54.13143 no.19.

made donations which together with the society's own subsidies provided Cowle's salary. The government also handed over small sums to pay for new equipment, to cover the cost of instructing pupil-teachers, and to give the master an additional fee for each child he took into his school.[1]

---

(1) CRO WN Minutes 6 December 1847. The Weaver Trustees provided £20 a year to the school "so long as it continues available for the Children of Persons connected with the navigation". PARL Council on Education, 1854-55, p.148 and p.772 (the latter in the published volume only.)

The new community of the canal settlement

The new community of the canal settlement

Characteristics of Barnton Canal Settlement before 1845 cannot be stated partly because not even important men like William Clarke left letters and memoirs, partly because a century and a half separates the present from the middle years of the period 1775-1845. It is of course possible to meet descendants of canal settlement families, and some of the people born before 1845 were well remembered by old inhabitants who have left recollections. But we cannot assume memories to be correct, and descendants may resemble in no way their ancestors. Thus the ability to hoard money, a characteristic of Barnton people since at least 1880 often pointed out by Mid-Cheshire inhabitants, may not date back any further than 1880. On the other hand factors in Barnton life like Methodism , which sect was stronger in Barnton than elsewhere in Mid-Cheshire, may have influenced people to save all they could from 1790 onwards. It is, however, possible to guess, but unprofitable to expound, the characteristics of the settlement which documents and memories merely hint at.

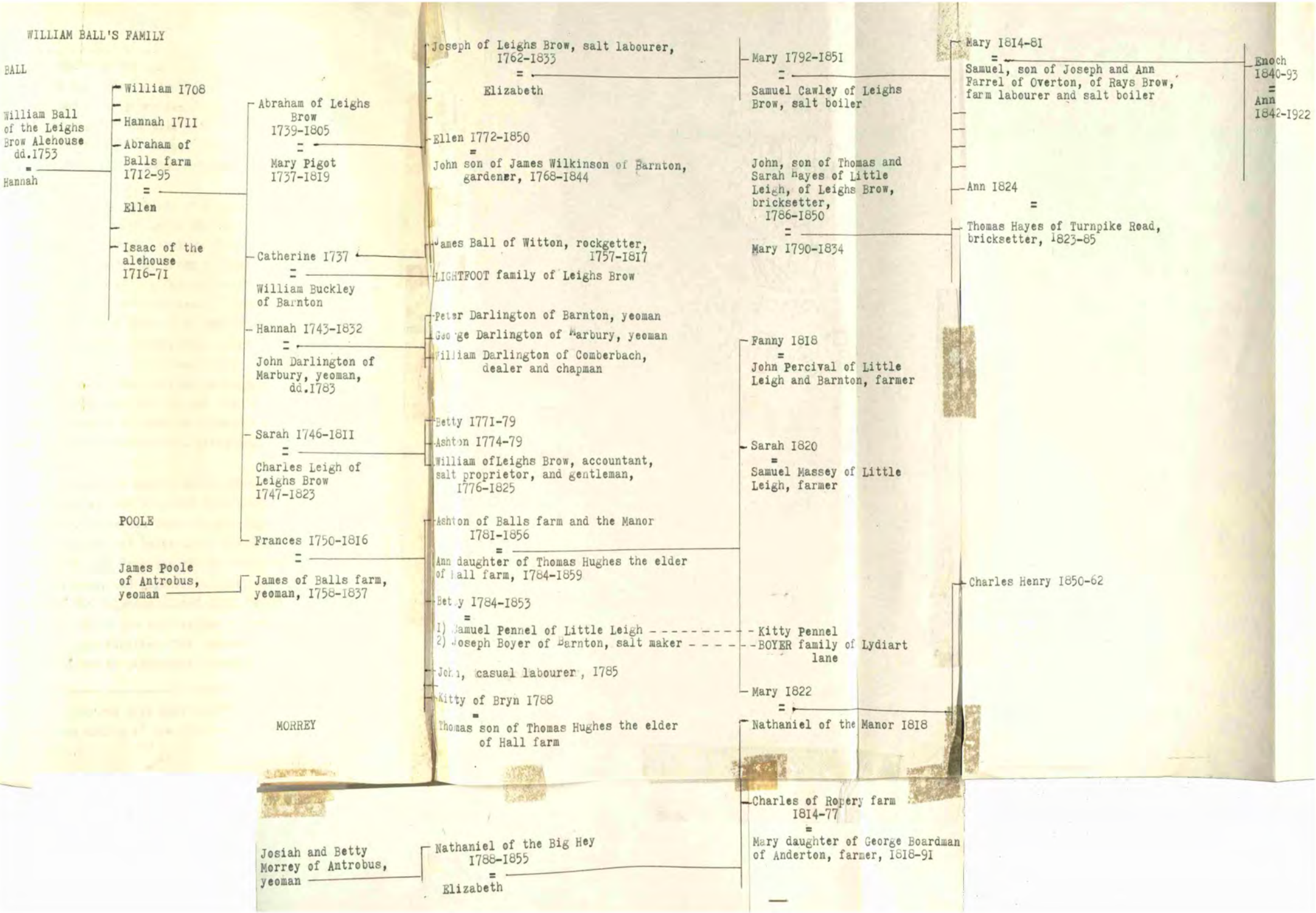
It is certain that the settlement did not for long remain a community of individual families with few ties in Barnton save work and a house. It has been proved in the pedigrees that family connections united almost the whole settlement to form a new closely-knit community. Family unions brought together people who had little else save perhaps their Methodism to hold them in a society.

The pedigrees of individual families have confirmed this statement, and some of the tenant farmers' family details may emphasize this. William Ball, for example, was ancestor of some forty families resident in Barnton in 1841.(I) From Ball

---

(I) See appendix 8 for the fully documented account of the careers of some tenant farmers.

# WILLIAM BALL'S FAMILY


WILLIAM BALL'S FAMILY
BALL
William Ball of the Leighs Brow Alehouse dd.1753
Hannah
William 1708
Hannah 1711
Abraham of Balls farm 1712-95
Ellen
Isaac of the alehouse 1716-71
Abraham of Leighs Brow 1739-1805
Mary Pigot 1737-1819
Catherine 1737
William Buckley of Barnton
Hannah 1743-1832
John Darlington of Marbury, yeoman, dd.1783
Sarah 1746-1811
Charles Leigh of Leighs Brow 1747-1823
POOLE
James Poole of Antrobus, yeoman
Frances 1750-1816
James of Balls farm, yeoman, 1758-1837
MORREY
Josiah and Betty Morrey of Antrobus, yeoman
Joseph of Leighs Brow, salt labourer, 1762-1833
Elizabeth
Ellen 1772-1850
John son of James Wilkinson of Barnton, gardener, 1768-1844
James Ball of Witton, rockgetter, 1757-1817
LIGHTFOOT family of Leighs Brow
Peter Darlington of Barnton, yeoman
George Darlington of Marbury, yeoman
William Darlington of Comberbach, dealer and chapman
Betty 1771-79
Ashton 1774-79
William of Leighs Brow, accountant, salt proprietor, and gentleman, 1776-1825
Ashton of Balls farm and the Manor 1781-1856
Ann daughter of Thomas Hughes the elder of Hall farm, 1784-1859
Betty 1784-1853
1) Samuel Pennel of Little Leigh
2) Joseph Boyer of Barnton, salt maker
John, casual labourer, 1785
Kitty of Bryn 1788
Thomas son of Thomas Hughes the elder of Hall farm
Nathaniel of the Big Hey 1788-1855
Elizabeth
Mary 1792-1851
Samuel Cawley of Leighs Brow, salt boiler
John, son of Thomas and Sarah Hayes of Little Leigh, of Leighs Brow, bricksetter, 1786-1850
Mary 1790-1834
Fanny 1818
John Percival of Little Leigh and Barnton, farmer
Sarah 1820
Samuel Massey of Little Leigh, farmer
Kitty Pennel
BOYER family of Lydiart lane
Mary 1822
Nathaniel of the Manor 1818
Charles of Ropery farm 1814-77
Mary daughter of George Boardman of Anderton, farmer, 1818-91
Mary 1814-81
Samuel, son of Joseph and Ann Farrel of Overton, of Rays Brow, farm labourer and salt boiler
Enoch 1840-93
Ann 1842-1922
Ann 1824
Thomas Hayes of Turnpike Road, bricksetter, 1823-85
Charles Henry 1850-62

descended not only the Balls of Leighs Brow, farmers and salt wallers, but such farming families as Poole, Darlington, Morrey, and Massey and other poorer people like the Buckleys, Cawleys, Farrels, and Lightfoots. Ball's daughter Sarah married, just before the birth of her child, Charles Leigh of High Leigh and this union produced the most influential Barnton man of his time, William Leigh.(I)

The farming families of Plumbley and Eaton had similarly wide connections. Thomas Eaton who died in I820 had thirty nine direct descendants in the village in I84I. These people could all claim kinship with the Cross family, farmers, township officers, and founder members of the Methodist society.

The same pattern is seen if we move to watermen's families. After about I8I0 it is possible to link up almost all the inhabitants. Even new arrivals tended to be absorbed quickly so that the community must always have been close-knit, like a clan with six or seven hundred members. Narrow-mindedness, suspicion of strangers who had not been absorbed, and introspection, characteristics of Barnton between about I880 and I940, may well have characterised the settlement in the early nineteenth century.

It is perhaps appropriate to show how the community might be linked up, and to start with James Bell, the first canal labourer. He became uncle by marriage to the children of Robert and Mary Bell of Bells Brow. The Bells married into the family of Poole, and from the Pooles descended numerous families such as Shaw, Wood, and Lightfoot. Sarah Bell married William Molyneux, and the Molyneux united with the Mills. Mary Bell married Samuel Eaton and thus became linked with one of the township's largest families. The Eatons of the Big Hey married into the Boardmans of Kennerleys, Crosses of the Manor, and

---

(I) Between I785 and I828 half Barnton's marriages took place within nine months of the birth or baptism of the first child.

# Jackson of the Halls at Barnton and Cogshall

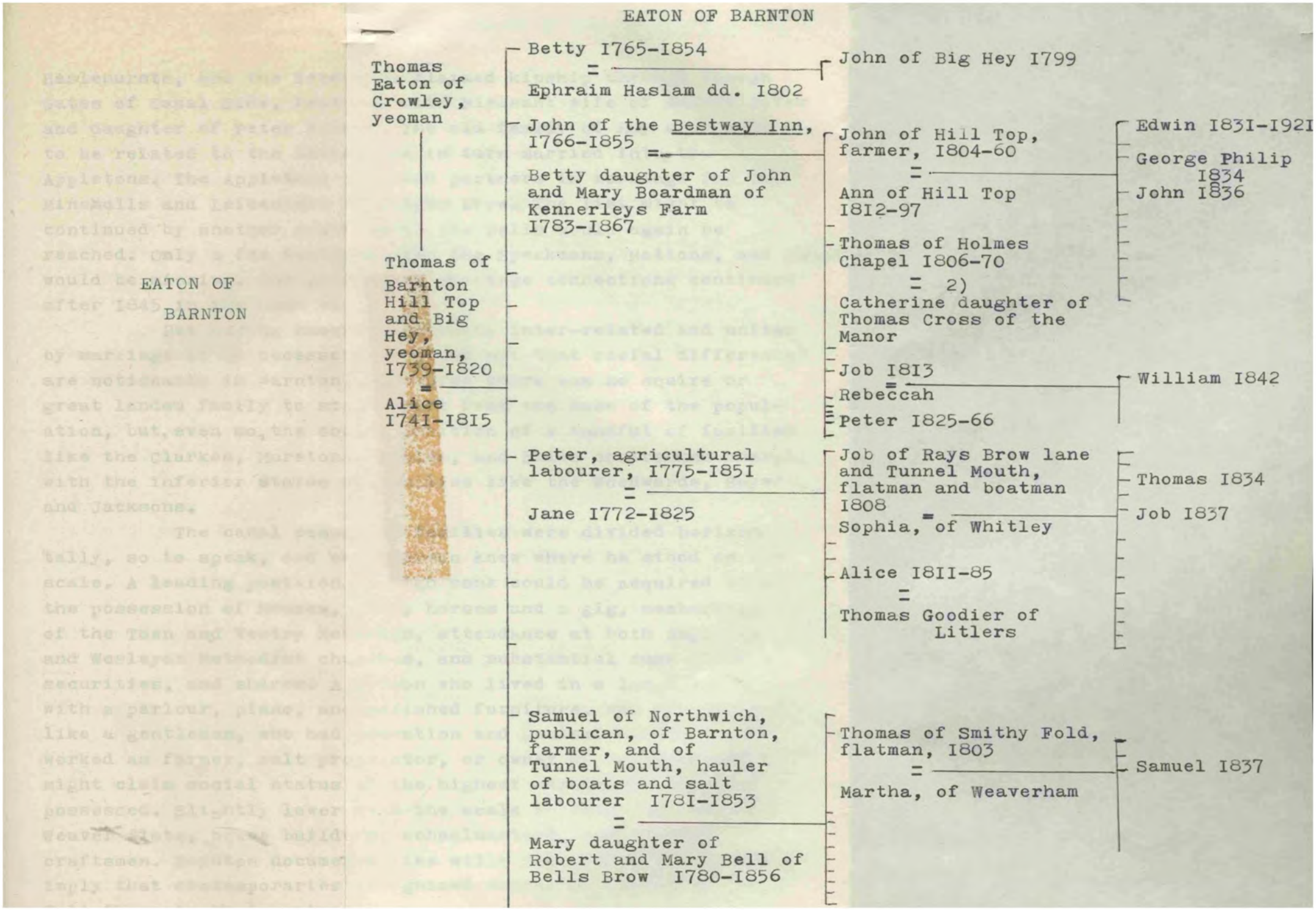
JACKSON OF BARNTON AND COGSHALL

Peter of Barnton, labourer and yeoman

- Josiah I735-72 — children died young
- Peter I737
- James of the Manor I714-76 — children died young
- Hugh of the Barnton Hall, farmer, I712-68 = Ann dd. I782
- Ralph of the Hall and Kennerleys I749-I813 = Elizabeth daughter of Samuel Woodier of Ashtons tenement
  - Mary I771
  - Caroline I808
  - Jemima I809 = Thomas Clarke of Cogshall Hall
  - Peter Highfield of Cogshall Hall, esquire, I8II-5I = Catherine Highfield alias Jackson of Antrobus and Seven Oaks
  - Catherine I8I2
- Peter of Cogshall Hall, gentleman, I714-I803 — had bastard son by Jane Shakerley, his housekeeper
- Peter Shakerley later Jackson of Cogshall Hall, esquire, I787-I845

the Haslams of Big Hey. Catherine Cross and Richard Plumbley of Big Hey had joined in matrimony in 1791, and they could claim kinship with the wealthy Stelfox clan.. The Boardmans married into the families of Gorst, Eaton, and Lightfoot. William Lightfoot (1825-89), husband of Mary Boardman, descended from the Balls, Burgesses, and Buckleys. His cousin Ashton (1820-88) married Mary Hickson. Female members of the Hicksons wed Samuel Fogg, Isaac Phillips, and William Roberts. The Foggs could claim immediate kinship with the Bowyers, Pooles, Rays, Ridings, Wilkinsons, and Woodyers. Isaac Phillip's daughter married into the Clarkes of the Ropery, and the Clarkes married with the Moretons of Barnton, the Caldwells of Shurlach, and the Masseys of Little Leigh. Families like the Masseys, the Bowyers, Lightfoots, Hayes, Cawleys, Farrels, Leighs, Hughes, Morreys, Percivals, Wilkinsons, and Darlingtons descended from Abraham Ball the elder, the central figure of eighteenth century Barnton history. Ball's grandson, William Leigh, became therefore a cousin of such different people as Ashton Poole of the Manor, Elizabeth Bowyer (1784-1853), Ellen Wilkinson, Joseph Ball, and Sarah Lightfoot. The field widened with Ball's descendants, so that virtually all inhabitants might in some manner connect themselves with that great Leighs Brow clan. But the connections of the Eatons and Hicksons had not exhausted themselves, for both claimed kinship with the immigrant family of Goodyer of Allostock. Samuel Goodier married Jane daughter of John Capper of Bestway. Dinah, Jane's sister, wed Thomas Harrison of Bestway, grandson of Ralph Harrison (1740-1823). James Harrison, a cousin, married Betty daughter of John and Ann Houghton. The Houghtons claimed relationship with the Jacksons, the Jacksons with the Rays, and the Rays with the Foggs. Sarah Ray married Thomas Beech, the boatman, and the Beech family joined in matrimony with the Combs, Platts, Lightfoots, Musgraves, and Woodwards. The Musgraves married into the

# EATON OF BARNTON



Haslehursts, and the Woodwards claimed kinship through Joseph Gates of Canal Side, boatman, with Pleasant wife of Edward Gates and daughter of Peter French. The old family of Ray also came to be related to the Davies who in turn married into the Appletons. The Appletons provided partners in marriage for the Minshulls and Leicesters of Leighs Brow. The list might be continued by another route until the Bells would again be reached. Only a few families like the Speakmans, Hattons, and Plumbs would be missing. The process of marriage connections continued after 1845 in the same way.

But having shown a community inter-related and united by marriage it is necessary to point out that social differences are noticeable in Barnton. Of course there was no squire or great landed family to stand apart from the mass of the population, but, even so, the social position of a handful of families like the Clarkes, Moretons, Pooles, and Balls contrasted sharply with the inferior status of families like the Woodwards, Boyers, and Jacksons.

The canal community families were divided horizontally, so to speak, and each person knew where he stood on the scale. A leading position or high rank could be acquired from the possession of houses, land, horses and a gig, membership of the Town and Vestry Meetings, attendance at both Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist churches, and substantial sums of money, securities, and shares. A person who lived in a large house with a parlour, piano, and polished furniture, who bore himself like a gentleman, who had education and genteel birth, and who worked as farmer, salt proprietor, or owner of transport boats might claim social status of the highest strata which Barnton possessed. Slightly lower down the scale appeared masters of Weaver flats, house builders, schoolmasters, and skilled craftsmen. Barnton documents like wills and officers' accounts imply that contemporaries recognised social distinctions and felt these to be important.

# PLUMBLEY OF THE BIG HEY AND STELFOX OF THE LITTLE HEY

PLUMBLEY & STELFOX OF BARNTON

PLUMBLEY

I) Mary = Joseph Plumbley of the Big Hey, yeoman, dd. 1783

= 2) Sarah

STELFOX

James Stelfox Dunham Massey, Crowley, and High Leigh, gentleman, dd. 1817

Joseph of Marton, farmer, dd.1797

Mary

Richard of Big Hey and Stanthorne, yeoman, dd. 1832 = Catherine daughter of John Cross of the Manor

- Richard of Stanthorne, farmer
- Joseph of Bostock, farmer
- Peter of Bostock, farmer
- Sarah

Mary 1732-96 = William of Lowndes farm, yeoman, 1752-1802 = Hannah 1762-1832

Peter of Allostock, farmer, dd. 1830

Sarah = James of Hulme Hall near Northwich and of Barnton, yeoman, dd. 1805

- James of Little Hey and Pickmere, yeoman, 1787-1832 = Elizabeth
  - Joseph
- Joseph Plumbley of Leese, yeoman, 1790-1838

It is possible to see three or four strata in Barnton society at this time: the Wesleyan, Anglican, Town Meeting, farmer, salt owner group at the summit; prosperous watermen and craftsmen, radical in politics, independent in religious observance; shopkeepers, poorer craftsmen, labourers in regular employment; and at the bottom the paupers and casual labourers regularly out of work. The place of a man in the social scale, of course,as has been indicated,did not by any means depend on his job, but this classification is useful in the absence of a discussion inhabitant by inhabitant. Within each stratum family links were arranged so that in time the political, economic, and religious interests of many of the people in that social group grew remarkably similar. This is easily seen in the flatman group whose members intermarry, worship together, and build their houses side by side. This solidarity tended to exclude members of the highest social group and to a large extent of the pauper labouring group. The various Methodist records clearly show this situation.

Yet between each group or social layer links were arranged, not frequently but in sufficient number to produce a society as a whole inter-related. The Eatons, indubitably from 1781 of the highest stratum, were numerically so large that some members had to move down the social scale and marry below their rank. Thus one Eaton could live at Hill Top farm, boast of an education, and worship with the Anglicans. His cousin lived at Tunnel Mouth tenement, could not write, and went to the independent Methodist chapel. Such families obscure the neat horizontal division of society and show that though social distinctions existed in Barnton there were no real barriers between man and man. People might rise or fall through marriage, good fortune, or hard work.

## Concluding remarks

Barnton's history 1775-1845 shows little or nothing that cannot be paralleled elsewhere at that time. The settlement resembles other growing industrial communities of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries like Castle, Anderton, Leftwich, and Winsford, to go no further afield than central Cheshire. It is interesting in conclusion to repeat some points from Barnton history which seem worth emphasizing, which show,too, that the township could be distinguished from its neighbours by certain features.

Barnton experienced a swift rise in population which grew most noticeable in the decade 1811-21 when a twenty seven per cent increase was coupled with a high birth rate and low death rate. The movement of men into trade, handicrafts, and works meant that by 1811 fifty eight per cent of Barnton's male labour force were in industrial rather than in farming occupations. In central Cheshire as a whole half the men even in 1870 were agricultural workers. For these new inhabitants houses were built so that by 1821 every third Barnton dwelling dated back no more than a decade. Houses were at their most crowded about 1851, and at this time also building quality and living conditions seem to be at their worst. This is noticeable in central Cheshire as a whole.

All kinds of people invested money in projects both great and small. Thus the canal company built in Barnton two of the earliest waterway tunnels to be completed in England, and for this the settlement was famed in Cheshire.

From about 1800 there was a growing concern in Barnton that the local government could not adequately govern an industrial canal settlement. Thomas Eaton, farmer of two large farms, had to serve as both Overseer and Constable, and he was already sixty years old when appointed to keep the law.

There is therefore little evidence that law-breakers were apprehended by Barnton officials, though the Quarter Sessions records indicate much crime in central Cheshire. There is evidence however that the Barnton officers were treated by national and county government as jacks-of-all-trades, so that basic local duties had to be neglected. Thus the Overseer of the Poor found himself so busy that he could not properly attend to widows and orphans. The ending of the officers' accounts in 1820-23 coincides with the virtual breakdown of good government in the township: the Town Book with plenty of empty pages contains after 1823 only miscellaneous jottings.

Methodist influence created in Barnton one of central Cheshire's strongest religious societies in the years 1812-23 and founded Barnton's first day and Sunday schools some time after 1788. The subsequent history of schism, sects, and revived Anglicanism is familiar from other sources. But Methodism was particularly strong in the settlement, so much so that its teachings on such matters as thrift and self-help profoundly affected men like William Leigh and William Clarke who as leaders of society influenced other inhabitants. Old people today remember that Barnton's reputation for thrifty independence was already a noteworthy characteristic in 1880, and tradition would extend this back to 1790. But as has been pointed out (1) already such statements lead to unproven and unprofitable speculation.

---

(1) On page 277.

Pleasant, daughter of Peter and Mary French, entered her seventy ninth year in 1845. She had married Edward Gates, the Barnton lock tender. But he died in 1831 and Pleasant then went to live with her son near Smithy Fold. Another son made his home at Tunnel Top so that Pleasant was well placed to observe the changes which created the canal settlement. In 1775 she had watched as local streams trickled into the completed canal excavation. She saw too the trickle of economic growth turn into a flood, until the old village changed completely in character. One thousand years of economic activity had hardly transformed the lives of the people more than did seventy years after 1775. Pleasant experienced the joys and pains of the new world. She observed a political structure, which her father had served and lived under, grow senile and fall into ruins. She amazedly felt herself carried on the wave of religious enthusiasm that swept the settlement at the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of change between 1775 and 1845 proved to be not merely greater in power than previous advances but different in kind, for no return to older practices remained any longer possible. When Pleasant Gates died of old age after an illness of three weeks in November 1852 this flood tide showed no sign of retreat.

# APPENDICES

# APPENDICES


1 Barnton Hearth Tax 1664
2 Barnton Families
3 Barnton Inhabitants 1775
4 Canal Survey 1778
5 Census of Barnton 1841
6 Barnton Tithe schedule 1846
7 Barnton Voters
8 Barnton 's tenant farmers

APPENDIX I.

BARNTON HEARTH TAX 25 MARCH I664

Public Record Office E/I79/86/I45

| Chargeable | | Not Chargeable | |
|---|---|---|---|
| householder | number of hearths | householder | number of hearths |
| Christopher Bassnett | iii | John Corke | i |
| John Gest | i | Alice Birched | i |
| Thomas Neild | i | John Robinson | i |
| Alice Miller | i | Margery Woodson | i |
| John Brownfeild | ii | Raphe Carter | i |
| William Bromfeild | i | John Litler | i |
| Robert Litler | i | Jane Bromfeild | i |
| Thomas Pownall | vi | | |
| Thomas Carter | i | | 7 |
| Peter Kooke | i | | |
| Thomas Frythet | iii | | |
| Richard Amery | ii | | |
| Thomas Vernon | i | | |
| Elizabeth Bassnet | ii | | |
| Randle Wrench | i | | |
| Thomas Birchinhead | i | | |
| Thomas Amery | ii | | |
| | 30 | | |

APPENDIX 2.

## BARNTON FAMILIES

The following list provides the approximate date at which the families of Barnton settled in the township. Families who left before 1775 have been excluded. Different families with the same surname are given separately.

### I. Families settled before 1775 who stayed beyond that date.

Adget, Amery, Appleton, Austin, Ball, Bennett, Boardman, Bosson, Boyer(Bowyer), Bradburn, Buckley, Burgess, Corker, Dalton, Darlington, Ditchfield, Drinkwater, Dutton, Fogg, Forster, French, Gandy, Harrison, Hayes, Hickson, Holland, Jackson, Johnson, Jones, Knowles, Leather, Leigh, Littler, Manwaring, Palin, Peacock, Percival, Perry, Plumb, Plumbley, Pointon, Poole, Ray, Ryder, Seddon, Shingler, Slack, Southern, Steele, Sumner, Swinton, Thomason, Thompson, Toft, Tomlinson, Underwood, Walker, Warburton, Weedall, Wilkinson, Woodyer.

### 2. Families who settled between January 1775 and December 1810.

Allen, Allman, Amble, Ardern, Astles, Bailey, Barker, Barrow, Bate, Baxter, Becket, Beech, Bell, Bentley, Boden, Boore, Bratt, Britland, Brocklehurst, Brookes, Brown, Burrow, Burrows, Caldwell, Capper, Chrimes, Clarke, Combs, Cowle, Crawford, Crofts, Cross, Davis, Dunn, Dunning, Dutton, Eaton, Eccles, Ellison, Evans, Fowls, Fox, Garton, Gates, Gaulton, Glover, Goodier, Griffiths, Grisedale,Haddock, Haddock, Halloway, Hancock, Hand, Harrison, Haslam, Hayes, Hewitt, Hignett,Hitchin, Hollinshead, Hollywell, Horton, Hughes, Hughes, Jeffreys, Johnson, Kean, Lamb, Lamb, Leicester, Lightfoot, Longford, Lough, Mann, Massey, Millington, Molyneux, Moreton, Morris, Newall, Ollier, Ormson, Parker, Peers, Penkett, Pennel, Pennel, Penny, Pigot, Pimlot, Povey, Redish, Robinson, Roscow, Ross, Ruebottom, Sadler, Sampson, Shaw, Simpson, Sinclair,Speakman,

Statham, Stelfox, Stelfox, Stubbs, Such, Sumner, Swarbrook, Tanfield, Thompson, Thornally, Titley, Tomkinson, Vernon, Waters, Webb, Whitlow, Wilkes, Woodcock, Woodward, Worrall, Yould.

3. Families who settled between January 1811 and December 1845.

Alcock, Amery, Anderson, Antrobus, Ardern, Ashbrook, Ashley, Astles, Bagnall, Baines, Barker, Barlow, Barrat, Bebbington, Bellard, Birkenhead, Birket, Birtles, Blain,Blower, Boden, Bolton, Bostock, Bourne, Bowker, Bradley, Burton, Caldwell, Carter, Carter, Cawley, Cleworth, Cliff, Coates, Coldman, Cottrell, Cowley, Deakin, Deane, Dickens, Dickinson, Doyle, Dudley, Duncalf, Dutton, Edmunds, Edwards, Evans, Eyes, Eyres, Fallows, Farrell, Fryer, Garley, Garner, Garner(Garnet), Gaskell, Gleave, Gorst, Gough, Haddock, Hanby, Hankey, Hargreaves, Haslehurst, Hatton, Hayes, Helling, Helton, Hewitt, Hinde, Hindley, Hitchin, Holford, Holland, Hough, Houghton, Howard, Hullows, Hulme, Hurstfield, Jardine, Jeffes, Jennings, Johnson, Johnson, Keisley, Kennerley, Kettle, Kitch(Kitchenman), Knight, Lamb, Lawson, Lear, Leicester, Lord, Lovatt, Lowton, Maddock, Maryell, Mather, Meek,Mellor, Merrill, Miller, Mills, Minshall, Moores, Moores, Morrey, Musgrove, Neild, Norman, Norton, Oakes, Okell, Orme, Pearce, Peeling, Pennel, Peover, Phillips, Pigot, Platt, Plumb, Pollitt, Rathbone, Riding, Roberts, Rose, Rowland, Rowlinson, Rutter, Sandbach, Sanders, Shallcross, Shalleig, Sharps, Sharps, Shaw, Shiplin, Southern, Stevenson, Stockton, Street, Sumner, Taylor, Thomas, Thompson, Tomkinson, Vernon, Wakefield, Warton, Watson, Weedall, Whittingham, Williams, Williamson, Williamson, Wilson, Wood, Worth, Yarwood, Yould, Yould.

4. Families Settled in Barnton before 1775 who stayed the whole seventy years and remained beyond 1845,

(those in the township before 1700 marked in capitals)

Appleton, Boardman, Bowyer(Boyer), Buckley, Burgess, Fogg, HARRISON (temporarily resident elsewhere c. 1775), Hickson, Jackson, JOHNSON, Palin, Percival, Poole, Tomlinson, Wilkinson.

APPENDIX 3.

## INHABITANTS OF BARNTON 1775

A compilation from the card index of all inhabitants of those people likely to be in the township on 1 June 1775.

Most men in addition to working on farms also cultivated their own small plots of land, used the common to support animals and to provide fuel, laboured on the roads and Weaver Navigation, and helped repair township property.

The term 'farm labourer' implies merely the main occupation. 'Labourers' moved rapidly from job to job.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Adget | Harvey | retired | 1 |
| Allen | John | tenant farmer | 1 |
| Amery | Ann | | 1 |
| | John and Ann | tailor | 2 |
| | Richard | shoemaker | 1 |
| Appleton | John | labourer | 1 |
| | Samuel | " | 1 |
| | William | salt labourer | 1 |
| | William and Hannah | labourer | 2 |
| Austin | John | " | 1 |
| Ball | Abraham and Ellen, two daughters | farmer | 4 |
| | Abraham and Mary, four children | " | 6 |
| | Martha | | 1 |
| Bennett | Samuel and Mary | innkeeper | 2 |
| Boardman | Ann, two sons | | 3 |
| | Mary, two children | | 3 |
| | Thomas and Betty | farm labourer | 2 |
| Bosson | Richard and Nancy | labourer | 2 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bowyer | George and Martha | labourer | 2 |
| | Joseph and Mary, daughter | " | 3 |
| Bradburn | Edward | farm labourer | I |
| | Hannah | | I |
| | Isaac | farm labourer | I |
| Buckley | George | " | I |
| | Hannah and three children | | 4 |
| | James | labourer | I |
| | John | " | I |
| | Martha and Ellen | | 2 |
| | William and Catherine, three children | labourer | 5 |
| Burgess | John | farm labourer | I |
| | Phoebe | | I |
| | Samuel | tenant farmer | I |
| Burrows | John and Elizabeth | flatman | 2 |
| Corker | John and wife, two children | labourer | 4 |
| Dalton | Mary | | I |
| Darlington | George and Mary | salt labourer | 2 |
| | John and Hannah | labourer | 2 |
| Ditchfield | James and Mary | farm labourer | 2 |
| Drinkwater | Mary | | I |
| Dunning | Thomas and Mary | farm labourer | 2 |
| Dutton | Thomas and wife | " | 2 |
| Fogg | Thomas and Ellen, five children | labourer | 7 |
| Forster | John and child | farm labourer | 2 |
| | Robert and wife, one child | " | 3 |
| French | Jesse | | I |
| | John | farm labourer | I |
| | Matthew and Elizabeth | " | 2 |
| | Peter and Mary, seven children | flatman | 9 |
| Gandy | Edward and wife, two children | labourer | 4 |
| Hayes | Peter and Catherine, two children | " | 4 |
| Hickson | Peter and wife, one son | tenant farmer | 3 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Holland | James and Sarah, one child | tenant farmer | 3 |
| | Mary | | I |
| | Ralph and Hannah | wheelwright, farmer | 2 |
| | Randle and Ellen, four children | farmer | 6 |
| | Thomas and wife | lock tender, farm labourer | 2 |
| | William and Elizabeth | labourer | 2 |
| Jackson | Anne | | I |
| | James and Mary, four children | tenant farmer | 6 |
| | Ralph and wife, one child | " | 3 |
| | Samuel and wife, two children | " | 4 |
| Johnson | John | labourer | I |
| Jones | Hugh and wife, one child | " | 3 |
| | John and Frances | " | 2 |
| Knowles | Martha and two children | | 3 |
| | William and Martha, two children | " | 4 |
| Leather | Anne | | I |
| | Joseph | tenant farmer | I |
| | Sarah | | I |
| | William and Elizabeth | labourer | 2 |
| Leigh | Charles and Sarah, two children | tenant farmer | 4 |
| Littler | Ann | | I |
| | Elizabeth | | I |
| Manwaring | Thomas and Thomas junior | labourers | 2 |
| Newall | John | blacksmith, labourer | I |
| Palin | John and Mary, two children | labourer | 4 |
| | Joseph and Sarah, one child | " | 3 |
| Peacock | Hannah | | I |
| | James and Betty | pauper | 2 |
| Percival | Thomas and Mary, two children | farm labourer | 4 |
| Perry | Randle and Mary | " | 2 |
| Plumb | William and Margaret, four children | farmer | 6 |
| Plumbley | Joseph and Sarah, one child | " | 3 |
| | William and Mary | " | 2 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pointon | John and Mary, one child | landowner, carpenter | 3 |
| Poole | Richard | flatman | I |
| | Thomas and Jane, three children | tenant farmer | 5 |
| Ray | James and Sarah, four children | farm labourer | 6 |
| | Sarah and Margaret | | 2 |
| Ryder | Joseph | tailor | I |
| Seddon | John and Mary, one child | labourer | 3 |
| Shingler | Elizabeth | | I |
| | Thomas and Ann, four children | farm labourer | 6 |
| Slack | John | tenant farmer | I |
| Southern | Joseph and Elizabeth, one child | labourer | 3 |
| | Nancy | | I |
| | William and Sarah, one child | labourer | 3 |
| Steele | Charles | landowner | I |
| | Richard and wife, two children | tenant farmer | 4 |
| | Thomas and wife, three children | " | 5 |
| Sumner | Hannah | | I |
| Swinton | John and Mary, three children | tenant farmer | 5 |
| Thomason | Isaac and wife, two children | " | 4 |
| Thompson | George | farm labourer | I |
| Toft | William, Sarah, Mary | " | 3 |
| Tomlinson | Thomas and Rebecca, two children | " | 4 |
| Underwood | Richard and Sarah | " | 2 |
| Waldran | Lancelot | retired | I |
| Walker | Randle | farm labourer | I |
| Warburton | Peter | " | I |
| Weedall | Peter and Martha, two children | " | 4 |
| Wilkinson | Isaac and wife, three children | " | 5 |
| | James and wife, two children | " | 4 |
| Woodyer | Mary | | I |

NUmber of houses 52 Number of households 88

POPULATION 281

APPENDIX 4.

BTC TM Plan of the Navigation from the Trent to the Mersey 1778

Schedule

no. 58 part of Barnton and Anderton

| owner & land | area a. | r. | p. | price per acre | amount | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Rt. Hon. the Earl Mansfield | 2 | 3 | 16 | several | £96 | 17 | 6 |
| Sir J.T. Stanley (inc. common) | 4 | 2 | 00 | " | £274 | 3 | 9 |
| Barnton Commoning: | | | | | | | |
| Moor Hills | 11 | 0 | 15 | | | | |
| Barnton & Smithy Brows | 2 | 2 | 4 | | | | |
| West End of Barnton Tunnel | 0 | 3 | 29 | " | £556 | 10 | 0 |
| East End of Saltersford Tunnel | 4 | 0 | 4 | | | | |
| Pointons Garden | 0 | 1 | 26 | | | | |
| Mr. Antwistle-in Kiln Loont | 0 | 0 | 4½ | - | - | | |
| Richard Pennant esq. (inc. a house) | 2 | 0 | 0 | bargain | £100 | 0 | 0 |
| Nich. Starkie esq. & Mr. Manning adjoining Soont Hill Commoning | 0 | 0 | 37 | | | | |
| N.S. & Mr.M.Road for Mrs. Spencer in New field | 0 | 1 | 7 | | | | |
| N.S. & Mr. M.Piece of land at Barnton Clough no. 59 | 0 | 0 | 29 | several | £37 | 1 | 10 |
| N.S. & Mr. M. West End of Saltersford Tunnel no. 59 | 0 | 0 | 33 | | | | |
| | | | | the same quantity of common land laid to in lieu thereof at * no. 59 | | | |
| | 29 | 0 | 11½ | | | | |
| Pointons Garden remeas'dto him | | 1 | 26 | | | | |
| | 28 | 2 | 25½ | | £1064 | 13 | 1 |

no. 59 part of Barnton and Little Leigh

| owner & land | area a. | r. | p. | price per acre | amount | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Leigh esq. | 0 | 0 | 15½ | £50 | £2 | 9 | 2 |
| N. Starkie esq. road over Saltersford Tunnel | - | | | - | - | | |
| Mr. A. Barker | 2 | 3 | 2 | several | £127 | 12 | 6 |
| " allowance for loss of marl | | | | | £15 | 0 | 0 |
| The Rt. Hon. Lord Leigh | 11 | 3 | 15 | " | £356 | 18 | 10 |
| allowance for loss of marl | | | | | £60 | 0 | 0 |
| | 14 | 2 | 32½ | | £562 | 0 | 6 |

References:
Barnton Tunnel is 14 feet wide and 572 yards long.
Saltersford Tunnel is 14 feet wide and 418 yards long.
Mr Pennant to have the priviledge of planting upon the Company's land above and below the Canal on Barnton Moor Hills and to have the remainder of his land (exclusive of what the Canal took) at Best Way.
The Road through the New field purchased for Mrs. Spencer the Company paid £4-10-0 for fencing the same out.
Culvet at Anderton Valley 3 feet diameter.
Stop gate at Barnton Brows Bridge and a Side Trunk.
Horse road over Saltersford Tunnel.

APPENDIX 5.

CENSUS OF BARNTON I84I

Public Record Office : H.O. I07.92

Census taken 7 June I84I accounting for all people resident in Barnton on the night of Sunday 6 June I84I.

Arrangement of census:

The township is divided into two parts : south & north of the turnpike road.
The enumerators' marks to indicate families and households living in each dwelling have been omitted. Very haphazardly drawn and inaccurate these marks add little to knowledge and may well confuse.

example of arrangement

| address | number of houses occupied by family | names of members of family | ages (for adults correct to nearest five yearly period) | trade, job | whether born in Cheshire |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Little Hey | I | Joseph Antrobus | 60 | farmer | yes |

NORTH SIDE OF MAIN ROAD

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stoney Hayes | I | James Robinson | 35 | farmer | yes |
| | | Mary " | 30 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 4 | | " |
| | | William " | 3 | | " |
| | | Lydia " | I | | " |
| | | Peter Barker | 30 | male servant | " |
| | | William Warton | 20 | " | " |
| | | Joseph Taylor | I5 | " | " |
| | | Harriet Norman | 20 | female servant | yes |
| | | Ann Kettle | I2 | " | " |
| Little Hey | I | Joseph Antrobus | 60 | farmer | " |
| | | Margaret " | 45 | | " |
| | | Edmund " | above20 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 20 | | " |
| | | William " | I5 | | " |
| | | John " | I2 | | " |
| | | James " | 7 | | " |
| | | Matty Basnett | I5 | female servant | yes |
| Turnpike Road | I | Mary Boardman | 40 | farmer | no |
| | | Maria " | 9 | | yes |
| | | Job " | 7 | | " |
| | | Josuah " | 5 | | " |
| | | Clarissa " | 3 | | " |
| | | Joel " | I | | " |
| | I | William Hughes | 55 | farmer | " |
| | | Mary " | 45 | | " |
| | | Daniel " | 45 | farm labourer | " |
| | | John " | 20 | | " |
| | | Ralph Harrison | I5 | male servant | " |
| | | Elizabeth Hayes | 20 | female servant | yes |
| | | Ellen Hughes | I5 | " | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Turnpike Road | I | George Hindley | 65 | shoemaker | yes |
| | | Sarah " | 65 | | " |
| | | Peter " | 30 | | " |
| | I | William Rutter | 30 | agricultural labourer | yes |
| | | Catherine " | 30 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 10 | | " |
| | | William " | 7 | | " |
| | | George " | 5 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 3 | | " |
| | | Peter " | 2 months | | " |
| | I | Thomas Edwards | 40 | grocer | " |
| | | Maria " | 45 | | " |
| | | Maria " | 15 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 14 | | " |
| | I | uninhabited | | | |
| | I | Mary Ashley | 38 | widow | " |
| | | Thomas " | 15 | agricultural labourer | yes |
| | | James " | 10 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 7 | | " |
| | | Harriet " | 2 | | " |
| | | Peter " | 7 months | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Turnpike Road | I | Alfred Gates | 35 | flatman | yes |
| | | Mary " | 35 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | 8 | | " |
| | | Edward " | 7 | | " |
| | | Ellen " | 3 | | " |
| | | Hiram " | 3 months | | " |
| | | Pleasant " | 75 | | " |
| | I | Thomas Haselhurst | 20 | tailor | " |
| | | Sarah " | 20 | | " |
| | I | uninhabited | | | |
| Smithy Fold | I | Thomas Hickson | 60 | waterman | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 60 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 25 | | " |
| | | William " | 20 | | " |
| | | Ashton Lightfoot | 20 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Mary " | 25 | | " |
| | I | Joseph Farrall | 75 | salt maker | " |
| | | Ann " | 65 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 5 | | " |
| | I | John Hickson | 20 | waterman | " |
| | | Mary " | 25 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 6 | | " |
| | | John " | 2 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 4 months | | " |
| | I | William Kitch | 30 | flatman | no |
| | | Ellen " | 40 | | yes |
| | | John Youd | 9 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bells Brow | I | John Hickson | 30 | flatman | yes |
| | | Maria " | 35 | | " |
| | | George " | I2 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | I0 | | " |
| | | Kitty " | 8 | | " |
| | | James " | 6 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 4 | | " |
| | | Richard " | I | | " |
| | | Ellen Jackson | 70 | | " |
| | I | William Lightfoot | 35 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Ann " | 30 | | |
| | | Elizabeth " | II | | " |
| | | Martha " | 8 | | " |
| | | William " | 2 | | " |
| | I | uninhabited | | | |
| | I | James Holford | 60 | salt boiler | " |
| | | Rebecca " | 60 | | no |
| | | George " | 25 | | yes |
| | | Peter Eaton | II | | " |
| | I | John Harrison | 30 | shoemaker | " |
| | | Lydia " | 30 | | no |
| | | William " | I2 | | yes |
| | | Hannah " | 9 | | " |
| | | James " | 7 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 2 | | " |
| | I | Thomas Fogg | 65 | agricultural labourer | yes |
| | | Catherine " | 30 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | I3 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 7 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bells Brow | I | Samuel Goodhair | 60 | agricultural labourer | yes |
| | | Jane " | 50 | | " |
| | | Philip " | 19 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 11 | | " |
| | I | Jenemyley Shallcross | 45 | widow | " |
| | | John Street | 52 | labourer on River | " |
| | | Ruth " | 15 | | no |
| | I | Peter Bolton | 25 | waterman | yes |
| | | Ann " | 20 | | " |
| | I | William Fogg | 35 | labourer on Navigation | " |
| | | Ann " | 35 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 13 | | " |
| | | Philip " | 11 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 9 | | " |
| | | Eliza " | 5 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 3 | | " |
| | | Simeon " | 1 | | " |
| Near Canal | I | uninhabited | | | |
| | I | Joseph Buckley | 40 | rock salt getter | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 40 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 6 | | " |
| | | Margaret " | 11 | | " |
| | | Hannah " | 8 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 2 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Near Canal | I | John Parker | 35 | agricultural labourer | yes |
| | | Elizabeth " | 38 | | " |
| | | William " | 9 | | " |
| | | Margaret " | 5 | | " |
| | | Martha " | ~~3~~ | | " |
| | | Mary " | 5 months | | " |
| | | William Ashbrook | 40 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | William " | II | | " |
| | I | George Parker | 30 | labourer at Saltwork | " |
| | | Mary " | 35 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 8 | | " |
| | | Martha " | 6 | | " |
| | | Jane Ballott | 8 | | " |
| Best Way | I | Mary Capper | 50 | widow | " |
| | | John " | 20 | flatman | " |
| | | James " | I5 | | " |
| | | Eliza " | I5 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | I0 | | " |
| | I | John Gorst | 25 | pansmith | " |
| | | Ann " | 20 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 3 | | " |
| | I | John Kennelly | 20 | pansmith | " |
| | | Hannah " | 25 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 6 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | I | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Best Way | I | Charles Johnson | 25 | agricultural labourer | yes |
| | | Sarah " | 25 | | " |
| RedLion | I | John Eaton senior | 70 | publican | " |
| | | Elizabeth Eaton | 55 | | " |
| | | Ellen " | I5 | | " |
| | | Peter " | I5 | | " |
| | | Jane " | I0 | | " |
| | | Job " | 25 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Elizabeth Blower | 4 | | " |
| Rays Brow Lane | I | Richard Poole | 85 | labourer on navigation | " |
| | | James Harrison | 65 | agricultural labourer | no |
| | | Hannah " | 55 | | yes |
| | I | Elizabeth Houghton | 30 | waterman's wife | " |
| | | Ann " | II | | " |
| | | James " | I0 | | No |
| | | Thomas " | 8 | | yes |
| | | George " | 6 | | " |
| | | Enoch " | 4 | | " |
| | | Adam " | 2 | | " |
| | I | John Houghton | 55 | waterman | no |
| | | Ann " | 55 | | yes |
| | | Sarah " | 20 | | " |
| | | Ellen " | I5 | | " |
| | | John " | I5 | | " |
| | | Ann " | I0 | | " |
| | | Mary Hullows | I5 | | no |
| | | Ann Allen | I5 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rays Brow Lane | I | Thomas Carter | 20 | waterman | yes |
| | | Ann " | I5 | | " |
| | | Frances " | I5 | | " |
| | | George " | II | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 8 | | " |
| | I | Peter Hatton | 45 | waterman | " |
| | | Mary " | 40 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 20 | | " |
| | | Mary " | I5 | | " |
| | | Catherine " | I3 | | " |
| | | William " | II | | " |
| | | Ann " | 9 | | " |
| | | Alice " | 6 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 4 | | " |
| | 2 | uninhabited | | | |
| | I | Joseph Boyer | 30 | carpenter | " |
| | | Harriet " | 25 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 4 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 8 months | | " |
| | I | William Roberts | 45 | waterman | " |
| | | Phoebe " | 45 | | " |
| | | James " | I4 | | " |
| | | John " | I2 | | " |
| | | Charles " | 9 | | " |
| | | Richard " | 6 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 3 | | " |
| | I | William Boardman | 45 | shipwright | " |
| | | Mary " | 45 | | " |
| | | John " | I2 | shipwright's apprentice | " |
| | | Mary " | I0 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rays Brow Lane | I | uninhabited | | | |
| | I | Job Eaton | 35 | hauler | yes |
| | | Sophia " | 30 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 10 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 7 | | " |
| | | Job " | 4 | | " |
| | | Peter " | 3 months | | " |
| | I | Mary Worrall | 68 | schoolmistress | yes |
| | I | Martha Hinde | 13 | flatman's daughter | yes |
| | | Samuel " | 7 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 5 | | " |
| | | Hannah " | 3 | | " |
| | I | John Harrison | 20 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Mary " | 25 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | 3 | | " |
| | | George " | 8 months | | " |
| | I | Samuel Farral | 25 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Mary " | 25 | | " |
| | | Harriet " | 3 | | " |
| | | Enoch " | 1 | | " |
| Rays Brow | I | John Eaton junior | 35 | farmer | " |
| | | Ann " | 30 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 12 | | " |
| | | Edwin " | 9 | | " |
| | | George " | 7 | | " |
| | | John " | 5 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | 2 | | " |
| | | William " | 6 months | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rays Brow (cont.) | | Thomas Bowyer | 15 | male servant | yes |
| | | Benjamin Johnson | 15 | " | " |
| | | Hannah Tomlinson | 15 | female servant | " |
| | I | Joseph Allen | 30 | saltboiler | " |
| | | Ann " | 30 | | " |
| | | Hannah " | 9 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 6 | | " |
| | | Betsy " | 4 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 2 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 6 months | | " |
| | I | George Goodier | 35 | saltboiler | " |
| | | Ann " | 40 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | 13 | | " |
| | | Martha " | 11 | | " |
| | | Margaret " | 9 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 7 | | " |
| | | Catherine " | 4 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 2 | | " |
| | | Henry Steel | 72 | schoolmaster | no |
| Rays Brow Lane | I | William Whittingham | 35 | labourer at Saltworks | yes |
| | | Ellen " | 35 | | no |
| | | John " | 13 | | yes |
| | | George " | 11 | | " |
| | | Betsy " | 8 | | " |
| | | James " | 6 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 4 | | " |
| | | Ellen " | 2 | | " |
| | I | Robert Davies | 45 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Ellen " | 35 | | " |
| | | Betty Fogg | 10 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rays Brow Lane | I | Ashton Poole | 55 | farmer | yes |
| | | Ann " | 55 | | " |
| | | Fanny " | 20 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 20 | | " |
| | | Mary " | I8 | | " |
| | | Samuel Goodier | 20 | male servant | " |
| | | William Hughes | I5 | male servant | " |
| | | Samuel Tompson | I5 | male servant | " |
| | I | Nathaniel Morrey | 45 | farmer | " |
| | | Betty " | 40 | | " |
| | | Charles " | 20 | | " |
| | | Betty " | 20 | | " |
| | | Nathaniel " | 20 | | " |
| | | Ellis " | I5 | | " |
| | | Catherine " | I4 | | " |
| | | George " | I3 | | " |
| | | John " | II | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 9 | | " |
| | | Henry " | 7 | | " |
| | | George Allen | I0 | male servant | " |
| | | Sarah Eaton | I4 | female servant | " |
| Lydiat Lane | I | Famny Percival | 50 | widow | " |
| | | William " | 25 | | " |
| | | James " | 20 | | " |
| | | Hannah " | I0 | | " |
| | | Anne " | 8 | | " |
| | I | uninhabited | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lydiat Lane | I | Charles Cawley | 30 | waterman | yes |
| | | Sarah " | 25 | | " |
| | | Nancy " | I0 | | " |
| | | Martha " | 9 | | " |
| | | John " | 6 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 4 | | " |
| | | Robert " | 2 | | " |
| | | Charles " | II months | | " |
| | I | Robert Palin senior | 50 | waterman | " |
| | | Ann " | 50 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | I5 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | I3 | | " |
| | I | Hamlett Mills | 40 | boatman | " |
| | | Susey " | 35 | | " |
| | | John " | I2 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | I0 | | " |
| | | George " | 7 | | " |
| | | Kitty " | 5 | | " |
| | | William " | 3 | | " |
| | | Abram " | 8 months | | " |
| | I | Joseph Boyer | 45 | labourer at Saltworks | no |
| | | Elizabeth " | 55 | | yes |
| | | Ashton " | 20 | | " |
| | | Lowry " | I5 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | I5 | | " |
| | | John " | I3 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 20 | waterman | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lydiat Lane | I | Richard Tomlinson | 45 | carpenter | yes |
| | | Elizabeth " | 35 | | " |
| | | Mary Shiplin | 30 | widow | " |
| | | Ellen Wilkinson | II | | " |
| | | John Palin | 20 | waterman | " |
| | | Joseph " | I5 | | " |
| | | Samuel Bostock | I5 | ropemaker's apprentice | " |
| | | John Miller | 30 | pensioner | no |
| | I | Isaac Phillips | 25 | labourer at Saltworks | yes |
| | | Martha " | 25 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | I0 | | " |
| | | James " | 6 | | " |
| | | Jane " | 3 | | " |
| | | Alfred " | I | | " |
| | I | Luke Rose | 30 | blacksmith | no |
| | | Mary " | 30 | | " |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| INHABITED HOUSES 59 | | MALE PERSONS | I82 |
| UNINHABITED HOUSES 8 | | FEMALE PERSONS | I53 |
| | | FAMILIES | 62 |
| | | RESIDUE | 22 |

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES 3I3

TOTAL POPULATION 335

Emigrants since 3I December I840 0

Sleepers in boats, mines, barns, sheds, open air 0

No special increase or decrease noted at census time

Enumerator Joseph Antrobus I4 June I84I

Registrar Thomas Woodyer I7 June I84I

Sup. Registrar Thomas Richard Barker 9 July I84I

SOUTH SIDE OF MAIN ROAD

The enumerator neglected to enter the addresses in this part of Barnton. These have thus been added.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Barnton Lock | I | John Boden | 55 | lock tender | yes |
| | | Sarah " | 52 | wife | " |
| | | Sarah " | 15 | | " |
| | | William Hickson | 25 | flatman | " |
| | | Mary " | 20 | wife | " |
| Bestway | I | Thomas Harrison | 30 | hauler | " |
| | | Dina " | 25 | wife | " |
| | | John " | 8 | | " |
| | | Betty " | 5 | | " |
| | | Henry " | 2 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 3 weeks | | " |
| | I | Thomas Hormes | 27 | gardener | " |
| | | Maria " | 30 | wife | " |
| | | George " | 6 | | " |
| | | Edward " | 2 | | " |
| | I | Samuel Gleave | 47 | labourer | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 45 | wife | " |
| | | Thomas " | 15 | son | " |
| | | William " | 10 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 9 | | " |
| | | Hannah " | 7 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canal Side | I | Joseph Gates | 40 | flatman | yes |
| | | Eliza " | 35 | wife | " |
| | | John " | I5 | | " |
| | | William " | 8 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | I2 | | " |
| | | James " | 8 | | " |
| | | Edward " | 6 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 2 | | " |
| | I | Thomas Beech | 48 | boatman | " |
| | | Sarah " | 48 | wife | " |
| | | John " | 22 | | " |
| | | Ann Jane " | I5 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | I3 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth" | 8 | | " |
| | | Hannah Houghton | 4 | | " |
| | I | James Woodwork | 50 | boatman | " |
| | | Alice " | 50 | wife | " |
| | | Betty " | I9 | | " |
| | | Alice " | I7 | | " |
| | | James " | I4 | | " |
| | I | James Bratt | 34 | blacksmith | " |
| | | Ellen " | 40 | wife | " |
| | | John Hayes | 20 | blacksmith | " |
| | | George " | I4 | blacksmith | " |
| | | Mary " | I2 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 8 | | " |
| | | David Hargreaves | 23 | blacksmith | " |
| | | Hannah " | 22 | wife | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Woodworth Bridge | I | John Woodwork | 30 | labourer | yes |
| | | Mary " | 30 | wife | " |
| | | William " | 9 | | " |
| | | John " | 6 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 3 | | " |
| Tunnel Top | I | George Capper | 30 | grocer | " |
| | | Hannah " | 30 | wife | " |
| | | John " | 10 | son | " |
| | | George " | 5 | son | " |
| | I | William Clarke | 50 | boatman | " |
| | | Kitty " | 50 | wife | " |
| | | James " | 20 | boatman | " |
| | | Hannah " | 10 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 30 | flatman | " |
| | | Joseph Birchit | 10 | boatman | " |
| | I | John Deakin | 35 | publican | " |
| | | Mary " | 27 | wife | " |
| | | Thomas " | 4 | | " |
| | | John " | 3 | | " |
| | | Betty Clarke | 25 | servant | " |
| | I | Thomas Houghton | 25 | flatman | " |
| | | Hanah " | 25 | wife | " |
| | | Mary " | 3 | | " |
| | | James " | 2 | | " |
| | | Eliza " | 4 months | | " |
| | I | William Hayes | 25 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 24 | wife | " |
| | | John " | 5 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 3 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tunnel Top | I | Thomas Follows | 41 | hostler | no |
| | | Ann " | 40 | wife | " |
| | | Eliza " | 5 | | ? |
| | | Elizabeth " | 2 | | yes |
| | | Daniel Bowyer | 40 | | " |
| Tunnel Road | I | Ambrose Cottrell | 22 | shoemaker | " |
| | | Sarah " | 24 | | " |
| | | William " | 2 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 62 | | " |
| | I | Joseph Carter | 41 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Sarah " | 35 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 12 | | " |
| | | William Woodwork | 9 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 4 | | " |
| | | Sarah Burgess | 8 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 5 | | " |
| | I | Peter Allen | 35 | labourer | " |
| | | Mary " | 35 | wife | " |
| | | Ann " | 12 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 10 | | " |
| | | Margaret " | 7 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 4 | | " |
| | | John " | 2 | | " |
| | I | Charles Buckley | 45 | labourer | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 20 | wife | " |
| | | James " | 12 | | " |
| | I | Thomas Mellor | 30 | labourer | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 25 | wife | " |
| | | Sarah " | 4 | | " |
| | | Hannah " | 1 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tunnel Road | I | Samuel Eaton | 60 | hauler | yes |
| | | Joab " | I5 | | " |
| | | Betty Haslam | 74 | pauper | " |
| | I | William Sumner | 20 | rockgetter | " |
| | | Sarah " | 20 | wife | " |
| | | Ann " | I | | " |
| Bells Brow | I | Samuel Cross | 43 | flatman | " |
| | | Ann " | 42 | wife | " |
| | | John " | I6 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | I3 | | " |
| | I | Ann Lamb | 35 | pauper | " |
| | | Betsey " | I0 | | " |
| | | James " | 9 | | " |
| | | John " | 7 | | " |
| | | Enoch " | 5 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 3 | | " |
| | | Abram " | 2 | | " |
| | I | George Garton | 55 | boiler maker | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 55 | wife | " |
| | | John " | 20 | flatman | " |
| | | William " | I5 | shoemaker | " |
| | | Thomas " | I5 | gardener | " |
| | I | James Shaw | 25 | flatman | " |
| | | Lydia " | 24 | wife | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 3 | | " |
| | | Ann Jane " | I | | " |
| | I | William Boden | 20 | flatman | " |
| | | Ann " | 2I | wife | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bells Brow | I | Charles Mellor | 50 | shoemaker | yes |
| | | Charles " | 23 | flatman | " |
| | | John " | 20 | " | " |
| | | William " | I8 | " | " |
| | | James " | 8 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 26 | | " |
| | | Hannah " | I5 | | " |
| | I | James Platt | 47 | boatman | " |
| | | Mary " | 4I | wife | " |
| | | John " | 20 | | " |
| | | William " | I5 | | " |
| | | Jane " | 9 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 7 | | " |
| | | Robert " | 4 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 8 months | | " |
| | | Hannah Davies | I6 | | " |
| | I | Lewis Gaskin | 49 | labourer | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 50 | wife | " |
| | | Ann Johnson | I3 | | " |
| | | Charles Hancock | 4 | | " |
| | I | James Hewit | 45 | butc her | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 55 | wife | " |
| | I | Thomas Cliff | 3I | shoemaker | " |
| | | Jane " | 33 | wife | " |
| | | William " | I0 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 8 | | " |
| | | Eliza " | 6 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 4 | | " |
| | | Martha " | I | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bells Brow | I | Thomas Maddock | 55 | flatman | yes |
| | | Mary " | 50 | wife | " |
| | I | William Eyes | 50 | tailor | " |
| | | Fanny " | 55 | wife | " |
| | | John " | 25 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 20 | | " |
| | I | Richard Birchitt | 40 | boiler maker | " |
| | | Sarah " | 45 | wife | " |
| | | Richard " | 6 | | " |
| | | James " | I5 | | " |
| | | Thomas Clark | 20 | boiler maker | " |
| | | Jane Yarly | 6 | | " |
| Ropery farm | I | Thomas Moreton | 68 | farmer | " |
| | | Mary " | 65 | wife | " |
| | | George " | 22 | | " |
| | I | William Clarke | 30 | ropemaker | " |
| | | Ann " | 30 | wife | " |
| | | William S. Clarke | 5 | | " |
| | | John Clarke | 3 | | " |
| | | Margaret Merril | I7 | female servant | " |
| Near Ropery | I | John Musgrave | 35 | flatman | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 36 | wife | " |
| | | Mary " | I2 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 4 | | " |
| | | Martha " | I | | " |
| | | William Pennel | 55 | agricultural labourer | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Toll house | I | Thomas Cleworth | 67 | toll collector | yes |
| | | Samuel " | 35 | boatman | " |
| | | Mary " | 40 | | " |
| Turnpike road | I | John Bloyer | 30 | flatman | " |
| | | Edward " | 2 | | " |
| | | Mary Ann " | 25 | wife | " |
| | I | Mark Rowlinson | 30 | farmer | " |
| | | Mary " | 30 | wife | " |
| | | Mary " | 8 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 6 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 5 | | " |
| | | John " | 2 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 68 | | " |
| | | Jeffrey " | 60 | | " |
| | | John Mather | 20 | male servant | " |
| | | John Rutter | 10 | " | " |
| | | Ann Ashbrook | 15 | female servant | " |
| | | Mary Rutter | 12 | " | " |
| | | Shadrach Lord | 40 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | I | Thomas Thompson | 27 | salt maker | " |
| | | Hannah " | 27 | wife | " |
| | | Kitty " | 4 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 2 | | " |
| | I | George Goodier | 31 | labourer | " |
| | | Betty " | 30 | wife | " |
| | | Joseph " | 4 | | " |
| | | Hannah " | 3 months | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Turnpike road | I | Thomas Hayes | 35 | labourer | yes |
| | | Mary " | 37 | wife | " |
| | | Peter " | I6 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 7 | | " |
| | | James " | 5 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 2 | | " |
| | I | Thomas Goodier | 36 | farmer | " |
| | | Alice " | 3I | wife | " |
| | | Jane " | 8 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 7 | | " |
| | | Margaret " | 5 | | " |
| | | Nancy " | I | | " |
| | | John " | 3 months | | " |
| | | Philip " | 3 months | | " |
| | | Peter Eaton | 66 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | I | George Boyer | 55 | salt boiler | " |
| | | Betty " | 60 | wife | " |
| | | Samuel " | 20 | | " |
| | | Griffith " | I2 | | " |
| | I | Joseph Rowland | 35 | flatman | " |
| | | Ann " | 35 | wife | " |
| | | Martha " | 4 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 5 | | " |
| | | Alice " | I | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Turnpike road | I | James Harrison | 35 | flatman | yes |
| | | Betty " | 30 | wife | " |
| | | John " | 10 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 7 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 5 | | " |
| | | Ellen " | 2 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 1 month | | " |
| | I | Samuel Bell | 30 | flatman | " |
| | | Susanna " | 21 | wife | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 4 | | " |
| | | Noah " | 2 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 12 | | " |
| | I | Margaret Bowyer | 60 | grocer | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 30 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 20 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Josias " | 15 | flatman | " |
| | | James " | 10 | | " |
| | I | Peter Hatton | 25 | flatman | " |
| | | Hanah " | 25 | | " |
| | | James " | 7 months | | " |
| | | Richard Boyer | 20 | agricultural labourer | " |
| Plumbs Fold | I | John Bellott | 20 | shoemaker | " |
| | | Ellen " | 15 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plumbs Fold | I | William Appleton | 25 | boatman | yes |
| | | Ellen " | 25 | wife | " |
| | | Thomas " | 3 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | I | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 30 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Ann " | 30 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | I | John Stockton | 28 | flatman | " |
| | | Ann " | 27 | wife | " |
| | | Thomas " | 4 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth" | 7 | | " |
| | | Hanah " | I | | " |
| | I | John Fogg | 48 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Hannah " | 40 | wife | " |
| | | Thomas " | I8 | flatman | " |
| | | Mary Ann" | I6 | | " |
| | | Betty " | II | | " |
| | | John " | 9 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | 2 | | " |
| | I | George Riding | 53 | flatman | no |
| | | Sarah " | 48 | wife | yes |
| | | William " | 25 | | " |
| | | John " | 25 | | " |
| | | George " | 2I | | " |
| | | Sarah " | I2 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 7 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 4 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plumbs Fold | I | Hugh Peover | 36 | carpenter | yes |
| | | Sarah " | 40 | wife | " |
| | | Mary " | 10 | | " |
| | | John " | 8 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 6 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 3 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | 9 months | | " |
| | I | Levi Capper | 25 | flatman | " |
| | | Mary " | 25 | wife | " |
| | | George " | 7 | | " |
| | I | John Plumb | 55 | flatman | " |
| | | Kitty " | 50 | wife | " |
| | | John Lear | 13 | flatman | " |
| | I | George Garton | 29 | ropemaker | " |
| | | Mary " | 29 | wife | " |
| | | Ann " | 7 | | " |
| | | Catherine " | 5 | | " |
| | | Hariet " | 3 | | " |
| | | Eliza " | 10 months | | " |
| | | Hanah Bell | 6 | | " |
| | I | Joseph Williamson | 20 | flatman | " |
| | | Ann " | 20 | wife | " |
| | I | John Goodier | 41 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Jane " | 31 | wife | " |
| | | Thomas " | 11 | | " |
| | | Philip " | 9 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 5 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 3 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oakwood Lane | I | John Rose | 41 | flatman | yes |
| | | Ann " | 40 | wife | " |
| | | Margaret " | 16 | | " |
| | | William " | 14 | | " |
| | | Luke " | 12 | | " |
| | | John " | 8 | | " |
| | | Mary " | 10 | | " |
| | | James " | 5 | | " |
| | | Emma " | 1 | | " |
| | I | John Shaw | 25 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 22 | wife | " |
| | | Mary " | 3 | | " |
| | | Harriet " | 10 months | | " |
| | I | James Goff | 40 | shoemaker | " |
| | I | Joseph Shaw | 60 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Mary " | 49 | wife | " |
| | | Catherine" | 28 | | " |
| | | William " | 6 | | " |
| | | William Burgess | 35 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | I | James Boyer | 24 | flatman | " |
| | | Martha " | 24 | wife | " |
| | | Sarah " | 2 | | " |
| | I | Joseph Bellot | 25 | flatman | " |
| | | Mary " | 25 | | " |
| | | Hahah Harrison | 17 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 9 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oakwood Lane | I | Samuel Blain | 25 | labourer | yes |
| | | Elizabeth " | 23 | wife | " |
| | | Joseph " | 3 | | " |
| | I | James Lightfoot | 41 | saltboiler | " |
| | | Mary " | 40 | wife | " |
| | | Sarah " | 15 | | " |
| | | William " | 11 | | " |
| | | Kitty " | 8 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 5 | | " |
| | | James " | 6 months | | " |
| | I | William Birkenhead | 45 | flatman | " |
| | | Mary " | 48 | wife | " |
| | | Thomas " | 19 | | " |
| | | Ellen " | 10 | | " |
| | | John " | 8 | | " |
| Leighs Brow | I | John Hayes | 50 | bricklayer | " |
| | | James " | 27 | labourer | " |
| | | Sarah " | 24 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 18 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 22 | | " |
| | | Ann Keisley | 2 | | " |
| | I | Ashton Lightfoot | 40 | labourer | " |
| | | Martha " | 35 | wife | " |
| | | Sarah " | 12 | | " |
| | | William " | 14 | | " |
| | | Martha " | 10 | | " |
| | | Mary Ann " | 8 | | " |
| | | Margaret " | 4 | | " |
| | | Ashton " | 2 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leighs Brow | I | Samuel Oakes | | 35 | labourer yes |
| | | Mary | " | 40 | wife " |
| | I | James Robinson | | 25 | agricultural labourer " |
| | | Ann | " | 20 | wife " |
| | | Thomas | " | 5 | " |
| | | Mary | " | 2 | " |
| | | William | " | I5 | " |
| | | Martha | " | I0 | " |
| | I | John Garner | | 30 | agricultural labourer " |
| | | Ellen | " | 30 | wife " |
| | | Mary | " | II | " |
| | | Ellen | " | 9 | " |
| | | Sarah | " | 6 | " |
| | | Ann | " | 3 | " |
| | | Samuel | " | I | " |
| | I | James Appleton | | 50 | boatman " |
| | | Frances | " | 50 | wife " |
| | | Joseph | " | 20 | agricultural labourer " |
| | | Ann | " | I6 | " |
| | I | James Watson | | 40 | agricultural labourer " |
| | | Martha | " | 40 | wife " |
| | | Jane | " | 8 | " |
| | | Joseph | " | I0 | " |
| | I | Samuel Leicester | | 35 | agricultural labourer " |
| | | William | " | I7 | " |
| | | Ellen | " | I5 | " |
| | | George | " | I2 | " |
| | | James | " | I0 | " |
| | | John | " | 60 | Agricultural labourer " |
| | | Betty | " | 65 | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leighs Brow | I | Samuel Cawley | 40 | labourer | yes |
| | | Mary " | 50 | wife | " |
| | | Susana " | I2 | | " |
| | | John " | II | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 6 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 8 | | " |
| | I | Edward Musgrave | 50 | carpenter | " |
| | | Martha " | 50 | wife | " |
| | | Jonas " | 30 | saltboiler | " |
| | | Joseph " | 20 | boiler maker | " |
| | | William " | I8 | labourer | " |
| | | Elen " | I6 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | I4 | | " |
| | I | William Appleton | 30 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Sarah " | 60 | | " |
| | | Aaron " | 20 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | George " | I8 | | " |
| | | John " | I6 | | " |
| | I | Peter Appleton | 29 | labourer | " |
| | | Elen " | 25 | wife | " |
| | | Sarah " | 4 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 2 | | " |
| | | William " | I | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leighs Brow | I | Richard Hickson | 35 | flatman | yes |
| | | Susana " | 40 | wife | " |
| | | John " | I5 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | I4 | | " |
| | | William " | I4 | | " |
| | | Martha " | 9 | | " |
| | | Robert " | 3 | | " |
| | | Rebecca Maddock | 85 | independent | " |
| | I | Benjamin Johnson | 75 | labourer | " |
| | | Ann " | 70 | wife | " |
| | | Peter Lawson | 25 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Martha " | 30 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | James " | 8 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 5 | | " |
| | I | Thomas Hayes | 35 | flatman | " |
| | | Mary " | 33 | wife | " |
| | | William " | I2 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 9 | | " |
| | | Frances " | 6 | | " |
| | | James " | I | | " |
| | I | James Poole | 50 | labourer | " |
| | | Mary " | 38 | wife | " |
| | | James " | I | | " |
| | I | John Wilkinson | 73 | gardener | " |
| | | Ellen " | 70 | wife | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leighs Brow | I | William Hurstfield | 29 | labourer | yes |
| | | Mary " | 35 | wife | " |
| | | Jane " | 9 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 5 | | " |
| | | Betsey " | 2 | | " |
| | | John " | 65 | pauper | " |
| | | Joseph " | 20 | labourer | " |
| | I | Mary Coates | 60 | independent | " |
| | | Amelia Ann Hanby | 35 | schoolmistress | " |
| | I | Samuel Appleton | 27 | flatman | " |
| | | Eliza " | 25 | wife | " |
| | | Mary " | 6 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 4 | | " |
| | | Ann " | I | | " |
| | I | Ann Ormes | 46 | capmaker | " |
| | | Ann " | 20 | | " |
| | | Catherine" | II | | " |
| | | Jane " | 9 | | " |
| | I | John Haddock | 45 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 46 | | " |
| | | Thomas " | 22 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | James " | I6 | agricultural labourer | " |
| | | Ellen " | I4 | | " |
| | | John " | I2 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | I0 | | " |
| | | Edmund " | I | | " |
| | | George " | 8 | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leighs Brow | I | John Knight | 50 | labourer at salt works | yes |
| | | Alice " | 50 | wife | " |
| | | Mary " | I5 | | " |
| | | Joseph " | I0 | | " |
| | | Elizabeth" | 7 | | " |
| | | Ann " | I | | " |
| | I | Moses Appleton | 20 | waterman | " |
| | | Elizabeth " | 2I | wife | " |
| | | Martha " | 2 | | " |
| | | Margaret " | 5 months | | " |
| | I | Robert Poole | 58 | flatman | " |
| | | Jane " | 60 | wife | " |
| | | Enoch " | I5 | | " |
| | | Betsey " | 9 | | " |
| | | Jane Duncalf | 8 | | " |
| | | Thomas Wood | 30 | waterman | " |
| | | Mary " | 25 | | " |
| | | Ann " | 8 | | " |
| | | May Jane " | 6 | | " |
| | | William " | 4 | | " |
| | I | Joseph Minshall | 45 | waterman | " |
| | | Kitty " | 40 | wife | " |
| | | John " | I6 | | " |
| | | Peter " | I4 | | " |
| | | Mary " | I2 | | " |
| | | Ann " | I0 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 7 | | " |
| | | Hanah " | 5 | | " |
| | | Frances " | 2 | | " |
| | | Samuel " | 6 months | | " |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leighs Brow | I | James Clarke | 25 | salt boiler | yes |
| | | Mary " | 20 | wife | " |
| | | John " | 4 | | " |
| Saltersford Lock | I | Allen Lovatt | 53 | lock tender | " |
| | | Ann " | 46 | wife | " |
| | | Robert " | I4 | | " |
| | | John " | I2 | | " |
| | | Jane " | 9 | | " |
| | | Sarah " | 7 | | " |
| | | Allen " | 4 | | " |
| | | Maria Mills | 40 | flatman's wife | " |
| | | William Gorst | I5 | male servant | " |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| INHABITED HOUSES | 99 | MALE PERSONS | 27I |
| UNINHABITED HOUSES | 0 | FEMALE PERSONS | 250 |
| | | FAMILIES | 99 |
| | | RESIDUE | 26 |

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES 498
NUMBER ON BARGES 2 males I female
TOTAL POPULATION 524

Emigrants to colonies or foreign parts since 3I Dec.I840 0
Sleepers in sheds, mines, open air 0
No special increase or decrease noted at census time
Enumerator William Clarke I2 June I84I
Registrar Thomas Woodyer I7 June I84I
Sup. Registrar Thomas Richard Barker 9 July I84I

APPENDIX 6.

BARNTON

APPORTIONMENT OF RENT CHARGE IN LIEU OF TITHES I843-46

The tithe plan of Barnton was completed in I843
The award of rent charge for Barnton was confirmed by the Tithe Commissioners on 29 October I844.

The Award

| | |
|---|---|
| Arable ( crop or fallow ) | I50 acres |
| Meadow ( pasture or seed grass ) | 420 acres |
| Woodland, homesteads, gardens, roads | 30 acres |
| estimated statute acres | 600 |

Payable to the Vicar:
2 shillings per acre (Cheshire measure) on lowland meadow.
I shilling per acre (Cheshire measure) on Up-land-mown, in place of hay in kind.
I shilling 6 pence for every farrow pig.
6 pence for every flock of geese.
All other lands subject to tithes in kind.

Christ Church College in Oxford owns the predial tithes, except hay, hemp, and flax; these are leased to P.S. Humberstone of Chester, attorney and are worth £78 a year.
The Vicar of Barnton takes a rentcharge of £I2 I0s a year.
The award made by J.J. Rawlinson of Graythwaite, barrister
22 October I844

The Apportionment

Henry White of Warrington, valuer, divided the £90 I0s among all the landowners according to an agreed scale.
Confirmed by the Tithe Commissioners 3I December I846.

The Barnton Tithe Schedule

Details from the schedule are set out as follows:

| Reference number to Tithe Plan 1843 | NAME OF LANDOWNER<br>Name of tenant | Description of property with state of cultivation | Acres | roods | perches |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

For example:

JAMES HUGH SMITH BARRY OF MARBURY, esquire

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 289 | William Clarke | Swine Park pasture and trees | 0 | 3 | 15 |

THE SCHEDULE MUST BE USED WITH THE ACCOMPANYING TITHE PLAN OF 1843. (back pocket of volume .)

BARNTON FREEHOLDERS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 69 | William Ashbrook | Croft meadow | 0 I | 30 |
| 263 | James Appleton | Inclosure or croft potatoes | 0 2 | 2 |
| I43 | James Holford as undertenant of the late John Whitley, esq. | Garden | 0 0 | I9 |
| I55 | James Harrison | Cottage and garden | 0 0 | 8 |
| I57-58 | Ashton Poole | Bell's croft potatoes | 0 2 | 0 |
| I78 | Themselves | Waste (uninclosed) | 0 3 | 0 |
| 229 | " | Waste (uninclosed) & Pinfold | I 0 | I7 |
| 243 | " | Waste (uninclosed) | 0 I | 3 |
| 248 | " | " | 0 2 | I9 |
| 265 | " | " | 0 3 | 24 |
| 357 | " | Barnton Moor pasture and waste | 2 3 | I |
| 26I | Benjamin Johnson | Meadow meadow | 0 I | 24 |
| 275 | " | Cottage and garden | 0 0 | 23 |
| 277 | " | Garden | 0 I | II |
| 35Ia | Trustees of Weaver Navigation | Towing path | 0 0 | 30 |
| 352 | " | Cottage and garden underlet to John Hough | 0 0 | I7 |
| 358a | " | Land in front of lock house and towing path | 0 0 | 32 |

BARNTON FREEHOLDERS or the Trustees of the late JOHN WHITLEY, ESQUIRE

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I51 | Ashton Lightfoot<br>William Fogg<br>Thomas Thompson<br>Samuel Hatton | Late Tomlinson's garden | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| I52 | Samuel Goodier | " | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| I56 | Themselves | Garden | 0 | 0 | 8 |

BARNTON FREEHOLDERS or JOHN HOUGHTON

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I49a | John Houghton | Garden | 0 | 0 | I8 |

BARNTON FREEHOLDERS or the TRENT & MERSEY CANAL COMPANY

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I54 | John Woodward | Garden | 0 | 0 | I8 |

TOTAL 9 acres 3 roods 29 perches

JAMES HUGH SMITH BARRY OF MARBURY, esquire

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 289 | William Clarke | Swine Park pasture and trees | 0 | 3 | I5 |
| I | James Robinson | Big Coal pit field pasture | I0 | 0 | 4 |
| 2 | " | Little Coal pit field meadow | 2 | 2 | 30 |
| 3 | " | Horse pasture garden and pits clover meadow & oats | 7 | 0 | 22 |
| 3a | " | Occupation roads and bridle way | 0 | 2 | 8 |

BARRY OF MARBURY (continued )

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | James Robinson | House Outbuilding Yard and garden | 0 | 3 | I5 |
| 5 | " | Far Barn Field oats | 6 | 0 | 9 |
| 6 | " | Near Barn Field meadow | 3 | 2 | 36 |
| 7 | " | Potatoe croft meadow | I | I | I6 |
| 322 | " | Mickley wheat and potatoes | 9 | 2 | I4 |

TOTAL 42 acres 3 roods 9 perches

THOMAS BEACH OF CANAL SIDE, boatman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20I | Himself | Cottage and garden | 0 | 0 | 5 |

TOTAL 5 perches

HENRY BENCE BENCE OF THORINGTON HALL, SUFFOLK, and EDMUND KER CRANSTOUN BACON OF BECCLES, SUFFOLK, heirs by marriage to the estates of the Starkies of Barhton, Huntroyde, and Preston.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 253 | Joseph Antrobus | Pear tree croft or Dodd's Yard meadow or pasture | 0 | 3 | 30 |
| I36 | Robert Poole | Two cottages & gardens underlet to James Percival and part unoccupied | 0 | I | 4 |
| 267 | " | Croft meadow | 0 | 2 | 32 |

BENCE AND BACON (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 268 | Thomas Bellot | Two cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | I0 |
| II | Ashton Poole | Further Moor Heys potatoes | 3 | I | 39 |
| I3 | " | Near Moor Heys wheat | 2 | 3 | I0 |
| 22 | " | Loont in Lower Town Field potatoes | 0 | I | 28 |
| 89 | " | Part of New field meadow | 3 | 2 | I7 |
| 93 | " | " | 3 | 2 | I6 |
| 96 | " | Withins meadow | 7 | 3 | 26 |
| 98 | " | East End of Wood Bank meadow | I | 0 | 8 |
| I17 | " | House Outbuilding Yard Garden & Orchard | 0 | 3 | I5 |
| I17a | " | Two cottages and gardens underlet to Robert Davies and William Leicester | 0 | 0 | I0 |
| I18 | " | Bank Croft pasture | 3 | I | I6 |
| I19 | " | Orchard | 0 | 2 | 25 |
| I63 | " | Cottage and garden underlet to Thomas Harrison | 0 | 0 | I3 |
| I64 | " | Pansey & towing path pasture | 6 | 0 | I8 |
| I70 | " | Croft or garden underlet to Thomas Harrison | 0 | 0 | 33 |

BENCE AND BACON (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 172 | Ashton Poole | Garden underlet to Christopher Robinson | 0 | I | 33 |
| 205 | " | Big Black Croft pasture | 8 | 0 | 17 |
| 207 | " | Little Black Croft pasture & gorse | 5 | 2 | 4 |
| 214<br>215 | " | Cottage in ruins and two gardens part underlet to Thomas Cliff | 0 | I | 14 |
| 216 | " | Swallow Croft oats | 2 | I | 16 |
| 223 | " | Common Lot oats | 0 | 0 | 35 |
| 302 | " | Round Hill clover meadow | I | I | 3 |
| 327 | " | Part of Brown Mares meadow | 0 | 2 | 10 |
| 328 | " | Part of Brown Mares oats and meadow | 11 | 3 | 17 |
| 330 | " | Bramows Hill pasture | 3 | 0 | 16 |
| 331 | " | Bramows pasture | 10 | 3 | 35 |
| 350 | " | Field & towing path potatoes | 2 | 2 | 9 |
| 206 | Trent & Mersey Canal Company as undertenants of Ashton Poole | Road over tunnel | 0 | I | 4 |
| 39 | Mark Rowlinson | Loont in Further town field wheat | 0 | 3 | I |
| 41 | " | Near Middle Loont in Further town field wheat | 2 | I | 23 |

BENCE AND BACON (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 52 | Mark Rowlinson | Loont in Near Town Field potatoes | 0 | 3 | 8 |
| 56 | " | Loont in Near Town Field clover meadow | 0 | 3 | 30 |
| 76 | " | Boardman Croft | I | 2 | I9 |
| 78 | " | Long Croft clover meadow | I | 2 | I2 |
| 82 | " | Crab Tree croft meadow | I | 2 | 20 |
| 85 | " | Mary Field meadow | 2 | 2 | I2 |
| 9I | " | Lydia Loont underlet to John Eaton pasture and meadow | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| I04 | " | Crocus potatoes | I | 3 | 22 |
| I25 | " | Croft & outbuilding pasture & meadow | I | 0 | 34 |
| I39 | " | House outbuilding Yard Garden and plantations | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 232a | " | Cockshuts field pasture | 5 | I | 8 |
| 280 | " | Croft underlet to William Hurstfield | 0 | I | I |
| 288 | " | Plantation & Rough Bank trees and pasture | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| 30I | " | Black Croft & Occupation road pasture | 3 | 0 | 36 |
| 303 | " | Former Acre pasture | 3 | 0 | 7 |
| 309 | " | Big Bottoms pasture | 3 | I | I3 |

BENCE AND BACON (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 310 | Mark Rowlinson | Little Bottoms pasture | 3 | 0 | 20 |
| 311 | " | Shutes oats and meadow | 6 | 2 | 3 |
| 339 | " | Loont Meadow in two parts meadow | I | I | 36 |
| 97 | Themselves | Withins Wood | I | 3 | 25 |
| 253a | " | Plantation at Pear Tree Croft | 0 | 0 | 22 |
| 332 | " | Plantation | 0 | 2 | 4 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | Ashton Poole | 81 acres 2 roods 3 perches |
| | Mark Rowlinson | 44 acres 3 roods 31 perches |
| | Remainder | 4 acres 3 roods 11 perches |
| | | 131 acres 1 rood 5 perches |

WILLIAM BIRKENHEAD OF LEFTWICH AND BARNTON, flatman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 227 | Robert Palin<br>John Bell<br>John Rose<br>John Holland<br>James Musgrove<br>Joseph Stockton<br>Joseph Bellott<br>Joseph Shaw<br>John Shaw | Nine cottages and gardens | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| 228 | Joseph Shaw | Croft meadow | 0 | 1 | 22 |

REV. E. W. BURTON, INCUMBENT OF BARNTON

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 147 | Himself | Church, yard, Parsonage House | 0 | 2 | 7 |

SAMUEL CAWLEY OF LEIGHS BROW, salt boiler

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 264 | Himself | Inclosure | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| 276 | " | Cottage and garden | 0 | 0 | 7 |

WILLIAM CLARKE OF THE ROPERY, manufacturer

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 200 | Himself<br>John Goodier<br>Joseph Carter<br>George Capper<br>Joseph Eyres | House beershop smithy two cottages cowhouse garden & coal yard | 0 | I | 30 |
| 95 | Himself | Withins<br>potatoes | 2 | 0 | I5 |

JOHN CROSS OF BARNTON & SANDIWAY, gentleman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2I0 | George Goodier | Garden or orchard | 0 | 2 | I8 |
| 2II | " | Croft<br>meadow | I | 0 | I3 |
| 2I2 | " | Cottage Outbuildings and yard | 0 | 0 | I0 |
| 2I3 | Joseph Hughes<br>James Harrison<br>Samuel Comb | Three cottages & gardens | 0 | 0 | 30 |

TOTAL I acre 3 roods 3I perches

THOMAS CROSS OF THE BARNTON MANOR then of Church Hulme, farmer

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 53 | Thomas Cross junior | Loont in near Town field clover meadow | I | 0 | 22 |
| 208 | " | Part of Near Big field potatoes and wheat | I | 0 | 28 |
| 209 | " | Part of far Big field meadow | I | 3 | 30 |
| 209a | " | Garden and plantation | 0 | 0 | I8 |
| I80 | Thomas Cross junior<br>Job Eaton<br>Thomas Goodyer<br>Unoccupied<br>Ambrose Cotterill<br>Peter Allen<br>Charles Holland<br>William Boden | Eight cottages and yards | 0 | 0 | I8 |
| I8I<br>I82<br>I83<br>I84<br>I85<br>I86 | John Merrall<br>George Tomlinson<br>Joseph Goodyer<br>John Harrison | Four cottages and gardens | 0 | 2 | 33 |
| I88 | Ambrose Cotterill | Garden in Near Big field | 0 | 0 | I4 |
| I89 | John Harrison | " | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| I90 | John Beech | " | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| I9I | John Platt | " | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| I92 | John Merrall | " | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| I93 | Moses Appleton | " | 0 | 0 | 2I |
| I94 | William Boden | " | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| I95 | William Keyes | " | 0 | 0 | I7 |
| I96 | Charles Holland | " | 0 | 0 | I8 |
| I97 | Peter Allen | " | 0 | 0 | I7 |

THOMAS CROSS (continued )

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I87 | Thomas Houghton | Three cottages and three gardens | 0 | 2 | 20 |
| I98 | William Clarke | | | | |
| I99 | William Heyes | | | | |

TOTAL 6 acres 2 roods I0 perches

JOHN DUNN & COMPANY OF NORTHWICH, brewers

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I64a | Samuel Eaton<br>John Gorst<br>Mary Capper<br>Thomas Haddock | Four cottages | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| I62a | William Sharps | Public House (sign of the Best Way House ) | | | |
| | | Outbuildings Yard | 0 | 0 | II |

JOHN DUNN OF NORTHWICH, brewer

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 343 | Himself | Meadow meadow | 5 | 3 | I7 |

JOHN SMITH ENTWISLE OF FOXHOLES IN ROCHDALE, esquire

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 | John Boardman | Brooms meadow and potatoes | 2 | 3 | 29 |

JOHN SMITH ENTWISLE (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 43 | John Boardman | Barley Loont meadow | 0 | 2 | 35 |
| 55 | " | Loont in Near Town Field potatoes | 0 | 3 | 21 |
| 102 | " | Kiln Loont underlet to John Eaton clover meadow | 0 | 1 | 37 |
| 236 | " | Further House Loont meadow | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| 239 | " | Near House Loont potatoes and meadow | 0 | 3 | 12 |
| 240 | " | House Field meadow and pasture | 2 | 0 | 22 |
| 241 | " | House Croft pasture | 0 | 0 | 24 |
| 242 | " | House Croft pasture | 0 | 1 | 28 |
| 249 | " | House Outbuildings Yard & Garden | 0 | 1 | 20 |
| 250 | " | Garden and pits | 0 | 2 | 5 |
| 324 | " | Leather Meadow meadow and oats | 2 | 1 | 0 |

TOTAL 12 acres 0 roods 5 perches

EDWARD GANDY OF CASTLE, Weaver flat master

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 108 | John Street<br>Peter Allen | Two cottages and gardens | 0 | 2 | 22 |
| 107 | Job Eaton & others | Outbuildings & garden | 0 | 0 | 22 |
| 109 | " | Barn Croft potatoes and vegetables | 0 | 2 | 24 |

JAMES HATTON OF SALFORD, iron & brass founder

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 179 | Thomas Cross junior | Brew house and garden | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 142 | James Hewitt<br>Thomas Barlow<br>William Eyes | Three cottages and gardens | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 141 | James Platt<br>Thomas Cliff<br>William Percival<br>Samuel Appleton | Four cottages and gardens | 0 | 1 | 13 |
| 140 | Charles Miller | Cottage and orchard | 0 | 1 | 20 |

TOTAL 1 acre 0 roods 2 perches

WILLIAM & RICHARD HICKSON OF BARNTON MOUNT PLEASANT, flatmen

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 167-69 | Themselves and others | Cottages and gardens | 0 | 1 | 21 |

JOHN & SAMUEL HOUGHTON OF BARNTON RAYS BROW LANE, flatmen

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 149 | George Houghton<br>John Houghton<br>Samuel Houghton | Three cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | 22 |

THOMAS HORTON OF LITTLE LEIGH, farmer

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 75 | Himself | Big Hedge potatoes | 2 | 1 | 19 |
| 234 | " | Oak Field clover meadow | 2 | 2 | 0 |

TOTAL 4 acres 3 roods 19 perches

PETER HIGHFIELD JACKSON OF COGSHALL, esquire

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | William Hughes | Long Hey & By pasture wheat and pasture | I2 | 0 | 34 |
| 7I | " | Horse pasture meadow | 3 | 2 | I2 |
| 2I7 | " | Garden Field pasture | I | 3 | 28 |
| 2I8 | " | Well Croft oats and potatoes | 4 | 3 | 25 |
| 2I9 | " | Sour Field clover meadow | 7 | 2 | 2 |
| 220 | " | Barn Field pasture | 9 | I | I0 |
| 22I | " | Hemp Yard pasture | 0 | 3 | 28 |
| 222 | " | House Outbuilding Yard and Garden | 0 | 3 | 24 |
| 23I | " | Cockshuts field pasture | 5 | 3 | 36 |
| 290 | " | Plantation open to field | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| 29I | " | Tunnel field pasture | 3 | 2 | 20 |
| 292 | " | Near Part of Oak Wood pasture | 7 | 3 | 24 |
| 293 | " | Poll field pasture | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| 304 | " | Further Part of Oakwood pasture | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| 305 | " | Lady hat pasture | 2 | 2 | 25 |
| 308 | " | Alderley Bank pasture | 2 | I | 3I |
| 3I2 | " | Great Meadow meadow | 4 | 2 | 30 |

PETER HIGHFIELD JACKSON (continued )

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 313 | William Hughes | Rushy Meadow meadow | 3 | 3 | 28 |
| 334 | " | Wallascoat Meadow meadow | 3 | 0 | 15 |
| 336 | " | " | 0 | 3 | 24 |
| 341 | " | " | 2 | 0 | 36 |
| 338 | Himself | Plantation | 3 | 1 | 37 |
| 8 | Peter Massey of Cogshall | Hob Riddings pasture | 6 | 0 | 14 |
| 12 | " | Part of Moor Field wheat | 3 | 2 | 29 |
| 14 | " | " | 3 | 1 | 26 |
| 291a | Trent & Mersey Canal Company | Road over Tunnel | 0 | 0 | 38 |

TOTAL 107 acres 1 rood 30 perches

SARAH JARDINE OF ANDERTON & BARNTON, widow of William Jardine, salt proprietor and flat owner

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 114 | William Allcock | Garden | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| 282a | Sarah Appleton | Croft or garden | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 115 | Joseph Bower | Garden | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| 113 | Richard Hickson senior | Garden | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| 115a | Richard Hickson senior, William Allcock, Joseph Bower | Three cottages | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 148 | Peter Hatton, Unoccupied | Two cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| 232 | Herself | House and garden | 0 | 1 | 0 |

SARAH JARDINE (continued )

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 269 | Thomas Haddock<br>Nancy Orme<br>John Tomlinson<br>Moses Appleton | Four cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | I2 |
| 270 | William Hurstfield<br>William Cliff | House and Garden<br>Cottage and Garden | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| 28I | William Hurstfield | Croft or garden | 0 | 0 | I3 |
| 36 | Martha Lightfoot | Little Brooms meadow | 2 | I | 3 |
| 278 | " | Garden | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| 279 | " | Late John Poole's Croft and road into it | 0 | 2 | 24 |
| 282 | " | Croft or garden | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| 266 | Edward Musgrove<br>Widow Eyes<br>Sarah Appleton | Three cottages and gardens | 0 | I | 29 |
| 273 | James Robinson | Cottage and garden | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 274 | James Lightfoot<br>Samuel Leicester<br>Thomas Appleton<br>James Appleton<br>John Garner<br>John Haddock<br>Martha Lightfoot | Seven cottages and gardens | 0 | I | 36 |
| 282b | James Poole | Croft or garden | 0 | 0 | 29 |

TOTAL 5 acres I rood I8 perches

GEORGE JOHNSON OF ANDERTON, yeoman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 72 | Himself | Ox House Loont meadow | 2 | I | 36 |

MARY KING OF LONDON, widow of Joseph King of London, cornfactor, HENRY BENCE BENCE, and EDMUND K.C. BACON, co-heirs to the Barnton estates of the Starkies and Basnetts

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I9 | Joseph Antrobus | Loont in Lower town field potatoes | 0 | 2 | II |
| 29 | " | Pushed ploughed Meadow pasture | 4 | I | 32 |
| 30 | " | Four acre or Horse Pasture pasture and potatoes | 8 | 3 | 0 |
| 3I | " | Big marled field pasture | 6 | 3 | I0 |
| 32 | " | House Meadow & Stack Yard meadow | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| 33 | " | Little Marled field pasture | 4 | I | 33 |
| 34 | " | Yew Tree croft meadow or pasture | 2 | 0 | 25 |
| 38 | " | Intake wheat oats and vetches | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| 44 | " | Loont in higher town field potatoes | I | I | 5 |
| 247 | " | Part of Ale House Field pasture | 3 | 2 | 27 |
| 25I | " | Spout Meadow Italian Rye | 3 | I | 39 |
| 252 | " | House Outbuilding yard and garden | 0 | 2 | 20 |
| 255 | " | Milking Bank and occupation road | 3 | 0 | I7 |
| 258 | " | Winstanley (part of ) pasture and oats | 5 | 3 | 23 |
| 284 | " | Winstanley (part of) wheat potatoes vetches | 4 | 0 | 8 |

KING, BENCE, and BACON (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 286 | Joseph Antrobus | Part of Swine park meadow | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 287 | " | " | 0 | I | I7 |
| 315 | " | Lock Meadow barley | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 317 | " | Garden underlet to John Boden | 0 | 0 | I0 |
| 318 | " | " | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 319 | " | Lock Brow meadow and gorse | 0 | 3 | 30 |
| 320 | " | Meadow beyond the weir meadow | I | 2 | 25 |
| 246 | Robert Poole | Part of Ale House field meadow | I | 0 | 30 |
| 254 | Themselves | Plantation | 0 | 0 | 34 |
| 259 | " | " | I | 2 | I8 |
| 285 | " | " | 0 | 2 | I0 |
| 316 | " | " & towing path | 6 | 0 | I9 |
| 284a | Trent & Mersey Canal Company | Road over Tunnel and garden the latter underlet to John Minshall | 0 | 2 | I7 |
| 318a | Trustees of River Weaver | Lock House & Garden underlet to John Bowden | 0 | 0 | I6 |

TOTAL Joseph Antrobus 66 acres I rood 34 perches
Remainder I0 acres I rood 24 perches

76 acres 3 roods I8 perches

KING, BENCE, and BACON AND TRENT & MERSEY CANAL COMPANY

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 283 | Themselves | Plantation | I | I | 26 |

THOMAS MADDOCK OF BARNTON BESTWAY, flatman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 165 | Himself | Two cottages and three gardens | 0 | 0 | 27 |
| 166 | John Parkes | | | | |

The trustees of the late THOMAS MORETON OF BARNTON ROPERY FARM AND OF WINNINGTON, yeoman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 58 | Charles Morrey | Shoulder of Mutton clover meadow | 0 | 3 | 26 |
| 92 | " | Lidgate Loont meadow | I | 3 | I6 |
| I00 | " | Kiln Loont Italian Rye grass | I | 0 | I7 |
| 204 | " | Philence (with rope walk therein) meadow | 4 | 2 | 23 |
| 297 | " | Orchard meadow and fruit trees | 0 | 2 | I |
| 297a | " | Garden | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 298 | " | Part of Hut Croft meadow | 0 | 3 | 30 |
| 299 | " | Part of Hut Croft oats | 2 | 0 | I5 |
| 300 | " | Philence pasture | 4 | 2 | 22 |
| 300a | " | Philence potatoes and wheat | 7 | 0 | 3 |
| 323 | " | Lower Meadow meadow | I | 3 | I5 |
| 325 | " | Shutes meadow | 4 | I | 6 |
| 296 | Charles Morrey & William Clarke | Two houses Outbuildings Yard Garden & part of Rope Walk | 0 | I | 24 |

THOMAS MORETON (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 225 | Peter Hatton<br>Henry Coldman<br>Thomas Bowyer | Three cottages Shop and gardens | 0 | I | 9 |

TOTAL 30 acres 3 roods 3 perches

The trustees of the NATIONAL AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II6 | Thomas Coume schoolmaster | Woodyer's Croft (now a garden & schools I846) | 0 | 2 | I |

SARAH PLUMMER OF NORTHWICH AND CHESTER, widow of Luke Plummer of Chester, excise officer

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I33 | William Clarke | Smithy Croft<br>Brick Yard & Fruit Trees | 0 | 2 | 39 |
| I34 | Thomas Edwards<br>John Vernon<br>Mary Ashley<br>Alfred Yates<br>John Palin<br>Thomas Eaton | One Shop Five cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | 28 |
| I35 | John Comb<br>Thomas Hickson<br>Joseph Hatton<br>George Woodward<br>William Kitch<br>John Bellet<br>George Tomkinson | Seven cottages and gardens | 0 | I | 3 |
| I37 | George Goodyer<br>Thomas Haslehurst | Two cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | 30 |

TOTAL I acre I rood 20 perches

JOHN PLUMB SENIOR OF PLUMBS FOLD, flatman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 226 | William Appleton<br>John Stockton<br>Samuel Bell<br>John Fogg<br>George Rider<br>William Riding<br>Joseph Williamson<br>Joseph Astles<br>Samuel Blaine<br>Hugh Peover<br>John Stockton<br>Levi Capper<br>John Plumb | House Ten cottages and gardens | 0 | 3 | I8 |

JOHN PLUMB JUNIOR OF PLUMBS FOLD, flatman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 224 | Himself | Cottage | 0 | 0 | I |

ASHTON POOLE OF BARNTON MANOR , farmer

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I38 | Samuel Cross<br>Ann Lamb<br>Thomas Cross<br>George Garton<br>James Shaw | Five cottages and gardens | 0 | I | I0 |
| 262 | Samuel Oakes | Croft meadow and potatoes | 0 | 0 | 37 |
| 27I | " | Cottage and garden | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 272 | Ellen Wilkinson & William Birkenhead | Two cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | I5 |

TOTAL 2 roods 27 perches

Representatives of the late JOHN, RICHARD, and JAMES POOLE OF LEIGHS BROW

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 260 | Sarah Appleton<br>Robert Poole | Croft<br>meadow and potatoes | 0 | 2 | 24 |

ROBERT POOLE OF LEIGHS BROW, Weaver flat master

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 245 | Himself | Garden | 0 | 0 | 28 |
| 238 | James Appleton | Long Croft<br>potatoes | I | 0 | 7 |

MARY ROBINSON OF ANDERTON, daughter of William Robinson of Anderton, yeoman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I5 | George Johnson of Anderton | Moor Heys<br>pasture | 5 | 2 | I |
| 50 | Nathaniel Morrey | Loont in Near Town Field<br>potatoes | 0 | I | 3 |
| I32 | Ralph Sandbach<br>Isaac Philips | Two cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | I5 |

TOTAL 5 acres 3 roods I9 perches

WILLIAM ROBINSON OF ANDERTON, son of William Robinson of Anderton, yeoman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I6 | Ashton Poole | Pit field<br>pasture | 4 | 0 | 32 |
| I7 | " | Moor Heys<br>wheat | 2 | 3 | 26 |
| I8 | " | Marl'd field<br>rye grass | I | 3 | 4 |

WILLIAM ROBINSON (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 42 | Ashton Poole | Road to Marl'd field rye grass | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 47 | " | Brooms potatoes | 2 | 2 | 7 |
| 48 | " | Pit field loont meadow | 0 | 0 | I7 |

TOTAL II acres 3 roods 2 perches

MARK ROWLINSON OF BARNTON, farmer

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 87 | Himself | Backside field potatoes | 2 | 2 | 37 |

Trustees of the RUNCORN TO NORTHWICH TURNPIKE ROAD

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I78a | Thomas Cleworth | Toll House | 0 | 0 | I |

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 99 | Lord Stanley | Plantation | 4 | 3 | I5 |
| I62 | " | Garden underlet to John Eaton | 0 | 0 | II |
| 348 | " | Plantation | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 45 | John Boardman | Loont in Higher Town Field wheat | 0 | 2 | I4 |
| I60 | William Clarke senior | Percival's Croft meadow | 0 | I | I0 |

STANLEY OF ALDERLEY (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | John Eaton | Loont in Lower Town Field wheat | 0 | 3 | 27 |
| 24 | " | Part of Long Brooms meadow | 2 | I | I5 |
| 35 | " | Big Brooms pasture | 5 | I | 32 |
| 37 | " | Part of Long Brooms meadow | 2 | 0 | I0 |
| 40 | " | Middle Loont in Further Town Field wheat | 0 | 2 | I5 |
| 54 | " | Fearney Croft oats | I | 2 | 27 |
| 73 | " | New Field meadow | 3 | 3 | 33 |
| 77 | " | Piece of field wheat | 3 | I | 28 |
| 79 | " | Outlet potatoes | I | 3 | 35 |
| 83 | " | Loont meadow | I | 3 | 5 |
| 88 | " | Barn field potatoes | 3 | 3 | I0 |
| 90 | " | Lydia Loont pasture and meadow | I | 0 | I7 |
| 94 | " | Withins potatoes | I | I | 8 |
| I0I | " | Kiln Loont clover meadow | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| I03 | " | Johnson's Croft potatoes | I | I | 8 |
| I05 | " | House Outbuilding Yard and Garden | 0 | I | 29 |

STANLEY OF ALDERLEY (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 106 | John Eaton | Big Garden | 0 | 3 | 14 |
| 294 | " | Oak Wood pasture or meadow | 1 | 1 | 20 |
| 306 | " | Part of Lower Lock Meadow pasture | 0 | 2 | 21 |
| 321 | " | Lock Meadow pasture | 5 | 0 | 29 |
| 335 | " | Part of Breeches Meadow arable | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| 339a | " | Part of Breeches Meadow meadow | 0 | 1 | 14 |
| 340 | " | Part of Breeches Meadow meadow | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| 354 | John Eaton senior | Bridge Meadow meadow | 1 | 0 | 27 |
| 111 | John Eaton senior<br>Job Eaton<br>Mary Worrall | Three cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 356 | William Moreton of Anderton | Winnington Meadow meadow | 9 | 2 | 22 |
| 353 | Himself | Plantation | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| 171 | Thomas Orme | Cottage and garden | 0 | 1 | 16 |
| 355 | Trustees of the River Weaver | Garden underlet to John Gough | 0 | 1 | 5 |

TOTAL John Eaton 42 acres 2 roods 31 perches
Remainder 26 acres 0 roods 7 perches

68 acres 2 roods 38 perches

JOSEPH STELFOX, son and heir of James Stelfox of Barnton, farmer, and of Pickmere, innkeeper.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I26 | Thomas Poole | Garden | | | |
| I27 | Charles Cawley | " | | | |
| I28 | Joseph Rowland | " | | | |
| I29 | Robert Palin | " | 0 | I | 2I |
| I30 | Widow Mills | " | | | |
| I3I | Joseph Boyer<br>Richard Tomlinson | " | | | |
| I3Ia | Thomas Poole and the above six others | Seven cottages | | | |

Trustees of the late JOHN TOMLINSON OF NORTHWICH, brazier

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23 | Charles Mellor | Further Field meadow, potatoes, oats | 2 | 3 | 36 |
| 235 | William Eyes | Square potatoes, wheat | 2 | 2 | I3 |
| 339b | Thomas Cross junior | Part of Loont Meadow potatoes | 0 | I | 27 |

TRENT AND MERSEY CANAL COMPANY

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I50 | John Woodward | Croft or Garden | 0 | 0 | I8 |
| I53 | " | Orchard | 0 | 0 | 30 |
| I59 | " | Garden | 0 | I | 2I |
| I74 | " | Cottage, Outbuilding, Garden | 0 | 0 | 26 |
| 20Ia | " | Workshop | 0 | 0 | I |
| 230 | " | Bell's Croft meadow | I | 2 | 33 |

TRENT AND MERSEY CANAL COMPANY (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I6I | Themselves | Canal and Towing path | 9 | 2 | 24 |
| I62b | " | Bank between public House & Canal | 0 | 0 | 28 |
| 285a | " | Plantation | 0 | 2 | 25 |
| 265a | Joseph Minshull | Cottage and garden | 0 | 0 | 3 |

TOTAL I3 acres 0 roods 9 perches

Trustees under the marriage settlement of OLIVIA TURNER, formerly wife of the late John Whitley the younger of Brookside in Abram, Lancashire, merchant, then wife of Edward Turner of Richmond, Surrey, gentleman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | In hand | Plantation | 0 | 3 | 8 |
| 60 | " | " | 0 | 2 | I4 |
| 62 | " | " | 0 | 0 | I2 |
| 64 | " | " | 0 | I | 34 |
| 65a | " | " | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 67 | " | " | 0 | I | 2I |
| 68 | " | " | 0 | 0 | 30 |
| I76 | " | " | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| I77 | " | Waste | I | I | 30 |
| 256 | " | Plantation | 0 | I | 25 |
| 332a | " | " | 0 | I | 27 |
| 332b | " | " | 0 | 2 | 7 |
| I0 | Nathaniel Morrey | Rush Riddings pasture | 7 | 0 | I0 |
| 2I | " | Loont in Lower town field potatoes | 0 | I | 35 |
| 25 | " | Little Brooms potatoes | 4 | 2 | I2 |

OLIVIA TURNER (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | Nathaniel Morrey | Big Brooms wheat | 6 | I | 29 |
| 46 | " | Loont in Higher town field potatoes | 0 | 2 | I8 |
| 49 | " | Loont in Near Town Field potatoes | 0 | 3 | I0 |
| 5I | " | " | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 57 | " | " | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 59 | " | Part of High Field pasture | 3 | 3 | 22 |
| 59a | " | Marl'd Field pasture | 3 | I | I3 |
| 6I | " | Part of Highfield clover meadow | I | 0 | 27 |
| 63 | " | Rushy field pasture | 6 | 2 | 6 |
| 65 | " | Wheat field clover meadow | 8 | 0 | I5 |
| 66 | " | Lower Outlet pasture | 3 | 3 | 37 |
| 70 | " | Near Outlet pasture | 3 | 2 | 38 |
| 74 | " | New field meadow and clover meadow | 6 | I | I5 |
| 80 | " | Merrishaw field pasture | II | 0 | 2 |
| 8I | " | Big field pasture | 5 | 2 | 37 |
| 84 | " | Pownall Meadow & Dunn's croft potatoes | 8 | I | 38 |
| 86 | " | Clover Croft meadow | 2 | 0 | 29 |

OLIVIA TURNER (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I20 | Nathaniel Morrey | Bank Croft potatoes | I | 0 | 35 |
| I2I | " | Orchard | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| I22 | " | Garden | 0 | 0 | 26 |
| I23 | " | House Outbuilding Yard & Garden | 0 | 2 | 27 |
| I24 | " | Hemp Yard | 0 | I | 24 |
| 203 | " | Riddings wheat | 6 | I | 2 |
| 233 | " | Leghough pasture | 6 | 3 | I3 |
| 237 | " | Boardman's loont in further House Loont underlet to John Boardman meadow | 0 | 0 | 38 |
| 244 | " | Nield's Yard meadow | I | 3 | 34 |
| 257 | " | Blackley pasture | 6 | 0 | 28 |
| 329 | " | Part of Wildgoose Meadow meadow | 0 | 3 | 33 |
| 333 | " | Part of Wildgoose Meadow wheat | 2 | I | I4 |
| 337 | " | Bramows oats | 8 | I | 36 |
| 84a | William Rutter<br>George Hindley | Two cottages and gardens | 0 | 2 | 32 |
| I45-46 | John Harrison<br>James Holford<br>George Carter<br>William Lightfoot<br>John Hickson<br>Samuel Goodyer<br>William Fogg<br>Ashton Lightfoot | Ten cottages, yards, gardens | 0 | I | 20 |

OLIVIA TURNER (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Samuel Hickson<br>Thomas Thompson | | | | |
| 173 | Thomas Caldwell of St. Helens, | Cottage Offices Brine Pit & Waste | 0 | 2 | 10 |
| 175 | Christopher Robinson, and undertenants | Salt works Brine pit Yard & Towing path | 1 | 2 | 34 |
| 344 | Christopher Robinson | Bramows Wood Brow meadow | 1 | 3 | 27 |
| 345 | " | " | 0 | 1 | 23 |
| 295 | William Clarke | Lough's Croft clover meadow | 1 | 0 | 28 |
| 346 | John Musgrove | Orchard | 0 | 3 | 29 |
| 347 | " | Cottage and garden | 0 | 0 | 8 |

TOTAL In hand 7 acres 3 roods 16 perches
Nathaniel Morrey 121 acres 1 rood 26 perches
Remainder 7 acres 3 roods 11 perches

137 acres 0 roods 13 perches

Trustees of the RIVER WEAVER NAVIGATION

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 307 | Themselves | Canal & Towing Path | 16 | 3 | 14 |
| 358 | " | Canal | 1 | 1 | 20 |
| 326 | William Clarke | Part of Shutes pasture | 0 | 2 | 15 |

Trustees of the RIVER WEAVER NAVIGATION & the Owners of land adjoining the River Weaver

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 314 | Themselves | Half of the River Weaver | 20 | 2 | 0 |

Trustees of the WESLEYAN METHODIST CHAPEL at Bells Brow

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 144 | Themselves | Chapel and garden | 0 | 0 | 19 |

Trustees of the WESLEYAN METHODIST ASSOCIATION CHAPEL in Oakwood Lane

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 226a | Themselves | Chapel and approach | 0 | 0 | 3 |

HENRY JACKSON WHITLEY OF RICHMOND, SURREY, infant son of the late John Whitley of Abram and Olivia, his wife, later Olivia Turner

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 351 | John Boardman | Part of Moor & Outbuilding<br>clover meadow & potatoes | I | 0 | 38 |

JAMES WOODWARD OF CANAL SIDE, boatman

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 202 | Himself | Cottage and garden | 0 | 0 | 23 |

THOMAS WOODYER OF WEAVERHAM, superintendent registrar

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 110 | John Knight<br>Samuel Farrall<br>George Hind | Three cottages and gardens | 0 | 0 | 16 |

THOMAS WOODYER: John & William Boardman, lessees

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 112 | William Boardman<br>William Roberts | Two cottages and gardens | 0 | I | I |

TOTAL AREA OF BARNTON (statute acres)

751 acres 0 roods 18 perches

The apportionment contains details of the sums which each landowner had yearly to give both to the Rector ( Christ Church, Oxford) and to the Vicar of Barnton. These sums have not been reproduced in this appendix.

# APPENDIX 7
## BARNTON'S VOTERS 1775-1841

Barnton's voters until 1832 never numbered more than ten men, although at least twenty additional non-resident voters were qualified through ownership of township property. Houses rather than land provided the residents with their qualification to claim a vote.(1) In 1777 six men could vote. Matthew French of Bestway, Abraham Ball and his son Abraham of Leighs Brow, Richard Amery of Oakwood lane, and John Pointon of the Bestway Inn owned houses with small gardens and orchards attached. Thomas Boardman of Rays Brow had a house and scattered lands on the Bestway hillside. Of these men only Abraham Ball worked as a tenant farmer. Pointon was a carpenter and alehouse keeper and Amery a shoemaker. The others were comparatively prosperous labourers in agriculture. By 1800 seven men had been admitted to the franchise. Six of these owned houses with small gardens. The seventh, Joseph Baxter owned two houses and one acre of land at Rays Brow which were the remains of Spencers estate. Among the seven voters were three tenant farmers, James Poole, William Plumbley, and Ralph Jackson, and an accountant and salt agent, William Leigh. Six of the men gained their living from the land rather than from

---

(1) Electoral and freeholders' lists have not survived but the land tax lists provide a good guide, when used with the title deeds and probate records, to the identity of freeholders. The inclusion of names in the following account up to 1831 does not imply that the people troubled to claim a vote or even to travel to Chester when they had a vote.

industry or trade. All save one served as members of the Town Meeting. But conspicuously absent were the majority of tenant farmers who served the township so faithfully throughout the year. By 1831 ten Barnton residents could claim a vote. Thomas Cross, John Eaton the elder, John and James Plumb, and James Poole owned two or more houses each. John Wilkinson, John Boardman, Joseph Ball,and John Houghton had one house. Thomas Moreton owned a thirty acre farm. Three of the voters, Cross, Poole, and Boardman, were tenant farmers, while Moreton remained Barnton's only resident owner of a large farm. Wilkinson worked as an agricultural labourer and Ball as a salt boiler. Houghton and the Plumbs were prosperous flatmen. John Eaton owned and managed the Bestway Inn and its neighbouring four cottages. By 1831 half the voters were engaged in industry or trade, though only four served as members of the town government. The tenant farmers, prosperous masters of Weaver flats, salt boilers, shopkeepers, and traders remained still unqualified. Among those unable to vote were William Clarke of the Ropery, John Eaton the younger of Hill Top farm, William Hughes, for many years Overseer of Barnton, Nathaniel Morrey of the Big Hey, Henry Steele, the schoolmaster and a member of an old-established farming family, James Hayes, blacksmith, and William Eyes, the tailor.

Between 1775 and 1832 there had been little increase in the small number of Barnton residents who could vote in Parliamentary elections. Houses with their gardens had always provided the main qualification to vote. In fact throughout the whole period only Thomas Moreton of all inhabitants owned a freehold landed estate of more than five acres. Hence although some tenant farmers had claimed votes by virtue of their

ownership of houses the majority of the farming community which governed Barnton remained excluded from national politics. This incidentally implies that Barnton's voters were generally free from the pressure which landowners could bring to bear upon their tenants at election times. Moreover tradesmen like Pointon, the alehouse keeper, and business men like William Leigh had long had votes. But the slow increase in the number of trading and industrial voters, despite Barnton's economic growth, suggest a massive and dangerous exclusion from politics of a powerful and prosperous section of the community. Yet these people paid rates and taxes. It was thus evident that Parliament could not long continue so unrepresentative of the nation. The Commons had so much power, remained responsible to so few people, and seemed to do so little for anybody. Therefore the whole fabric of English government fell into disrepute and this situation threatened to cause an upheaval which would destroy the whole political machinery of the state.

Reform was undertaken to a limited extent in 1832, after years of agitation, by the extension of voting rights to copyholders and leaseholders. A man had to pay a small fee to have himself added to an official register of electors, and until he appeared on this list he could not vote no matter how much property he owned or leased.(1) Cheshire was divided into two constituencies which each had two members. Hence men kept their two votes. But polling still took place openly

---

(1) 2 Will.IV c 45 (7 June 1832). The vote was extended to freeholders worth £10 annually. Holders of leases for sixty years at £10 rent or of leases for twenty years at £50 rent could also vote.

over, usually, two days. Bucklow Hundred lay in Cheshire North and the polling station for Barnton was situated in Runcorn. Though the reforms were very limited the Act did prove that the constitution was not unalterable and opened the way to further changes. Conservative Cheshire farmers saw their local political positions threatened despite the enfranchisement of many of their number. "This Reform Bill has done more mischief in the country than anything I know of; it has unsettled the minds of the people."(1)

Under the provisions of the Reform Act twenty seven people claimed a vote on account of Barnton property.(2) Sixteen owned freehold houses, three freehold land, and eight leasehold estates. Only sixteen of the voters actually lived in Barnton. Joseph Ball, John Boardman, John Eaton the elder, John Houghton, John and James Plumb, and James Poole claimed a vote because they owned houses in the township. Robert Poole of Leighs Brow had an acre of land near his home. The remaining eight men had leasehold estates, seven of which were farms and one a ropery and house near the canal settlement. The 1832 Act proved a great gain for the tenant farmers because none of the eight votes in 1832 had been qualified in 1831.(3) The position of householders was however little changed. In fact fewer men had votes

---

(1) PARL 1833 Agricultural distress, p 301 query 6190. Evidence of a Cheshire farmer.

(2) CRO EL (Barnton) 1832 .

(3) The two tenant farmers who had been able to vote in 1831 on account of their owning houses were no longer Barnton farmers in 1832. Moreton lived in Winnington in 1832.

BARNTON VOTERS

| WHERE PROPERTY SITUATED | 1.WHIG | | | 2. TORY | | | 3. TORY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | I | 2 | 3 | | | | I | 2 | 3 |
| Little Hey | NO VOTE | | | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Leighs Brow | X | O | O | | | | NO VOTE | | |
| Rays Brow | X | O | X | | | | NO VOTE | | |
| Rays Brow | NO VOTE | | | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Canal Side | NO VOTE | | | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Jacksons Green | NO VOTE | | | | | | X | O | O |
| Rays Brow | X | O | O | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Rays Brow | X | O | O | | | | X | O | O |
| Leighs Brow | X | O | O | | | | O | X | X |
| Canal Side | X | O | O | | | | O | X | X |
| Jacksons Green | DID NOT VOTE | | | | | | O | X | X |
| Tunnel Mouth | DID NOT VOTE | | | | | | X | O | O |
| Red Lion Inn | X | O | O | | | | X | O | O |
| Hill Top | X | O | O | | | | X | O | O |
| Alehouse farm | NO VOTE | | | | | | O | X | X |
| Bells Brow | NO VOTE | | | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Bells Brow | NO VOTE | | | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Bells Brow | NO VOTE | | | | | | O | X | X |
| Canal Side | NO VOTE | | | | | | X | O | O |
| Canal Side | DID NOT VOTE | | | | | | NO VOTE | | |
| Rays Brow | X | O | O | | | | O | X | X |
| Jacksons Green | O | X | O | | | | O | X | X |
| Leighs Brow | NO VOTE | | | | | | O | X | X |
| Townfields | X | O | X | | | | NO VOTE | | |
| Ropery | X | O | O | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Big Hey | X | O | O | | | | O | X | X |
| Rowlinsons | X | O | O | | | | NO VOTE | | |
| Jacksons Green | X | O | X | | | | NO VOTE | | |
| Jacksons Green | X | O | O | | | | X | O | O |
| Lydiart lane | X | O | O | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Manor | X | X | O | | | | O | X | X |
| Leighs Brow | X | O | O | | | | NO VOTE | | |
| Leighs Brow | DID NOT VOTE | | | | | | O | X | X |
| Bells Brow | NO VOTE | | | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Stoney Hey | NO VOTE | | | | | | O | X | X |
| Stoney Hey | O | X | O | | | | NO VOTE | | |
| Pittfields | DID NOT VOTE | | | | | | O | X | X |
| Rays Brow | X | O | O | | | | O | X | X |
| Barnton | NO VOTE | | | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Canal Side | NO VOTE | | | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| Rays Brow | X | X | O | | | | DID NOT VOTE | | |
| | 20 | :4: | 3 | | | | 7 | :14: | 14 |

# HOW BARNTON MEN VOTED IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS OF 1832 and 1841

| NAME | RESIDENCE | QUALIFICATION TO VOTE |
|---|---|---|
| Antrobus Joseph | Barnton | house, land at £50 rent |
| Ball Joseph | Barnton | house, own occupation |
| Baxter Benjamin | Kingsley | house and land |
| Baxter John | Kingsley | house and land |
| Beech Thomas | Barnton | house, own occupation |
| Birkenhead William | Leftwich | house |
| Boardman John | Barnton | house, own occupation |
| Boardman William | Anderton | house |
| Cawley Samuel | Anderton,Barnton | house |
| Clarke William | Barnton | rent charge on Ropery;smithy, |
| Cross John | Over | house house |
| Cross Thomas | Anderton,Holmes Chapel | houses |
| Eaton John senr. | Barnton | house |
| Eaton John junr. | Barnton | house,land at £50 rent |
| Entwisle John Smith | Rochdale | house and land |
| Hatton James | Broughton(Salford) | house and land |
| Hatton Peter | Sandiway | houses and land |
| Hatton Peter | Sandiway | houses and land |
| Holbrook Henry | Liscard | houses |
| Holbrook John | Macclesfield | houses |
| Houghton John | Barnton | house |
| Hughes William | Barnton | house,land at £50 rent |
| Jardine William | Anderton | house |
| Lowe Thomas | Northwich | land |
| Moreton Thomas | Winnington | house and land |
| Morrey Nathaniel | Barnton | house,land at £50 rent |
| Pigot Philip | Barnton | house,land at £50 rent |
| Plumb James | Barnton | houses |
| Plumb John | Barnton | houses |
| Plumbley Joseph | Bostock | houses and land |
| Poole Ashton | Barnton | house,land at £50 rent |
| Poole James | Barnton | house |
| Poole Robert | Barnton | lands |
| Reynolds Charles | Frodsham | share of lands |
| Robinson James | Barnton | house,land at £50 rent |
| Robinson Thomas | Barnton | house,land at £50 rent |
| Robinson William | Church Minshull | lands |
| Rowlinson Mark | Barnton | house,land at £50 rent |
| Turner Edward | Ryde(Isle of Wight) | lands |
| Woodworth James | Barnton | house,land own occupation |
| Woodyer Thomas | Weaverham | houses |

(The words 'NO VOTE' mean that the man was not qualified to vote at that date. Each man could vote twice, but not for the same candidate. )

through their ownership of houses in 1832 than in former years.(1) The reform became important in at least two ways. It brought into active national politics the farmers who for more than two centuries had governed the township. It reduced the opportunities for corruption by the provision of official electoral lists. On the other hand not one in ten adult males had the vote even after 1832. Flatmen, prosperous salt workers, ropers, carpenters, shopkeepers, thrifty labourers in industry and agriculture, the mass of the population that created economic growth and wealth, that rebuilt the township, and incidentally that organized the three thriving religious societies in Barnton, all were excluded from political activity until they had purchased their own houses. Thus in 1841 there were still only sixteen voters resident in Barnton, and all possible men had registered themselves.

The first elections under the new act took place before Christmas 1832. North Cheshire had three candidates for the two seats. William Tatton Egerton of Tatton and John Tollemache of Tilston and Peckforton represented the Tories. The Whig candidate was Edward John Stanley (1802-69) of Alderley, son of Lord Stanley the owner of Barnton Hill Top farm. Stanley served in various political offices between 1834 and 1866 becoming eventually President of the Board of Trade and Postmaster General. The three candidates were nicely chosen by the county families. Tollemache, the only south Cheshire landowner, remained virtually certain

---

(1) Thomas Cross, a voter in 1831, moved from Barnton. John Wilkinson, another 1831 voter, was possibly not sufficiently prosperous to claim a vote in 1832.

of defeat but needed to serve his political apprenticeship before contesting and winning South Cheshire in 1841.(1) Thus a Stanley and an Egerton, a Whig and a Tory, would be elected in 1832. Had two Whigs stood two Whigs would probably have been elected. Hence the necessity became apparent of limiting the freedom of Whig voters by providing only one candidate. Second votes were either not used or given to the Tory. When the polling days arrived only Robert Poole of the sixteen Barnton voters did not travel to Runcorn to record his vote.(2) Thirteen men voted Whig. Only two of the thirteen used the second vote on behalf of a Tory. The two remaining voters, William Hughes and Thomas Robinson, gave one vote each to a Tory candidate.(3) The result in Barnton and in North Cheshire was an overwhelming victory for Stanley, while Egerton took the second seat. The Whig majority in the Commons supported a new government which began a series of reforms to bring the country into the industrial age. The work of Parliament became more real than ever before as Barnton people had to obey the provisions of acts concerning the poor, highways, tithe commutation, registration of births, marriages, and deaths, the constabulary, and education.

The North Cheshire seats were not contested at general elections in 1835 and 1837. By 1841 the county families and the voters had grown tired of Whigs and reform. Opinion swung to the Tories even though Sir

---

(1) He represented South Cheshire 1841-68 and West Cheshire 1868-72.

(2) CRO PB (Barnton) 1832.

(3) They were tenants of Tories and Robinson was a strict Wesleyan. But men who voted Whig were in similar positions.

Robert Peel's Conservative party threatened to be more active and forward-looking then the exhausted Whigs under Melbourne had lately been. At the 1841 election Stanley and Egerton defended their seats but George Cornwall Legh of High Leigh was put up as the second Tory in place of Tollemache.(1) It became reasonably certain that Stanley could not win. But Egerton was sufficiently liberal and Leigh sufficiently conservative to ensure that Cheshire's traditional embracing of a wide choice of political opinion would be respected. Only twelve of Barnton's sixteen resident voters travelled to Runcorn in 1841.(2) Nine gave one vote to each of the Tories. Only one of these nine, William Hughes, had been a Tory in 1832. Three men remained true to the Whigs. It is significant of the growth of party spirit and organization that no voter in 1841 shared his votes between Whig and Tory.

---

(1) Like his ancestors Legh had served Bucklow Hundred as a magistrate and had regularly been consulted by Barnton officers.

(2) CRO PB (Barnton) 1841 and EL (Barnton) 1841. Joseph Antrobus of the Little Hey, one of the men who did not vote, had fourteen leasehold houses in Warrington and voted in Lancashire county elections as a result. Only the distance between polling stations prevented a man's using as many votes as he desired at election time. LRO EL (West Derby) Warrington 1835-60.

# APPENDIX 8

## The tenant farmers

The widespread influence of the tenant farmers cannot properly be understood without an examination of the careers of a dozen of the most influential and long serving

of these men. Abraham Ball (1712-95), for instance, became one of the Starkie family's tenants in 1738 and retired only in 1790. The son of William and Hannah Ball, keepers of the Leighs Brow alehouse since the beginning of the eighteenth century, Abraham served five times as Constable, became several times Overseer and Supervisor, represented Barnton at Budworth Vestry Meetings, and travelled throughout Cheshire on behalf of Barnton people. In Leighs Brow during 1775 he erected the first two houses to appear in Barnton after the canal building. From Ball[1] descended not only the family of Ball of Leighs Brow, salt workers, but such farming families as Poole, Darlington, Morrey, and Massey and other poorer people like the Buckleys, Cawleys, Farrels, and Lightfoots. Ball's daughter Sarah (1746-1811) married Charles Leigh of High Leigh and thus brought to Barnton the man who fathered perhaps the most influential and famous Barnton inhabitant of the period 1775-1845, William Leigh of Leighs Brow. Another daughter Frances (1750-1816)married James (1758-1837) son of James Poole of Antrobus, yeoman. Poole took over Balls farm after his father-in-law's retirement and began a long career of political service of the township at the same time. He helped to found the Barnton Methodist society and served as an original trustee of the chapel in 1812. Ashton, the son of James, followed his father at Balls in 1822 before obtaining

---

(1) CRO Will of Abraham Ball of Barnton, yeoman, (infra) prob. 14 December 1795. His personalty amounted to only £35. Ball's son never became a farmer. The biographical notes on all the farmers are from TB Barnton Town Book passim; PRGB Churchwardens' accounts 1750-1850 passim; CRO QDL (Barnton) 1775-1845, which indicate the length of any farmer's tenure.

the tenancy of the Manor in 1831.(1) A member of the Town Meeting, a township officer, a Methodist and chapel trustee in 1836, a landowner and builder of houses,(2) Ashton Poole (1781-1856) increased his wealth and social standing by marrying Anne daughter of Thomas Hughes the elder of the Hall farm.(3) The Hughes family from both Bostock and Cuddington had obtained an initial three years' lease of their farm in 1806. Thomas Hughes served as a member of the Town Meeting, Overseer from 1817 to 1820, and a representative in law cases of Barnton people. His son, William (1783-1856), took over the farm in 1827. Neither he nor his family took any part in the religious revival in the township. He did not build houses or purchase land. In this, as in his ~~uncompromisingly old-fashioned~~ political views, he proved exceptional among farmers.(4)

(1) Balls farm went in 1837 to Mark (1807-80) son of Jeffery and Ann Rowlinson of Great Budworth. Rowlinson, a Baptist, had farmed small pieces of land in Barnton since 1827.

(2) He acquired three houses in Leighs Brow, formerly belonging to the Balls, and built six houses and a shop at Bells Brow.

(3) Poole's daughters married well also. Mary (1822-91), for example, married into the Morrey family. CRO Will of Ashton Poole of Barnton, gentleman, prob. 12 January 1857.

(4) CRO Will of Thomas Hughes the elder of Barnton, farmer, prob. 6 June 1828. Personalty £300. Will of William Hughes of Barnton, farmer, prob. 13 February 1857. Admon of Daniel Hughes of Barnton, merchant's clerk, prob. 24 March 1856. Admon of Joseph Hughes of Barnton, labourer, (infra) prob. 20 February 1857. Joseph and Daniel were William's younger and poorer brothers. CRO PB (Barnton) 1832, Hughes remained strictly a Tory even in this year of Whig victory.

A similarly inactive man, and a relation through the Pooles, farmed the Big Hey estate from 1827 to 1855. Nathaniel (1788-1855) the son of Josiah and Betty Morrey of Antrobus had little time for politics, because he cultivated one hundred and twenty acres and fathered fourteen children. Two of his sons took over the Ropery and Manor estates.(1)

The tenants of the Big Hey had however usually been among the most important of Barnton people. They had been at the centre of township life, had served on the Town Meeting and as officers of the township, and had regularly represented Barnton at Budworth Vestry Meetings. Thus Joseph Plumbley, tenant from 1755 to 1783, and his son Richard, tenant until 1795, could hardly have been busier in their political duties. Richard, who later moved to Stanthorne where his father owned property, married Catherine daughter of John Cross of the Manor.(2) William Plumbley (1752-1802), Joseph's second son, remained at the Lowndes farm. He owned or built houses in Lydiart and Rays Brow lanes, and opened a canal side smithy about 1790.(3) William Plumbley's sister married James Stelfox of Northwich and Barnton, farmer, in 1786. A son of this marriage, James

---

(1) Josiah Morrey had long been a tenant farmer in Comberbach. CRO Will of Nathaniel Morrey of Barnton, farmer, prob. 3 August 1855.

(2) CRO Will of Joseph Plumbley of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 23 February 1784. Joseph owned land in Witton also. Will of Richard Plumbley of Stanthorne, yeoman, prob. 14 May 1832.

(3) His widow Hannah retained the farm until its sale in 1820. CRO Will of William Plumbley of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 22 November 1802 and 10 December 1833. Will and admon of Hannah Plumbley of Barnton, widow, prob. 11 October 1833.

the younger (1787-1832), had everything for his happiness except health. He received his mother's portion of Joseph Plumbley's estate. From his uncle, Peter Plumbley of Allostock, he obtained money and the Lowndes farmhouse in 1830. His grandfather, James Stelfox of Dunham Massey, died in 1817 leaving James a large part of one of the most prosperous yeomen's estates in Cheshire. James himself became a first trustee of the Barnton Methodist chapel and proved an indefatigable traveller on official township affairs. From 1808 to 1816 he had thetenancy of the Little Hey estate, but moved to Pickmere to keep an inn when his health deteriorated. He died in 1832 aged forty four years.(1) James' uncle, Richard, had been followed at the Big Hey by Thomas (1739-1820) son of Thomas Eaton of Crowley and Antrobus. Eaton had taken on the Hill Top farm in 1781 and continued as tenant there when he obtained the Big Hey in 1795. A life-long member of the Town Meeting, Barnton's representative at Budworth, Overseer between 1801 and 1805 and again between 1813 and 1817, Constable in 1781-82 and from 1801 to 1820, assessor and collector of all the taxes, Eaton regularly travelled the county, even when over seventy

(1) CRO Will of James Stelfox late of Crowley but now of HighLeigh, gentleman, prob. 28 March 1818. Will of James Stelfox of Pickmere, innkeeper, prob. 9 July 1832. Among his successors at the farm was Joseph (1780-1859) son of Rev.Philip Antrobus of Lower Whitley. This family had property in Warrington, Joseph's son, John Woodward Antrobus, purchased the Little Hey from its two owners in 1861 and 1873. LRO EL (West Derby) Warrington 1835-60. LRO Bence Thomas muniments, abstract of title, 1866, quoting conveyance of 8 May 1861; and partition, 23 January 1873.

years of age, on behalf of the township. In addition to his management of two farms, he brought up twelve or more children, and the thirty nine members of the Eaton family in Barnton on census night, 1851, had descended from Thomas.(1)

Both the Plumbley and Eaton families married into the family of Cross of the neighbouring Manor farm. John Cross from Rostherne had obtained the Manor in the spring of 1778. He served the usual political offices but his main work lay in the reorganization of the Starkie estates in Barnton.(2) His eldest son, Thomas, however fully engaged in all possible township activities. A member of the Town Meeting, a town officer many times, expert on land tax matters and the removal of paupers, an early member of the Methodist society, and an original trustee of the chapel, Cross purchased land in Barnton and on one portion erected fifteen dwellings between 1809 and 1842. He died in retirement, and virtually

---

(1) CRO Will of Thomas Eaton of Barnton, farmer, prob. 31 January 1821. PRO Census 1851. The Big Hey was run for the remaining seven years of Eaton's tenancy by his grandson, John son of Ephraim Haslam. Another grandson John Eaton (1804-60) ran the Hill Top from 1820.

(2) CRO Will of John Cross of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 23 March 1789. He had money lent out at interest, money about the house, farm and household equipment, and a "bed of hangings". His widow Elizabeth continued to work the land until her son came of age.

in poverty, at Holmes Chapel in January 1847.(1) Thomas Cross could claim to be related to most of Barnton's leading farming families. Through his wife, Anne daughter of John Tomlinson of Northwich, brazier, he could also claim kinship with not a few of the district's prosperous craftsmen and traders. The important but relatively impoverished family of Boardman of Barnton counted among the relations of Thomas Cross. John Boardman (1761-1838) of Kennerleys tried for forty years to improve the economy of his twelve acres' smallholding. The years of agricultural distress after 1820 forced most of the family into industry and John's son finally saw the farmhouse become an inn, The Travellers Rest, in 1848.(2)

A man obtained a farm through a limited number of courses. Very often marriage proved profitable so long as the woman possessed either the right to the farm tenancy after her parents' retirement or sufficient influence to procure another estate for her husband. In this way James Poole obtained Balls farm after his father-in-law's retirement. Thomas Steele of Gorstage married into the powerful and wealthy Barnton family of Amery and thus obtained a fourteen years lease of Stoney Heys estate.(3)

(1) CRO Will of Thomas Cross of Holmes Chapel, farmer, (infra) prob. 17 July 1847. CRO EL South Cheshire Northwich (Church Hulme) 1842. Cross had moved in 1831 to Anderton before going to Park Mill at Holmes Chapel. All his money seems to have been tied up in real property by 1847 so that he possessed at his death only a few sovereigns.

(2) PRO Census 1851. Kennerleys became known as Alehouse farm after this.

(3) CHAMBERS MM Lease of "messuages in Barnton and Coggeshall called Stoneheys and Davies Heys also a meadow called Mickley Meadow", 17 November 1739.

Thomas' son, Richard, retained Stoney Heys until 1800.(1) Many of Barnton's farmers had similarly merely inherited their estates, for the landowners did not ordinarily turn out families who had worked satisfactorily. Thus Thomas Cross had the Manor from his father, Richard Plumbley had the Big Hey from Joseph, his father, and Ashton Poole had Balls farm from his father. There is hardly an instance of any man who found he could work his way up from labourer to tenant farmer without some kind of family influence. Of the forty six different men who farmed the twelve largest estates from 1775 to 1845, not one could boast that his father had been an agricultural labourer. The thirty three men who had been born outside Barnton obtained their farms either through marriage or relationship with the powerful Barnton families or through their fathers' influence and wealth. The remaining men merely inherited their land.(2)

The tenant farmers did not however form a group which remained in any way static or impregnable. Some members, like Ashton Poole, managed to obtain better and bigger farms, and thus to give their children an excellent start in life, while others moved into industry and even into casual labouring. Peter (1775-1851) son of Thomas Eaton of the Big Hey became an agricultural labourer and his brother Samuel (1781-1853) tried to make a living as a Northwich publican. Neither became even moderately prosperous, nor could either make the good marriage which meant so much

---

(1) CHAMBERS MM Rentals of Barry estates, 1739-1800.

(2) Inheritance from husband to wife and from brother to brother can be instanced. Hannah Plumbley ran Lowndes farm after her husband's death.

to younger sons of tenant farmers.(1) Samuel indeed returned to Barnton and eventually found himself at Tunnel Mouth as a hauler of boats and a salt labourer. Abraham Ball (1712-95) had a daughter Catherine. Unlike her sisters she did not find a husband of her own social standing. Indeed after giving birth to a bastard boy in 1757(2) she married a labourer and became ancestor of the families of Buckley and Lightfoot, salt workers. Thomas Poole (1721-97) of Pooles smallholding on the Starkie estate strove most of his life to enter the farming group. But all except one of his children entered either the Weaver carrying trade or the salt works, and he himself became, at least temporarily in his last years, a flatman.(3) The only son to remain in agriculture managed to obtain for his son, James, the tenancy of the Little Hey. This career did not last long and by 1825 James Poole had to move to Leighs Brow as an agricultural

---

(1) PRO Census 1841, 1851. Samuel married Mary daughter of Robert and Mary Bell of Bells Brow, PRW christenings 1803.

(2) James Ball of Witton and Barnton, rockgetter, claimed poor relief from Barnton on account of his residence there as a boy. In later life he returned to Barnton.

(3) The smallholding lay at Tithe 136 near the Catch Well. Poole became a member of the Town Meeting soon after his arrival from Witton in 1744. But his house was not one of those which gave its occupiers the duty of serving as a town officer. See also TD HASLEHURST Abstract of title to one-quarter of freehold lands in Barnton, quoting deeds which show the tenancy of Thomas, his son John, and grandson James for Starkie lands between 1744 and 1825. This Poole family could claim no direct relationship with the Pooles of Balls and Manor farms.

labourer.(1)

The forty six tenant farmers provided the township with political, social, and religious leaders. Although so few of these men had been born in Barnton, and only one could trace his Barnton connections as far back as 1690, the farmers without exception served as members of the Town Meeting, took their turn to attend Vestry Meetings, and became township officers. Only twelve of them owned property but between them erected one-third of all buildings that appeared in Barnton between 1775 and 1845. Few had trading or industrial interests, and only John Newall combined farming with a craft. The families of the tenant farmers, related to most other families in the township in one way or another, provided a means by which people could acquire the latest opinions, the latest prejudices, and the latest fashions. They quickly accepted and supported the rise of Methodism and in founding the Methodist society in Barnton helped to steer the religious revival in the township on a safe course between unreformed Anglicanism and unbridled anarchy.(2)

227. * * *

(1) John, Thomas' son, followed his father at the smallholding. James, born in 1789, stayed only about five years at the Little Hey. QDL (Barnton) 1817-24. PRO Census 1841. James' son, Thomas, became a flat horse driver.

(2) James Robinson of Gorstage who took over Stoney Heys from his brother in 1834 remained one of the handful of men who stayed with the Wesleyan society when most of the congregation left for the independent society.

SOURCES

# SOURCES

## MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

BM London British Museum.
BTC British Transport Commission.
BWB British Waterways Board, Waterways Museum.
CHAMBERS Chambers & Company of Northwich, solicitors.
CL Cornwall-Legh of High Legh House.
C and NW Soc. Chester and North Wales Archaeological Society.
CRO Cheshire County Record Office.
ENTWISLE Entwisle Estate Office, Foxholes in Rochdale.
FR Records of the Society of Friends.
JRL John Rylands Library, Manchester.
LCRO Liverpool City Record Office.
LRO Lancashire County Record Office.
METH Methodist Church Records.
MISC Documents from miscellaneous sources.
N. Sup. Reg. Northwich Superintendent Registrar.
POOLE Miss Ada Poole of Barnton.
PR Parochial Records.
PRO London Public Record Office.
SWIFT Rev. Wesley Swift.
TB Barnton Town Book.
TD Title deeds to Barnton property.
WHITLEY John D. Whitley of Hatton cottage, esquire.
YORK BIHR York University Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.

## PRINTED SOURCES

1. Acts of Parliament.
2. Contemporary printed books.
3. Directories.
4. Contemporary printed maps of Cheshire.
5. Contemporary periodicals, records of debates, and minutes of conferences.
6. Parliamentary papers.
7. Books published since 1850.
8. Periodicals published since 1850.

## VISUAL SOURCES

1. Churches and schools.
2. Commercial and industrial property.
3. Dwelling houses.
4. Farm buildings.
5. Land.
6. Lanes and tracks.
7. Museums.

# MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

BM LONDON BRITISH MUSEUM.

Harl. Harleian manuscripts: conveyances, leases, and miscellaneous documents, including the I620 survey of estates in Swinehead, Barnton, and Comberbach, I549-I629.

BTC BRITISH TRANSPORT COMMISSION (WATERWAYS) LIVERPOOL.

TM TRENT AND MERSEY CANAL.

acts Acts of Parliament, I766-I846.

deed New number 77 Conveyance by the Bence family of pasture land over Barnton Tunnel, together with Saltersford Tunnel End cottage, with plans, 30 December I885.

1778 Survey Plan of the Navigation from the Trent to the Mersey, I778, especially
map number 58 part of Barnton and Anderton,
map number 59 part of Barnton and Little Leigh.
The plans include a schedule of proprietors who found their land taken by the company, the area purchased, the price paid by the company, and a list of portions returned.
Inserted is a list of lands,and an agreement between Richard Pennant of Winnington, esquire, and Hugh Henshall, the canal engineer, relating to the exchange of lands on Barnton Moor Hills, I7 October I775.

I8I6 Survey A Survey of the Grand Trunk Canal from Stone to Preston Brook, I8I6, revised I8I9, especially
volume I map numbers LXXXI and LXXXII.
These maps embrace a schedule of landowners who sold property to the canal company and details of all the company land in the township.
volume II by Richard Yates of Oswestry, land surveyor, differs only in size and colouring from volume I.

WN WEAVER NAVIGATION

acts Acts of Parliament, I72I-I840.

deed 3I new number Conveyance by Sir J.T. Stanley of Alderley of closes called Rickhurst and Horse Hay measuring over two acres, 20/2I June I833.

32 new number Conveyance by Peter Jackson of Cogshall Hall, esquire, of parts of meadows, Pools Wood, Sandy or Lady flat flat, and Bonny acre, amounting to five acres, 6/7 November 1833.

33 new number Conveyance by John Whitley of Ashton in Makerfield. esquire, of parts of Wildgoose meadow and Acorn wood, one acre, 13/14 December 1833.

34 new number Conveyance by Thomas Moreton of Winnington, yeoman, of parts of Lower Hey or Moor Hey, one and a half acres, 9/10 December 1833.

35 new number Conveyance by William Lowndes of Ramsdell Hall, esquire, and his mortgagee, of part of Alderey or Weaver meadow, measuring over two acres, 18/19 December 1833.

36 new number Conveyance by Edmund Bacon of Beccles, esquire, of a moiety of Big Bottoms, the Shuttes, Brown Mare, and Island or Lock Meadow, two acres, 21/22 June 1837.

37 new number Conveyance by Henry Bence Bence of Beccles in Suffolk, esquire, of the other moiety of Starkie land mentioned in deed 36, 21/22 June 1837.

The land conveyed by deeds 31-37 had to be taken for the new Weaver cut. The documents contain important summmaries and schedules of title deeds of the respective estates quoting back as far as 1607.

51 new number Conveyance by Edmund Starkie of Huntroyde, and Samuel Basnett of Wrenbury, of land near Ware falls at Saltersford, with plan, 29 September 1764.

52 new number Conveyance by John Gresty the younger of Bostock, cheesefactor, and his mortgagee, of land on the moor called Bridge meadow, 7 October 1769.

Map Book of maps showing Weaver properties in Cheshire, compiled about 1840 and including

p.19 "Plan of lands Exchanged between the Trustees of the River Weaver Navigation and Sir John Thomas Stanley Part. in pursuance of a general order of the

Committee" made in I8I0 and I8I3 relating to land in Witton, Anderton, and Barnton, with schedule.

p.20 "Plan of land part of Barnton Moor and part of the Island of Winnington, the former taken about the year I770 for New Cut and New Lock; the latter in I826 for New Weir", with schedule.

p.2I "Plan of lands in ...Barnton and Weaverham ... for makinga cut or canal", I833-34, with schedule.

p.22 "Plan of land in Barnton purchased from Edmund Starkie esq. and Mr. Samuel Basnett...for a cutt and lock at Saltersford in I764".

p.23 "Plan of Land part of Lock Meadow in Barnton for new weir I8I4", with schedule.

I882 Map Book of maps showing Weaver properties in Cheshire surveyed by William Beckett, I882.

See also BWB British Waterways Board, formed in I963, for additional waterway records.

BWB BRITISH WATERWAYS BOARD, WATERWAYS MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES, STOKE BRUERNE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Plan of the River Weaver from Winsford to Frodsham Bridge 1763.

W.D. 64/80 Reports of the condition of the Locks, Weirs, and other Works on the Weaver Navigation, 20-21 June 1781-28-29 June 1809. These reports contain detailed plans of the various installations on the river, and show adjoining lock houses and roads.

W. 63/III Survey of the River Weaver Navigation, June 1839.

See also BTC British Transport Commission(Now dissolved) for further waterway records.

CHAMBERS CHAMBERS AND COMPANY OF NORTHWICH, SOLICITORS
( formerly Brayne and Chantler, attorneys) .

DBB DARLINGTON OF BARNTON BELLS BROW.
Conveyance for the purpose of mortgage of Darlington's Bells Brow estate, 30 April I825.

H HOLBROOK OF NORTHWICH.
Correspondence and accounts relating to the bankruptcy of Samuel Holbrook of Northwich Town Bridge, brewer, I828.

LB LEIGH OF BARNTON LEIGHS BROW.
Conveyance by John Poole of Little Leigh, yeoman, to William Leigh of Barnton, gentleman, of land at Leighs Brow, 28 February I82I.
Accounts of Winnington Salt Works belonging to Leigh and Lowe, I8I2-25.
Transfer of mortgage relating to property at Leighs Brow formerly belonging to William Leigh, then to William Jardine, with detailed schedule of the estate, 2 May I845.

LO MUNIMENTS OF THE FAMILY OF LEIGH OF OUGHTRINGTON.
Queries and statements of case concerning the enclosure of Barnton common land, I702.
Will of George Leigh of Oughtrington, made I9 September I76I.
Marriage settlement of John Leigh, relating to Barnton Hall farm, I7 April I762.
Note on enclosures of the common by the canal company after I775, I793.
Conveyance of the Hall farm estate, 23 November I807.

MM MUNIMENTS OF THE FAMILIES OF MARBURY, BARRYMORE, BARRY, AND SMITH BARRY OF MARBURY.

Deeds of title to Stoney Heys and Mickley Meadow in Barnton, 6 November 1430- 21 March 1680/81.
Lease of New Intacke and Salthousewaybancke, 1 April 1642.
Map of the Marbury estates, 1687.
Agreement for the sale of Marbury estates, n.d.,c.1716.
Rentals and leases of the Marbury estates, 1739-1810.
Sale of Mickley Meadow, 1881.

NSP NORTHWICH SALT PROPRIETORS' BUSINESS RECORDS.

Articles of agreement between Lancashire and Cheshire salt traders to regulate the salt industry, 1805.
Letter book of the Northwich salt proprietors formed into a society for the improvement of the British salt trade, 12 March 1806- 1 January 1807.
Minute book of the salt traders' society, 9 January 1808- 4 January 1813.
Agreement between Northwich and Liverpool salt merchants to regulate the salt industry, 3 January 1817.
Correspondence, deeds, and account books of various salt proprietors, 1740-1890.

SHT STANLEY OF BARNTON HILL TOP.

Particulars of sale with plan of the Hill Top estate, April 1884.

WA MUNIMENTS OF THE FAMILY OF WARBURTON OF ARLEY.

Note of Barnton tithe payments, n.d.,c.1720.
Agreement concerning the upkeep of the highway between Winnington Bridge and Marbury, 1771.

WN WEAVER NAVIGATION.

Map of the River Weaver, n.d.,c.I794.
Conveyance by the owners of the Manor estate of lands near Saltersford for the new cut, 22 June I837.
Correspondence and legal papers relating to land on Island Meadow needed for the new Saltersford locks, I872.
Notice of jury concerning the removal of turnbridges giving access to land on Barnton island, 28 March I879.

LB LEIGH OF BARNTON LEIGHS BROW.

Accounts and correspondence of Winnington Salt Works in the possession of William Leigh of Barnton and John Lowe of Chester, I8I0-25.
Briefs, correspondence, plans, accounts, and miscellaneous documents in the case of William Leigh v. Peter Jackson of Cogshall concerning land enclosed from the common at Leighs Brow, I824.
Account book of personal and business matters of William Leigh, I802-25.
Details of Margaret Leigh's income, n.d. c. I825.
Briefs, correspondence, and accounts in the case of John Lowe of Chester v. the representative of William Leigh's executors concerning the running of Winnington Salt Works, I828.
Briefs, correspondence, and miscellaneous documents in the case of Sir J.T. Stanley v. Leigh and Lowe concerning Winnington Salt Works, I830.
Award in the case of Stanley v. Leigh and Lowe, I83I.
Award in the case of Lowe v. Leigh's representatives, I832.
Particulars, conditions, and details of sale with prices of various lots of Leigh's estate in Barnton, I832.
Sale held...by Auction on the Premises of the late Mr. Will$^{m}$ Leigh showing the proceeds , personal goods, 23-24 January I832.
Legal Papers concerning the liabilities of Leigh's estate, I832.
Abstracts of title, estate of William Leigh I770-I825, I832.
Cash book of Leigh's executors, January I832.
Return for legacy duty of details of William and Margaret Leigh's property, I833.

Declarations, bonds, correspondence including the problem of John Poole, a transported criminal, about the legacies left by William Leigh, I825-54.

CL CORNWALL-LEGH: MUNIMENTS OF THE FAMILIES OF LEIGH OF SWINEHEAD AND CORNWALL-LEGH OF HIGH LEGH AT HIGH LEGH HOUSE NEAR LYMM.

SCh Swinehead Chartulary drawn up by George Owen, York Herald, in 1619, with a survey of Leigh estates added in 1620, and with later genealogical entries made between 1624 and 1662.
The Chartulary contains copies of the deeds of the family of Leigh of Swinehead relating to Barnton Hall farm and includes:
Lease for ten years to George Bould of Berneton, gentleman, 2 November 1483.
Grant to trustees of estates in Legh, Swynhead, Sworton, Comburbach, and Berneton, 16 November 1485.
Bargain and sale of the manor of Beryngton, 10 December 1519.
Inquisition post mortem of Richard Leighe of Swinhead, gentleman, of three messuages, sixty acres of land, twelve acres of meadow, sixty acres of pasture, two acres of wood ground, and twenty acres of turbary in Barneton, 9 April 1552.
Inquisition post mortem of Richard Leighe of Swinehead, gentleman, of three messuages, one cottage, forty acres of land, twenty acres of meadow, thirty acres of pasture, ten acres of wood ground, and thirty acres of heath, furze, and turbary in Barneton held of Nicholas Starkie of Simonswood, gentleman, 12 April 1583.
Inquisition post mortem of Richard Leighe of Swinehead, gentleman, of land in Barneton, 26 August 1619.

SCh Swynehead Survey, 1620 "A Survey and View of a Mansion called Swynehead Hall with the demeasnes and tenements thereunto belonging lyeing in the townеshipps of

Highleigh, Barnton, and Comberbatch... being the possessions and auncient inheritance of Matthew Leigh who holdeth the same in free and common socage by the rent of I2d. and a rose yearly; taken there by Inquisition and a particular mensuration of all and every the messuages lands and tenements, of, within, and belonging to the same. Anno Domini I620."
The survey provided the names, acreages, and varying states of cultivation of all the fields in Barnton belonging to the demesne and to the tenants' farms. The Chartulary contains also a pedigree of the family of Leigh of Swinehead, showing connections with the Berthingtons of Barnton. The arms of the Berthingtons appear in the Leigh arms.

J.P. Earwaker History of the Le gh family of East Hall, High Legh, I894, (original manuscript).

C and NW Soc. CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, PUBLIC LIBRARY, CHESTER.

Society manuscripts: Grant to John Donne of Utkynton of land in Barnton and elsewhere in Cheshire, I October 1479.

Earwaker manuscripts; bundle 6: Return of papists in Great Budworth parish, 1706.

CRO CHESHIRE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, THE CASTLE, CHESTER.

1. Ecclesiastical records.
2. Quarter Sessions records.
3. Official records.
4. Family and estate records.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL: records of the old diocese of Chester, formerly preserved at the Diocesan Registry, Abbey Gateway, Chester.

EDA.1 Bishops' Act Books, 1502-1939.

EDA.2 Bishops' Registers, 1525-1944.

EDC.8 Marriage licences for Cheshire and the southern half of Lancashire, 1606-1850.

EDV.7 Queries preparatory to Visitation of parishes by the bishop of Chester, 1778-1825.

1/115 Great Budworth parish, 1778.
1/116 Little Leigh chapelry. 1778.
2/115 Great Budworth parish, 1789.
2/80 Little Leigh chapelry, 1789.
3/79 Great Budworth parish, 1804.
3/293 Little Leigh chapelry, 1804.
4/31 and 53 Great Budworth parish, 1811.
4/147 Little Leigh chapelry, 1811.
6/191 Great Budworth parish, 1821.
6/200 Little Leigh chapelry, 1821.
7/79 Great Budworth parish, 1825.

EDV.8 Terriers of ecclesiastical income and property of Great Budworth, 10 September 1789 and 26 July 1825.

Tithe 1843-46 Barnton Tithe Plan, 1843, Award, 22 October 1844, and Apportionment, 1846, confirmed 31 December 1846. The scale of the plan is twenty six inches to one mile. General references in the footnotes to the plan appear as Tithe 1843, to the

award as Tithe 1844, and to the apportionment as Tithe 1846. Whenever the word "Tithe" is followed by a number from I to 358 the reference is to that parcel, whether land or house, on the plan of 1843 and in the 1846 apportionment.

Will Wills proved and
Admon Administrations granted at the Chester Diocesan Registry, 1545-1858. These documents relate mainly to Cheshire families. The date in the reference is that of probate not of will making.

Bishops' transcripts of Cheshire parish registers, 1590-1870. These registers have been used mainly for family histories and pedigrees, and detailed references have generally not been given in the text or footnotes.

2. QUARTER SESSIONS : records of the courts in session at Chester, Knutsford, Middlewich, and Northwich, with documents deposited with the Clerk of the Peace.

EL Electoral lists of Cheshire townships, mainly in the Bucklow Hundred of Northern Cheshire, unless otherwise stated, 1832-1910.

PB Poll Book of the Cheshire North county election (Runcorn polling station for Barnton township), 20 and 21 December 1832.

Poll Book of the Cheshire North county election (Runcorn polling station for Barnton township), 8 and 9 July 1841.

Q Quarter Sessions indictments, petitions, presentments, recognizances, and miscellaneous documents, 1610-1860. The documents are bound together in files and the footnote references give the date of the Sessions, box number, file number, and document number, The files include also:

Certified statements concerning the loss of salt in transit on the Trent and Mersey Canal, the River Weaver, and the River Mersey, I782-I820.
Calendars of prisoners to appear at the Sessions, I775-I845.
Lists of jurors, I775-I845.
Settlements and removal orders, certificates, and other documents, I750-I830.
Legal papers concerning bastardy cases, I750-I830.
Sunday plan of the Northwich Methodist Circuit, I8II-I2.

QDD Enrolled deeds, I7I5-60.

QDL Land Tax assessments for Cheshire townships, mainly in Bucklow Hundred of North Cheshire, unless otherwise stated, I780-I83I.

QSO Order Books of the magistrates in session, I770-I860.
The sessions records also embrace:
Maps of the Runcorn to Northwich turnpike road, surveyed by James Gilbert, with reference books, 28 September and 29 December I8I8.
Annual accounts of the Runcorn to Northwich turnpike trust, 30 October I827- 23 October I83I.
Alehouse recognizances for Bucklow Hundred, Barnton township, I64I-I828.
Return of Places of Meeting for religious worship of Protestant Dissenters, I8I4-27.
The Names of the places certified to the Sessions for Divine Divine and Religious Worship, I689-I853.

## 3. OFFICIAL.

Will Wills proved and
Admon Administrations granted in the Chester division probate registry, I858-I940.

WN WEAVER NAVIGATION.
Minutes Minute Books of the Committee of the Trustees

for the River Weaver Navigation, 1721-1895.
Tonnage and account books of the Weaver Navigation Trustees, 1730-1845.

## 4. FAMILY AND ESTATE.

DAL Aldersey of Aldersey and Spurstow: settlements and miscellaneous documents relating to the family of Basnett of Barnton and Spurstow, 1678-1705.

DDX/34 Stanley of Alderley: recovery of lands in Cheshire, 12 April 1824, and schedule of deeds, 1845.

DSA Stanley of Alderley: deeds of title and family settlements concerning the Cheshire estates including property in Barnton, 1763-1871.

for the River Weaver Navigation, 1721-1895.
Tonnage and account books of the Weaver Navigation Trustees, 1730-1845.

## 4. FAMILY AND ESTATE.

DAL Aldersey of Aldersey and Spurstow: settlements and miscellaneous documents relating to the family of Basnett of Barnton and Spurstow, 1678-1705.

DDX/34 Stanley of Alderley: recovery of lands in Cheshire, 12 April 1824, and schedule of deeds, 1845.

DSA Stanley of Alderley: deeds of title and family settlements concerning the Cheshire estates including property in Barnton, 1763-1871.

ENTWISLE ENTWISLE ESTATE OFFICE, FOXHOLES IN ROCHDALE.

Muniments of the family of Entwisle of Foxholes, including Thomas Wilson Familiae Lancastriensis , copied by Robert Spencer the younger of Leeds for John Entwisle, 1790. This gives the pedigree and family details of the Entwisles of Chester and Rochdale, owners of Boardmans estate in Barnton from the eighteenth century,

FR RECORDS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, MORLEY MONTHLY MEETING HOUSE, WILMSLOW.

QM Cheshire Cheshire and Staffordshire Quarterly Meeting.
Record of Sufferings of Friends in Cheshire, 1755-92.
Register of births, 1647-1837, marriages, 1655-1837, and burials, 1655-1837, within the district of the Cheshire and Staffordshire Meeting, copied and collected together, 1837.

MM Frandley Frandley and Nantwich Monthly Meeting.
Record of Sufferings, 1755-90 and 1800-53.
Minutes of the Men's Meeting, eight volumes, 1724-1831.

PM Frandley Frandley Preparatory Meeting
Record of Sufferings, 1748-93.
Minutes, four volumes, 1751-1844.

JRL JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.

DDCL CORNWALL-LEGH OF HIGH LEGH : FAMILY MUNIMENTS.

Land Tax assessments for Bucklow Hundred, I738-77.
Legh subsidy rolls for Bucklow Hundred, I576, I663, and I664.
Miscellaneous deeds of title which include:

750 Quitclaim by Geoffrey to Gralam of Morton of Alerisheye and Milnemedue in Barnton, n.d.,c.I320.

286 Inquisition post mortem of Matthew Leigh of Swynhead, gentleman, whose estates in I622 included three messuages, one cottage, and one hundred and thirty acres of land in Barnton, 27 March I623.

287 Marriage settlement between Richard Leigh of Swinehead and Jane daughter of Henry Legh of High Legh relating to Barnton Hall estate, I4 October I658.

293-305 Common recoveries, agreements, and mortgages of the Swinehead estate including Barnton Hall farm, 6 April I657- 4 June I669.

326-27, 332 Conveyance of Swinehead estates to the Leghs of High Legh, I-3 May I688.

E Mss ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS.

984 Poll Book of Bucklow Hundred electors in the Cheshire County election, I727.

I097 Rental of Sir J.T. Stanley's estates in Cheshire for I78I, ending 25 March I782.

LCRO LIVERPOOL CITY RECORD OFFICE, CENTRAL LIBRARY,
LIVERPOOL.

Coleman deeds (Cheshire):

72, 168, 198 Common recoveries with double voucher of a messuage and land at Barnton Ashhills in the possession of Hugh Warburton of Chester, 9 March 1742/43 - 8 April 1743.

LRO LANCASHIRE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, SESSIONS HOUSE, PRESTON.

1. Ecclesiastical records.
2. Quarter Sessions records.
3. Solicitor's accumulation.
4. Estate and family records.

1. ECCLESIASTICAL: records of the old diocese of Chester, later the dioceses of Liverpool and Manchester, formerly preserved at the Abbey Gateway, Chester.

DRL Bishops' transcripts of parish registers formerly in Chester then in Liverpool diocese, 1740-1840.

DRM Bishops' transcripts of parish registers formerly in Chester then in Manchester diocese, 1740-1840. The transcripts have been used mainly for family histories and detailed references have not generally been given in the text.

Will Wills proved and
Admon Administrations granted at the Chester Diocesan Registry, 1675-1858. These documents relate mainly to Lancashire families with Barnton connections. Act books with indices concerning the probate of wills, 1680-1858. These books relate to the whole of the old Chester diocese.

2. QUARTER SESSIONS: records of the Court in session in south Lancashire and documents deposited with the Clerk of the Peace at Preston.

EL Electoral lists of townships in Blackburn, Leyland, Salford, and West Derby Hundreds, 1832-65.

PDS/72 "Map of the line of the proposed road from Hale Bank to Runcorn Gap or Ferry... with the line of the Bridge across the River Mersey to Runcorn and from thence to Northwich", surveyed by James Gilbert, with reference book, September 1818, four inches to one mile.

PDS/73 Deviation of the first proposed line of the Hale Bank to Northwich road, with reference book, September 1818.

QDL Land Tax assessments for townships in Salford and West Derby Hundreds, 1781-1831.

QDV/16/4 Register of Boats, Barges and Vessels on Inland Navigations, 1795.

QJI/1 Indictment rolls, 1775-1845.

QSB/1 Recognizances, 1775-1834.

QSO/2 Order Books of the magistrates, including certified statements concerning the loss of salt in transit on Lancashire and Cheshire waterways, 1775-1845.

QSP Petitions to the magistrates for specified action, 1775-1845.

## 3. SOLICITOR'S ACCUMULATION.

DDCs Henry Cross and Company of Prescot, solicitors: leases, copartnership agreements, and related documents concerning the business interests of the Caldwell, Bromilow, Speakman, and Whitley families, 1801-42. The accumulation includes:

2/1-6 Accounts of Anderton New and Old Salt Works, 1810-12.

2/7-8 Law case of West versus Chantler concerning the Anderton works, 1809-14.

## 4. ESTATE AND FAMILY RECORDS.

DDBt Bence Thomas of London: conveyances, exchange, and abstract of title relating to land used by the Weaver Trustees for new cuts and locks at Saltersford, 1837-79.
abstract of title, with schedule, of the Little Hey estate, 1808-61.
partition of Little Hey estate, with schedule and plan, 23 January 1873.
abstract of title of Thomas Eaton for Tomlinson's Loont meadow, 1823-70.
miscellaneous conveyances of the Starkie estate in Barnton, 1871-1910.

DDCl/1094 Clifton of Lytham: Honor Of Halton court roll, 1355-56.

DDGe Gerard of Ashton in Makerfield: leases, rentals, and related documents concerning the business and private transactions of the families of Ashton and Caldwell of St, Helens, 1801-69.

DDK/1742/4 Stanley, Earls of Derby: map of the intended turnpike road from Runcorn to Northwich, surveyed by James Gilbert, engineer, September 1818, one inch to one mile.

DDK/L/373,395 Stanley, Earls of Derby: leases of property in Bickerstaffe to John Whitley of Ashton, 1815 and 1828.

DDPt/45/uncalendared Petre of Dunkenhalgh: grant of lands in Barnton belonging to the Starkie family of Huntroyde, 4 February 1408/9.

DDX/207/86 Hugh Henshall's plan of the Great Navigable Canal from the Trent to the Mersey, n.d.,c.1766.

DDX/292/uncalendared Percival of Farnham: pedigree of the family of Bassnett of Barnton, 1535-1657, with additions to the nineteenth century. This is a photograph of the original document.

METH RECORDS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH.

BMT BARNTON MOUNT TABOR METHODIST CHURCH, formerly the Wesleyan Methodist Association society.

Application for Registration as a place for the worship of an Assembly of Protestants, 28 September 1836, with certificate of registration, 13 October 1836.

1836 trust deed Conveyance in trust of land near Plumbs Fold for a tabernacle to be used by the Barnton Wesleyan Methodist Association society, 31 October/ 1 November 1836.

Conveyance to James Shaw of Barnton, waterman, of additional land, 22 December 1865.

1866 trust deed Conveyance of land to new trustees, 1866.

1867 trust deed Conveyance of land to the old trustees, 18 May 1867.

CC CHAPEL COMMITTEE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH, based in Manchester Central Hall.

Manchester Circuit Book, 1763-68.

NBM NORTHWICH BOURNE METHODIST CHURCH, embracing Primitive Methodist and Wesleyan Methodist Association records.

Circuit book Account Book for Circuits, Branches, and Missions, Northwich Primitive Methodist Circuit, December 1851-June 1872.

Baptisms solemnized in the Northwich Tabernacle, 1838-1944.

NLR NORTHWICH LONDON ROAD METHODIST CHURCH, formerly Leftwich Wesleyan Chapel.

1812 trust deed Conveyance in trust of Swarbricks garden to the Barnton Methodist Society, I July 1812.

1836 trust deed Appointment of new trustees for the Wesleyan society property, 5 May 1836.

1863 trust deed Conveyance in trust of land in Lydiart lane to the Barnton Primitive Methodist Society, 10 June 1863.

1875 trust deed Appointment of new trustees for the Wesleyan society property, 24 March 1875.

CB I Northwich Society and Circuit Account Book, containing receipts and expenditure from 1798 onwards of local societies like Barnton, 1793-1811.

CB II Northwich Circuit Book, containing statistics of society membership and contributions, 1806-44.

CB III Northwich Circuit Book, 1845-85.

CS I Northwich Circuit Schedule Book, containing lists of members, those on trial, removed, or expelled, Band members, and leaders' names, 1838-45.

CS II Northwich Circuit Schedule Book, 1845-85.

Minutes Minutes of the Northwich Circuit Local Preachers' Quarterly Meeting, 1833-73.

Register Register of baptisms in the Northwich Circuit, 1838-60.

Plan of land in Lydyett lane for a chapel, n.d., c.1863.

MISC DOCUMENTS FROM MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES.

WARRINGTON LIBRARY.

I 303, MS 840 Petition of the several Gentlemen Traders and Manufacturers of the Town of Warrington against the proposed Staffordshire canal, I766.

NORTHWICH BRUNNER LIBRARY.

A 54 Particulars and conditions of sale of the Manor and Advowson of Witton, and estates in Cheshire, with plans, 29 September I828 and I2 January I829.

Minute Book of the Trustees of Witton School, I6 October I784- I9 February I835.

MESSRS. AUSTIN OF NORTHWICH, AUCTIONEERS.

Notice of sale of Barnton common land, I859.

CHESTER CITY LIBRARY.

Survey and Valuation of the Estate John Leigh Esq. in Barnton with plan 24 May I765.

Survey and Valuation of an Estate in Barnton belonging to John Leigh Esq. in the holding of Ralph Jackson I797.

N. Sup. Reg. NORTHWICH SUPERINTENDENT REGISTRAR OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Certificates of birth, marriage, and death of Barnton people from 1837 onwards.

POOLE MISS ADA POOLE OF BARNTON.

Entries of births and deaths of the Poole family in their Bible, 1776-1855.

PR PAROCHIAL RECORDS.

B BARNTON PARISH CHURCH OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST, parish created in 1843.

Parish Registers, 1842-1940.
Monumental inscriptions in the graveyard, 1843-1939.

GB GREAT BUDWORTH PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MARY AND ALL SAINTS, ancient parish embracing Barnton.

Parish Registers, 1558-1890.
Monumental inscriptions in the graveyard, 1690-1860.
Barnton Tithe Plan, 1843, Award, 1844, and Apportionment, 1846. See under CRO Cheshire Record Office for details about the tithe records.
Churchwardens' accounts, including an 1833 survey of Barnton, 1738-1853.

LL LITTLE LEIGH PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, formerly a chapel of ease to Great Budworth.

Parish Registers, including burials only from 1842 onwards, 1782-1882.
Monumental inscriptions in the graveyard, 1842-1920.

W WITTON PARISH CHURCH OF ST. HELEN, formerly a parochial chapel to Great Budworth.

Parish Registers, 1690-1894.
Monumental inscriptions in the graveyard, 1680-1935.

PRO PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

Barnton Hearth Tax, 25 March I664 (E/I79/86/I45).
Domesday Survey, Cheshire, Tunendune Hundred, Bertintune, I086.
Rolls of the Cheshire County Court, I28I/82-I830.
Chancery close rolls containing conveyances of property, especially for charitable uses, and including the foundation deed of Barnton National School, I0 October I844, butembracing a vast range of topics such as specifications of inventions, I775-I845. (C 54).
Close roll conveyances of bankrupts' estates containing the sale of the Bells Brow estate belonging to William Darlington of Comberbach, chapman, 7 November I829, enrolled I0 September I830, (C 54/I0793).

Census I84I Barnton census return, giving the name, age, county of birth, and job of each inhabitant, 6 June I84I. (HO I07.92).

Census I85I Barnton census return, giving the name, age, address, job, and birthplace of each inhabitant, 30 March I85I. (HO I07.2165).

Census I86I Barnton census return, giving the name, age, address, job, and birthplace of each inhabitant, 7 April I86I. (RG 9.2600).

SWIFT REVEREND WESLEY F. SWIFT OF LYTHAM ST. ANNES.

Preaching plan of the Northwich Wesleyan Methodist Circuit, January-June 1808 (copy).

TB BARNTON TOWN BOOK IN THE CARE AND POSSESSION OF MRS. J. MEAKIN OF RUNCORN ROAD, BARNTON.

C Accounts of the constables of Barnton, 29 October I73I-October I738, October I739-October I774, October I775-24 October I823 (pages 7, 7a, 7b, 8-I2, I7, 2I-22, 99-207).

M Miscellaneous memoranda and assessments, I702-I85I, which include:
p.4. Register of paupers, I74I.
p.I2. The ordering of Town Meetings, I February I738/39.
p.22. Disbursements of Cooke's charity, I738-39.
p.233. Assessment for poor relief taxation of Barnton estates, I746.
p.39I. Receipts and expenditure for Barnton Moor, I828.
p.393. Rules for the spending of public money, 7 August I747.
p. 394. Rules for the spending of public money, I4 November I738.
p. 395. Register of paupers, I5 May I742 and I9 April I744.
p. 397-98. The order in which every estate provided the township officers, I7I5-52.
p.399. The obligation of each estate in turn to provide a man to serve the town offices (copied from the old Town Book), I702.
p.400. The estates which pay chief rent to the Halton Honor authorities, I736.
p.40I. The town mize, or list of taxable tenements in Barnton, I736, with additions for I8I6 and I85I.

O Accounts of the Overseers of the poor of Barnton, I9 April I733-5 April I735, April I736-8 April I774, I5 April I779-2I April I785, April I80I-23 April I820 ( pages I3-I6, I8-20, 2I2-390).
These accounts include payments for highway work, I80I-20.

S Accounts of the supervisors of Barnton highways, October I732- October I773 (pages 5-6, 23-58).

Letter from the Overseer of Monks Coppenhall to William Hughes, Overseer of Barnton, concerning the settlement of William Palin, 7 March I832.

TD TITLE DEEDS TO BARNTON MESSUAGES AND ESTATES.

| | |
|---|---|
| ALSOP | see Leighs Brow. |
| ASTLES | Smithy Fold. |
| CHARLTON | Oakwood Lane. |
| CROSS | Princes Park, Old Boat Road, Tunnel Top, Canal Side, and Woodworth Bridge. |
| CURBISHLEY | Rays Brow Lane. |
| DALE | Bestway. |
| FRITH | Canal Side and Woodwarth Bridge. |
| GARDNER | Bestway. |
| GLEAVE | Canal Side. |
| GODDARD | Tunnel Top. |
| GOULBORNE | Rays Brow Lane. |
| GREEN | Rays Brow Lane. |
| GREENALL, WHITLEY | Bestway. |
| HALL | Old Boat Road and Bells Brow. |
| HARDMAN | Old Boat Road. |
| HASLEHURST | Princes Park and Estates. |
| HAYES | Rays Brow Lane and Lydiart Lane. |
| HEATH | Smithy Fold. |
| JONES | Bells Brow. |
| LEIGH | Bells Brow. |
| MATHER | Leighs Brow. |
| NEILD | Old Boat Road. |
| PALIN | Tunnel Top. |
| PRICE | Bells Brow. |
| ROBERTS | Bestway. |
| SAMPSON | Lydiart lane, Bells Brow, Tunnel Top. |
| SHARPS | Bells Brow. |
| SMEETON | Bestway. |
| SNELSON | Canal Side and Tunnel Top. |

WALKER see Old Boat Road.
WEEDALL Bestway.
WEST Plumbs Fold.
WHITAKER Smithy Fold.
WRIGHT Canal Side.

The information below details the tithe number, nineteenth century name, date of erection, and modern address of the house. Then follow the covering dates of the deeds and the name and address of the owners who kindly made the documents available. Estate documents and probate records have been included in some cases. For wills two dates have been given. Under the covering dates column the date on which the will was signed has been used, while the date of probate has been added for ease of reference.

## CANAL SIDE.

200 Smithy House (1837) 22 Canal Side, 1834-56. Mr. and Mrs. F. SNELSON of 20 Canal Side.

200 Clarke's house (1838) 20 Canal Side, 1834-56. Mr. and Mrs. F. SNELSON of 20 Canal Side.

201 Beech's new house (1836) 10-12 Canal Side, 1836. Mr. and Mrs. T. WRIGHT of 6 Westfield Grove. Mrs. Elizabeth GLEAVE of 41 Grange Road.

201 Musgrove's (1852) 14 Canal Side, 1852-66. Mrs. E. GLEAVE of 41 Grange Road.

202 Beech's (1795, 1832) 16-18 Canal Side, 1837. CRO Will of John Beech of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 21 May 1841.

TUNNEL TOP.

200 Reapers Arms and cottages (1833, 1836, 1846) 22-26 Tunnel Top, 1834-1924. Mr. and Mrs. F. SNELSON of 20 Canal Side. Mrs. Mary SAMPSON of Lytham St. Annes.

187, 198-99 Thomas Cross' houses (1810) 32-36 Tunnel Top, 1809-81. Mr. R. GODDARD of 34 Tunnel Top. Mr. and Mrs. S. PALIN of 32 Tunnel Top. Mr. S. and Miss E. CROSS of 7 Runcorn Road.

OLD BOAT ROAD.

180 Thomas Cross' houses (1814, 1832) 24-30 Tunnel Road, 1-7 Tunnel Road, 1809-83. Mr. J. HARDMAN of White House, Antrobus. Mr.S. and Miss E. CROSS of 7 Runcorn Road.

181-84 Thomas Cross' houses (1842) 15-21 Tunnel Road, 1842-86. Mr. S. and Miss E. CROSS of 7 Runcorn Road. Mr. P. and Mrs. E. WALKER of Runcorn Road.

185-86 Cross' new row (1880) 9-13 Tunnel Road, 1881-1928. Mr. J. NEILD of Northwich, demolition contractor.

178-79 Coal yard, brewhouse, Navigation Inn, and cottages (1859-60) 10-22 Tunnel Road, 1783-1879. Mr. Howard HALL of Cuddington and Barnton, coal merchant. CRO Will of John Darlington of Marbury, gentleman, prob. 8 April 1784.

WOODWORTH BRIDGE.

173 Salt works office (1750) 7 Runcorn Road, 1830-1903. Mr. S. and Miss E. CROSS of 7 Runcorn Road. See also ESTATES Big Hey.

I74 Canal company house (I790) 9 Runcorn Road. Previously rented, no old deeds, modern deeds begin I95I. Cheshire County Surveyor.

I78a Toll house and turnpike row (I820, I853) II-2I Runcorn Road, I852-56. Trustees of the late Harold FRITH per Messrs. A. and E. Fletcher of Northwich, solicitors.

BELLS BROW.

I38 Poole's row (I834, I847) 73-83 Runcorn Road, I832-I900. Mr. and Mrs. F. PRICE of 6I Runcorn Road.

I4o-4I Darlington's (I802, I820) 55-63 Runcorn Road, I783-I929. Mr. and Mrs. F. PRICE of 6I Runcorn Road. Mr. and Mrs. T. LEIGH of 63 Runcorn Road. CRO Will of John Darlington of Marbury, gentleman, prob. 8 April I784. See below also under SAMPSON and HALL.

I42 Darlington's (I802, I8I5) 49-53 Runcorn Road, I783-I892. Mrs. Mary SAMPSON of Lytham St. Annes. Mr. H. HALL of Cuddington. CRO Will of John Darlington of Marbury, gentleman, prob. 8 April I784.

I45-46 Whitley's row (I8II-I3) 50-58 Runcorn Road. Formerly rented, deeds begin only in I893. Mr. J.R. SHARPS of Weaverham, executor of Miss Annie JONES of Barnton. See also ESTATES Big Hey.

BESTWAY.

I62a, I64a Bestway Inn and cottages (I765) Red Lion and 8-I4 Runcorn Road, I766-I948. Mr. and Mrs. F. WEEDALL of 8-I0 Runcorn Road. Messrs. GREENALL, WHITLEY and company of Wilderspool, brewers. Mr. and Mrs. J. GARDNER of I2-I4 Runcorn Road.

I65-66 Maddock's (1776, 1826, 1847) 16-22 Runcorn Road, 1844-68. Mr. and Mrs. R. ROBERTS of 16 Runcorn Road. Mrs, G. DALE of 18 Runcorn Road.

I67-69 Mount Pleasant (1815, 1844-46) 24-42 Runcorn Road, 1814-83. Mr. G. and Mr. J.H. SMEETON of 40 and 34 Runcorn Road.

RAYS BROW LANE.

I15a Plumbley's (1799-1800) 26-30 Church Road, 1801)69. Mr. and Mrs. W. GREEN of 32 Church Road.

I48 Jardine's (converted 1785, 1820) 22-24 Church Road, 1829. CRO Will of John Welch of Davenham, yeoman, prob. 5 September 1832. Mr. and Mrs. J. CURBISHLEY of 6 Church Road.

I49 Houghton's (1829-30, 1842, 1845) 12-20 Church Road, 1845-1933. Mr. and Mrs. T. GOULBORNE of 12-14 Church Road.

I12 Boardman's (converted 1790) 44-46 Church Road, 1842-1914. Mr. and Mrs. J. HAYES of Lydyett lane.

SMITHY FOLD.

I35 Stocks House (converted 1813, 1845) Smithy Fold, 1700-1942. Mr. and Mrs. H. WHITAKER of Smithy Fold. Mr. and Mrs. A. and Mr. and Mrs. W. ASTLES of Smithy Fold. Mr. and Mrs. J. HEATH of 76 Runcorn Road.

I34 Shop and cottages (1834-38) 68-76 Runcorn Road. As for Stocks House.

I37 Haslehurst's (1837) 107-9 Runcorn Road. As for Stocks House.

## LYDIART LANE.

131a Plumbley's (converted 1820) 5-17 Lydyett lane, 1820-1912. Mrs. Mary SAMPSON of Lytham St. Annes. See also ESTATES Lowndes.

132 Cooke's (converted 1800) 1-3 Lydyett lane, 1701-1862. CRO Will of Peter Cooke of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 31 January 1700/01. Mr. and Mrs. J. HAYES of Lydyett lane.

## OAKWOOD LANE.

227 Amery's (old cottage, 1821, 1831) 13-29 Oakwood lane, 1884. Mr. and Mrs. L. CHARLTON of Oakwood lane.

## PLUMBS FOLD.

226 Plumbs Fold (1750, 1775, 1804, 1809, 1820, 1830, 1835) 1-3, 2-20 Plumbs Fold, 1760-75. CRO Will of Richard Amery of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 4 December 1761. Will of John Amery of Barnton, tailor, prob. 16 August 1776. Mr. and Miss WEST of Rosebank Walk.

## PRINCES PARK.

209 Princes Park (1847-48) 16-34 Princes Park, 1846-73. Mr. and Mrs. H. HASLEHURST of Queensgate, Castle. Mr. and Miss CROSS of 7 Runcorn Road.

213 Cross' houses(1810) 131-35 Runcorn Road, 1817. CRO Will of George Cross of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 1 April 1818.

## LEIGHS BROW.

232 Leigh's house (1814) 213-19 Runcorn Road.
269 Smithy (converted 1750) Demolished.
270-71 Ball's and Leigh's houses (1775, 1778) 2-4 Leighs Brow and 239 Runcorn Road.
266 Pointon's row (1785) 12-16 Leighs Brow.
273 Holford's (1720) 1-3 Leighs Brow.
274 New Row (1807-10) 225-37 Runcorn Road.
272 Alehouse (1720) 6 Leighs Brow.
Houses numbered above have deeds in common, 1770-1870. Mrs. A. ALSOP of 225 Runcorn Road. Mr. and Mrs. J.W. MATHER of Eryl Hall, St. Asaph. See CHAMBERS LB.
276 Cawley's (1800) 10 Leighs Brow, 1833. CRO Will of Joseph Ball of Barnton, salt boiler, prob. 27 May 1836.

## ESTATES.

123 Big Hey farmhouse, 1722-1830. With
84a Pownalls tenement (pre-1700)
145-46 Bells Brow (Whitley's) (1811-13)
173 Salt works cottage (1750)
347 Musgrove's cottage(1820)
244 Neilds tenement (1750 demolished) .
Deeds for the whole estate are in BTC WN. Also CRO Will of John Jackson of Anderton, gentleman, prob. 4 December 1786. Will of George Jackson of Anderton, yeoman, prob. 4 September 1777. Will of Thomas Frith of Barmton, gentleman, prob. 11 April 1730.

222 Hall farmhouse, I483-I908. With
249 Kennerleys or Boardmans farm (ancient).
Deeds for the whole estate are in BTC WN. Mr. and Mrs. H. HASLEHURST of Queensgate, Castle. See also JRL DDCL and CL muniments of Mr. H. CORNWALL-LEGH of High Leigh.

I05 Hill Top farmhouse, I763-I87I. With
III Rays Brow cottages (I800)
I7I Gilberts or Bestway cottage (ancient).
Deeds for the whole estate at CRO DDX/34/3I and DSA.

2I2 Litlers, I788-I8I7. BTC WN. CRO Will of George Cross of Barnton, yeoman, prob. I April I8I8. Will of Peter Litler of Witton, watchman, prob.27 November I788 (infra). See also Ropery estate.

252 Little Hey farmhouse, I704-I886. Mr. and Mrs. H. HASLEHURST of Queensgate, Castle. LRO Bence Thomas muniments. See also under Manor estate.

I3Ia Lowndes farmhouse, I607-I9I2. BTC WN. CRO Will of Edward Lowndes of Old House Green, gentleman, prob. I9 August I8I2.

II7 Manor farmhouse, I409-I9I0. With
I36 Poole's (ancient)
268 Poole's (ancient)
II7a Rays Brow cottage (ancient)
I63 Bestway cottage (ancient)
2I4 Swallowcroft cottage (ancient)
I39 Balls or Rowlinsons (ancient)
252 Little Hey farm moiety.
Deeds for the whole estate are in LRO DDPt, Petre muniments. LRO DDBt Bence Thomas muniments. Mr. and Mrs. H.HASLEHURST of Queensgate, Castle.

296 Ropery farmhouse or Ashtons tenement, 1734-1841. CRO QDD. BTC WN. CRO Will of Thomas Moreton of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 11 February 1842.

108 Spencers farmhouse, 1809. CRO Will of Joseph Baxter of Barnton, yeoman, prob. 2 October 1815.

135 Stocks house farmhouse. See SMITHY FOLD.

4 Stoney Heys farmhouse, 1430- 1680. CHAMBERS MM.

WHITLEY JOHN D. WHITLEY OF HATTON COTTAGE NEAR WARRINGTON.

Pedigree of the family of Whitley of Whitley and Ashton in Makerfield, 1758-1891, compiled in the twentieth century.

YORK BIHR YORK UNIVERSITY, BORTHWICK INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

Will Admon Wills proved and Administrations granted at the York Archidiocesan Registry, 1480-1858. Thes documents relate to important families like the Starkies who held land in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire. Only when all property lay within the Diocese of Chester could a will be proved at Chester.

PRINTED SOURCES.

## I. ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

The following Acts refer to Cheshire and often to Barnton. They are found in volumes of Statutes at Large from I225 and of Statutes Public Local and Personal from I797 onwards. Public Acts up to I797 have Roman numerals. After I797 Roman numerals are used for Public Local and Personal Acts and Arabic numerals for Public General Acts. The date in brackets refers to the day on which the royal assent was given.

Act for making the River Weaver navigable from Frodsham Bridge to Winsford Bridge, 7 George I c. x (23 March I72I).

Act to amend the Weaver Navigation Act of I72I, 33 George II c. ix (22 May I760).

Act for making a Navigable Cut, or Canal, from the River Trent... to the River Mersey, at or near Runcorn Gap, 6 George III c. xcvi (I4 May I766).

Act to amend and enlarge the powers granted in theI766 canal Act, IO George III c. cii (I2 April I770).

Act to amend and render more effectual the previous canal statutes, I5 George III c. xx (I3 April I775).

Act further to amend previous canal statutes, I6 George III c. xxxii (I3 May I776).

Act to unite and consolidate under one Company all canal property, 23 George III c. xxxiii (I7 April I783).

Act to amend and enlarge the powers of the several Acts for making a Navigable Canal fron the Trent to the Mersey, 49 George III c. lxxiii (20 May I809).

Act for making and maintaining a Turnpike Road from Runcorn to to Northwich, 59 George III c. lxxxv (I4 June I819).

Act to enable the magistrates of ...Chester to appoint Special High Constables for the several Hundreds... and Assistant Petty Constables for the several townships, 10 George IV c. xcvii (1 June 1829).

Act for the more Effectual Administration of Justice in England and Wales (Cheshire County Court), 1 William IV c. 70 (23 July 1830).

Act to continue certain turnpike acts in Great Britain, 14 & 15 Victoria c. 37 (24 July 1851).

Act to continue certain turnpike acts in Great Britain, 15 & 16 Victoria c. 58 (30 June 1852).

## 2. CONTEMPORARY PRINTED BOOKS.

Only those books which have proved useful for the history from 1775 to 1845 have been included here. The works give an insight into the way of life and the thoughts of Barnton people. A number refer directly to Mid-Cheshire and to Barnton.


AIKIN J. Description of the Country Thirty to Forty Miles round Manchester, London 1795.

ANON, Seasonable Considerations on a Navigable Canal to be cut from the River Trent at Wilden Ferry, in the County of Derby to the River Mersey in the County of Chester, 1766.

ANON, (possibly James Brindley, revised by Thomas Lowndes) History of Inland Navigations, third edition, London 1779.

BENNETT Rev. John, The Advantages of Sunday Schools, London 1785.

BENTHAM Jeremy, An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, London 1790.
Works, eleven volumes, Edinburgh 1838-43.

BOWDLER Thomas, The Family Shakespeare in ten volumes; in which nothing is added to the original text; but those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family, London 1807.

BRONTE Charlotte, Shirley. A tale, three volumes, London 1849.
Jane Eyre, three volumes, London 1847.

BRONTE Emily Jane, Wuthering Heights, three volumes, London 1847.

BULWER LYTTON Edward George Earle, England and the English, two volumes, London 1833.

BURET Eugène, De la Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France. De la nature de la misère, de son existence, de ses effets, de ses causes, et de l'insuffisance des remèdes qu'on lui a opposés jusqu'ici avec l'indication des moyens propres a en affranchir des sociétés, two volumes, Paris 1840.

BURKE Edmund, Reflections on the Revolution in France, London 1790.

BURKE John, A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, enjoying territorial possessions, four volumes, London 1833-38.
A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom, London 1826.

BURN Rev. Richard, The Justice of the Peace, four volumes, fourteenth edition, London 1780.
The Justice of the Peace, four volumes, twentieth edition, London 1805.
The Justice of the Peace, six volumes, twenty sixth edition, London 1831.

BYRON George Gordon, Lord Byron, The Works of Lord Byron, London 1837.

CAPPER Benjamin, A Topographical Dictionary of the United Kingdom, London 1808.

CARLYLE Thomas, Past and Present, London 1843.
Chartism, second edition, London 1840.

CARY John, Inland Navigation or select plans of the several navigable canals, London 1795.

CHANTREAU M. Voyage dans les trois Royaumes d'Angleterre, d'Écosse, et d'Irlande, fait en 1788 et 1789, three volumes, Paris 1792.

COBBETT William, Cottage Economy, a new edition, London 1824.

COLLINS John and LOVETT William, Chartism; a new organisation of the people, embracing a plan for the education and improvement of the people, second edition, London 1841.

COLMAN Henry, European Agriculture and Rural Economy, two volumes, London 1844-48.

COLQUHOUN P. A Treatise on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire, second edition, London 1815.

COOKE G.A. A Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Chester, revised edition of the original 1802-10 survey, London (1830).

COWPER William, Works, ten volumes, London 1817.

CROWTHER Jonathan A portraiture of Methodism, or the History of the Wesleyan Methodists, second edition, London 1815.
The Methodist Manual: or, a Short History of the Wesleyan Methodists, Halifax 1810.

DICKENS Charles, The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, two volumes, London 1837.
Oliver Twist; or, the Parish boy's progress, second edition, three volumes, London 1839.

DISRAELI Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield, Sybil; or, the Two Nations, three volumes, London 1845.

DUGDALE James, The New British Traveller, Cheshire, volume I, London 1819.

EDEN Sir F.M. The State of the Poor, or an history of the labouring classes in England from the Conquest, three volumes, London 1797.

EDGEWORTH Maria, Harry and Lucy concluded; being the last part of Early Lessons, four volumes, London 1825.

ELWICK George The Bankrupt Directory, being a complete register of all the bankrupts from December 1820 to April 1843, London 1843.

ENGELS Friedrich, Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England. Nach eigner Anschauung und authentischen Quellen, Leipzig 1845.

FAIRBAIRN William, Remarks on Canal Navigation, London 1831.

FULTON Robert, A Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation, London 1796.

GASKELL Elizabeth Cleghorn, Mary Barton; a tale of Manchester life, two volumes, London 1848.

GASKELL Peter, The Manufacturing Population of England. Its moral, social and physical conditions and the changes which have arisen from the use of steam machinery, London 1833.

GOLDSMITH Oliver, The Deserted Village. The Traveller, London I773.

HANSHALL J.H. The History of the County Palatine of Chester, Chester I817-23.

HAZLITT William, The Spirit of the Age; or Contemporary Portraits, London I825.

HEAD Sir George, A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England, London I836.

HEPPLEWHITE Alice andCompany, The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide; or, Repository of designs for every article of household furniture, third edition, London I794.

HEYGATE W.E. William Blake: or the English Farmer, London I848.

HILL Rev. Rowland, Village Dialogues, twenty fifth edition enlarged, three volumes, London I827.

HOLLAND Henry, General View of the Agriculture of Cheshire, London I808.

HONE William, The Every-day Book and Table Book, or Everlasting Calendar of Popular Amusements, three volumes, London I831.

HUNTER John, A Treatise on the Venereal Disease, London I786.
A Treatise on the Blood, London I794.

JANION Rev. Joseph,senior, Some account of the Introduction of Methodism into the City, and some parts of the County of, Chester, Chester I833.

JOHNSON Samuel, The Works of Samuel Johnson LL.D., twelve volumes, London I792.

KILHAM Alexander, The Progress of Liberty Amongst the People called Methodists, Alnwick I795.

KINGSLEY Charles, Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet, two volumes, London I850.

KIPPIS Andrew, Biographia Britannica or the Lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, second edition, London I780.

LEWIS Samuel, A Topographical Dictionary of England, four volumes, London I83I.

LOUDON J.C. Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture, London I833.

LOVETT William and COLLINS John, Chartism; a new organisation of the people, embracing a plan for the education and improvement of the people, second edition, London I84I.

LOWE Joseph, The Present State of England, London I822.

LYSONS Rev. Daniel and Samuel, Magna Britannia being a concise topographical account of the several counties of Great Britain, Cheshire, volume II, part II, London I8I0.

MACADAM J.L. Remarks on the Present System of Road Making, Bristol I8I6.

MALTHUS Rev. T.R. Essay on the Principle of Population, two volumes, third edition revised, London I806.

MARRIOTT William, The Country Gentlemen's Lawyer, fifth edition, London I807.

MARSHALL J. A Digest of all the Accounts relating to the Population, Productions, Revenues,, Financial Operations, Manufactures, Shipping, Colonies, Commerce &c. &c. of the United Kingdom, London 1833.

MARSHALL William, On the Landed Property of England, An Elementary and Practical Treatise; containing the Purchase, the Improvement, and the Management of Landed Estates, London I804.

MARTINEAU Harriet, History of England during the thirty years' peace, I8I6-46, two volumes, London I849.

McCULLOCH J.R. A Statistical Account of the British Empire, two volumes, London I837.

MITFORD Mary, Our Village, five volumes, London I824-32.

MORE Hannah, Village Politics (by Will Chip) , second edition, London 1792.
An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World, London 1791.

MORIZ Carl Philip, Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahr 1782, second edition improved, Berlin 1785.

MOULE Thomas, Englands Topographer or the English Counties delineated, Cheshire, volume II, London 1838.

MYLES William, Chronological History of the People called Methodists, fourth edition, London 1813.

NEMNICH Philipp Andreas, Neueste Reise durch England, Schottland und Ireland, hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Produkte, Fabriken, und Handlung, Tübingen 1807.

NIGHTINGALE Joseph, A Portraiture of Methodism, London 1807.

ORMEROD George, History of the County Palatine and City of Chester, London 1819.

OWEN Robert, A New View of Society, London 1813.
The Book of the New Moral World, containing the rational system of society, found on demonstrable facts, developing the ... laws of human nature and of society, part I, London 1836.

PAINE Thomas, Rights of Man, London 1791.

PALIN William, Cheshire Farming. A Report on the Agriculture of Cheshire, London 1845.

PALMER Rev. Samuel, The Protestant-Dissenter's Catechism, second edition corrected, London 1774.
The Want of Labourers in the Gospel Harvest considered and improved, London 1775.

PAUL John, The Parish Officer's Complete Guide, sixth edition, London 1806.

PLACE Francis, Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population, London 1822.

PORTER G.R. The Progress of the Nation in its various social and economical relations from the beginning of the nineteenth century, new edition, London 1847.

PORTEUS Beilby (Bishop of Chester), A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester at the Primary Visitation of that Diocese in the year MDCCLXXVIII, Chester 1779.

POTTS Thomas, The British Farmer's Cyclopaedia or, complete Agricultural Dictionary, London 1807.

PRIESTLEY Joseph, Historical Account of the Navigable Rivers, Canals and Railways throughout Great Britain, London 1831.

PUGIN A. Welby, Contrasts: or a parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, shewing the Present Decay of Taste, second edition, London 1841.

REID Thomas, An Inquiry into the human mind, on the principles of common sense, Edinburgh 1764.

SEWELL William, Hawkstone; a tale of and for England in 184- , two volumes, London 1845.

SHAW James, The Parochial Lawyer or Churchwarden's and Overseer's Guide and Assistant, fourth edition, London 1833.

SHERIDAN Richard Brindley, The Works of the late Right Honourable Richard Brindley Sheridan, Leipzig 1833.

SIMOND Louis, Voyage en Angleterre pendant les annees 1810 et 1811, two volumes, second edition revised and enlarged, Paris 1817.

SMITH Adam, An Inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations, two volumes, London 1776.

SOUTHEY Robert, The Life of Wesley; and the rise and progress of Methodism, two volumes, second edition, London 1820.

SURTEES Robert Smith, Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities; or, the ... exploits of that renowned sporting citizen John Jorrocks, London 1838.

TAYLER Charles Benjamin, Margaret; or, the Pearl, London 1844.
The Clergyman's Parish Book; or, the Vineyard in order , London 1840.

THACKERAY William Makepeace, Vanity Fair, London 1848.

TOOKE Thomas, History of Prices, two volumes, London 1838, volume III, London 1840, volume IV, London 1848, volumes V-VI, London 1857.

URE Andrew, The philosophy of manufactures, London 1835.

WATTS Rev. Isaac, Works, nine volumes, Leeds 1812-13.

WEDGE Thomas, General View of the Agriculture of the County Palatine of Chester, London 1794.

WENDEBORN F.A. A View of England towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century, two volumes, London 1791.

WESLEY Rev. John, Works, including the Journal, 1735-91, Sermons on Several Occasions, and Correspondence, fourteen volumes, third edition, London 1829-31. A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists, third edition corrected, London 1782.

WILBERFORCE Rev. Robert Isaac and Rev. Samuel, The Life of William Wilberforce, London 1838.

WILBERFORCE William, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country Contrasted with Real Christianity, London 1797.

WILKINSON William Francis, The Parish Rescued; or laymens duties, rights and dangers, London 1845.

WOLLSTONECRAFT Mary, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, volume I, London 1792.

YOUNG Arthur, A Six Months Tour through the North of England, containing an Account of the present State of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Population, four volumes, London 1770.

## 3. DIRECTORIES.

The directories list the most important commercial industrial, agricultural, and political families in Mid-Cheshire. Barnton people are hardly mentioned however before I850.


BAGSHAW Samuel, History, Gazetteer and Directory of Chester ... and a general survey of the County, articles 'Barnton' and'Northwich', Sheffield I850.

BAILEY Northern Directory, articles 'Northwich' and 'Warrington', Warrington I78I.

BAINES History and Directory of Lancashire, article 'St. Helens', two volumes, Liverpool I824-25.

BROSTER P. The Chester Guide: Or, an Account of the Antient and present State of that City, with an account of manufacturing and market towns in that county, Chester I782.

COWDROY W. The Directory and Guide for the City and County of Chester, Chester I789.

PIGOT AND CO. Northern Directory, article 'Northwich', London and Manchester I834.
National Commercial Directory forI828-9, London and Manchester I828.

PIGOT AND DEAN, Directory for Manchester, Salford etc., article 'Northwich', Manchester I824-25.

# 4. CONTEMPORARY PRINTED MAPS OF CHESHIRE.

BRYANT A. Map of the County Palatine of Chester, surveyed in 1829, 1830, and 1831 (one mile to 1¼ inches), 1831.

BURDETT P.P. Survey of the County Palatine of Chester (six miles to 5⅞ inches), 1777.

GREENWOOD C. Map of the County Palatine of Chester, surveyed in 1819 (eight miles to 7⅞ inches), 1819.

NEELE Cheshire (in Lysons' Magna Britannia) (nine miles to 1⅞ inches), 1807.

ORDNANCE SURVEY Cheshire, sheet LXXX (one mile to one inch), 1842-43.
Cheshire (geology), sheet Lxxx (one mile to one inch), 1858.
Cheshire, sheet XXXIII (one mile to twenty five inches), 1875-77.

STOCKDALE J. A New Map of the Country round Manchester (no scale, about two miles to one inch), 1794.

SWIRE W. and HUTCHINGS W.F. Map of the County Palatine of Chester, surveyed in 1828 and 1829 (five miles to 3¾ inches), 1830.

## 5. CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, JOURNALS, RECORDS OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, AND MINUTES OF METHODIST CONFERENCES.


Annual Register I758-I845.

Chester Chronicle or Commercial Intelligencer I775-I845.

Adams's Weekly Courant I730-94 and Chester Courant I794-I845.

The Course of the Exchange I698-I8I0.
Course of the Exchange I825-I908

The Economist I82I-45.

Edinburgh Review I802-45.

Gentleman's Magazine I765-I845.

Hansard. Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year I803, London I8I3.

Hansard. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates I8I3-50.

HCJ House of Commons Journals I760-I850.

HLJ House of Lords Journals I760-I850.

Illustrated London News I842-50.

Methodist Association Minutes. Minutes of the Annual Assembly of the Delegates of the Wesleyan Association, I836-40, London I836-40.

Methodist Magazine. Arminian Magazine, volumes I-20, I778-97, later renamed Methodist Magazine, volumes 2I-44, I798-I82I, and Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, volumes 45-83, I822-60.

Methodist Minutes. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences from the First, held in London by the Rev. John Wesley A.M. in the year I744, volume I, I744-98, London I8I2, volume II, I799-I807, London I8I3, volume III, I808-I3, London I8I3, volume IV, I8I4-I8, London I8I8, volume V, I8I9-24, London I825; and subsequent yearly volumes.

A Methodist Magazine, for the year 1819, conducted by the Camp-Meeting Methodists known by the name of Ranters, called also Primitive Methodists, Leicester 1819.
The Primitive Methodist Magazine 1820-45, Derby 1820, Bemersley 1821-42, London 1843-45.

The Parliamentary Register, or History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons and House of Lords 1774-1813, one hundred and twelve volumes, London 1775-1813.

Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London 1775-1845.

Political Register, by William Cobbett, 1802-35.

Primitive Methodist Minutes. Minutes of a Meeting of Delegates of the Society of People called Primitive Methodists in 1819, Nottingham 1819.
Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of the Primitive Methodists, Burslem 1820.
Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Primitive Methodists, Halifax 1821, Bemersley 1822-45.

The Times; or Daily Universal Register 1785-1845.

The Wesleyan Association Magazine 1838-58.

Westminster Review 1823-45.

## 6. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

The papers include Command Papers whose number is given within square brackets; House of Lords Papers (HL); and reports, lists, and returns of the House of Commons which appear under the sessional year with printer's and volume numbers. All papers are arranged chronologically. The date and short title of each paper, used in footnotes, appears first, then follows the full title, the date on which the Commons ordered the paper to be printed. The bound volumes of the papers have been used, and the page numbers refer to these editions rather than to any of the other published versions.

PARL

I775 Relief and Settlement. First and Second Report from the Committee appointed to review and consider the several Laws which concern the Relief and Settlement of the Poor; and the Laws relating to Vagrants; and also the State of the several Houses of Correction, Reports I775 volume IV no. 34, p.I.

I776 Vagrants. Report of the Committee appointed to make enquiries relating to the Employment, Relief, and Maintainance, of the Poor; the Apprehending and Passing of Vagrants; and regulating Houses of Correction, Reports I776 volume IV no. 33, p.I.

I777 Poor Rates for I775-76. Abstact of the Returns made by the Overseers of the Poor relative to the State of the Poor, Reports I777 volume IV no. 34, p.I.

I787 Poor Rates for I782-85. Report of the Select Committee appointed to inspect and consider the Returns made by the Overseers of the Poor, relative to the State of the Poor, and also by the Ministers and Churchwardens, relative to Charitable Donations for the Benefit of Poor Persons, for the three years ending Easter I785, 23 May I787, Reports I787 volume VIII no. 80, p.I.

I787 Poor Rate abstract for I782-85. Abstract of returns made by the Overseers, being an appendix to the preceding report, 23 May I787, Accounts and papers I787 volume XX no. 447a, p. I.

1800 Price of Provisions. Six Reports from the Committee appointed to consider of the present High Price of Provisions, 24 November, 9, 31, 17, 18, and 31 December 1800, Reports 1800 volume XXVIII no. 174, p.1, 15, 25, 29, 57, 67.

1801 Census. Abstract of Answers and Returns for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain in 1801, 29 June 1801, Sess. 1801(140) volume VI, p. 813, and 22 February 1802, Sess. 1801-2(9) volume VI; (12) volume VII.

1804 PoorRates for 1802-03. Abstract of the Answers and Returns made pursuant to the Act of 1803 relative to the Expense and Maintainance of thePoor in England, 10 July 1804, Sess. 1803-4 (175) demy folio volume XIII, p.i-iii, p.1.

1811 Census. Abstact of Answers and Returns for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain in 1811, 2 July 1812, Sess. 1812 (316,317) volume XI, p.1.

1817 Salt Trade. Report of the Select Committee on the Use of Rock Salt in the Fisheries, 12 May 1817, Sess. 1817 (247) volume III, p.121.

1817 PoorLaw. Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider of the Poor Laws and to report their Observations thereupon from time to time, 4 July 1817, Sess. 1817 (462) volume VI, p.1.

1818 Poor Rates for 1812-15. Abridgement of the Abstract of Answers and Returns relative to the Expense and Maintainance of the Poor, for three years ending Easter 1815, 3 March 1818, Sess. 1818 (82) volume XIX, p.1.

1818 Poor Law. Report of the Select Committee on the Poor Law, 10 March 1818, Sess. 1818 (107) volume V, p.1.

1818 Poor Law (Lords). Report of the Lords' Committee on the Poor Laws, 1 June 1818, Sess. 1818 (400) volume V,p.91.

1818 Salt Duties. Report of the Select Committee on the Laws relative to the Salt Duties, 1 June 1818, Sess. 1818 (393) volume V, p. 339.

1819 Education. Digest of parochial returns made to the Select Committee inquiring into the Education of the Poor, 1 April 1819, Sess. 1819 (224) volume IX, p.1.

I8I9 Highways. Report of the Select Committee on the Highways of the Kingdom, 25 June I8I9, Sess. I8I9 (509) volume V, p. 339.

I8I9 Poor Law. Report of the Select Committee on the Poor Laws, 30 June I8I9, Sess. I8I9 (529) volume II, p.249.

I820 Agricultural distress. Report of the Select Committee on Petitions complaining of Agricultural Distress, Sess. I820 (255) volume II, p. I0I.

I82I Agricultural distress. Report of the Select Committee on Petitions complaining of the depressed state of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom, I8 June I82I, Sess. I82I (668) volume IX, p.I.

I822 Agricultural distress. Report of the Select Committee on the several petitions complaining of the distressed state of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom, I April I822, Sess. I822 (I65) volume V, p.I.

I822 Agricultural distress (second report). Second Report of the above Committee on Agricultural distress, 20 May I822, Sess. I822 (346) volume V, p.9.

I822 Census of I82I. Abstract of the Answers and Returns for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, 2 July I822, Sess. I822 (502) volume XV, p.I.

I822 Poor Rates. Report of the Select Committee on Poor-Rate Returns, I5 July I822, Sess. I822 (556) volume V, p.5I7.

I824 Wages. Report of the Select Committee on labourers' Wages, 4 June I824, Sess. I824 (392) volume VI, p.40I.

I824 Friendly Societies. List of Friendly Societies or other Institutions, 24 June I824, Sess. I824 (47I) volume XVIII, p. 245.

I825 Poor Rates for I82I-24. Report from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, for three years ending 25 March I824, 20 May I825, Sess. I825 (334) volume IV, p. 39.

I830 Beer. Report of the Select Committee on the Sale of Beer by Retail, 6 April I830, Sess. I830 (253) volume X, p.I.

I830 County Rates. Poor-Rates, County-Rates, Highway-Rates, and Church Rates, with the Annual Value of Real Property, the Population, and the Area of the Several Counties in England and Wales, I748-I829, 6 December I830, Sess. I830-3I (52) volume XI, p. 205.

I830 Poor Rates for I824-29. Account of the money expended for the Maintainance and Relief of the Poor in every Parish, Township or other Place for the five years ending 25 March I829, 20 December I830, Sess. I830-3I (83) volume XI, p.2I7.

I83I Census. Abstract of the Answers and Returns for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, 2 April I833, Sess. I833 (I49) volumes XXXVI-XXXVIII.

I832 Cruelty to animals. Report from the Select Committee relating to the cruel and improper treatment of Animals, and the mischiefs arising from the driving of Cattle, I August I832, Sess. I83I-32 (667) volume V, p. 73.

I833 Agricultural distress. Report of the Select Committee on the present State of Agriculture, and of Persons employed in Agriculture, 3 August I833, Sess. I833 (6I2) volume V, p.I.

I834 Poor Law. Report of the Commissioners inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws, with appendices, 2I February I834, Sess. I834 (44) volume XXVII, p.I, and appendices volumes XXVIII-XXXIX.

I834 County Rates. Report of the Select Committee on County and Highway Rates, 3I July I834, Sess. I834 (542) volume XIV, p.I.

I834 Vice of Intoxication. Report from the Select Committee of Inquiry into the extent, causes and consequences of the prevailing Vice of Intoxication among the Labouring Classes, 5 August I834, Sess. I834 (559) volume VIII, p.3I5.

I834 Education. Report of the Select Committee on the State of Education, 7 August I834, Sess. I834 (572) volume IX, p.I.

I835 Education abstract. Abstract of answers and returns to queries sent out in I833 concerning the state of education, 20 March I835, Sess. I835 (62) volumes XLI-XLIII.

I835 County Rates (Lords' report). Report of the Lords' Committee appointed to inquire into the Charges of the County Rates (two reports printed by the Lords in I834), 7 April I835, Sess. I835 (206) volume XIV, p.I.

I835 Education. Report of the Select Committee on Education, 3 August I835, Sess. I835 (465) volume VII, p.763.

I835 County Rates (commissioners). Preliminary report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire concerning County Rates, I2 August I835, Sess. I835 (508) volume XXXVI, p.I7.

I836 Agricultural distress. First and second reports of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Agriculture, 4 March I836 and I5 April I836, Sess. I836 (79) volume VIII part I, p.I., and (I89) volume VIII part I, p.225.

I836 County Rates (commissioners). Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into County Rates, London I836, Sess. I836 [58] volume XXVII, p.I.

I837 Charities. Thirty first report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire concerning charities for the education of the Poor, London I837, Sess. I837-38 [I03] volume XXIV, p. 734-36.

I837 Friendly Societies. A return relative to Friendly Societies, 2 March I837, Sess. I837 (7I) volume LI, p.89.

I839 Constabulary Force. First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire as to the best means of establishing an efficient Constabulary Force in the Counties of England and Wales, London I839, Sess. I839 [ I69 ] volume XIX, p.I.

I839 Brick duties. A Return of the Duties paid upon Bricks, I7 June I839, Sess. I839 (329) volume XLVI, p.I3.

I842 Sanitary Condition. Report from the Poor Law Commissioners on an inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain (prepared by the Secretary, Edwin Chadwick, for the Commissioners), London I842, Sess. I842 (HL-) volume XXVI.

I842 Sanitary Condition (local reports). Local reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of England, London I842, Sess. I842 (HL-) volume XXVII.

I843 Women in Agriculture. Report of Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture, London I843, Sess. I843 [5I0] volume XII, p.I.

I843 Local Taxation. Report from the Poor Law Commissioners on Local Taxation, London I843, Sess. I843 [486-88] volume XX, p.I.

I844 Valuation. Abstract of Accounts of the latest Valuation of every Parish, Township or Place upon which the County Rates have been laid, I3 May I844, Sess. I844 (268) volume XLII, p.87.

I85I Religious Worship. Census of Religious Worship, report and tables, I85I, London I853, Sess. I852-53 [I690] volume LXXXIX, p.I.

Report and Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education.

Report I839 (284) volume XLI, p.263.
Minutes I840 (I8) volume XL, p.389; part II (254) volume XL, p.407.
I84I [3I7] volume XX, p.97.
I842 (442) volume XXXIII, p.II5.
I843 [520] volume XL, p.2I7.
I844 (84) volume XXXVIII, p.2I9.
Minutes I840-42 I843 (25) volume XL, p.2II.
I843-44 I845 [622] volume XXXV, p.337.
I845 I846 [74I] volume XXXII, p.209.
August and December I846 I847 (660) volume XLV, p.9.
I847-48 I847-48 [998] volume L, p.I.
I848-50 I850 [I2I5] volume XLIII, p.24I.
[I2I6] volume XLIV, p.I.
I850-5I I85I [I357] volume XLIV, p.I.
I85I-52 I852 [I479] volume XXXIX, p.337.
[I480] volume XL, p.I.
I852-53 I852-53 [I624] volume LXXIX, p.I,
volume LXXX, p.I.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I853-54 | I854 [I788] | part I in volume LI, p.I, part II in volume LII, p.I. |
| I854-55 | I854-55 [I926] | volume XLII, p.I. |
| I855-56 | I856 [2058] | volume XLVII, p.I. |
| I856-57 | I857 [2237] | session 2, volume XXXIII, p.I. |

Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners.

First I835 (500) volume XXXV, p.I07.
Second with appendices A-E I836 (595) Report, appendices A-D volume XXIX, part I, p.I; appendix E volume XXIX, part II, p.I.
Third I837 (546 I) volume XXXI, p. I27; appendix D (546 II) volume XXXI, p. 32I.
Fourth with appendices A-C I837-38 [I47] volume XXVIII, p. I45; appendix D andpoor rate returns of I838 I840 [I47] volume XVIII, p.I.
Fifth with appendices I839 (239) volume XX, p.I; appendix E I840 [249] volume XVII, p.367.
Sixth I840 [245] volume XVII, p.397; appendices A-E I840 [253] volume XVII, p.447.
Seventh I84I [327] volume XI, p.20I.
Eighth I842 [389] volume XIX, p. I; appendices B-F I842 [399] volume XIX, p.II9.
Ninth I843 [468] volume XXI, p.I; appendices A-D I843 [494] volume XXI, p.53.
Tenth I844 [560] volume XIX, p.9; appendices A-C I844 [589] volume XIX, p.57.
Eleventh I845 [624][660] volume XXVII, p. 247, 279.
Twelfth I846 [704][745] volume XIX, p.1; 33.
Thirteenth I847 [816][873] volume XXVIII, p.I, 35.
Fourteenth I847-48 [960] volume XXXIII, p.I.

Annual Reports of the Commissioners for Administering the Laws for the Relief of the Poor (Poor Law Board).

First I849 [I024] volume XXV, p.I.
Second I850 [II42] volume XXVII, p.I.
Third I85I [I340] volume XXVI, p.I.
Fourth I852 [I46I] volume XXIII, p.I.

## 7. BOOKS PUBLISHED SINCE 1850.

The following books and articles have proved useful in writing the history of the settlement from 1775 to 1845. The list is by no means a complete bibliography and contains books of varying standards of worth. Some indeed are most inaccurate and misleading but have yielded one or two good points (for example the history of Barnton Mount Tabor chapel). These post-1850 books have not generally been quoted in footnotes in order to give more space to contemporary pre-1850 books and manuscripts. The date following the title is the date of the edition used and not of the earliest edition. Since most books have been published at London, Oxford, or Cambridge, the place has been given only in the case of foreign works.


ABBEY C.J. and OVERTON J.H. The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, two volumes, 1887.

ANON. History and Records of Mount Tabor Chapel, Barnton, 1832-1932, 1932.

ARMYTAGE W.H.G. Heavens Below, 1961.

ASHFORD W.H.R. and FORBES U.A. Our Waterways, 1906.

ASHLEY W.J. The bread of our forefathers, 1928.

ASHTON T.S. The Industrial Revolution, 1948.
An eighteenth century industrialist: Peter Stubs of Warrington, 1939.
An Economic History of England: the Eighteenth Century, 1955.
Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800, 1959.
'The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790-1830' in Journal of Economic History, ix (1949), supplement p. 19-38.
'Changes in Standards of Comfort in Eighteenth-Century England' in Proceedings of the British Academy, XLI (1955) p.171-87.

ASPINALL A. and SMITH E.A. English Historical Documents, volume XI: 1783-1832, 1959.

AICKMAN Robert, The Story of Our Inland Waterways, I955.

BAGEHOT W. The English Constitution, I929.

BAMFORD Samuel, Passages in the Life of a Radical, two volumes, I903.

BARKER T.C. 'Lancashire Coal, Cheshire Salt and the Rise of Liverpool' in Trans. Hist. Soc. volume CIII (I95I). '"Sankey Navigation" the First Lancashire Canal' in Trans. Hist. Soc. volume C (I948).

BARKER T.C. and HARRIS J.R. A Merseyside Town in the Industrial Revolution: St. Helens I750-I900, I954.

BARLEY M.W. The House and Home, I963

BARNES D.G. A History of the English Corn Laws from I660 to I846, I930.

BECKER Carl, The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers, New Haven (Conn.) I932.

BERGUES Helène and others, 'La prévention des naissances dans la famille' as number 35 of Institut national d'études démographiques, Paris I960.

BEVERIDGE William Henry, Lord Beveridge, Prices and Wages in England, I939.

BINNEY J.E.D. British Public Finance and Administration, I774-92, I958.

BLAUG Mark, 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New' in Journal of Economic History, New York I963, Volume XXIII (June I963) number 2. 'The Poor Law Report Reexamined' in Journal of Economic History', New York I964, volume XXIV (June I964) number 2.

BLOCH Ivan, Sexual Life in England, I958.

BOIS A.B. du The English Business Company after the Bubble Act, I72o-I800, New York I938.

BOVILL E.W. The England of Nimrod and Surtees I8I5-I854, I959.

BOWLEY A.L. Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century, I900.

BOYD A.W. 'The Great Budworth Churchwardens' Accounts in the Eighteenth Century' in Trans. Antiq. Soc. volume XLIX (1933).
A Country Parish, 1951.

BREDVOLD Louis I. The Brave New World of the Enlightenment, Ann Arbor (Mich.) 1961.

BRETHERTON F.F. Early Methodism in and around Chester, 1903.

BRIGGS Asa, Victorian People, 1959.
The Age of Improvement, 1784-1874, 1959.

BRITISH POSTAL GUIDE Post Office Guides, 1856-79.

BROOKE John and NAMIER Lewis, History of Parliament. The Commons 1754-90, three volumes, 1964.

BROWN R.G. and McKEOWN T. 'Medical Evidence Related to English Population Changes in the Eighteenth Century' in Population Studies, volume IX, part 2, November 1955.

BRYANT Sir Arthur, The Age of Elegance, 1812-22, 1950.
The Years of Endurance, 1793-1802, 1942.
Years of Victory, 1802-12, 1944.

BUCKMASTER J.C. (editor), A Village Politician. The Life Story of John Buckley, 1897.

BUER M.C. Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution, 1926

BUNTING T.P. Life of Jabez Bunting D.D. , 1887.

BURKE John and Bernard, Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, 1826, later editions to date.
Landed Gentry, 1833 to date.

BURN W.L. The Age of Equipoise, 1964.

BUTLER J.R.M. The Passing of the Great Reform Bill, 1914.

CADBURY George and DOBBS S.P. Canals and Inland Waterways, 1929.

CAIRNCROSS A.K. and WEBER B. 'Fluctuations in Building in Great Britain 1785-1849' in Economic History Review, second series, volume IX (1956).

CALVERT A.F. Salt in Cheshire, 1915.

CARR F.G.G. Sailing Barges, revised edition, 1951.

CASSIRER E. The Philosophy of the Enlightenment, Princeton (N.J.) 1951.

CHALONER W.H. and MUSSON A.E. Industry and Technology, 1963.

CHAMBERS J.D. 'The Vale of Trent 1760-1800' in Economic History Review, supplement no. 3, 1957.
The Workshop of the World, 1961.

CHESHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL A Plan for Cheshire, 1948.

CHURCH L.F. The Early Methodist People, 1948.

CLAPHAM J.H. The Bank of England, two volumes, 1944.
An Economic History of Modern Britain, volume I, The Early Railway Age 1820-50, 1939

CLARK G. Kitson, Peel and the Conservative Party, 1832-41, 1929.
The English Inheritance, 1950.

CLARK G.N. The Idea of the Industrial Revolution, 1953.

CLEAR C.R. John Palmer, Mail Coach Pioneer, 1955.

CLOW A. and N. The Chemical Revolution, 1952.

COCKAYNE G.E. The Complete Peerage, new edition, fourteen volumes, 1910-59.

COLE G.D.H. A Short History of the British Working Class Movement, 1789-1947, 1948.

COLE G.D.H. and FILSON A.W. British Working Class Movements: Select Documents, 1951.

COLE W.A. and DEANE P. British Economic Growth 1688-1959, 1962.

COOKE J.H. Bibliotheca Cestriensis, 1904.

COURT W.H.B. A Concise Economic History of Britain, 1954.

CUNNINGTON C.W. and P. History of Underclothes, 1951.
Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century, 1957.

DANSON J.T. and WELTON T.A. 'On the Population of Lancashire and Cheshire and its local distribution during the Fifty Years 1801-51' in Trans, Hist. Soc. IX-XII (1857-60).

DAVIES C.S. The Agricultural History of Cheshire 1750-1850 in Cheth, Soc. Third Series, volume X (1960).

DAVIES E. 'The Small Landowner 1780-1832 in the Light of the Land Tax Assessments' in Economic History Review, volume I, number I (1927).

DAVIS H.W.C. The Age of Grey and Peel, 1929.

DEANE P. and MITCHELL B.R. Abstract of British Historical Statistics, 1962.

DEANE P. and COLE W.A. British Economic Growth 1688-1959, 1962.

DECHAMPS J. Les Îles Britanniques et la Revolution Française, Brussels 1949.

DICEY A.V. Law and Public Opinion in England, second edition, 1930.

DOBBS S.P. and CADBURY George, Canals and Inland Waterways, 1929.

DODDS John W. The Age of Paradox, 1953.

DOUGHTY W.L. John Wesley, Preacher, 1955.

DRUMMOND J.C. and WILBRAHAM Anne, The Englishman's Food, 1939.

EAYRS George, TOWNSEND W.J., WORKMAN H.B. A New History of Methodism, two volumes, 1909.

EDWARDS L.A. Inland Waterways of Great Britain and Ireland, second edition, 1962.

EDWARDS M.L. John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century, 1933. After Wesley: a Study in the Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Middle Period, 1791-1849, 1935.

ERNLE Lord, English Farming,Past and Present, new edition, 1961.

EVANS G.H. British Corporation Finance 1775-1850, Baltimore (Md.) 1936.

EVANS R.H. Government, I964.

FAIRCHILD H.N. 'Romanticism and the Religious Revival in England' in Journal of the History of Ideas, volume II, number 3 (I94I).

FAY C.R. The Corn Laws and Social England, I932.

FEAVERYEAR A.E. The Pound Sterling, I93I.

FEILING K.G. The Second Tory Party I7I4-I832, I938.

FILSON A.W. and COLE G.D.H. British Working Class Movements: Select Documents, I95I

FINER S.E. Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick, I952.

FORBES U.A.and ASHFORD W.H.R. Our Waterways, I906.

FRYER peter, Mrs Grundy, I963.

FULFORD Roger and STRACHEY Lytton, The Greville Memoirs, I8I4-60, eight volumes, I938.

FUSSELL G.E. The English Rural Labourer, I949.
More old English Farming Books, I950.
The Farmer's Tools I500-I900, I952.
'Four Centuries of Cheshire Farming Systems, I500-I900' in Trans. Hist. Soc. CVI (I954).

FUSSELL G.E. and K.R. The English Countryman: His Life and Work I500-I900, I955.

GASH Norman, Politics in the Age of Peel, I953.
'Rural Unemployment I8I5-34' in Economic History Review, volume VI (I935)

GAYER A.D., ROSTOW W.W., SCHWARTZ A. Growth and Fluctuations of the British Economy, I750-I850, I953.

GEORGE Dorothy, England in Transition, I953.

GILBOY E.W. Wages in eighteenth century England, Cambridge (Mass.) I934.

GILLETT Eric, editor, Elizabeth Ham, by Herself, I783-I820, I945.

GLOAG John, Victorian Taste, I962.

GREGORY A. Robert Raikes. A History of the Origin of Sunday Schools, I880.

GRIFFITH G.T. Population problems of the age of Malthus, 1926.

HABBAKUK H.J. 'English Population in the Eighteenth Century' in Economic History Review, second series, volume VI (1953).

HADFIELD Charles British Canals, 1959.

HALÉVY Élie, La formation du radicalisme philosophique, three volumes, Paris 1901-4.
Histoire du peuple anglais au dix-neuvième siècle, volume I, third edition, 1923, volumes II-III, 1923.
'La naissance du méthodisme en Angleterre' in La Revue de Paris, July-August 1906.

HALL Joseph, Circuits and Ministers, 1897.

HAMMOND J.L. and B. The Village Labourer 1760-1832, 1912.
The Skilled Labourer 1760-1832, 1919.
The Town Labourer, new edition, 1925.
The Bleak Age, revised edition, 1947.

HAMPSON E.M. The Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire 1597-1834, 1934.

HANCOCK W.D. and YOUNG G.M. English Historical Documents, volume XII: 1833-71, 1956.

HARRIS J.R. and BARKER T.C. A Merseyside Town in the Industrial Revolution: St. Helens 1750-1900, 1954.

HARTWELL R.M. 'The Rising Standard of Living in England, 1800-50' in Economic History Review, second series, volume XIII (1961).

HAYEK F.A. editor, Capitalism and the Historians, Chicago 1954.

HECKSCHER Eli, Mercantilism, two volumes, 1935.

HILL R.L. Toryism and the People, 1832-46, 1929.

HIMES N. Medical History of Contraception, Baltimore (Md.) 1936.

HOBSBAWN E.J. 'The British Standard of Living, 1790-1850' in Economic History Review, second series, volume X (1958).

HOLDSWORTH W.S. A History of English Law, thirteen volumes, 1923-52.

HOLLAND Robert, A Glossary of Words used in the County of Chester, 1886.

HORNE H.O. A History of Savings Banks, 1947.

HOUGHTON W.E. The Victorian Frame of Mind, New Haven (Conn.) 1957.

HUDSON Kenneth, Industrial Archaeology, 1963.

HUGHES Edward, Studies in Administration and Finance, 1558-1825, 1934.

JACKMAN W.T. The development of Transportation in Modern England, new edition, 1962.

KEIR D.L. Constitutional History of Modern Britain, 1485-1937, sixth edition, 1959.

KENDALL H.B. History of the Primitive Methodist Church, 1919.

LAMBERT M. and MARX Enid, English Popular Art, 1951.

LAVER James, English Costume of the Eighteenth Century, 1931.

LEAVIS F.R. Introduction to Mill on Bentham and Coleridge, 1950.

LENNARD R. Rural England 1086-1135, 1959.

LIPSON E. The Economic History of England, volumes 2-3, The age of mercantilism, 1931.

LIVESEY J. Reminiscences of Early Teetotalism, Preston and London n.d. (1868).

LOVEJOY A.O. The Great Chain of Being, Cambridge (Mass.) 1936.
'The Meaning of Romanticism' in Journal of the History of Ideas, volume II, number 3 (1941).

MACCOBY S. English Radicalism, 1762-1785, 1955.
English Radicalism, 1786-1832, 1955.
English Radicalism, 1832-52, 1935.

McCORD Norman, The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-1846, 1958.

MACDONAGH Oliver, 'The Nineteenth Century Revolution in Government: a Reappraisal' in Historical Journal, volume I (1958), number I.

MALET Hugh, The Canal Duke, 1961.

MANN J. de L. and WADSWORTH A.P. The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1931.

MANTOUX Paul, The industrial revolution in the eighteenth century, revised edition, 1947.

MARE Eric de, The Canals of England, 1950.

MARSHALL Dorothy, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century, 1926.
English People in the Eighteenth Century, 1956.
Eighteenth Century England, 1962.

MARX Enid and LAMBERT M. English Popular Art, 1951.

MATHIESON W.L. England in Transition, 1920.

MATTHEWS R.C.O. A Study in Trade Cycle History: Economic Fluctuations in Great Britain 1833-42, 1954.

McKEOWN T. and BROWN R.G. 'Medical Evidence Related to English Population Changes in the Eighteenth Century' in Population Studies, volume IX, part 2, November 1955.

METEYARD Eliza, The Life of Josiah Wedgwood, two volumes, London 1865-66.

METHODIST CHURCH Constitutional Practice and Discipline of the Methodist Church, third edition, 1957.

MEYNELL L.W. James Brindley, 1956.

MITCHELL B.R. and DEANE P. Abstract of British Historical Statistics, 1962.

MOSLEY Sir Oswald, Family Memoirs, privately printed 1849.

MOUNFIELD Arthur, The Beginnings of Total Abstinence. The Warrington Societies of 1830, Warrington and London n.d. (1903).

MUSSON A.E. and CHALONER W.H. Industry and Technology, 1963.

NAMIER Lewis England in the Age of the American Revolution, 1930.
Principalities and Powers, 1955.
The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III, revised, 1957.

NAMIER Lewis and BROOKE John, History of Parliament. The Commons 1754-90, three volumes, 1964.

NICOLSON M.H. The Microscope and English Imagination, Northampton (Mass.) 1935.

OGDEN C.K. Jeremy Bentham, 1932.

ORWIN C.S. and C.S. The Open Fields, second edition, 1954.

OVERTON J.H. The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, 1800-33, 1894.

OVERTON J.H. and ABBEY C.J. The The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, two volumes, 1887.

PARES R. George III and the Politicians, 1953.

PARKER R.A.C. Enclosures in the Eighteenth Century, 1960.

PARKINSON C.N. The Rise of the Port of Liverpool, 1952.

PATTERSON M.W. Sir Francis Burdett and His Times, 1770-1844, two volumes, 1931.

PAYNE Robert, The Canal Builders, 1959.

PINCHBECK I. Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1930.

PLUMB J.H. England in the eighteenth century (1714-1815), 1950.
The First Four Georges, 1956.

PLUMB J.H. editor, Studies in Social History, 1955.

PORRITT E. and A.G. The Unreformed House of Commons, two volumes, 1909.

PRATT E.A. A History of Inland Transportation and Communication in England, 1912.

PRESSNELL L.S. Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution, 1956.

PRESSNELL L.S. editor, Studies in the Industrial Revolution, 1960.

PUDNEY John, The Smallest Room, 1954.

QUENNELL M. and C.H.B. A history of everyday things in England, four volumes, 1918-34.

READ Donald, Peterloo, 1958.
The English Provinces c1760-1960, 1964.

REDFORD A. Labour Migration in England, 1800-50, 1926
The Economic History of England, 1760-1860, 1931.

RICHARDSON A.E. Georgian England, 1931.

ROBINSON H. The British Post Office, Princeton (N.J.) 1948.

ROBSON R. The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England, 1959.

ROE F.G. English Cottage Furniture, new edition, 1961.

ROLT L.T.C. The Inland Waterways of England, 1950.

ROSTOW W.W. The British Economy of the Nineteenth Century, 1948.
Stages of Economic Growth, 1960.

ROSTOW W.W., GAYER A.D., SCHWARTZ A. Growth and Fluctuations of the British Economy, 1750-1850, 1953.

SALAMAN R.N. The History and Social Influence of the Potato, 1949.

SALIS H.R. de, Bradshaw's Canals and Navigable Rivers of England and Wales, 1904.
A Chronology of Inland Navigation, 1897.

SCHWARTZ A., GAYER A.D., ROSTOW W.W. Growth and Fluctuations of the British Economy, 1750-1850, 1953.

SILBERLING N.J. 'Britsh Prices and Business Cycles 1779-1850' in The Review of Economic Statistics and Supplements, prelim. volume V, supplement 2, October 1923, Cambridge (Mass.) 1923.

SIMMONS Jack, Transport, 1962.

SIMONS J.S. John Wesley and the religious societies, 1921.
John Wesley and the Methodist societies, 1923.
John Wesley and the advance of Methodism, 1925.
John Wesley, the master builder, 1927.
John Wesley, the last phase, 1934.

SINGER Charles and others, editors, A History of Technology, volume IV, 1958.

SITWELL Sacheverell, British Artists and Craftsmen, second edition, 1945.

SLATER George, Chronicles of Lives and Religion in Cheshire and Elsewhere, 1891.

SMILES Samuel Lives of the Engineers, five volumes, 1904.
Self-Help, 1859.

SMITH E.A. and ASPINALL A. English Historical Documents, volume XI: 1783-1832, 1959.

SMITH Frank, The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, 1923.

SMITH George, History of Wesleyan Methodism, three volumes, 1857-61.

SOMERVILLE A. Free Trade and the League, two volumes, Manchester 1852.

SPRING David, The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century, Baltimore (Md.) 1962.

STEPHEN Leslie, The English Utilitarians, three volumes, 1900.
History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, 1938.

STOCKS F.W. A Short Treatise on the Salt-fields of Cheshire, Middlewich 1934.
Further Short Treatise, Middlewich 1937.

STONEHOUSE James, 'Salt and its manufacture in Cheshire' in Trans. Hist. Soc. volume V (1853).

STRACHEY Lytton and FULFORD Roger, The Greville Memoirs, 1814-60, eight volumes, 1938.

STRANG Lord, Britain in World Affairs, 1961.

STURT George, The Wheelwright's Shop, 1934.

SWIFT Wesley F. 'Early Methodism in Northwich' in Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, volume XXII (1939-40).

SYKES Norman, Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century, 1934.

TALMON J.L. The Origin of Totalitarian Democracy, 1952.
Political Messianism. The Romantic Phase, 1960.

TATE W.E. The Parish Chest, second edition, 1951.

TAYLOR A. Clifton, The Pattern of English Building, 1962.

TAYLOR E.R. Methodism and Politics, 1791-1851, 1935.

THACKERAY W.M. The Four Georges, 1861.

THOMAS J.A. The House of Commons, 1832-1901, 1939.

THOMPSON E.P. The Making of the English Working Classes, 1963.

THOMSON David, England in the nineteenth century (1815-1914), 1950.

TITLEY Arthur, 'Notes upon a part of a Diary by James Brindley' in Newcomen Society Transactions, 1940.

TOWLSON C.W. Moravians and Methodists, 1957.

TOWNSEND W.J., EAYRS George, WORKMAN H.B. A New History of Methodism, two volumes, 1909.

TREVELYAN G.M. English Social History, 1942.
British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, revised, 1937.

URWICK William, editor, Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester, 1864.

VARLEY W.J. Cheshire before the Romans, 1964.

VEITCH G.S. The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform, 1913.

WADSWORTH A.P. and MANN J.de L. The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1931.

WALIAS Graham, Life of Francis Place, 1898.

WALPOLE Spencer, History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815, six volumes, revised edition, 1890.

WARD W.R. English Land Tax in the 18th century, 1953.

WARDALE Harry, 'Weaver Navigation' in Trans. Antiq. Soc. volume XLIX (1933).

WARNER W.J. The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution, 1930.

WATSON S. The Reign of George III, 1760-1815, 1960.

WAUGH Norah, The Cut of Men's Clothes, 1600-1900, 1964.

WEARMOUTH R.F. Methodism and the Working Class Movement of England 1800-1850, 1937.

WEBB S. and B. History of Liquor Licensing in England, 1903.
English Local Government, 1. The parish and the county, 1906.
4. Statutory authorities for special purposes, 1922.
5. The Story of the King's Highway, 1913.
7-9. English Poor Law History: part 1, The Old Poor Law; part 2, The last hundred years, 1927-29.

WEBER B. and CAIRNCROSS A.K. 'Fluctuations in Building in Great Britain 1785-1849' in Economic History Review, second series, volume IX (1956).

WEDGWOOD Julia, John Wesley and the evangelical reaction of the eighteenth century, 1870.

WELTON T.A. and DANSON J.T. 'On the Population of Lancashire and Cheshire and its local distribution during the Fifty Years 1801-51' im Trans. Hist. Soc. IX-XII (1857-60).

WHITAKER W.B. The Eighteenth-Century English Sunday, 1940.

WHITE R.J. Waterloo to Peterloo, 1957.

WICKWAR W.H. The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press, 1819-1832, 1928.

WILBRAHAM Anne and DRUMMOND J.C. The Englishman's Food, 1939.

WILKINSON J.T. Hugh Bourne 1772-1852, 1952.

WILLAN T.S. 'Navigation of the River Weaver' in Cheth. Soc. Third Series, volume III (1951).
River Navigation in England, 1600-1750, 1936.

WILLEY Basil, The Eighteenth Century Background, 1946.

WILLIAMS E.N. The Eighteenth Century Constitution, 1688-1815, 1960.

WINSKILL P.T. The Comprehensive History of the Rise and Progress of the Temperance Reformation from the Earliest Period to September, 1881, Warrington 1881.

WOLF A. A History of Science, Technology and Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century, New York 1939.

WOMEN'S INSTITUTES Cheshire Federation of Cheshire Village Memories, 1952.

WOODWARD Llewellyn, The Age of Reform, 1815-70, second edition, 1962.

WORKMAN H.B., EAYRS George, TOWNSEND W.J. A New History of Methodism, two volumes, 1909.

WRIGHT Lawrence, Clean and decent: the fascinating history of the bathroom and the water closet, 1960.

YOUNG G.M. Victorian England: Portrait of an Age, 1936.

YOUNG G.M. editor, Early Victorian England, two volumes, 1934.

YOUNG G.M. and HANCOCK W.D. English Historical Documents, volume XII: 1833-71, 1956.

## 8. PERIODICALS PUBLISHED SINCE 1850.

The following periodicals have yielded worthwhile articles. Only a few of these articles have been quoted either in the list of books published since 1850 or in the history itself. The date in brackets indicates when the periodical first began to appear.

Agricultural History Review (1953-).

Amateur Historian (1952-).

The Antiquarian Journal (1921-).

Antiquity (1927-).

Business History (1958-).

Business History Review (Boston 1926-).

Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historic Society Journal, Old Series volume I (1849-55) Chester 1857; New Series volume I (1887) to date.

Chetham Society for the publication of Historical and Literary remains connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, First Series volume I, 1844; Second Series volume I, 1883; Third Series volume I, 1949 to date.

Economic History Review (1927-).

Economic Journal (1891-). The supplement appears as Economic History (1926-).

The Economist (1843-).

Economy and History (Lund, Sweden, 1958-).

English Historical Review (1886-).

Historical Journal (1958-).

Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports (1870-).

History (1912-).

Journal of Economic History (New York 1941-).

Journal of the History of Ideas (New York 1940-).

Journal of Transport History (1953-).

Population Studies (1947-).

Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (1879-).

Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1840-).

Royal Historical Society Transactions (I869-).

Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, volume I (I883), Manchester I884 to date.

Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, volume I (I848-49), Liverpool I849 to date.

Wesley Historical Society Proceedings (I899-).

## VISUAL SOURCES.

Not everything by any means may be gathered from manuscript or printed sources. Much knowledge must come from looking at surviving relics of the past. Most of Barnton's material relics, whether houses, clothing, household utensils, craftsmen's tools, salt pans, canal boats, or water troughs, have been lost. Few things had the quality which helps to guarantee survival. Even in days of greatest wealth, prosperity, and expansion between 1860 and 1914 the people tended to purchase the cheapest goods possible. They preferred to hoard money rather than to spend their earnings on unnecessarily expensive items.

No pre-1845 photographs or paintings have been handed down.

In the absence even of visual evidence a number of traditions must be recorded. The memories of old inhabitants and stories from generation to generation can help to fill gaps in the history.

## I. CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS

The Methodist chapel in Oakwood Lane embraces portions of the original 1838 structure. Photographs are exhibited within to show the various buildings that have stood on the site. Pictures of early members may also be seen.

The Parish Church, built in 1842, is a small unadorned edifice extended but not greatly altered in the later nineteenth century. The thrifty parishioners desired a place of worship not a showplace, and the architectural style is a copy of the Early English period. The material is stone. The windows were plain glass at first, though piety soon altered three or four of the main apertures. The cult of mediaeval Gothic architecture could not properly thrive in a community not only forward-looking and prospering

but also ignorant, down-to-earth, and continually in dire economic straits.

The brick National Schools, the first building to be put up purely for use as a school, resembled most of the other buildings erected under the influence of the national educational bodies around I840 in England. Somewhat dark, certainly cold, the rooms proved only just adequate for the large numbers of children who soon began to attend the school after the opening in I845.

## 2. COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY.

Canal property.

The course of the canal provides unrivalled opportunity to learn more than documents can teach about the problems which faced the early engineers. Culverts, aqueducts, and massive embankments still remain, together with the two large canal basins.

The Saltersford and Barnton Tunnels, brick-lined, with air vents but no towing paths, remain very much the same as when built in I775. They are among the first three or four canal tunnels that were completed in England. These works therefore give an idea of eighteenth century engineering skill, capital resources and accumulation, industrial expansion, and labourers' courage.

Weaver property,

The old locks, sluices, and bridges at Barnton and Saltersford do not survive. Even the new cuts have been greatly altered since I845. The best examples of river property therefore were,until recently demolished, the two lock tenders' cottages. They had been built in I77I and I790.

See also under heading 'Dwelling Houses'.

Shops and Inns.

The shop at Lydyett lane erected by Sarah

Plummer in I838, though greatly altered, still survives. It is the oldest of Barnton's shops.

From the Tunnel Top house, formerly the Reapers Arms, may be gathered the shape andsize of an early nineteenth century beerhouse. The shape of the windows, the strength of the door, the patterned brickwork under the eaves, and the quality of the internal plastering speak of capital resources and careful craftsmanship.

See also under heading 'Dwelling Houses', Offices and Workshops.

The best example of a workshop, storehouse, and office may be seen at the former Barnton Salt Works. The premises underwent continual additions and alterations from I750 onwards till the closing of the works in I848. But the rooms remain as they were when completed and extended in I785, I8I2, and I830.

See also under heading 'Dwelling Houses'.

## 3. DWELLING HOUSES.

The nineteenth century name of the house is followed by the tithe award reference number in brackets. Then comes the modern address of the property and the date of erection (or last important reconstruction and rebuilding).

The following provide excellent examples of the type of dwelling hpuse found in Barnton up to I845. Only places that have not been drastically altered since that time have been included. Both the exterior and interior of most of the dwellings may with profit be examined, and a number of rooms contain fine nineteenth century furnishings. Naturally many houses in the list date from well before I775, and the date of final rebuilding often conceals greater age than might be imagined. A large number of the houses have recently been or soon will be torn down or altered.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bestway cottages | (I64a) | 8-I4 Runcorn Road, | I766. |
| Ball's alehouse | (272) | 6 Leighs Brow, | I770. |
| Saltersford Lock House | (3I8a) | Lock House, | I77I. |
| Abraham Ball's new house | (270-7I) | 2-4 Leighs Brow, | I775. |
| Charles Leigh's house | (270) | 239 Runcorn Road, | I778. |
| Pointon's row | (266) | I2-I6 Leighs Brow, | I785. |
| Salt works cottage | (I73) | 7 Runcorn Road, | I785. |
| Barnton Lock House | (352) | 3 Runcorn Road, | I790. |
| Canal Company house | (I74) | 9 Runcorn Road, | I790. |
| Plumbley's houses | (II5a) | 26-30 Church Road, | I799-I800. |
| Cawley's house | (276) | I0 Leighs Brow, | I800. |
| Cook's cottage | (I32) | I-3 Lydyett lane, | I800. |
| Darlington's cottages | (I40-4I) | 6I-63 Runcorn Road, | I802. |
| Plumb's cottages | (226) | 3,I0-I2 Plumbs Fold, | I804. |
| Pointon's row | (274) | 225-37 Runcorn Road, | I807-I0. |
| Plumb's cottages | (226) | I4-20 Plumbs Fold, | I809. |
| George Cross' houses | (2I3) | I3I-35 Runcorn Road, | I8I0. |
| Thomas Cross' houses | (I87, I98-99) | 32-36 Tunnel Top, | I8I0. |
| Whitley's row | (I45-46) | 50-58 Runcorn Road, | I8II-I3. |
| Smithy Fold | (I35) | I-4 Smithy Fold, | I8I3. |
| William Leigh's houses | (232) | 2I3-I9 Runcorn Road, | I8I4. |
| Thomas Cross' houses | (I80) | 7,30 Tunnel Road, | I8I4. |
| Darlington's cottage | (I42) | 49 Runcorn Road, | I8I5. |
| Mount Pleasant cottage | (I67-69) | 42 Runcorn Road, | I8I5. |
| Jardine's | (I48) | 22-24 Church Road, | I820. |
| Plumbley's | (I3Ia) | 5-I7 Lydyett lane, | I820. |
| John Plumb's | (226) | 8 Plumbs Fold, | I820. |
| Houghton's | (I49) | I6-I8 Church Road, | I829-30. |
| Cross' houses | (I80) | I-5,24-28 Tunnel Road, | I832. |
| Beech's house | (202) | I6-I8 Canal Side, | I832. |
| Tunnel Top Reapers Arms | (200) | Tunnel Top, | I833. |
| Plummer's | (I34) | 68-74 Runcorn Road, | I834. |
| Poole's row | (I38) | 75-83 Runcorn Road, | I834. |
| Plumb's cottages | (226) | 2-6 Plumbs Fold, | I835. |
| Tunnel Top | (200) | Tunnel Top, | I836. |
| Smithy House | (200) | 22 Canal Side, | I837. |
| Edwards' shop | (I34) | 76 Runcorn Road, | I838. |
| Clarke's | (200) | 20 Canal Side, | I838. |
| The Parsonage | (I47) | Church Road, | I842. |
| Houghton's | (I49) | 20 Church Road, | I842. |
| Mount Pleasant | (I67-69) | 24-40 Runcorn Road, | I844-46. |
| Smithy Fold | (I35) | 5-6 Smithy Fold, | I845. |
| School House | (II6) | Church House, | I845. |
| Houghton's | (I49) | I2-I4 Church Road, | I845. |
| Princes Park | (209) | I6-34 Princes Park, | I847-48. |

## 4. FARM BUILDINGS.

The old name of the building, with the tithe award reference number in brackets, is followed by the modern name. Then comes the date of the last major rebuilding.

The following houses provide examples of the farms of Barnton before I845. Some contain original and beautiful rooms with excellent furniture, crockery, silverware, and ornaments. Old barns, offices, and sheds may also be seen and not a few of the disused tools date from the pre- I845 period.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hall | (222) | Platt's Yewtree farm, | I690. |
| Stoney Heys | (4) | Stone Heys farm, | I780. |
| Little Hey | (252) | Rose Bank farm, | I780. |
| Hill Top | (I05) | Hill Top farm, | I8I0. |
| Ropery | (296) | Ropery farm, | I8I0. |
| Manor | (II7) | Manor Club, | I8I6. |

## 5. LAND.

The site of the lands or strips in the Town Field may still be seen along Townfield lane.

Ancient woodland remains on the northern boundary of Barnton. The wood bordering the canal and facing Winnington was planted in I775-76. It covered much of Barnton's open moorland.

Along the course of the old Weaver may be seen alders, willow, and birch and rich pastures. These have always been typical of this area of the township outside the limits of the open fields.

## 6. LANES AND TRACKS.

The Shuttes and Brammows lanes exist virtually as they were when abandoned by all but a handful of farmers after 1830. The disappearance of small holdings in the Oakwood Field and the cutting of the Weaver canal made any repairs after 1835 unnecessary. Very probably the cobbles and side stones, hedges and ditches have not been altered since that time, or indeed since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The appearance of tracks or ways in the settlement itself can be seen in the surviving Tunnel Road, Smithy Fold, and Plumbs Fold. A very narrow cobbled path is bounded by a wider track of hard-packed earth and a gully for drainage purposes. The whole track did not measure more than six feet in width.

## 7. MUSEUMS.

The following museums contain relics which, though not from Barnton itself, provide a picture of the community's life between 1775 and 1845.

Leicester City Newarke Houses.

The collection contains comprehensive examples of clocks and hosiery machinery. These exhibits show clearly the skill and the tastes of eighteenth and nineteenth century people.

Reconstructed shops provide impressive examples of trading conditions. The cobbler's combined living room, workshop, and trading quarters is most instructive. There are also brickmaking tools, household utensils, and footware.

Northampton Borough.

The museum contains almost the best boot and shoe exhibition in existence. Cordwainers and shoemakers were very prominent in Barnton's economy before 1890.

South Kensington Science.

Displays may be seen of the results of English science

and technology in all ages. Very interesting are examples of early nineteenth century steam pumps including one from a Cheshire salt works.

South Kensington Victoria and Albert.

The museum contains a vast collection of household goods of all centuries with a particularly important group of furnishings and personal ornaments. Iron and stone work, textile ware, old paintings, and clothing may also be seen.

Waterways Museum, Stoke Bruerne, Northamptonshire.

The exhibition shows every aspect of life on inland waterways. It is possible to see how canals were dug and maintained, how great tunnels and aqueducts took shape, how the companies were financed, how they took tolls, and howone by one they disappeared. There exist models of canal boats, together with a reconstructed boatman's cabin. Every possible tool in use on the waterways is shown, from boatman's fishing spear to lamps, water containers, and leggers' boards.

Pictures, photographs, diagrams, and documents add to the interest of the other relics.

The museum stands by a canal and locks where canal boats still tie up. A weigh lock has been preserved and contains the old butty boat Northwich.

York Castle.

The living rooms of both poor and prosperous families have been reconstructed, and show the costumes, furniture, and ornaments of the past to good advantage.

The life and work of the craftsman and traders is amply illustrated by life-size models of workshops. Particularly useful are the premises of leather workers and shoemakers, blacksmiths, metal workers, and tailors. It is possible to see not only the tools and raw materials of craftsmen but the working conditions also. The processes are clearly explained.

A wonderful nineteenth century street has been reerected. The shops show a complete range of goods, and the exhibits speak for themselves concerning the methods of salesmanship and the needs of customers.