

THE PUBLIC FAIRS OF BLACKBURN HUNDRED,
1580-1700

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I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years increasing attention has been given to the role and importance of fairs in the internal trade of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the beginning of this century R.B. Westerfield pioneered the study of these fairs by arguing that from the Restoration they were becoming obsolete and entering a period of decline as the age of the markets emerged. He felt that fairs only retained their importance where agriculture was backward, the population scarce and scattered and where there was a high level of local self sufficiency and little inter-regional trade. This position was only challenged in the 1960s when Alan Everitt argued that both markets and fairs were never larger or more numerously attended than between 1600 and 1750. He claimed that:

If anything, fairs expanded in this period more rapidly than markets.

In the 1970s John Chartres argued that the growth in the absolute number of fairs may have disguised a real fall in their significance. He saw this as a period of shake out for both the feebler markets and fairs caused by the growth of private markets and direct trade between middlemen and producers. However he did accept that fairs remained basic to the needs of both the local and regional livestock trades. Thus unlike Westerfield he did not see the growth of inter-regional trade as totally negative for fairs. T.S. Willan

also felt that fairs continued to be of importance to the farmstock trade but also saw them as having a major continuing role in the wholesale trade although not in the direct retail trade.¹

The absence of detailed local studies has made it difficult to assess the validity of these different positions. It is the purpose of this article to address this problem by the consideration of the experience of the fairs in the Hundred of Blackburn of north east Lancashire. This Hundred of 174,000 acres stretched west to east for twenty four miles from the Lancashire plain to the Yorkshire border and north to south for seventeen miles from Chipping to Haslingden.² Most of the area consists of Pennine upland cut by the River Ribble running throughout its length in a south westerly direction.

From 1500 until the second quarter of the seventeenth century the area saw substantial economic and demographic expansion. From 1507 the extensive royal forests were granted out on attractive terms to resident and immigrant settlers. During the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I much of the waste land was encroached and subsequently granted out on similar favourable terms. As early as the mid-sixteenth century a local commentator noted that the area:

which served before that time (1507 disafforestation) but only for the increase of wild beasts, now is . . . well and substantially manured and occupied to the increase of tillage, corn and cattle.³

At the same time there was an expansion in the volume of activity in the local woollen industry especially in the upland north east of the area.⁴

Not unnaturally this economic expansion was accompanied by a period of rapid population growth. The chapelry of Colne appears to have doubled its population between *c.*1550 and *c.*1650. In the chapelries of Haslingden and Newchurch in Rossendale the population may have increased up to threefold in the same period.⁵

However, by the second quarter of the seventeenth century this economic and demographic expansion had ended, to be followed by a long period of economic and demographic stagnation and depression down until the end of the century.⁶

It is against this background of expansion followed by stagnation that the experience of local fairs must be assessed. Fortunately a wide range of sources are extant to

permit such an assessment. These sources are of two broad types, one covering the formal or official record, the other covering the unofficial or users record of the fairs. The main source in the former category are the Kenyon of Peel papers. These papers are the records of the local family who subleased the tolls and stalls of several of the fairs for much of the period.⁷ The user's view of the fairs is provided by the extensive estate records of two of the leading local gentry families, the Shuttleworth family and the Walmesley family which together cover the period from 1583-1700.⁸

The Shuttleworth family resided at Smithhills (near Bolton) just beyond the south west boundary of the Hundred before 1600 and Gawthorpe (between Padiham and Burnley) thereafter. They first appear to have obtained land in the area in 1389 and from 1470 the descent is fairly certain. In 1583 the head of the family was Richard Shuttleworth, a successful lawyer who was made a chief justice of Chester in 1589 and was probably knighted in the same year. He died without children in 1600 leaving his estate to his brother Lawrence. On the latter's death in 1608 the estate descended to his nephew Richard Shuttleworth. This younger Richard Shuttleworth was sheriff in 1618 and 1638, MP for Preston in 1641 and an active Parliamentarian soldier during the Civil War.

The Walmesley family of Dunkenhalgh (between Blackburn and Padiham) were also longstanding landowners in the area holding land near Blackburn in the fourteenth century. They were actually resident at Dunkenhalgh from 1571 when the head of the family was Thomas Walmesley. In the late sixteenth century he was a junior MP for the county and a judge in the court of Common Pleas, and in 1603 was knighted. During his lifetime he built up extensive estates in East Lancashire and the West Riding. On his death in 1612 his estate descended to his son Thomas whose first wife had been the daughter of Lord Latimer. His grandson, also Thomas Walmesley, was knighted in 1617 and was MP for Clitheroe from 1621 and the county from 1625. Although initially he was a conformist he had become a recusant by the time of his death in 1636. In consequence the estate descended to the fourth generation of the family in 1642 when Richard Walmesley inherited the estate from his grandfather. Richard was succeeded in 1679 by his son Bartholomew who died in 1701. As Bartholomew's son Francis died without issue the whole estate descended to his sister Catherine who married Robert, Lord

Petrie in whose family the estate remained until the twentieth century. On the death of the former Richard Walmesley his inventory shows him to have possessed substantial numbers of livestock comprising of oxen of all sorts, 40 steers, 15 cows and 15 wether sheep together valued at £200.⁹

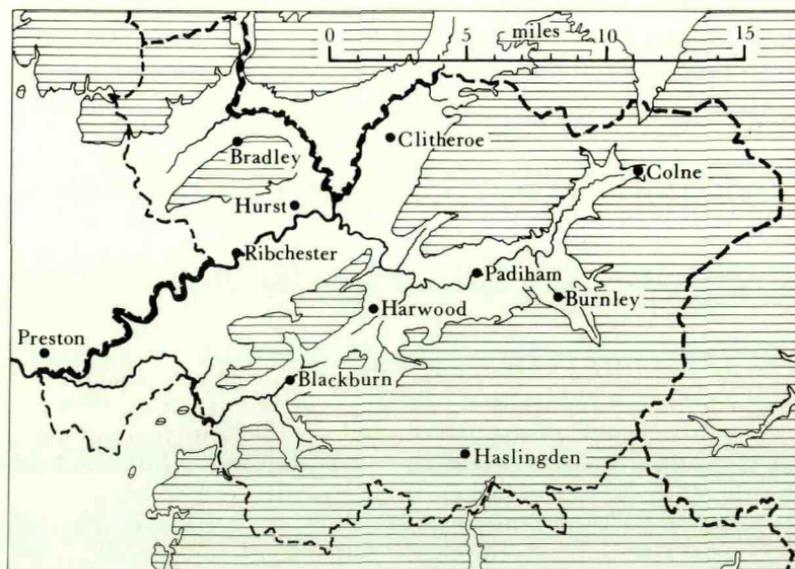
Thus it can be seen that both families were members of the upper gentry who were active, during the period of their accounts, in local, regional and national affairs. Although this clearly makes them untypical of the local population in general their importance and the extent and detail of their extant record does permit a unique insight into the nature of local fair activity.¹⁰

II

THE NUMBER OF LOCAL FAIRS AND FAIR DAYS

In 1550 only three fairs, Clitheroe (1203), Burnley (1294) and Harwood (1338), had received charters. There is no evidence that any other fair operated within the area before

Blackburn Hundred fairs



that time. From 1550 until 1700 a further seven fairs are known to have come into operation, thus giving one fair centre for every 17,400 acres much less Owen's mid eighteenth century estimate for the northern region as a whole at one for every 40,000 acres. Indeed even Owen's own figures show one fair for less than 22,000 acres in this Hundred. Thus this was clearly an area of high fair density.¹¹ None of these extra fairs received a charter hence their precise date of origin remains unclear. The area was crown property almost continuously from 1322 until the Restoration and as such its fairs may not have needed a royal charter. The overall economic and demographic backwardness of the area prior to 1500 makes it unlikely that there was any economic justification for the operation of an unchartered fair before that date.

The rapid economic and demographic development in the sixteenth century would have provided a stronger economic rationale for the establishment of such fairs in that century. The limited evidence available on local fairs tends to support such a view. In 1610 the deputy bailiff of the Hundred described Haslingden fair as having originated before the memory of man.¹² Haslingden clearly had a market by 1554 and in other parts of the area fairs and markets were often founded simultaneously whilst in other areas the fair often predated the market.¹³ Blackburn fair was functioning by 1583 but given Blackburn's importance in the local albeit limited urban hierarchy, it may have begun much earlier.¹⁴ Colne fair is also known to have been in existence by the 1580s. In contrast in 1610 the deputy bailiff acknowledged that Padiham fair was of recent origin, a fact that tends to be confirmed by the trading accounts of the Walmesley family which despite long using other local fairs only began to use Padiham fair in 1606. The Shuttleworth family also only began to use the market at Padiham in the same year.¹⁵ The only references to the Ribble valley fairs at Ribchester, Hurst and Bradley come from the visits paid to them by the Walmesley family in the 1630s. Given the lack of any wider evidence it seems likely that these were small, short-lived and possibly unofficial fairs. Although the above evidence is not clear cut it does indicate a possible increase in the number of fair centres in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The number of fair days at these centres also increased during this period. At the upland fairs of Burnley, Colne, Haslingden and Padiham this pattern was clear and dramatic.

TABLE 1 *Number of Fair Days at Burnley, Colne, Haslingden and Padiham 1580-1674*¹⁶

<i>Fair</i>	<i>Number of fair days in:</i>			
	1580	1610	1630s	1674
Burnley	4	4	6	7
Colne	4	5	5	6
Haslingden	2	2	4	4
Padiham	0	2	2	2
Total	10	13	17	19

TABLE 2 *Number of Fair Days in Blackburn Hundred 1580-1674*

<i>Fair</i>	<i>Number of fair days in:</i>			
	1580	1610	1630s	1674
Burnley	10	13	17	19
Colne				
Haslingden				
Padiham				
Clitheroe	7	8	8	8
Blackburn	1	2	?	5
Other centres	1	0	4	1
Total	19	23	29+	33

This expansion was matched at the local lowland fair centres. In 1580 Clitheroe devoted seven days to fairs which had increased to eight by 1600 where it remained even in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷ Blackburn saw a more rapid increase from one in 1583 to two in 1598 and five in 1674.¹⁸ Little is known about the frequency of fairs at the remaining centres but at best they probably only held one-day fairs. Although the Harwood fair was clearly operational

throughout the seventeenth century those at Bradley, Hurst and Ribchester may only have operated in the 1630s.¹⁹ Despite the possible short life of the fairs at Bradley, Hurst and Ribchester, the overall trend towards an increase in the number of fair days from 1580 to 1673 is unmistakable:-

However, despite Chartres claim for an increase in the number of recorded fairs in England after 1650, the rate of such growth in this area would appear to have already passed its peak by that date.²⁰

It should also be noted that contrary to the views of Westerfield this expansion took place against a background of economic and demographic expansion. Yet as Chartres also points out it is dangerous to assume that the nominal existence of a fair centre or a fair day is any guide to the true economic significance of a fair.²¹ Before this key question can be considered it is first advisable to consider the nature of the activity at such fairs in some detail.

III

THE SEASONALITY AND NATURE OF THE FAIR TRADE

During the seventeenth century a clear division of function was observable between the fairs. In 1610 the thirteen fair days of Burnley, Colne, Haslingden and Padiham together had four exclusively devoted to livestock, three to pedlary with the rest being mixed livestock/pedlary fairs. These mixed fairs appear to have had a livestock orientation.²² This livestock orientation of the fairs was confirmed by the use made of them by both the Shuttleworth and Walmesley families.²³ This livestock bias was also present at other local fairs. In 1668 Blackburn had up to four livestock and one pedlary fair and again was used by the Walmesley family for livestock dealing.²⁴ No generalised evidence is available about the trade of Clitheroe fair but again it was heavily used by the Walmesley family to trade livestock.²⁵

In 1777 the Clitheroe fair was listed as having five days devoted to livestock and given the pattern at other local fairs it seems reasonable to suggest that this livestock bias was present much earlier. In all but the case of Haslingden this livestock trade was exclusively geared to cattle. Haslingden fair, although it did have a trade in cattle, also had a significant trade in sheep. As this was the only fair to deal in sheep it supports Everitt's view that sheep fairs were

less common than cattle fairs, but not his view that sheep fairs were often more exclusively devoted to one type of animal.²⁶

This functional breakdown of these fairs was related to the expansion of local fair days:-

TABLE 3 *Number of Livestock and Pedlary Days 1580-1674*

<i>Period</i>	<i>Livestock Days</i>	<i>Pedlary Days</i>	<i>Total Days</i>
1580	10	9	19
1630s	22	9	31
1674	21	12	33

From the position of approximate equality in 1580, the main source of the increase in the number of fair days came with an expansion in the number of livestock fairs. Although this expansion was largely confined to the middle part of the period under review, the imbalance was largely maintained in the latter part of the period. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that local fairs were increasingly specialising in livestock in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is not surprising that livestock and pedlary fair trading exhibited markedly different seasonal distributions as can be seen below:-

TABLE 4 *Seasonal Distribution of Blackburn Hundred Fair Days 1580-1674*

<i>Months</i>	<i>1580</i>			<i>1630s</i>			<i>1674</i>		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Jan-March	0	3	3	1	3	4	1	4	5
April-June	6	2	8	12	2	14	10	2	12
July-Sept	4	0	4	8	0	8	9	1	10
Oct-Dec	0	4	4	1	4	5	1	5	6
Total	10	9	19	22	9	31	21	12	33 ²⁷

This pattern superficially supports Chartres idea of a double humped peak in the spring and early autumn with the former dominating the latter in pastoral areas.²⁸

However, a monthly breakdown for the 1630s and 1674 shows that September was the most popular month for fairs with the spring fairs being evenly spread over the three month period. The figures also tentatively indicate a movement towards a gradual equalisation between the two peak periods by the later seventeenth century. These tentative trends are supported by the actual livestock trading undertaken by the Shuttleworth and Walmsley families at the fairs:-

TABLE 5 *Seasonal Structure of Trade at Blackburn Hundred Cattle Fairs 1583-1700*

	<i>Dec-Feb</i>		<i>March-May</i>		<i>June-Aug</i>		<i>Sept-Nov</i>	
	<i>Total Head Bought</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total Head Bought</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total Head Bought</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total Head Bought</i>	<i>%</i>
Shuttleworth 1583-1599	0	0	44	94	0	0	3	6
Shuttleworth 1600-1621	0	0	25	52	7	15	16	33
<i>Shuttleworth 1583-1621</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>73</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>
Walmsley 1613-1639	3	1	281	87	4	1	34	11
Walmsley 1656-1700	0	0	86	44	23	12	88	45
<i>Walmsley 1613-1700</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>367</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>Overall 1583-1700</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>436</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>141</i>	<i>17</i>

The table confirms the concept of the double peak with the spring dominating in the earlier part of the period but appearing to lose that dominance by the latter part of the seventeenth century. This conflicts with Chartres view of spring retaining its dominance by the middle of the eighteenth century. There is no evidence that this switch towards the autumn fairs was associated with a swing towards cereal production as the area remained overwhelmingly pastorally biased in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁹

Although the much more modest sheep trade of the two families at Haslingden fair was more evenly distributed seasonally throughout the period, a general trend from the spring to autumn activity was also observable as in Table 6.

TABLE 6 *Seasonal Structure of Trade at Haslingden Sheep Fair 1583-1700*

	<i>April Fair</i>		<i>June Fair</i>		<i>Sept Fair</i>	
	<i>Total Head Bought</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total Head Bought</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total Head Bought</i>	<i>%</i>
Shuttleworth 1583-1621) ³⁰	252	46	149	27	150	27
Walmesley 1613-1639)						
Walmesley 1656-1700						
<i>Overall 1583-1700</i>	<i>428</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>256</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>301</i>	<i>31</i>

Given the evidence for this change in the seasonality of the livestock trade at fairs, it is advantageous to consider the nature of the stock and the purpose for which it was traded. In as far as the Shuttleworth and Walmesley trade was typical of the overall livestock trade of fairs, it appears that they were dominated by a trade of beef cattle. Neither set of accounts indicate more than a marginal trade in specialist milk cattle, although the fact that any such trade existed at all indicates that some cattle were seen as specialist milk cattle by this period.³¹

Indeed, the families appear to have kept considerable numbers of cattle to meet the dairy requirement of the respective households. This paucity of milk cattle is initially surprising, given the claims that milk cattle were numerically predominant in the Pendle part of the hundred in the seventeenth century and that milk cattle were becoming more common as a result of early seventeenth century population growth.³²

This discrepancy probably reflects the fact that Pendle, like most of the area, was dominated by small scale farming with small mixed herds in which milk for domestic consumption would tend to play a relatively more important

role, whilst the scale of the Shuttleworth and Walmesley operations would permit a greater degree of specialisation. The fact that these small Pendle farms also had considerable interest in cows and young stock suggests a continuation of the area's medieval role as a livestock breeding area. The view accords with that found by Swain in his study of the north eastern part of the Hundred.³³

It is cattle of the latter type that dominated the fair trade. Down to 1639 the Walmesleys explicitly used the spring fairs to buy in substantial numbers of lean stock 'for feeding'. Although some of these cattle were slaughtered for domestic consumption, the bulk appear to have been bought specifically for later resale. Thus in 1626 nearly £250 was spent at the spring fairs on cattle for later resale.³⁴ These feeding cattle consisted of two broad types. Numerically dominant were oxen bought either direct 'for feeding' or 'for draught' before feeding. It is not clear whether or not the cattle were worked whilst feeding. Kerridge claims that in the Midlands cattle were not worked during feeding in order to help them put on flesh before sale.³⁵

The second basic group were 'gelt' cows or 'gelt' kine. These were most likely elderly or unproductive breeding or dairy cattle. The spring fairs were also used to buy in cattle 'for keeping'. This consisted of both male and female stock which were probably partly to supply the family table. The post 1650 accounts give less detail about the purposes for which the cattle were traded. However, the nature of the stock traded and the few cases where the purpose was specified, both suggest that the pattern remained largely unchanged. Similarly the nature of the stock traded by the Shuttleworth family at the start of the century and before, is only given in a few cases but here too they appear to have been engaged in a similar trade to that later undertaken by the Walmesley family.

The summer and autumn fairs indicate that both families used them to trade in stock fattened on the summer pasture. Some of the stock sold had undoubtedly been bought at the previous spring fairs. The stock being bought in at the summer and autumn fairs was largely for domestic consumption or for overwintering prior to later resale. The Walmesley family are recorded as overwintering cattle on their lowland pastures throughout the century.³⁶ Overall therefore the spring fairs were devoted to the trade in lean and breeding stock and the autumn fairs for trade in fat stock for slaughter or stock for overwintering.³⁷

The same family papers can be used to examine the fair trade in sheep. The extent of the Shuttleworth family trade in sheep was limited to three visits to Haslingden sheep fairs. In contrast the Walmesley family visited these fairs at least twelve times from 1613–1639 and at least twenty eight times from 1656–1700.³⁸ During most of the century these fairs were held in April, June and September. Wethers and hogs dominated the April fair and were important at the other two. The June fair was dominated by the trade in lambs and the September fair by the trade in ewes and wethers. After 1660 the family sold their sheep privately rather than at the fair although they continued to use the fair for their sheep purchases. In virtually all their sheep sales after 1660 the sales appear to have been of fat sheep for slaughter as they were either described as 'fat' or sold to butchers.

The accounts of both families indicate that other livestock did not figure significantly at the local fairs. Horses, pigs, deer, poultry and goats were all largely outside their scope. The only exceptions were in 1676 when the Walmesley family sold a horse at Burnley fair and in 1677 when they appear to have bought four goats at Haslingden fair.³⁹

Nor did either family appear to have been heavily involved in such a wider livestock trade either by private arrangements or via outside fairs. There were occasional references in both family accounts to a very small and intermittent trade in deer and poultry and even more intermittently in horses. Horses were also occasionally bought at neighbouring fairs such as Salford in 1606 and Skipton in 1683 and 1694. In 1699 the Sherburn family who owned land on Blackburn Hundred as well as in the West Riding exchanged a horse at Preston fair. The Walmesley family was also recorded buying four milk goats possibly at a Welsh fair in 1678.⁴⁰ The tiny scale and intermittent nature of the trading in all this wider livestock indicates that it was undertaken for domestic rather than commercial purposes. However the fact that local fairs were not used by them for such small mundane purposes serves as evidence that these were not major items of trade at the local livestock fairs.

As noted earlier the seasonal pattern of local pedlary fairs showed a marked divergence from the seasonality of the livestock fairs. Specialist pedlary fairs peaked during the winter months from October to March but given the small number of fair days involved it would be unwise to place too

much reliance on generalisation from such a base. The two families barely made any use of the pedlary aspects of the local fairs. The only occasions when a local fair was used came in December 1684 when the Walmesley family bought 45 yards of sacking at Clitheroe fair. Although more use was made of neighbouring fairs such as Bolton, Gisburn and even the national fair at Stourbridge even this was intermittent and had died out by the middle of the century. Throughout the period the major source for such items appear to have been shops or markets in local villages or nearby towns such as Preston and Halifax. For more luxurious items larger and more distant centres such as York and even London were used.⁴¹ Although neither family made much use of local fairs for pedlary or grocery purposes this need not indicate that the fairs had no wider role than cattle and sheep trading.

Many of the local fair's activities extended beyond their livestock and pedlary remits to include other goods and services in their attractions. These were often an extension of the basic livestock trade. At several times during the seventeenth century the Walmesley family used them to buy tar for marking sheep, to sell cattle hides, and to advertise agistment facilities. Livestock purchases were occasionally kept overnight at the fair after purchase but before being driven home. This undoubtedly created a demand for temporary accommodation and food for both drovers and livestock.⁴²

The fairs were also used as Willan suggested for the wholesale trade. In March 1600 a mercer's representative was at the Clitheroe fair whilst at the Clitheroe fair of July 1627 two merchants were present supplying local chapmen.⁴³ In this case the fair appears to have been used as a centre for financial agreements to supply goods on credit. The fairs were also used to settle financial accounts by local industry as in the case of the local lead mining company in 1630.⁴⁴ Local fairs also sought to attract a wide section of local society by providing a social meeting place and entertainment centre. In 1617 Nicholas Ashton a local gentleman visited Clitheroe fair in company with his brother, father and a local parson. Whilst there he met with his cousin a Ralph Ashton of Middleton and spent 1/6d. The make-up of his party and the small size of his purchases for a member of the gentry implies that this was more of a social than a business visit. Others did later use the fairs for specialist purchases. At the beginning of the eighteenth

century Richard Kay, a wealthy yeoman dissenter, visited Haslingden fair to buy various religious tracts.⁴⁵ Soon after the son of Rev. Peter Walden visited Clitheroe fair for a similar purpose.⁴⁶ More down market tastes were also catered for from an earlier date.⁴⁷ In 1600 a gypsy was in attendance at Burnley fair and soon after the same fair hosted bull baiting.⁴⁸

Only a single further reference to the use of what could be classed as pedlary remains extant and this relates to the purchase of a tub for drawing water and it seems likely that this aspect of local fair activity had already given way certainly by the seventeenth century to local competition from shops and markets.⁴⁹

Taken as a whole therefore the expansion in the number of fair days appear to have been closely linked to the growth of livestock fairs accompanied by a diversification of the traditional pedlary aspects of the fair to encompass the more miscellaneous requirement of the local economy and population.

IV

THE HINTERLAND OF THE FAIRS

This changing and developing role can be related to changes in the extent of local economic self sufficiency. Evidence on the hinterland of the local livestock fairs is again heavily dependent on the Walmesley and to a lesser extent the Shuttleworth accounts.

Even the Walmesley accounts only give the clear place of residence of cattle traders on five occasions before 1640. All these five men resided within five miles of the fair concerned with no clear geographic bias being discernable. Such short distance trade may have been typical although the activities of both the Shuttleworth and Walmesley families show that at least some of the local gentry did use distant fairs.⁵⁰ Fortunately more evidence is available for the period after 1660 when the Walmesley accounts give the residence of sixty-nine cattle traders. Of these over fifty of the fifty-five sales to the Walmesley family were from men residing within ten miles of the fair concerned, with no clear geographic bias being discernable, apart from a lack of suppliers to the south of the fair. This predominance of the local hinterland is consistent with the views put forward by

Chartres that bulk of trade was done by men from the immediate locality.⁵¹ In contrast twelve of the fourteen men buying cattle from the Walmesleys resided to the south of the fair concerned with several coming from south west Lancashire, viz Warrington (1683), Ashton (1689) and Croxteth (1699). Visits from this area continued into the following century when Nicholas Blundell of Crosby's agent bought cattle from Haslingden fair.⁵² By the late seventeenth century the fairs were already attracting buyers from a much greater distance with Derbyshire men buying from the Walmesley family in 1683, 1685 and 1689. Indeed there is evidence that the family was already moving stock from the Craven area to Nottingham as early as 1636.⁵³ This tends to support Lisle's claim that Lancashire longhorns were reaching the east Midlands by the end of the century and even gives some support to the idea that such Lancashire cattle were the basis of Webster's and Bakewell's improved stock of the following century.⁵⁴ Thus it is clear that by the late seventeenth century, although possibly not before, local fairs were playing a role in the growing trade between the stock rearing uplands and the fattening lowlands of south Lancashire and further afield.

The Walmesley accounts for the sheep trade at local fairs are less clear cut but do suggest that Haslingden fair was playing a similar role in relation to sheep. Eighteen men of known residence sold sheep to the Walmesley's at Haslingden fair between 1677 and 1700, most of whom resided within ten miles of the fair, but with some evidence of sellers being attracted from as far away as the Craven area of Yorkshire.⁵⁵ The family certainly made substantial purchases of sheep from Craven fairs throughout the century and even from Wensleydale in the early part of the century, hence this trade may not have been as new as the role of Haslingden fair in it. During this period the family did not use the fair to sell its sheep, preferring to sell by private contract. The timing of the sales supports the idea that they may have been made following initial contacts made at the fair. Of the ten buyers with a known place of residence, the majority were from south or east of Haslingden.⁵⁶ Given this clear geographic drift in both the cattle and sheep trade it is important to consider how far this was part of the emergent national droving system of the period.

From the mid sixteenth century controls had existed on drovers as part of the drive against engrossers, regrators and

forestallers although the system began to fall into decay after 1660. Under these controls a licence was needed before engaging in the droving trade.⁵⁷ The first known licensing of a local drover came in 1592 but by 1601 he had been joined by two others.⁵⁸ Drovers certainly dealt at local fairs throughout the seventeenth century sometimes on their own account. In 1619 the Shuttleworths sold six oxen to a drover at Burnley fair whilst in 1688 the Walmesleys sold a fat cow to a drover at Harwood fair.⁵⁹ By the late 1660s such men had a dominant role in the Blackburn fair trade, but it is not clear if such men were independent or merely the agents of larger men such as the Walmesleys.⁶⁰

There is evidence that local fairs were influenced by the national droving trade. In June 1676 the Walmesley family bought eight Irish oxen possibly at a local fair and four months later sold two such Irish oxen at Clitheroe fair. In the following March they sold two Irish hides of cattle that had died at pasture, presumably during the past winter. In October 1676 they even sold 14 'Irish skins' presumably the result of the import of Irish sheep.⁶¹

Irish stock was being imported into the west Lancashire ports in the 1660s and although such cattle imports were banned in 1667 smuggling of them continued and it was probably through such means that this stock arrived. By 1700 the Sherburn family had gone one stage further by buying cattle in the Isle of Man and importing them via Liverpool. In July 1700 they had to pay custom at Liverpool for 13 such bullocks which were to be driven to their Stonyhurst estate near Clitheroe.⁶² Although there is no direct evidence of Scottish cattle being traded at local fairs by the Walmesley family before 1700 they were certainly in possession of Scottish stock by the 1670s. In December 1675 they sold three Scottish bullocks by private agreement which were probably part of the consignment of four Scottish oxen brought from their estate near Clitheroe that October. In addition they received 5/- for pasturing a Scottish ox from July 24th to October 16th 1675. This timing suggests that the stock may have been bought at the Clitheroe fair of July 22nd and was being fattened locally prior to resale at the onset of winter.⁶³ Even though too much should not be read into such a small number of cases, it does seem that the area was acting as a syphon from the national droving trade from an earlier date than previously thought. This interpretation would be in line with Trow-Smith's view that some Scottish stock were sold at English

fairs *en route* to the south but it would not support his claim that these beasts crossed the Pennines rather than be found a market in Lancashire.⁶⁴ Although the area was acting as a syphon on the national trade and was also involved in an inter-regional trade, it should not be overlooked that throughout the local trade continued to dominate. By the 1740s and 50s if not before, Scottish stock was regularly being traded by the Walmesley family and on the Altham estate of the Farrington family of Worden near Accrington.⁶⁵

Most fair visitors who were not concerned with the livestock trade were also of local origin. The only possible exception to this concerned the wholesale trade which at least in the case of Clitheroe attracted suppliers from considerable distances. In 1600 the fair was visited by a wholesaler from Boston (Lincolnshire) in 1603, by one from Lyn (Norfolk), and in 1627 by one from York.⁶⁶ This shows a radically different geographic pattern from that operating at the livestock fairs and was probably a pattern of much greater antiquity.

V

THE IMPORTANCE OF FAIRS

The foregoing evidence only provides a limited guide to the value and prosperity of the fairs. As the fairs were predominantly livestock fairs, it is that activity that was most likely to determine their importance and success. Fortunately more direct evidence is available in relation to the major fairs at Blackburn, Clitheroe, Burnley, Colne, Haslingden and Padiham. The toll and stallage income of the Clitheroe July fair alone was given as £5 15s. in 1639 it rose to £7 12s. 10½d, (£7 1s. ½d). By the late 1690s this had fallen back to an annual average of 16s. per annum for all the fairs in the town. This led Clitheroe's historian, W.S. Weeks to conclude that the importance of the fairs was declining by the end of the century.⁶⁷

Such a view is probably erroneous as the Walmesley accounts suggest that from the 1630s toll ceased to be paid on livestock transactions. It is noticeable that in 1642 the bailiffs of Clitheroe appointed two men to collect stallage money at the Clitheroe fairs with no reference to the collection of toll. This suggests that the 1690s figure relates

to stallage only and hence is not comparable with the 1630s figures.⁶⁸

Tolls ceased to be paid on livestock trade at all the local fairs during the course of the seventeenth century with the exception of Haslingden where its monopoly position as the only centre for the sheep trade may have enabled it to retain its charges. An alternative approach is to consider the lease rental values of the fairs. All the fairs were leased to private individuals who in turn sub-let them, at Clitheroe to the borough, elsewhere to the Kenyon family.⁶⁹

The fact that the leases were in private hands and that their rentals were subject to changed terms at the expiry of each lease, suggests that the lease rentals may have borne a relationship to the true market value of the fairs. It may even have been worthwhile for the Clitheroe civic authorities to pay a rental reflecting the continued presence of the phantom toll income from the stock trade as well as the actual stallage income. From Michaelmas 1618 Clitheroe paid £10 plus 5s. per annum, i.e. an annual average of 10s., for the sub lease of the fair for forty years. The terms of the renewal in 1658 are unknown but it was probably sub-leased for another forty years as in 1698 the borough obtained a further two years lease at an increased rental of £1 10s. per annum.⁷⁰

Similar data is available for Blackburn, Burnley, Colne, Haslingden and Padiham fairs which were often sub-leased as a single unit as indicated in Table 7.

TABLE 7 *Lease Value of Five Blackburn Hundred Fairs 1575-1674*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Annual rental on lease (£)</i>	<i>Length of lease in years</i>	<i>Fairs covered</i>
1577	1 5s	21	all
1597	1 5s	21	all
1604	1 5s	40	all
1610	1	21	all but Blackburn
1632	1	?	all but Blackburn
1638	1 2s	31	all but Blackburn
1668	1 10s	?	all
1674	1 10s	99	all

During the period from 1604 until 1669 it would appear that the stallage of the fairs at Blackburn was leased to the constables of the town at a rate of 6/8d per annum. However it appears that no toll was levied at Blackburn fairs during this period.⁷¹ These figures indicate a more modest increase than that found at Clitheroe but nonetheless a trend in the same direction.

The Shuttleworth and Walmesley families used these fairs for a declining proportion of their stock trade over the seventeenth century as can be seen in Table 8.

TABLE 8 *Shuttleworth and Walmesley Family Use of Local Livestock Fairs*⁷²

	<i>Percentage of their livestock trade done at local fairs</i>
Shuttleworth family 1601-1621	50
Walmesley family 1613-1639	42
Walmesley family 1661-1700	39

Despite this, the growth of the market hinterland of the fairs during the period to include Scottish and Irish cattle and Midland buyers must have meant that the fairs continued to have an important role for these families beyond the still high percentage of cattle they traded at local fairs at the end of the century. For smaller local producers there is more direct evidence of the continued vital role of local fairs. At the end of the century the local Quarter Sessions concluded that the most effective way to control an outbreak of rinderpest was to ban the buying and selling of cattle at the fairs and markets of the hundred.⁷³ As late as 1748 it was said of the Pendle area that:

Tenants cannot pay their rents on account of the Disorder which has been amongst the Horned Cattle for the Fairs are just now beginning to be held again.⁷⁴

Although local livestock fairs as a whole clearly retained their importance this was not necessarily the experience of each individual fair centre. I.D. Whyte noted the existence of 'market rings' in seventeenth century Scottish market centres.⁷⁵ Here fair dates were staggered within a locality to enable potential traders to travel the local circuit whilst

minimising local competition. The 1610 enquiry indicates there was already such a ring operating locally especially in the upland fairs of Burnley, Colne and Padiham where such concentrations of fair dates were found in late April–early May, and late September–early October.⁷⁶ Both the Shuttleworth and Walmesley families went round these circuits to trade especially before 1640. The circuits continued after 1660 attracting men from outside the area, for example in April 1689 John Key of Ashton bought oxen from the Walmesley family at Blackburn fair on the 27th and Burnley fair on the 28th.⁷⁷

These 'rings' provided a constant temptation for fairs to seek individual advantage by manipulating the system. One ploy was to bring forward the date of a fair to precede rival fairs. This could pre-empt purchases from potential customers of later fairs. As early as 1633 the Duchy Court ordered that Burnley, Colne, Haslingden and Padiham fairs should be held strictly on the days specified in the lease and not moved at the pleasure of the inhabitants or neighbouring gentry.⁷⁸ This order was ignored for in 1639 Padiham claimed its fairs were being hurt by Burnley bringing forward the dates of its April, June and September fairs.⁷⁹ This protest was ineffective, the Walmesley family continued to visit at least the April fair at its new date for the rest of the century.⁸⁰ Burnley's action also led to ineffective complaints from Clitheroe on the same grounds.⁸¹ Bringing forward the date might also enable toll and stallage to be avoided. Hence in 1634 the Duchy was forced to order that when a fair at Burnley, Colne, Haslingden or Padiham was held on a day other than that specified in the fair lease, they should still charge toll. Such a step would hold obvious attractions for livestock traders and the impact of such competitive moves by local fairs could be fatal. Until 1638 the Walmesley family had made regular use of Padiham livestock fair but thereafter visits abruptly ceased.⁸² In 1641 the Duchy Court ordered that the keeping of fairs and taking of toll at Padiham under the sub lease was now a punishable offence.⁸³ Hence it appears that Padiham had folded in the face of the above competition. Given the short burst of fair activity of Bradley, Hurst and Ribchester fairs these may also have been attempts to exploit the situation and the lax regulation behind it.

The main beneficiary from this rivalry was probably Blackburn fair. The draft brief for the Duke of Albermarle

concerning disputed tolls at Blackburn claimed that the absence of tolls there meant:

That the fairs at Blackburn are within a few years greatly increased, and other fairs which were the King's and now the Duke's also at other neighbouring towns are quite decreased and gone to Blackburn, viz all the fairs at the town of Padiham in Blackburnshire.⁸⁴

Although it would have suited the Duke's case to blame Blackburn rather than Burnley for the demise of Padiham fair, the basic idea of the growing importance of Blackburn fairs is supported from other sources. During their livestock dealings, the Shuttleworth and Walmesley families traded nearly six hundred and fifty head of cattle at the ten fairs.⁸⁵ Blackburn was the most important of these accounting for 35–40% of both visits and stock handled with a trend towards an increasing share over time. Clitheroe with around 12% of visits and trade was the second most popular centre and also seems to have been of growing importance over time. The upland fairs of Burnley, Colne, Haslingden and Padiham together accounted for 40–45% of both visits and trade. However, apart from Haslingden they appear to have been in relative decline during the period.⁸⁶ Haslingden in contrast experienced a modest increase in relative performance.

The growing importance of Blackburn was also aided by its successful development of fortnight 'fairs'.⁸⁷ In 1669 it was noted of Blackburn that:

Of late years they have owned fortnight fairs (operated from) February to Michaelmas being fairs or meetings for buying or selling cattle.⁸⁸

These 'fairs' were regularly visited by the Walmesley family from 1684 and accounted for 17% of their total cattle trade from 1661 to 1700.⁸⁹ Other centres also tried to start fortnight 'fairs'. The 1674 lease refers to them at Burnley and Colne and by 1687 Clitheroe was advertising such a 'fair' at Blackburn.⁹⁰ It is also possible that Chipping tried to start one as early as the 1650s and it was certainly in use by 1696 when the Sherburn family used it to buy a cow.⁹¹ Although this fair may have survived there is a total absence of any subsequent reference to it in local sources. Indeed none of these rival efforts appear to have succeeded, for despite their proximity none were ever mentioned by the Walmesley accounts and are not mentioned in any other local sources.

Overall Blackburn was clearly the main beneficiary of the upheaval amongst local fairs and Clitheroe and Haslingden may have also done moderately well whilst the others fared less well. It is significant that these three were all at the edge of the upland/lowland divide and were thus well placed between the stock rearing uplands to the north and east and the growing markets to the south i.e. they were the best placed to exploit the evolving live stock trading system of the region.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence presented above is undeniably fragmented and in places seemingly contradictory but taken as a whole it does provide a coherent outline of the experience of local fairs.

Given the importance of livestock in the fair trade it is likely that this would be a major factor in determining the overall fate of local fairs. From the mid sixteenth century if not before there was a clear increase in the number of fair centres and fair days especially in those devoted to the livestock trade. This increase was in a period of local demographic and economic expansion associated with the opening up of new lands in the area for settlement from the early sixteenth century as well as the expansion of the local woollen industry. This increase in fairs at a time of demographic and economic expansion is directly counter to Westerfield's arguments that such factors tended to make fairs obsolete. In terms of chronology it supports Everitt's scenario of buoyant fairs at least in the period down to 1620.⁹²

In contrast the experience of fairs from that time until the end of the century was contradictory to the chronology outlined by Everitt. In this period the experience of fairs appears to have been far more complex than before. Although the lease rentals of fairs tended to increase and the number of fair days tended to increase, albeit at a lower rate than before, the prosperity of fairs appears to have been extremely patchy. The number of livestock days devoted to the key livestock trade actually fell between the 1630s and the 1670s. The 1630s clearly saw the outbreak of competition amongst local fairs in the upland areas which led to a reduction in the number of fair centres and probably to a

change in the relative importance of those fairs that remained. The trade of the Walmesley family and the independent data available both tend to confirm that the main losers in this period were the upland fairs especially Padiham whilst the main gainers were the lowland fairs especially Blackburn.

This divergent experience was probably indirectly linked to the demographic and economic problems that affected the upland area in particular the early 1620s. J.T. Swain saw these problems as largely due to the substantial composition payments demanded by the Crown from local copyholders in 1609 and 1618, intensified by the severe harvest failures of 1621 and 1622 and the depression in the local woollen industry from the early 1620s.⁹³ None of the above were likely to have been of direct impact on local fairs which were neither involved in the grain nor the woollen trades. However the upland area was one with a pastoral bias, dispersed landownership and widespread dual employment in textiles and hence it was bound to be widely affected. Indeed it may have been such problems that forced the upland fairs into such an acute competitive battle for survival in the 1630s.

In contrast in the lowland areas the pastoral bias was less as was the dependence on the woollen industry, hence the impact on their lowland economy was likely to have been substantially less.⁹⁴

Although the composition and harvest failure were essentially short term problems, the textile depression was long term and essentially remained for the rest of the century and hence may help explain the long term divergence in the experience of the upland and lowland fairs.

Although the Walmesleys made less use of local fairs for their livestock trade as the century progressed due to their switch towards private trade and the use of the fortnightly 'fair' market at Blackburn, traditional fairs remained a crucial mechanism by which they marketed their cattle and bought their sheep. Traditional fairs also retained their crucial role in the cattle trade of the mass of smaller local men until well beyond 1700. Indeed in the latter part of the seventeenth century these fairs were beginning to play a minor, but in the long term possibly significant role, in the regional and national cattle trade. It is this growth of a wider geographic role for local fairs that may help explain the switch away from a single spring peak to a dual Spring and Autumn trade peak in the livestock trade of the fairs.

The overall experience of the local fairs from the 1630s is much more complex than the outline suggested by Westersfield for the period after 1660. By the end of the century local livestock fairs were by no means becoming obsolete. The overall experience of such fairs was more closely aligned with the position outlined by Chartres where fairs retained their importance as the basis for livestock trading whilst at the same time there was a shake out of the feebler fair specimens.

APPENDIX I: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACKBURN HUNDRED LIVESTOCK

A) CATTLE

Writers such as Blome, Camden and Maskham indicate that hardy, shaggy haired and thick hided longhorns predominated. These animals were said to fatten quickly to give good quality beef but at the same time made good draught animals. Although Scottish and Irish stock may have changed such traits in the eighteenth century, the volume of such traffic before 1700 was insufficient to have been of impact.

The internal evidence from the Shuttleworth and Walmesley accounts tends to support such descriptions e.g. hide and possibly hair were valuable by-products of local stock.

Between 1668 and 1698 the Walmesley family sold 206 hides for an average of 98 lbs per hide at prices ranging from 1¾d to 3d. per lb but normally within a range of 2 to 2½d. per lb. On this basis most hides were worth on average between 16s. and £1 each. Between 1583 and 1621 the Shuttleworth family sold 76 hides at an average price of 15/9d. whilst between 1617 and 1637 the Walmesley family sold 338 hides at an average price of 18/10d. Unfortunately the weight of hides was not given in these earlier periods but if it is assumed that the price range of 2d. – 2½d. per lb was also valid for these earlier periods it would suggest an average hide weighed from 75 to 95 lbs between 1583 and 1621 and 90 lbs to 110 lbs between 1617 and 1639. Even if this assumption is not valid it is clear that hides were a valuable by-product throughout the period.

The evidence available in relation to hair is more limited. The only direct reference to cattle hair came in 1599 when the Shuttleworths traded one stone of hair for 4s. Although sporadic references to sales of hair were made throughout both the Shuttleworth and Walmesley accounts none refer specifically to cattle hair and the prices involved varied markedly from as little as 4d. per stone in 1603 to 4/2d. in 1595 whilst the price appears to have settled at 1s. per stone in the Walmesley accounts for the late seventeenth century.

More clearcut evidence albeit indirect is available about the size and body weight of the stock. Between September 1629 and September 1630 the Walmesleys slaughtered thirty six oxen for which they kept a record of the amount of suet obtained from each ox. As tallow is derived mainly from suet it is possible to compare the Walmesley suet yields with the tallow yields from stock in other areas. This permits an estimate of the relative weight of local fatstock with stock from other areas because larger beasts generally produced larger quantities of both tallow/suet and meat.

TABLE 9 *Suet/Tallow Yield of Slaughtered Stock*

	<i>Blackburn Hundred</i>	<i>East Riding</i>	<i>Buckinghamshire</i>
	<i>Sept-Dec 1630</i>	<i>Sept-Dec 1688</i>	<i>1664-1671</i>
<i>Average yield</i>	<i>3 stone 3 lbs</i>	<i>6 Stone 6½ lbs</i>	<i>4 Stone 2 lbs</i>
<i>Lowest yield</i>	<i>1 Stone 13 lbs</i>	<i>4 Stone</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Highest yield</i>	<i>5 Stone 7 lbs</i>	<i>10 Stone</i>	<i>6 Stone 6 lbs</i>

These figures suggest that local cattle were significantly smaller than stock from the lowland areas of southern and eastern England. Hence although local cattle may have fattened quickly they were unlikely to give as much meat as their counterparts.⁹⁵

B) SHEEP

No contemporary descriptions of local sheep are available. In the mid nineteenth century they were described as:-

'A hardy animal of fair size, horned with grey face and bearing a fleece as heavy as the sheep of the Cheviots'.

In 1851 this Haslingden or lonk breed was said to have occupied the area for at least one hundred years. Trials earlier in the nineteenth century convinced some that if they were well kept the sheep would produce both good wool and meat. However, the mere occurrence of such trials indicates that the local sheep of the mid-nineteenth century may have not been the unchanged descendant of those of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century they had been described as 'half starved creatures' and it is unlikely that their management was significantly better in the seventeenth century.⁹⁶

Some indication of the products and hence perhaps the characteristics of local sheep in the seventeenth century can be gleaned from the Shuttleworth and Walmesley accounts.

These show that the families sold 163 wethers on 17 separate occasions between 1583 and 1699 at a mean average value of 9s. 4d. However on many other occasions they directly sold the products of their sheep on the local market. In the same period they sold 487.92 stone of wool on nineteen separate occasions at a mean average price of 10½d. per lb. On five occasions the weight of local fleeces were also recorded in the estate accounts giving an average of 1.85 lb per head. Taken together this data can be used to calculate the mean value per fleece at 1s. 9d. per head. The modest weight and value of these fleeces suggest that even at this early date, wool could not have been the main economic objective or priority of sheep rearing. A related product of sheep were their skins. It is difficult to precisely value these as they were often sold with their fleeces intact. Sheep killed in the period between 'clipping' and Michaelmas were sold

by the families producing 641 skins on 38 separate occasions; it was during this period that the problem is likely to have been at its minimum. Hence the mean average of 1s. per skin, indicates this too was also a relatively minor by-product. This validity of the combined valuation of skins and wool at 2s. 9d. per head is supported by the valuation of the skins of sheep killed immediately before 'clipping' which was normally 2s. 6d. per head.

These figures by a process of elimination suggest that in such a pastoral area as this the main purpose of sheep rearing was probably for mutton. This view is supported by the purchases of mutton by the families which show a mean average of 3s. 8d. per mutton. Although these figures reflect retail purchases and thus must take into account the costs and profits on the retailer, the figures provide strong supporting evidence for the idea of the economic importance of mutton in local sheep rearing.

APPENDIX II

CATTLE DEALINGS OF THE SHUTTLEWORTH AND WALMESLEY FAMILIES AT
THE FAIRS OF BLACKBURN HUNDRED 1580-1700

Fair	Number of visits												Number of Stock Traded											
	1583-99		1600-21		1612-39		1656-1700		1583-99		1600-21		1612-39		1656-1700		1583-99		1600-21		1612-39		1656-1700	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Blackburn	5	42	1	6	23	32	25	51	53	35	22	47	2	4	124	36	99	48	247	38	251	39	4	1
Bradley	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	1	36	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0
Burnley	3	25	3	17	12	16	5	10	23	15	8	17	13	27	39	11	30	14	90	14	40	19	79	12
Clitheroe	0	0	4	22	5	7	9	18	12	0	0	0	5	10	34	10	40	19	79	12	7	13	6	55
Colne	4	33	2	11	7	10	1	2	14	9	16	35	3	6	23	7	13	6	55	8	1	7	3	9
Harwood	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	8	5	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	7	3	9	1	2	18	9	26
Haslingden	0	0	1	6	1	1	5	10	7	5	0	0	1	2	7	2	18	9	26	4	3	0	12	2
Hurst	0	0	0	0	5	7	0	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	12	3	0	0	12	2	0	0	12	2
Padiham	0	0	7	39	16	23	0	0	23	15	0	0	24	50	88	25	0	0	112	17	92	26	116	18
Ribchester	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	11	3	0	0	11	2	0	0	11	2
Total	12	100	18	101	73	99	49	99	152	100	46	99	48	99	348	100	207	99	649	99	100	649	99	100

One entry for four animals in 1612-39 can not be clearly allocated between Padiham and Blackburn.

NOTES

- 1 R.B. Westerfield, Middlemen in English Business, *Trans Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XIX (1915), p. 333. A. Everitt, The Marketing of Agricultural Produce, in J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, IV, 1500-1640, (Cambridge, 1967), p. 543. J.A. Chartres, *The Internal Trade in England 1500-1700*, (1977), p. 48. T.S. Willan, *The Inland Trade*, (1976), p. 77.
- 2 W. Farrer and J. Brownbill, ed., *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VI, (1911), p. 230. The peak altitude is reached on Pendle Hill at 1,830 feet.
- 3 W. Farrer, ed., *Court Rolls of the Honour of Clitheroe*, II, (1913), pp. 273-317 and pp. 412-421, III, p. x. M. Brigg, The Forest of Pendle in the Seventeenth Century, *T.H.S.L.C.*, 113, (1961), pp. 65-68. W. King, The Economic and Demographic Development of Rossendale c. 1650-1795, University of Leicester, unpublished Phd thesis, (1979), pp. 10-16. J.T. Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution: NE Lancashire c.1500-1640*, Chet. Soc. 3rd Ser. **32** (1986), pp. 19, 71.
- 4 Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 127-142.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-19. King, *The Economics and Demographic Development of Rossendale*, pp. 14-15.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-142. Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 20-27, 127-138, 142-148.
- 7 Lancs. R. O./DD/Ke/5/173-181.
- 8 The Shuttleworth accounts cover the period 1583-1681 whilst the Walmesley accounts cover the period 1612 to beyond 1700 with a break from 1639 to 1656.
- 9 M. Brigg, The Walmesleys of Dunkenhalgh: A family of Blackburn Hundred in the Elizabethan and Stuart Periods, *TLCAS*, 75 (1968), pp. 72-102. Farrer and Brownbill, *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VI, pp. 420-422, 463. LRO Probate Inventory of Richard Walmesley of Dunkenhalgh, October 1st 1679.
- 10 In both, varying levels of detail are provided about their trading. Specific transactions can be allocated to particular fairs by several means, even though entries record that date when the payment of a receipt was entered into the account rather than the date that a transaction actually occurred. The fair involved was often referred to by name and the date of the transaction noted. In other cases the town is named but not that it was a fair, rather than a private transaction. However, in many such cases toll was paid and the date given was near the known date of a fair in that town; hence it was clearly a fair based transaction. Where these criteria have not been met the transactions have been deleted from the base figures quoted here even though the nature of the trade and the place of residence of the trade partners was often stated.
- 11 G.H. Tupling, The Origin of Markets and Fairs in Medieval Lancashire, *TLCAS*, 49, (1933), p. 89. J.A. Chartres, The Marketing of Agricultural Produce, J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1640-1750*, (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 423, 439.
- 12 P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice) /DL44/88 Spec Com/6/0.
- 13 T. Woodcock, *Haslingden: A Topographical History*, Chet. Soc. 3rd Ser., IV (1953), p. 80. W. Farrer, ed., *Clitheroe Court Rolls*, p. 184. R.B. Westerfield, p. 333.
- 14 Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 8.
- 15 PRO/D244/828, Spec Com 1610. Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 165.

- 16 PRO/DL44/828, Spec Com 1610. LRO/DD/Ke/173, 175, 178. These figures can be set against a total of seventeen in the 1820s, see E. Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, I, (Liverpool, 1824), pp. 567, 619.
- 17 W.S. Weeks, 'Clitheroe in the Seventeenth Century', *TLCAS*, 43, (1926), pp. 106–107. Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, pp. 131, 146, 156–158. Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer*, p. 612.
- 18 Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 114. LRO/DD/Ke/5/175, 178. Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer*, p. 506.
- 19 The Fairs were visited thus:
- | | |
|------------|------------------------------|
| Harwood | 1639, 1680, 1688, 1691, 1699 |
| Bradley | 1636 |
| Hurst | 1635 |
| Ribchester | 1632, 1638, 1639 |
- 20 J.A. Chartres, p. 48.
- 21 R.B. Westerfield, p. 338–39. J.A. Chartres, p. 49.
- 22 PRO/DL44/828 Spec Com. LRO/DD/Ke/5/174.
- 23 Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, *passim*. LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts, *passim*. Neither set of accounts normally specified the date that the transactions occurred, only the date of receipt or payment. The town concerned was normally named and the receipt or payment recorded within a few days of the known date of a fair at that town. As a result it is usually possible to allocate specific transactions to particular fairs with some degree of confidence.
- 24 LRO/DD/Ke/5/174. LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts.
- 25 W.S. Weeks, *Clitheroe in the Seventeenth Century*, (Clitheroe, nd), p. 51.
- 26 A. Everitt, p. 543.
- 27 The livestock figures cover the mixed livestock/pedlary days which appear to have had a predominantly livestock orientation.
A = Pure livestock and mixed livestock/pedlary fairs.
B = Pure pedlary fairs.
C = A + B.
- 28 Chartres, *The Inland Trade*, p. 48. Chartres, *The Marketing of Agricultural Produce*, p. 436.
- 29 King, *The Economic and Demographic Development of Rossendale*, pp. 73–112. Brigg, *The Forest of Pendle in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 79–88. C. Ironfield, *The Parish of Chipping during the Seventeenth Century*, unpublished. MA Thesis, University of Leicester, (1974), Chapter VIII. Chartres, *The Marketing of Agricultural Produce*, p. 436.
- 30 The two figures here have been combined as the Shuttleworth family only paid three visits and the Walmesley family only twelve visits down to 1639 where as in the latter period the Walmesley family alone paid twenty-eight visits.
- 31 The handful of cases relating to the trade in dairy cattle at the fairs all relate to the period before 1650, e.g. 29 April 1629 – two milk cattle bought at Padiham fair. May 1635 – one why to milk bought at Burnley fair.
- 32 Brigg, *The Forest of Pendle*, p. 83.
- 33 R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700*, (1957), pp. 106–108. W. Farrer, ed., *Lancashire Inquests, Extents and Feudal Aids. II: 1310–1333*, LCRS, 41, (1901), p. 198. Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution*, p. 47.
- 34 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts.
- 35 E. Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution*, (1967), pp. 111–112.

- 36 For example see entry for 20th May 1684.
- 37 For a consideration of the characteristics of local cattle see Appendix I.
- 38 For a consideration of the characteristics of local sheep see Appendix I.
- 39 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts June 29th 1676, September 2nd 1677.
- 40 Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 173 June 1606. LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts June 29th 1676, November 14th 1678, November 19th 1683, November 17th 1694. LRO/St/General Accounts August 18th 1699.
- 41 *Fair Trade*
LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts eg. September 1618 fish, hops, and partridge bought at Stourbridge fair.
Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*,
e.g. p. 10 July 1583 fish bought at Bolton fair
p. 54 September 1589 fish bought Stourbridge fair
p. 232 September 1618 ling bought at Gisburn fair
- Non Fair Trade*
Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*,
e.g. p. 160 February 1605 fish bought at Preston
p. 171 January 1606 butter bought at Padiham market
p. 166 July 1606 iron bars bought at York
p. 210 August 1613 wine bought at Clitheroe
p. 212 September 1617 list of spices and garden seeds usually bought annually in London at Michaelmas.
LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts *passim*.
- 42 Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 249: June 1621 – tar to mark wethers bought at Haslingden fair. LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts: Spring 1629 – two ox hides sold at Padiham fair, April 1670, 1674, 1619 – agistment advertised at Blackburn fair.
- 43 Weeks, *Clitheroe*, p. 53.
- 44 Sharpe-France, *The Thieveley Lead Mines 1629–1635*, LCRS, 102 (1951), p. 72.
- 45 Weeks, *Clitheroe*, p. 51. Similar visits by such groups were still being made to Haslingden fair in the mid-eighteenth century – see W. Brockbank and F. Kenworthy, ed., *The Diary of Richard Kay: A Lancashire Doctor 1716–1751*, Chet. Soc. 3rd Ser. 16 (1968), pp. 49, 52, 128.
- 46 M. Gray, *The History of Bury, Lancashire from 1660–1876*, (Bury 1970), p. 27.
- 47 Weeks, *Clitheroe*, p. 51.
- 48 W. Bennett, *History of Burnley*, II (Burnley, 1947), p. 78.
- 49 R. Sharpe-France, *Thieveley Lead Mines*, p. 189.
- 50 Whilst at Smithhills (Bolton) before 1600 the Shuttleworth family frequently bought cattle at Burnley, Colne and Skipton fairs each over fifteen miles to the north east. After moving to Gawthorpe they traded at even more distant fairs namely Knaresborough (Yorkshire) 1617, Rosely (Cumberland) 1621 and Brough (Westmorland) 1621. The Walmesley family went to less geographical distances to trade cattle. In the first half of the century they used Chorley 1618, 1636 and Wigan 1630, 1631, and 1634. The Shuttleworth purchases at Craven and Cumbrian fairs suggest that the movement of Craven and Cumbrian Longhorns was occurring long before the mid-eighteenth century as suggested by Trow-Smith, *Livestock Husbandry to 1700*, p. 48.

- 51 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts. Three exceptions were all in 1686 when deals were made at Blackburn fair with three men from the Bowland area over twenty miles to the north east. Chartres, *The Marketing of Agricultural Produce*, p. 440.
- 52 J.J. Bagley, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, I, 1702-17, *LCRS*, 110 (1968), p. 230.
- 53 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts. Disbursements: September 1636, Receipts: March 1682, March 1683, February 1685, February 1689.
- 54 Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster*, p. 143. Trow-Smith, *Livestock Husbandry to 1700*, pp. 109, 220. R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry 1700-1900* (1959), p. 48. Though reaching the East Midlands there is no certainty that their ultimate destination was the London market.
- 55 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts: June 1685 John Ingham of Mankenholes in Craven sold four wethers and two tups to the Walmesleys at the fair. To make the visit viable he may well have sold further stock to other men at this or neighbouring fairs. April 1690 William Atkinson of Thornton in Craven sold twenty wethers to the Walmesley family at the fair. The Walmesleys also bought sheep at Craven fairs and subsequently transferred them from their Craven properties to their Blackburn hundred estates.
- 56 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts: March and May 1679 Tim Iredale of Brighthouse bought two lots of five wethers: April 1680 Robert Gleasdale of Halifax bought ten wethers, October 1683 James Stanner of Rochdale bought thirteen wethers.
- 57 Westerfield, *TCAAS*, p. 189.
- 58 J. Tait, ed., *Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records, I, Quarter Sessions Rolls 1590-1606*, Chet. Soc. n.s. 77 (1917), pp. 56, 104.
- 59 Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 255: April 1619. LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts: August 1688.
- 60 LRO/DD/Ke/5/174.
- 61 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts: e.g. Receipts October 27th 1676.
- 62 B.W. Quintrell, *Proceedings of the Lancashire Justices of the Peace at the Sheriff's Table During Assizes Weeks 1578-1694*, *LCRS*, 121 (1981), p. 122. Trow-Smith, *Livestock Husbandry to 1700*, p. 230. Woodward, *Cattle Droving*, p. 36.
- LRO/St/General Accounts July 31st 1700:
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| paid for 15 bullocks in Isle of Man | £28 14s. 6d. |
| paid Lord Derby for Custom | £1 10s. |
| paid Liverpool custom for 13 bullocks | £2 15s. |
| Officers fees 2s. | Town duty 2s. |
| Freight of thirteen cattle | £3 5s. |
| Charges of the cattle at Liverpool 3 days | 6s. 6d. |
| My own charges there | 4s. 6d. |
| To one man and horse from Liverpool to Stonyhurst | 7s. 6d. |
| Charges of the beasts and horse at Walton all night | 2s. 6d. |
| My own charges and ye mans from Liverpool to Stonyhurst | 3s. 4d. |
| Given to two men for seeking one of the bullocks lost in Liverpool in unshipping them | 2s. |
- 63 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts.
- 64 Trow-Smith, *Livestock Husbandry 1700-1900*, pp. 172, 227.
- 65 J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880* (1966), p. 25.
- 66 Weeks, *Clitheroe*, p. 53.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

- 68 The extent of the fall serves to indicate the importance of livestock to the fairs of the town. Weeks, *Clitheroe*, p. 52.
- 69 Woodcock, *Haslingden*, p. 81. LRO/DD/Ke/5/179. Such leasing went back well before 1580, e.g. in 1476 the toll and stallage of Blackburnshire was granted for a term of years to Sir George Stanley and Tristram Legh – see A.R. Myers, *An Official Progress Through Lancashire and Cheshire in 1476*, *THSLC*, 115 (1963), p. 22.
- 70 Weeks, *Clitheroe*, p. 53.
- 71 LRO/DD/Ke/5/28, 173, 174, 175, 178. The 1605 lease was not to be operable before 1618.
- 72 The 1674 lease also involved a lump sum payment of £20. The 1601–1620 figure relates to 50 out of 100 head, that of 1613–1639 to 430 out of 1,025 head and that of 1661–1700 to 207 out of 526 head. In the Walmesley case even the main shift was from deals at fairs outside the hundred which fell (40 per cent to 16 per cent) to private deals which grew (18 per cent to 27 per cent) and deals at ‘fortnight’ fairs which grew (0 per cent to 17 per cent).
- 73 LRO/DD/Ke/2/1/11.
- 74 R. Sharpe-France, *The History of Plague in Lancashire*, *THSLC*, 90 (1938), p. 175.
- 75 I.D. Whyte, *The Growth of Periodic Market Centres in Scotland 1600–1707*, *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 95 no. 1 (1979), p. 14.
- 76
- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Spring</i> | <i>Autumn</i> |
| 29 April – Padiham | 27 September – Padiham |
| 1 May – Colne | 29 September – Colne |
| 2 May – Burnley | 30 September – Burnley |
| 3 May – Colne | 1 October – Colne |
- 77 LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts.
- 78 PRO/DL/Decree Books 7–10, Chas I. fol. 4646.
- 79 Bennett, *History of Burnley*, I, p. 98. These dates preceded the April and September fairs at Padiham by one day.
- 80 It may well have been this failure that was the immediate cause of the almost concurrent demise of Padiham fair.
- 81 Farrer and Brownbill, *VCH*. VI, p. 523.
- 82 LRO/DD/Ke/5/174. LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts.
- 83 W.D. Selby, *Lancashire and Cheshire Records Preserved in the PRO London*, *LCRS*, 8 (1883), p. 250.
- 84 LRO/DD/Ke/5/179.
- 85 See Appendix II for details.
- 86 If the Shuttleworth and Walmesley data is treated separately the pattern remains unchanged.
- 87 Despite the title ‘fair’ its frequency suggests it would be more appropriately classified as a market especially as no toll was collected. The frequency precludes them from classification as a true fair in the sense of the definition adopted in this article.
- 88 LRO/DD/Ke/5/174.
- 89 The ‘fairs’ still operated at the end of the eighteenth century but by then they were largely devoted to milk cattle. J. Aiken, *A Description of the Country for Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester*, (1795), p. 270.
- 90 LRO/DD/Ke/5/175. Weeks, *Clitheroe*, p. 51.
- 91 W. Abram, *A History of Blackburn Town and Parish*, (Blackburn, 1877), p. 195. LRO/DD/St/General Accounts April 1696.
- 92 Everitt, *The Marketing of Agricultural Produce*, p. 543.
- 93 Swain, *Industry Before The Industrial Revolution*, pp. 203–204.

- 94 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 95 Trow-Smith, *Livestock Husbandry to 1700*, p. 220. J. Thirsk, *Farming Techniques*, in *idem*, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 186. Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts: passim*. LRO/DD/Pt/1/Accounts, *passim*. D.M. Woodward, Cattle droving in the sixteenth century: A Yorkshire example, in W.H. Chaloner and B.M. Ratcliffe, eds., *Trade and Transport: Essays in economic history in honour of T.S. Willan*, (Manchester, 1977), p. 39. Although the Yorkshire figures are based on only six head of cattle and thus must be treated with caution, the Buckinghamshire case is based on 2,659 stock.
- 96 J. Rothwell, *Report on the Agriculture of Lancashire*, (1850), p. 105. J. Binns, *Notes on the Agriculture of Lancashire*, (Preston, 1851), p. 73. E. Lovat, *A Sketch of the Rural Economy of the County of Lancaster*, (1831), pp. 82-83. J. Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster*, (1794), p. 199.

