

Grassroots Change in an Early Modern Economy: The Emergence of a Rural Consumer Society in Berkshire

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N.R. Goose has described the changing role of Reading from woollen production in the middle ages to an early modern service centre, specialising in transport, food and drink.¹ He has considered it as an economy under the influence of London and the wider political and economic sphere, as well as in the context of its rural hinterland. His attention to the latter, however, is as a quietly static and purely agricultural region. As such, the rural Berkshire economy is done as injustice. Typical of the contemporary home counties, Berkshire experienced a certain amount of rural industrialisation in the early modern period. So where Goose's attention to Reading's changing economy is valuable, but it can only be interpreted fully in the light of the changing county economy as a whole – urban and rural. This article is an attempt to reconstruct the full county economy.

My research brings together three principal sources: contemporary accounts and description; occupation data from wills, and marriage seasonality records. Each is presented and evaluated before the three are brought together.

Firstly, the simplest and most direct insight comes from the accounts of contemporary travellers and residents, which offer fragments of information on the economy. Before considering what they say it is important to remember that they are not systematic, penetrative regional analyses but tend to be impressionistic and qualitative surveys. As such they focus on the unusual and impressive rather than the taken-for-granted world of daily life; hence the 'usual' and the 'normal' of seventeenth century life went largely unrecorded. So the descriptive accounts are presented in order to aid interpretation of the subsequent quantitative descriptions, rather than to stand alone.

Contemporary observers like Cox describe areas of rich commercial agriculture: the fruitful Vale of Whitehorse, Thames and Kennet valleys, producing wheat, barley, wood and cattle which were sent to London, by river barge, either for consumption there or to be exported (as with grain). He writes: The River Thames is of vast

advantage to the inhabitants, who convey their corn and other products of the soil, as also their manufactures, by water to London, where they always find vent.² London, via the Thames and its tributaries, acted to diffuse the growing capital city's prosperity and to widen its economic sphere into the home counties.³

Cox described the Berkshire Downs and Thames valley as the . . . most fertile cornlands in the kingdom . . ., noted for efficiency of horse-hoeing husbandry. Jethro Tull, who gained experience of farming near Wallingford, went on to advocate this style of husbandry to farmers elsewhere. It would not be unreasonable to describe farming in this part of Berkshire as the leading edge of an agricultural revolution that was taking place in the seventeenth century, producing food more efficiently and cheaply.

The northwest of Berkshire and the east were traditionally based on dairying, not arable and were enclosed from an early date. Cox describes the east Berkshire as being forested; a region mostly coniferous and characterised by podzol soils.⁴ Defoe found such infertile soils there, describing Bagshot Heath as ' . . . a vast tract of land . . . which is not only poor, but even quite sterile, given up to barrenness, horrid and frightful to look on, not only good for little but good for nothing.'⁵

Roads were poor in summer and frequently impassable in winter. Celia Fiennes⁶ observed (in 1690) 'from Redding (sic.) to Theale sad clay deep way; thence to Newbury all clay mirey ground.' Road use was, however, growing, and the Bath road was turnpiked in 1663 and stage coaches ran regularly along it, the fastest of which connected Reading to London in only twelve hours.⁷ Commercial road traffic included livestock, able to walk to their own market, and light manufactures such as lace that could be moved by pack horse or wagon.⁸

Rivers were not only of transportation significance but provided a raw material for tanning and brewing industries, notably alongside the Kennet in Reading. Reading was also the centre for cloth, leather and metal industries and increasingly transport services and processing industries.⁸ Other manufacturing industries in the county included Wokingham silk and stockings, Newbury shalloon (a lining material) and Marlow lace out-working.⁹

The second county-wide data source employed here is occupation information from wills. This offers a partial picture of occupational geography, for two reasons. First there is a bias towards the wealthier tiers of society – many of the poorer people are not represented because they had too few possessions to warrant the making of a will. This meant the exclusion of 30 per cent of town and 50 per cent of rural dwellers.¹⁰ This has an important implication for the study of

emergent consumer industries, if we take account of Glennie's division of manufacturing workers into those forced by underemployment to supplement their income, and the craftsmen engaged in small businesses of their own. Since wills record the wealthy more efficiently, they must bias towards this latter group of middle class craftsmen.¹¹

Secondly wills also fail to record the occupations of women and children in what was a family production system. For example, the wife may have contributed by laceworking and the children through tending animals. Male adult occupation data alone conceals important occupational activities, and thus represents but a half-truth.

Limitations established, it is possible to move on and see what will-based occupation data has to offer. Occupations for all male wills in Berkshire 1653–1710 were classified according to the system shown in table 1.¹² Occupational compositions are shown by region,¹³ in maps 1a–1d. Distribution employments were high in towns and were otherwise uniformly low. The overall patterns show a commercially-farmed and almost purely agricultural northern economy, with manufacturing and artisan-retailing¹⁴ concentrated in the four major towns, in the Thameside east and the southwest region, between Newbury and the Thames.

A less direct approach to reconstructing the regional economies of early modern England stems from the empirical work of Wrigley and Schofield. They found marked seasonality of marriage, localised with autumn (October/November) peaks in the arable parishes (largely) of south and east England, and spring (April to July) peaks in the open pastoral parishes (largely) of the north and west.¹⁵ The reason for such marriage seasonality, they explain, is rooted in the nature of the agricultural work routines. Following the busy harvest on arable, and lambing on pastoral farms, farmers were left with spare time and money. Annual labour contracts terminated and back wages were paid. Both the farmer and the labourer were thus able to afford the commitment in time and money to getting married, to the associated celebrations, and to establishing an independent household.

Parish registers are thus a latent data source for use in the identification of farming/economic regions of early modern England. They have the advantages of quantity consistency and of recording details of most, perhaps all, tiers of society. The date of marriage, further, is a fact. As such it is not open to exaggeration or to semantic ambiguity, as is the will.

Kusmaul has devised an index to measure the degree of Autumn and Spring marriage peaking.¹⁶ It is corrected to take into account the low numbers marrying in March and December – the months of Lent, Rogationtide and Advent. Although marriage became legal

Table 1 Occupational Classification

1. Agriculture
 - a) Farmer, grazier, yeoman.
 - b) Husbandman.
 - c) Shepherd, dairyman.
2. Distribution, and professional services
 - a) retailers – victualler, chandler tallow-chandler, mercer, haberdasher, draper, apothecary, innholder, grocer, cheese-maker, bookseller.
 - b) Merchants – of coal, corn, timber.
 - c) Transport – carrier, loader, sailor, boatman, bargemen, carter, trowman, boatmaster, wharfinger, bargeman.
 - d) Professions – prison keeper, surgeon, surgeon-chirurgeon, physician, military, academic, schoolmaster, musician, mayor, apparitor, bellman, town-clerk, doctor of law, doctor of physic, bailiff.
 - e) Other services – bridgeman, barber, painter.
3. Artisan retailers
 - a) Tailor.
 - b) Carpenter, joiner, sawyer
 - c) Builder – mason, freemason, glazier, plumber, slatter and tiler, thatcher.
 - d) Smith – blacksmith and farmer
 - e) Baker and cook.
 - f) Butcher.
 - g) Brewer.
4. Manufacturing
 - a) Textiles – clothier, clothworker, weaver, dyer, miller, felt-maker, cloth drawer, wool-winder, hemp dresser, flax-dresser.
 - b) Leather – saddler, furrier, currier, tanner, cordwainer, harness-dresser.
 - c) Specialised clothing – glover, milliner, girdler, pointmaker, hatter, collar-maker, bodice-maker, brazier.
 - d) Wood industries – millwright, shipwright, cooper, wheelwright, mill carpenter, burner, hood-shaver, pike-maker, wheel-maker, shovel-maker, bucket-maker.
 - e) Metal industries – nailer, pinsmith, wire-drawer, bell-founder, plough-maker, tinker, cutler, pewterer, brazier, locksmith.
 - f) Food processing – miller, maltster.
 - g) Other miscellaneous – upholsterer, parchmentmaker, clockmaker, trunkmaker, potter, plateworker, kilnman, sievemaking, salter, rope-maker, pipe-maker.
5. Miscellaneous other
 - a) Mealman, keeper, fisherman, warrener, servant.

during these times after the Reformation, it was slow to be adopted. Kussmaul classifies parishes broadly into arable, pastoral and 'other' from the indices that she calculates. 'Other' is defined by Wrigley and

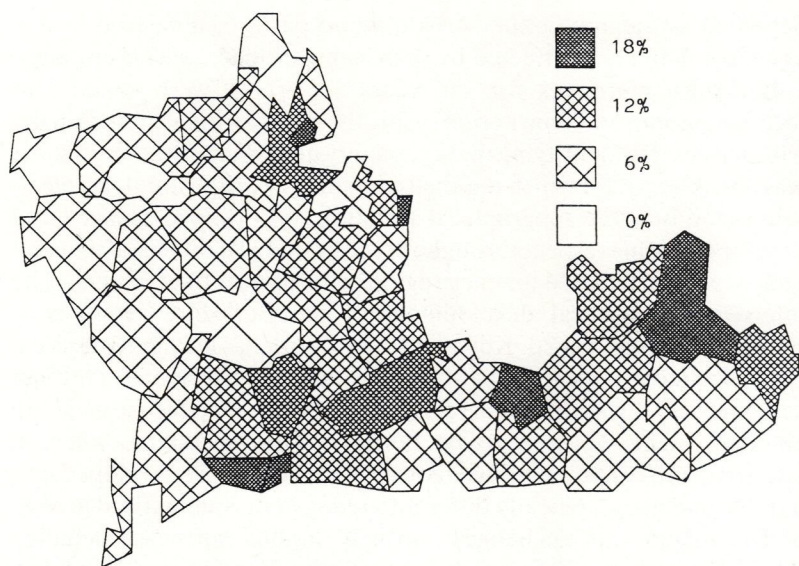
Schofield as meaning either urban, wood pasture, industrial or any systems relatively unaffected by seasonal workloads, such as mining.

Berkshire marriages for the years 1558–1738 were coded into location, month and time period, using the same regional units as in the will analysis. By identifying the seasonality of marriage in each region it was possible to infer which regional economies were pastoral, arable or other, and how the geographical structure of Berkshire changed and developed in this respect throughout the period. To do this, Kussmaul indices were calculated for each region by forty-year time periods. The inferred geographical development of the Berkshire economy is presented in maps 2a–2d. Kussmaul's own work has led her to describe the seventeenth century as a time when 'a blanket of Autumn seasonality . . . was lifted and regional patterns of marriage seasonality emerged.' This appears to be borne out in Berkshire, where a late-sixteenth century homogeneously arable economy developed into a stable and geographically differentiated system, summarised in Map 3. This includes an unchanged, strongly 'arable' northeast including Abingdon and an 'other' southeast including Reading and Newbury, and the development of 'other' in the southwest and Wallingford. The remaining regions followed less clearly marked patterns, tending to move away from Autumn seasonality and later return or fluctuate. Interpretation of these findings depends on what Kussmaul's 'other' is taken to mean. Formally it can only be taken to mean 'not purely arable' and 'not purely open pasture'. And that may take several forms. It may mean wood pasture – which Wrigley and Schofield could not pin down to either of Autumn or Spring marriage. This group could only be parishes that are 'other' consistently and from an early date, since it is not possible to envisage rapid change from arable to wood pasture in a time of stable or declining forest and of profitable arable farming. From this it is possible to conclude that Berkshire's only possible wood pasture area was the southeast.

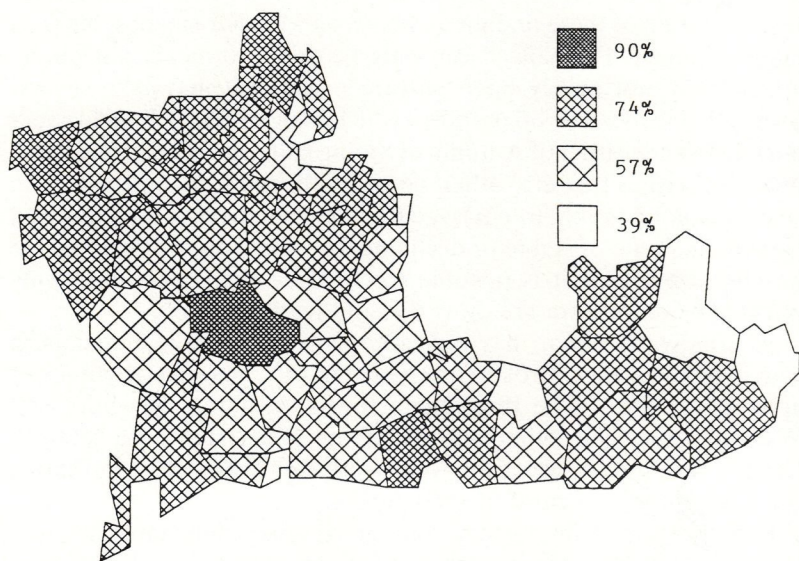
Alternatively 'other' may indicate the presence of manufacturing activities that have broken away from the seasonal rhythms of agricultural work. The three main towns, Reading, Newbury and Wallingford all had 'other' seasonality by mid-seventeenth century. Certain rural areas, especially the Southwest also had it, indicating the development of rural manufacturing.

Having traced the history and geography of commercial and industrial development in early modern Berkshire, it is desirable to interpret this in the light of alternative theories of rural industry that could be applied to early modern England.

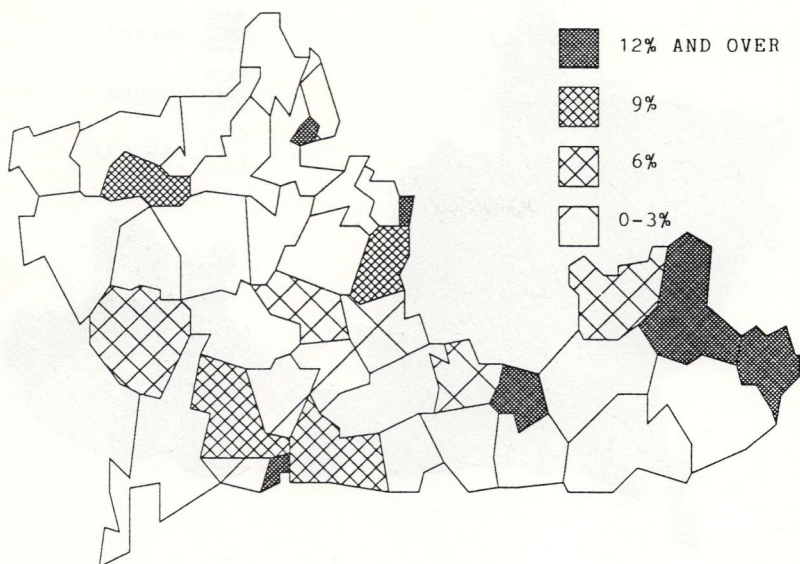
Perhaps the most prominent theoretician of early modern English manufacturing is Joan Thirsk, whose recent work on the subject



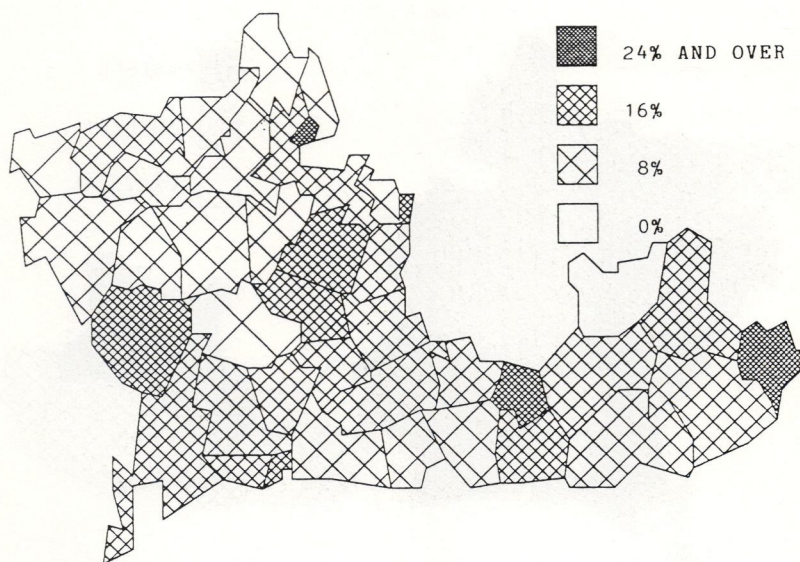
Map 1a: Percent of will-leavers engaged in manufacturing Berkshire (1653-1710)



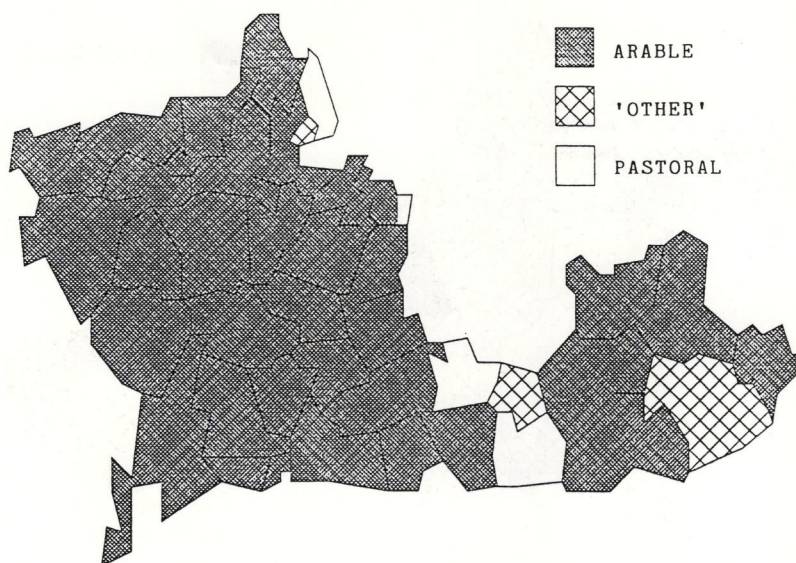
Map 1b: Percent of will-leavers engaged in agriculture Berkshire (1653-1710)



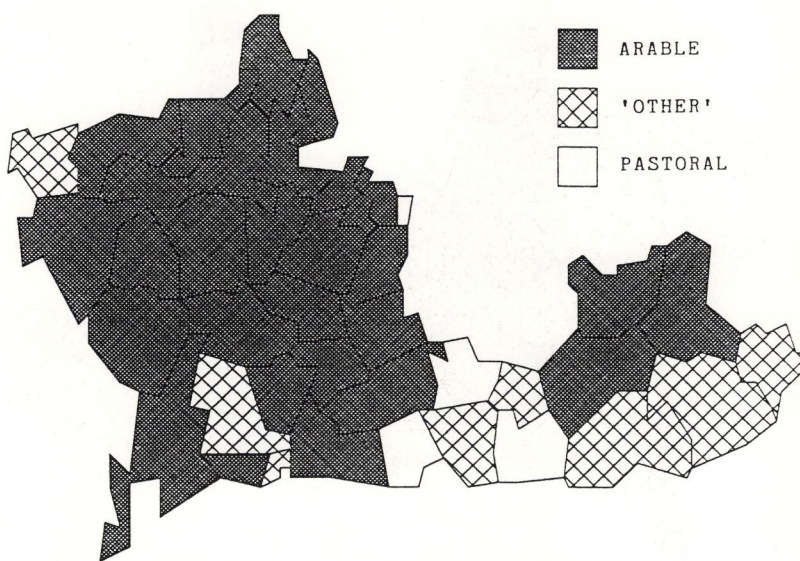
Map 1c: Percent of will-leavers engaged in Distr. services Berkshire (1653-1710)



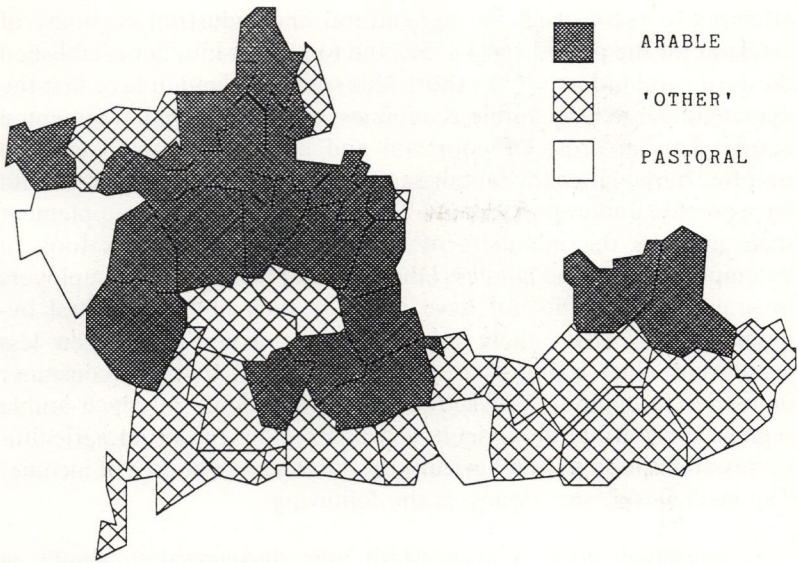
Map 1d: Percent of will-leavers engaged in artisan-retailing Berkshire (1653-1710)



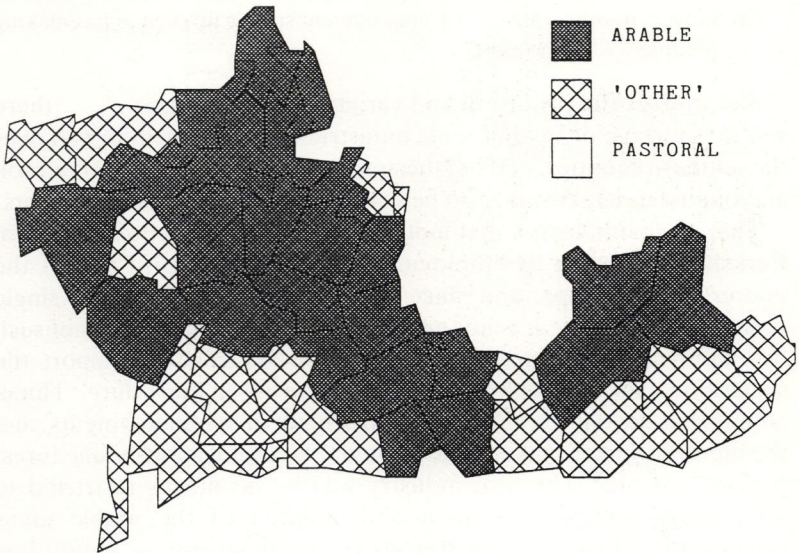
Map 2a: Marriage seasonality types, Berkshire Period A (1558-1597)



Map 2b: Marriage seasonality types, Berkshire Period B (1598-1637)



Map 2c: Marriage seasonality types, Berkshire Period C (1638-1677)



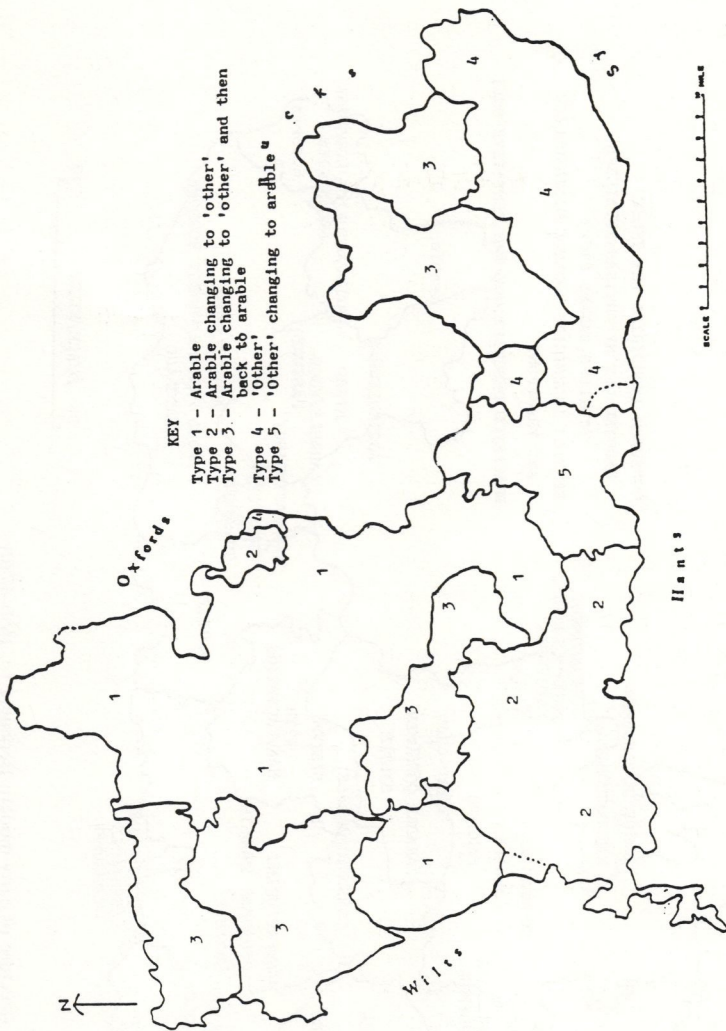
Map 2d: Marriage seasonality types, Berkshire Period D (1678-1717)

attempts to reconstruct the agricultural and industrial economy of England for the period 1640–1750, and to place it into her established thesis of rural industry.¹⁷ In short, this splits England in two: first the open field, large farm arable economies; second the small fragmented family plots in areas of poor soil and hill slopes turned over to pasture. In the latter the labour seasonality and the small plots would have created underemployment. To use their time and to supplement their incomes the members of the pastoral communities took in by-employments. The landless labourers and their yeomen employers of arable regions did not have time for such non-agricultural by-employments. Also, their social structure would have been less egalitarian, thus acting as a narrower demand base for consumer industries to exploit. Thirsk thus presents a theory in which arable regions concentrate on agriculture while regions of poorer agricultural resources look to non-agricultural activities as a source of income. The mechanism, she argues, is the following:

As population grew in areas which were ill-equipped to absorb an additional agricultural labour supply such as enclosed dairy regions of poor-soil farming zones, there may well have been incentive to turn to rural industries. Manufactured goods such as woollens or furniture could then be traded for cereals with arable regions which produced a surplus. On thinner, poorer soils . . . by-employment sprang up such as lacemaking . . . plaiting . . . firewoods . . .¹⁸

She stresses the profusion and variety of rural industry: ‘. . . there was no shortage of smaller scale industries liberally scattered all over the southern counties.’¹⁹ If her thesis were correct, the areas of poor soil and/or pastureland would also be those of industrial by-employments.

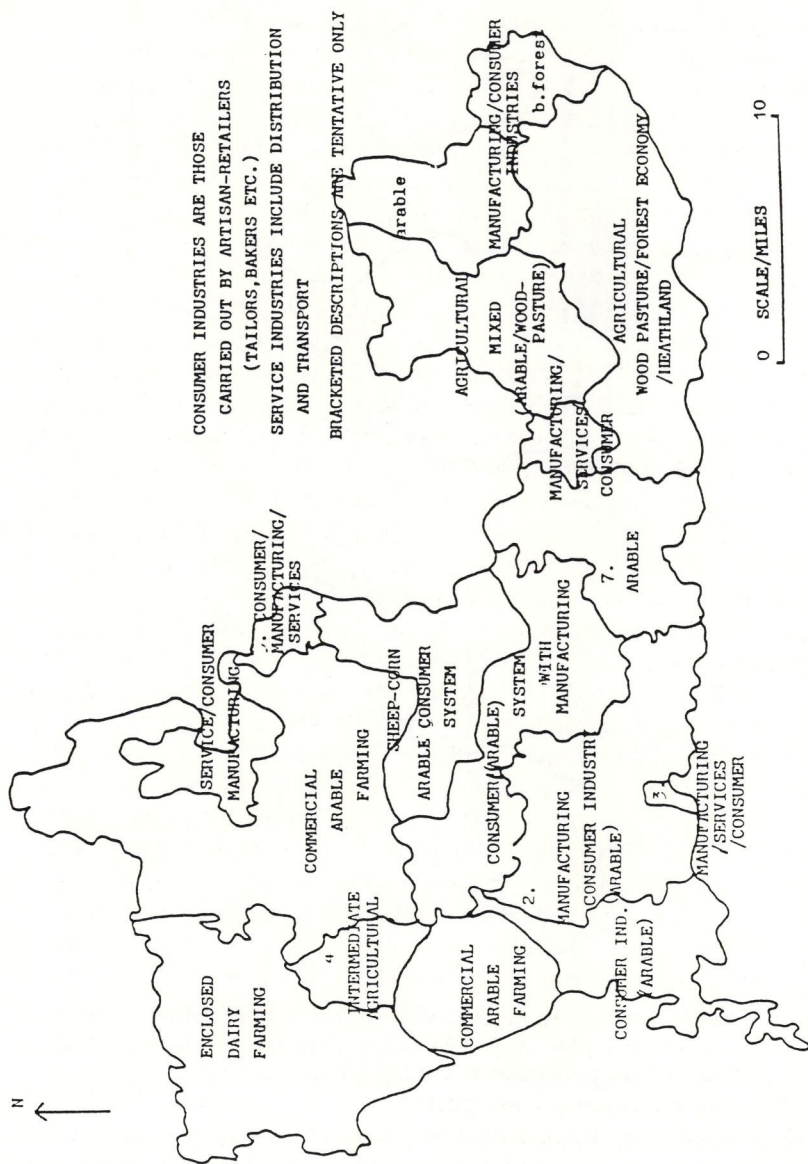
There is no indication that industrial occupations identified in rural Berkshire represent by-employment. Since wills record few of the poorer social groups, and since they give each individual a single occupation category, it is not an easy process to identify areas of such by-employment. Moreover, there is little evidence to support the suggestion that by-employments existed at all in Berkshire. Thirsk admits that the dairy tract did not participate in by-employments, and the literary sources make no mention of by-employments in the forest pasture region.²⁰ The lace industry was by no means restricted to poor soils, employing women and children of the arable areas surrounding Marlow. Lace has also been described as a full-time occupation, an alternative to farmwork, either out of preference or necessity.²¹ Since neither Thirsk nor this research has been able to find any evidence for the existence of by-employments, they cannot be included as part of the description of economic structure. What



Map 3: Summarised conclusions of marriage seasonality Berkshire

there is evidence for is manufacturing and artisan-retailing activities, most of which arguably represent full-time non-agricultural occupation (above and map 3).²² Those involved may have been engaged in agriculture, but only as a sideline.

The two main rural industrial regions do not correspond to particular agricultural regions, that in the east being half arable and half forest, and the southwest zone cutting across agricultural and natural regions, stretching through parts – but not all – of the Vale of Kennet and parts of the Chalk District. Clearly manufacturing was more than simply a product of deficient agricultural systems. Thirsk's



Map 4: The economic structure of early modern Berkshire (c. 1650–1710)

thesis seems inappropriate for the interpretation of industrial location for this period, and might be replaced by a theory of more contemporary industrial geography, such as Alfred Weber.²³

This interprets industrial location in terms of a few transport cost factors. His theory is partial and general, but suggests another way of thinking about early-modern manufacturing in Berkshire, than considering it to have been the product of certain, localised, agricultural systems. It is instead seen as something which broke away from them, locating independently to be accessible to raw materials and markets.

In general terms some parts of the county were more accessible than others, notably the Kennet Valley and the Maidenhead-Windsor areas, each being served by a navigable river and by the Bath Road.

Accessibility to markets was the prime locational influence on industries whose raw materials – whether agricultural or otherwise – were not localised.²⁴ This is true of activities such as metalcrafts and specialist clothing that were not dependent on agricultural products as raw materials and were thus able to locate in the areas accessible to markets – the Kennet Valley and Thameside east. It is also true of textiles, leather-crafts, and food processing which relied on agricultural products as their inputs. While, for example, only the east is described as wood pasture, the whole county except Whitehorse was described as ‘well-wooded country’ capable of supplying wood as a raw material.²⁵ So, not surprisingly, rural wood industries were found in much of the Vale of Kennet, Chalk District and eastern area.²⁶ Similarly, leather was a product of almost every farming system in the county – be it sheep-corn, wood-pasture or dairy, so that leather industries were able to choose between a wide variety of locations and still find the leather readily available. Not surprisingly, the locational patterns of leather industries within that wide area focus on the road and river network. The pattern of artisan retailing corresponds to that of manufacturing; it was concentrated around the Thames and Kennet valleys and especially where these meet the Bath Road, hinting of an outwards diffusion of London’s influence and affluence along arterial routes.²⁷

In conclusion, industry in rural Berkshire located primarily according to market accessibility, rather than to be near raw material supplies or within particular socio-agricultural systems.

It is now important to interpret the role of Berkshire in the light of the contemporary English economy as a whole. Lindert has recently offered persuasive argument that seventeenth century England was more commercially and industrially orientated than is commonly believed, presenting his own estimates of the national employment structure.²⁸ These are summarised in table 2 along with those for Gloucestershire (1608) by the Tawneys²⁹ and those for Berkshire from

this study. Gloucester is often given the stereotypical industrial label by historians of this period, who also see Berkshire as agricultural, so the comparison should put this to the test.

Table 2 Male Occupational Structure

	<i>England and Wales 1688. (Lindert)</i>		<i>Gloucester 1608, (Tawneys)</i>		<i>Berkshire 1653- 1710 (Wills)</i>	
<i>Total</i>	<i>numbers</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>numbers</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>numbers</i>	<i>%</i>
	650,232		13,109		4,592	
Agriculture (except labourers)	241,373	37	6,022	46	2,688	58
Distribution and professional services	89,351	14	993	8	359	8
Artisan-retailers	173,337	27	2,445	19	606	13
Manufacturers	146,171	22	3,649	28	959	21

Compared to Berkshire and the nation as a whole,³⁰ Gloucestershire did not stand out as a manufacturing county, so much as for its small service sector. In Berkshire manufacturing employed 21 per cent of will-leavers, only slightly below the national average. In contrast to Gloucester, manufacturing here comprised a wide range of consumer and market-oriented industries (Table 3). Whereas each of Berkshire's manufacturing activities were individually dwarfed by the industrial giant of textiles, collectively they were not. If the definition of an industrial or manufacturing economy is based on quantity of output or (statistically more accessible) numbers of workers employed and not upon the more tenuous but nevertheless popular criterion of prominence or perhaps 'greatness', then Gloucester's broadcloth was not more important than Berkshire's mixture of activities. In conclusion, agricultural Berkshire and industrial Gloucestershire can be said to be misnomers, probably derived from Berkshire's corn sales and Gloucestershire's textiles sales, both on a large scale. Gloucestershire's *main* difference from Berkshire was its deficiency of consumer and service industries, and its narrowly-based manufacturing sector. In comparison, Berkshire was more representative of a consumer society, in that it was producing and consuming a wide range of goods and services, not specialising in any to the point of extremes. This was perhaps a typical characteristic of the counties near London.

This research has demonstrated the variety and richness of information sources that can be used to geographically reconstruct England's early modern economy. It has revealed the emergence of a

Table 3 *Structure of Manufacturing Occupations*

	<i>Gloucester 1608</i> <i>(Tawneys)</i>		<i>Berkshire, 1653-1710</i> <i>(Wills)</i>	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Total	3,649		959	
Textiles	2,637	72	268	28
Leather	201	5	221	23
Specialised clothing (not tailors or shoemakers)	162	4	38	4
Wood industries (not carpenters or sawyers)	204	6	134	14
Metalcrafts (not blacksmiths)	136	4	58	6
Foodprocessing (not bakers)	274	7	173	18
Misc.	63	2	67	7

strong consumer and service industry sector that transcends Thirsk's traditional framework of rural industry, replacing it with a wider integrated system whereby flows of raw materials and finished goods are determinant on locational patterns. The intra-county variations in economic character also demonstrate the limitations of a single label such as industrial or agricultural to describe a complex county economy. While the process of commercialization was widespread, this was agricultural in some areas and industrial in others. Changes seen in towns such as Reading can clearly only be understood when put in the light of commercial and industrial development in London and rural Berkshire. Clearly, this was a changing integrated system, in which the changes in any one link were related to changes in the others. No account of early modern Berkshire can ignore the influence of London, both as a mercantile export centre for corn and also as a demand centre in its own right – which drew its original agricultural hinterland into a wider, commercialised Metropolitan economy.³¹ This economy took the form of consumer and service industries that collectively rivalled the scale, if not the export earnings, of the textiles industry in 'industrial' counties such as Gloucestershire. Lee³² has described the consumer industries of England's Metropolitan "consumer society" as the national leading-edge sector from 1841. This study has traced that consumer society and its associated industry back to its origins, as an emergent social and economic phenomenon in the very different social landscape of the seventeenth century landscape – two centuries earlier.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Paul Glennie at Bristol for your guidance, and to Kevin Backe at Santa Barbara for putting so much time into the maps.

Notes

¹ N.R. Goose, 'Decay and Regeneration in seventeenth-century Reading: A Study in a changing economy', *Southern History*, 6, 1984, pp. 53-74.

² T., Cox, *Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua et Nova*, 1720, pp. 160-164.

³ F.J. Fisher, 'The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640', *Economic History Review* V, no. 2, 1935, p. 50.

⁴ G. Whittington, 'The Common Lands of Berkshire', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, 1964, pp. 129-148.

⁵ D. Defoe, *A Tour Thro' Great Britain*, 1724, p. 143.

⁶ C. Fiennes, in *Journeys*, c. 1690, cited by D. Phillips, *The Great Road to Bath*, 1983, p. 31.

⁷ D. Phillips, *The Great Road to Bath*, (Newbury, 1983).

⁸ J. Dils, *Redding (sic) 1540-1640*, (University of Reading Research Paper, 1980), pp. 6-17.

⁹ T. Cox, *Magna Britannia*, pp. 167-169, 190.

¹⁰ See J. Patten, 'Changing Occupational Structures in the East Anglian Countryside, 1500-1700', in H.S.A. Fox and R.A. Butlin (eds.) *Changes in the Countryside*, IBG Special Publication no. 10, (Oxford 1979), pp. 103-121.

¹¹ P. Glennie, 'The occupational Geography and Economic Development of Early Modern England', Unpublished summary paper, 1985.

¹² *Berkshire Probate Records, Volume 2*, (The British Record Society, 1975).

¹³ Regions are composed of one to four contiguous parishes, selected simply to establish adequate regional data to calculate occupational and marriage statistics that are meaningful.

¹⁴ Patten, 'Changing Occupational Structures', 1979, Artisan retailers are defined as those who serve local customers with the goods they produce whereas manufacturers independently produce for a (spatially) wider market. pp. 103-104.

¹⁵ E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871*, (London 1980), p. 304, established the following statistics:

Maximum month of marriage seasonality by farming type.

Farming type	Percentage		
	Apr-June	Oct-Nov	Other
Arable	19	77	4
Open pasture	52	30	18
Wood pasture	44	52	4
Urban	18	53	29
All	31	61	8

Arable = mixed farming and corn with stock-keeping or dairying.

Wood pasture = dairying with pig-keeping, and pig-keeping with stock-fattening or rearing.

¹⁶ A. Kussmaul, 'Agrarian Change in Seventeenth Century England: the Economic Historian as Palaeontologist', *The Journal of Economic History* XLV (1), 1985.

¹⁷ J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume V, 1640–1750*, (Cambridge University Press, 1985); J. Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside', in F.J. Fisher (ed.) *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, Cambridge 1961. Thirsk also applied this to the sixteenth century, in her *Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol. IV, 1500–1640*, Cambridge University Press, 1967.

¹⁸ J. Thirsk, *Rural Economy of England* pp. 183–233.

¹⁹ J. Thirsk, *Rural Economy of England* pp. 183–233.

²⁰ T. Cox, *Magna Britannia et Hibernia*, p. 190; also D. Defoe, *Tour Thro' Great Britain*, p. 64. There are possibly other contemporary accounts not examined here.

²¹ G.F.R. Spence, 'The Origins of the English Pillow Lace Industry', *Agricultural History Review* 21 part II, 1973.

²² P. Glennie, *Occupational Geography*, 1985.

²³ A. Weber, *Theory of the Location of Industries*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. Alfred Weber's classic work on location theory was published in 1909 in German and in English in 1929; 'it has probably had more influence on industrial location theory than any other single contribution'; (in economic geography), according to the *Dictionary of Human Geography* (Oxford 1981). Weber attempted to derive 'pure' rules of location of industry. The industry is said to locate according to the respective locations and transport costs of input materials (their origins), and markets (product destination).

Weber used the principle of transport costs for each of these – most basically, of raw material transport costs from their origin and finished product transport costs to the destination or market – to calculate for any given industry a least cost location. This point of minimum transport costs is the location at (or near) which the industry is expected to locate; it is the 'optimal location'. Weber extended the simple raw material and finished product case to allow for the locational influences of more than one raw material, and also for the influences of labour supply variability (quality and cost of labour), also to consider 'agglomeration economies' of locating near other manufacturing activities or in a town or city.

²⁴ J. Patten, 'Occupational Structures', p. 116. London was a prime market for East Anglia's leather industry; this manufacturing was attracted to coastal ports. It is possible that industrial location forces were the same in Berkshire, where the industry was also oriented to London, along rivers, canals and roads (according to Cox, *Magna Britannia et Hibernia*, pp. 167, 190).

²⁵ T. Cox, *Magna Britannia et Hibernia*, pp. 164, 174, 190.

²⁶ From detail of the will record analysis, described above.

²⁷ F.J. Fisher, 'London Food Market', p. 50; presents this suggestion in his influential work on the growth of London during the sixteenth century.

²⁸ P.H. Lindert, English Occupations 1670–1811, *Journal of Economic History* 40, 1980 pp. 685–712.

²⁹ A.J. Tawney and R.H. Tawney, 'An Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', *Economic History Review*, V, no. 1, pp. 59–62.

³⁰ Berkshire is not directly comparable to Gloucester or the country as a whole because of the bias of wills. This cannot be a effectively corrected statistically, according to J. Patten, 'Changing Occupational Structures', pp. 104–107.

³¹ F.J. Fisher, 'London Food Market'.

³² C.H. Lee, 'Regional Growth and Structural Change in Victorian Britain 1841–1911', *Economic History Review*, 34, 1981, pp. 438–452.