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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This study presents statistical data of the daily wage rates of common labor, for the most part agricultural workers and laborers in the building trades, from 1700 to 1790, in three sections of England, the West (Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire), the North (the north and west Ridings of Yorkshire, and Lancashire), and the metropolitan area around London (London, Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey). Representative series for each section are finally selected and compared with prices of grain, so that some estimate of the purchasing power of wages in terms of grain is possible. Other evidence concerning working-class standards of life supplements the wage and price series. Data as to the supplementary wages paid in kind, the work of women and children, employment, the clothes, household possessions, and perquisites of the ordinary working man are also included. As a result a complete account of the real income of the working classes in an important period forming the transition to modern industrialism is available for the first time. The statistical data and many of the descriptive details were taken from manuscript sources (the Quarter Sessions records, for the most part) not previously used in this connection. Another unique feature of the book is the continuous series of wages in the eighteenth century, contained in the Tables of the Appendix. There are no other secondary sources in which wage series, selected by regions and by occupations, are available for so long a period in eighteenth century England.

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WAGES IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

BY

Elizabeth W. Gilboy

SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH
IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AT HARVARD
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**TO MY
FATHER AND MOTHER**

PREFACE

THIS study of eighteenth century wages began as a thesis for the doctor's degree at Radcliffe College, under the guidance of Professor Edwin F. Gay. Due to the generosity of Radcliffe in providing fellowships, the author was originally enabled to spend two years in England collecting the basic data. For several years after the completion of the degree, other work prevented the author from expanding the thesis into book form. In the summer of 1932, however, leave granted by the Harvard University Committee on Economic Research (now the Committee on Research in the Social Sciences) and Radcliffe College, permitted the author to procure additional material, largely for the west of England, which formed the weakest section, statistically, of the thesis.

In the interim, three articles, based on parts of the early work have been published. A summary of the data and the main conclusions appeared in the August 1930 number of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*. The portion of Chapter IV dealing with the Thornborough accounts was published in the *Economic History Review* for June 1932 and is reprinted here with their permission. And some of the theoretical ideas originally contained in the last chapter, now completely revised, were included in the paper published in *Facts and Factors of Economic History*, Harvard University Press, 1932, which was published in honor of Professor Gay.

The whole study has been revised and many parts of it rewritten. The material on Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, and the cathedral records of Gloucestershire is entirely new. The statistical data have been rechecked. Attempt has been made to include works bearing on the study which have appeared since it was first written. The theoretical section has been expanded and changed in many ways.

Thanks are due to numerous individuals in English libraries, and to the officials of county and town for assisting the author

in procuring contemporary records. Especial mention should be made of Dr. Hubert Hall and Mr. Jenkinson of the Public Record Office, Mr. Thornley, Clerk of the Peace of the North Riding of Yorkshire, Mr. Dix, Clerk of the Peace of the County of London, and Mr. W. O. Gay, Clerk in charge of the Exeter Records. The Very Reverend Dr. Gee, Dean of Gloucester, was most kind in allowing me to use the Cathedral Records, and Mr. L. Tanner, Assistant Keeper of the Westminster Abbey Muniments, made it possible for me to work on the Abbey records. To Miss Cecily Hildyard of Scorton, Yorks, and G. F. Luttrell, Esq. of East Quantoxhead, Somerset, I am indebted for the permission to use freely the eighteenth century accounts of their private estates. Professor Tawney of the London School of Economics and Political Science has been very generous of his time, and of his influence in opening various sources of data. Mr. A. P. Wadsworth has been most helpful both with suggestions as to sources and in reading the original manuscript. I am also greatly indebted to Sir William Beveridge, and to Miss Nicholas, who was then his research assistant, for enabling me to use the price data collected as part of the international price study. Professor W. L. Crum of Harvard University and Professor A. L. Bowley of the London School of Economics and Political Science have made suggestions as to the use and interpretation of the statistical data. It was the suggestion of the late Professor A. A. Young that the median be used as averages for the wage series.

The author is greatly indebted to the Harvard University Committee on Research in the Social Sciences, not only for the leave mentioned previously, but also for enabling the author to revise the manuscript, and to use the Committee staff for the preparation of the charts and of part of the manuscript. Miss Mary Sulloway and Miss Catherine Tatnall are responsible for the excellent typing of the manuscript, and Miss Katherine Hampson prepared the numerous charts. My brother, Mr. A. J. Waterman, Jr., has been very helpful in doing much of the final research, and in the thankless task of checking footnotes. The collection of the western data was considerably accelerated by the assistance of my husband, who allowed his summer vaca-

PREFACE

ix

tion to be interrupted by the monotonous task of copying wage figures from eighteenth century bills.

There are many more individuals who could be named, who have helped the author at various stages of the work. Professor Taussig went over the manuscript with great care and made many helpful suggestions as to the revision of the last section. Most of all, however, the author would like to express her indebtedness to Professor Gay who has been a constant stimulus throughout the entire process of completing the book and an inspiration when the inevitable drudgery of historical research obtruded itself.

Elizabeth Waterman Gilboy

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Committee on Research in the Social Sciences
October 1933.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	xvii
PART I. LONDON	3
CHAPTER I. Wages in the City Itself	8
CHAPTER II. London as a Metropolitan Area	39
PART II. THE WEST OF ENGLAND	73
CHAPTER III. Wages in the West	80
CHAPTER IV. The Determination of Real Wages	114
PART III. THE NORTH OF ENGLAND	137
CHAPTER V. The Laborer in the North Riding	148
CHAPTER VI. Wages in Lancashire and the West Riding	173
CHAPTER VII. Real Wages in the North	191
PART IV. CONCLUSION AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS	217
CHAPTER VIII. The Three Districts Compared	219
CHAPTER IX. Wages and the Demand for Labor.	228
APPENDIX I. Manuscript Sources	245
APPENDIX II. Statistical Method and Original Data	250

TABLE OF CHARTS

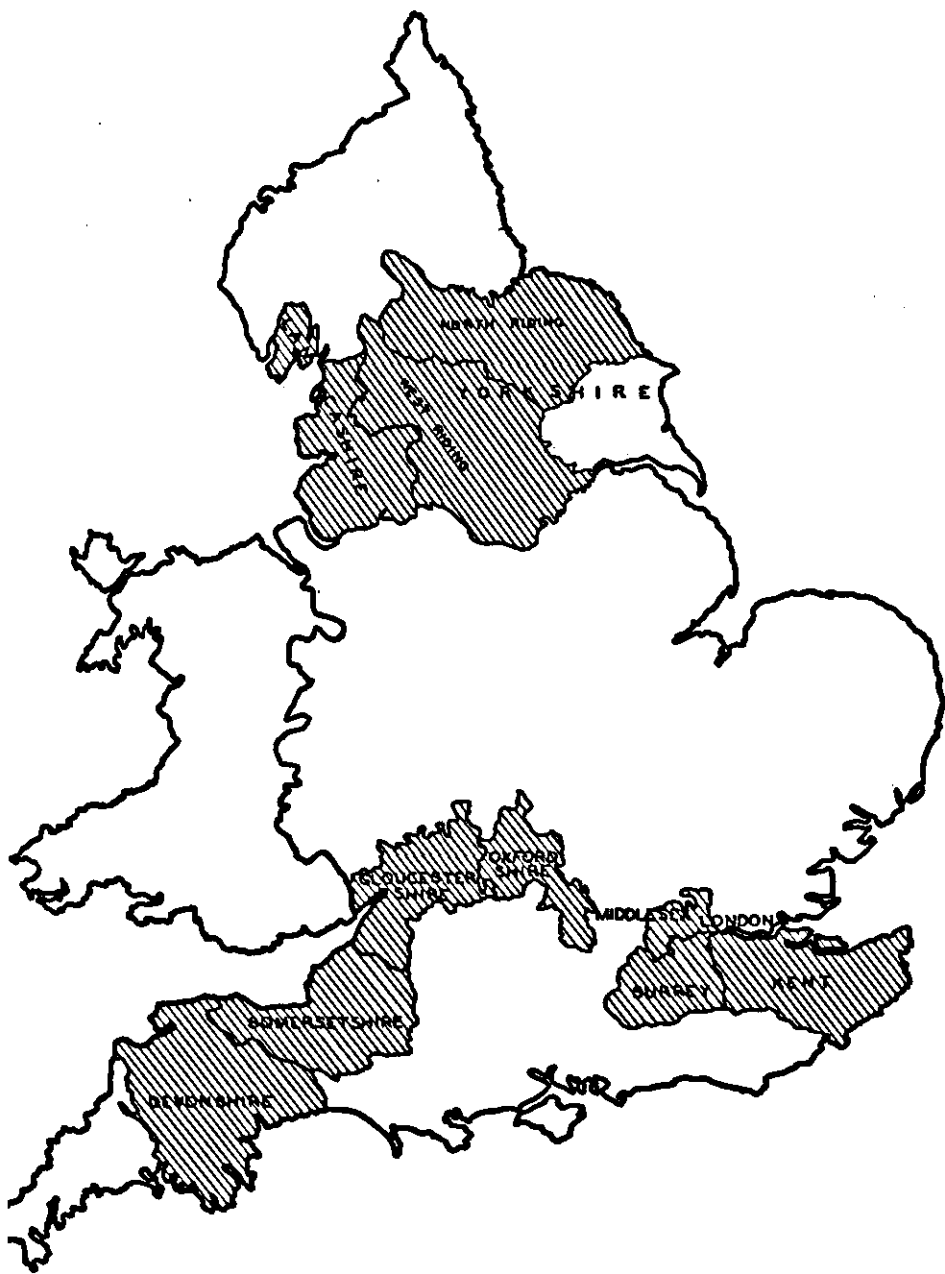
	PAGE
1. Laborers' Wages at Westminster Abbey	10
2. Craftsmen's Wages at Westminster Abbey	12
3. Wages at Southwark	14
4. Median Wages at Westminster Abbey	23
5. Laborers' Wages in Metropolitan London	41
6. Median Wages and Wheat Prices at Greenwich Hospital	47
7. Wages and Wheat Prices in Chertsey and Dartford	49
8. Wages and Wheat Prices in Kent and Surrey	55
9. Laborers' Wages at Oxford	93
10. Craftsmen's Wages at Oxford	95
11. Median Wages of Craftsmen at Oxford	95
12. Median Wages of Labor in Gloucestershire	96
13. Median Wages of Craftsmen in Gloucestershire	98
14. Laborers' and Masons' Wages in Certain Gloucestershire Districts	100
15. Wages at Guiting, Pershore, and Islip	101
16. Laborers' Wages in Somersetshire	103
17. Craftsmen's Wages in Somersetshire	104
18. Median Wages of Master Craftsmen in Gloucester and Bristol .	105
19. Median Wages of Labor in Exeter	106
20. Craftsmen's Wages in Exeter	107
21. Median Wages of Craftsmen in Exeter	108
22. Median Wages of Master Craftsmen in Exeter	109
23. Wheat Prices and Wages at Oxford	117
24. Wheat and Barley Prices and Wages in Gloucestershire	117
25. Wheat Prices and Wages at Exeter	118
26. Median Wages of Labor, North Riding of Yorkshire	160
27. Wages of Labor in Certain Places in the North Riding	162
28. Low and High Laborers' Wages in the North Riding	163
29. Craftsmen's Wages, North Riding of Yorkshire	166
30. Low and High Craftsmen's Wages in the North Riding	168
31. Craftsmen's Wages in Certain Places in the North Riding . . .	169
32. Laborers' Wages, West Riding of Yorkshire.	177
33. Median Wages of Labor, West Riding of Yorkshire	178
34. Craftsmen's Wages, West Riding of Yorkshire	179
35. Median Laborers' Wages, Lancashire	180

TABLE OF CHARTS

	PAGE
36. Wages of Labor at Lancaster	181
37. Median Craftsmen's Wages, Lancashire	183
38. Wages and Prices in the North	194
39. Median Wages of Labor in the North, the West, and London	220

Maps

England, showing area covered by wage data	xv
Metropolitan London	2
The West	72
The North	136



ENGLAND

SHADED AREA INDICATES SOURCE OF WAGE DATA

INTRODUCTION

THE study of laboring conditions in eighteenth century England has been limited by the fact that continuous wage figures for that period were practically non-existent. Scattered data have been at hand, in works such as Thorold Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices*, but no wage figures for any extensive period. Continuous regional wages have also been difficult to find. The same limitations have existed in the matter of price data, so that any (continuous) measure of real wages throughout the century has been practically impossible. With such paucity of evidence, it is not surprising that as thorough and brilliant an economic historian as Mantoux devotes only forty pages out of four hundred and eighty-nine to a discussion of laboring conditions and the industrial revolution.¹

In this field as in many others, a good deal of fresh material has been found in recent years. The records of mills and factories, of wage assessments, and other important historical documents, the existence of which had not been known, are constantly being unearthed from the most unlikely places. It was not surprising, therefore, to run across an unsuspected source of wage data among the miscellaneous papers which have been preserved in the quarter sessions bundles of each county. The bundles frequently contain a number of bills for work on county bridges and roads. These bills, which will be more completely described in the bibliography, give daily and sometimes weekly wages, and from them it has been possible to obtain fairly continuous wage series for each county. The limitations of time made it impossible for the writer to collect the figures for more than three districts in England. Similar records are available all over England, however, and more wage statistics would undoubtedly result from further researches along the same line.

¹ *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1928, revised edition translated by Marjorie Vernon, Part III, chapter III. References to practically all the well known sources are given in this chapter.

Municipal and private accounts as well as the county records contain a great deal of data. The account books of cathedrals and towns often list the wages paid for repairs of the buildings under their care. The Westminster Abbey accounts, which have been used in the present study, are an excellent example of that type of material. In some private account books, for example, the account book of the Thornborough estate, there is a complete record of the wages paid to servants and laborers over a period of years. Frequently, however, such accounts merely record the personal or household expenditures of the family. Even such material is important in so far as it throws light upon the social and economic condition of the community, and especially as it affects the relation between the various classes. As the importance of this material for economic and historical research becomes clearer, more such manuscripts are being made available to students by their owners. Some of them have been printed.¹ I have not been able to examine as many of these documents as I should have liked. Most of the material for the present study has come from the county records.

With such sources as those described above, it is becoming possible to study working conditions in eighteenth century England with greater accuracy. The interest in laboring conditions of this period has been so great, however, that many historians have dealt with the subject, using what scattered material they could find. It has, indeed, been the current belief that adequate statistics of wages and prices could not be procured. Most of the conclusions concerning the condition of the lower classes in this period have been based on the evidence of contemporary pamphlets.

Many contemporary writers described the economic conditions of the laborers.² It was a matter of some importance to the

¹ For Example — *An Account Book of a Kentish Estate* — edited by Eleanor Lodge.

² It is curious that contemporaries seem to have thought of the laborers only as a composite class. "The lower orders", "the labouring poor", "the meaner sort", "the lower sort", are examples of the conveniently vague titles by which they were designated. (See contemporary works such as Guy Meigs's *The Present State of Great Britain*, Chamberlayne's *Anglicae Notitia*, and Henry Fielding's *Enquiry into*

mercantilists, and most economic writers in the eighteenth century were mercantilists of one sort or another. They believed that cheap labor was the basis of a favorable balance of trade. They reasoned that success in foreign markets necessitated low-priced goods, which in turn made cheap labor essential. Thus they could undersell their competitors in the markets of the world, maintain an excess of exports over imports, and bring back the surplus in precious coin.¹ As a result of this trend of thought there were many pamphlets indicating how labor might be made cheap, with sample budgets and wage rates as illustrations.

It became, indeed, the fashion to estimate the minimum upon which a laborer and his family might live. This mental diversion kept its popularity even when a strictly mercantilist interest in cheap labor had given place to real anxiety about the lower classes and the problem of unemployment, and the steadily increasing poor rate. It was part of an increasing propensity to make estimates of everything from population and gin-drinking to the amount of luxurious imports. They were manifestations of a genuine desire for quantitative evidence and marked the beginning of statistics as a study.²

Several seventeenth century estimates of this sort were widely used as the basis of discussion in the eighteenth century. One of the most famous is that of Sir Matthew Hale who figured that a family of six, with the parents and two children working, "are not able to maintain themselves and their Family in Meat, Drink, Cloathing, and House rent under ten Shillings *per* Week, and so much they might probably get if employed; This amounts to 26£ *per Annum* . . ."³ Gregory King in 1688 gave the yearly

the Late Increase in Robbers.) As Miss Marshall has remarked—"The poor from being fellow countrymen had become a distinctive species." (*English Poor in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1926, p. 46.) Miss Marshall apparently does not see the relation of this attitude to mercantilism.

¹ See E. S. Furniss, *The Position of the Labourer in a System of Nationalism*, for an able analysis of the mercantilist theory of labor. Jacob Viner in "English Trade Theories before Adam Smith", *Journal of Political Economy*, 1930, surveys mercantilism, but almost entirely from the monetary and trade angle.

² See Wesley Mitchell's short summary in *The Problem and Its Setting*.

³ *A Discourse Touching Provision for the Poor*, London, 1683, p. 6.

income of the families of artisans at £40; of "Labouring people and out servants" as £15; and of cottagers and paupers as £6-10-0.¹ Ten years later R. D. (Richard Dunning) contributed an account of "The Common Outgoing Of a Day-Labourer in Husbandry"² who was assumed to have a wife and three children, with the wife supporting herself and one child, "which is the most a Woman can and what few will do . . .".³ Out of the 2s.6d. or 2s.8d. which R. D. supposed to be the full weekly wages of the man, he was to maintain himself and the other two children in clothes, food, drink, etc., and pay the rent, buy tools, fuel, etc., which is estimated as coming to 2s.5d. per week. But this budget, as the author was aware, allowed for no emergencies, such as illness or loss of work and even these could barely be met by the wages. If the woman's labor were omitted, there would have been a deficit.

Such seventeenth century computations, of which the above are prominent examples, served as a model for the following century and were often quoted in full. But the eighteenth century did not lack its own "Political Arithmetic". Defoe wrote in 1704 that "a poor Man" shall earn 7s. to 10s. a week in Kent and 4s. in the north.⁴ Writing in 1757, Josiah Tucker remarked that "it may be affirmed in general that the Wages of Men . . . is for the most Part, from 1s. to 2s.6d. per Day: and the Wages of Women from 4d. to 1s. throughout the Kingdom."⁵ Joseph Massie produced an elaborate computation in 1758, which was printed in such mixture of types and capitals as to confuse the reader completely. He estimated that the annual income of a man, his wife and two children, with all at work, approached £30. He then presented a neat and detailed budget of household expenses which came to the convenient total of £29-10-0 per annum.⁶ The correspondence is almost too good to be true. Two years before that Massie had calculated the annual incomes

¹ In *Chalmers's Estimate*, 1696, pp. 424 and 425.

² *Bread for the Poor*, London, 1698, p. 283.

³ *Op. Cit.*, p. 286. This is probably applicable only to Devonshire.

⁴ *Giving Alms No Charity*, London, 1704, p. 11.

⁵ *Instructions for Travellers*, London, 1757, p. 19.

⁶ *Considerations Relating to the Poor*, London, 1758, pp. 204 and 205.

of various types of laborers, such as common laborers, "manufacturers" of wood, wool, silk, etc., both in London and the country.¹ A London laborer was assumed to receive 9s. per week, or £23-8-0 per annum; a laborer in husbandry in the rural districts, 5s. per week, or £13-0-0 each year.

It is impossible to tell from the pamphlets how far these calculations were based on fact; and, if they were at all accurate, how far they were meant to apply to laboring conditions all over England. It is probable that the figures had some basis in personal and limited experience. At any rate, they must always be used with caution owing to the propagandist tendencies of their originators. Practically every eighteenth century pamphleteer was trying to prove something; either that parish relief was bad or that it was good; that more workhouses were needed or less; and so on. The construction of more or less hypothetical budgets and earnings was usually a step in building up their case.

Later on in the century a very different type of study of laboring conditions began to appear. Incited, perhaps, by the suspicion that the estimates of clever politicians as to what the typical laborer earned and lived on, were at variance with actuality, certain patient individuals set out to discover the facts. Foremost among them was Arthur Young. His first venture into the field savored of the old variety. In 1768 Young presented an estimate of a representative laboring family (husband, wife, and three children) who between them earned £37-15-0 a year, and spent £21-17-0.² He was somewhat apprehensive, however, as to whether his estimate would be thought true, and attempted to allay criticism in advance by seeking out four families in the circumstances he was discussing. In his own words: "I am so strongly sensible of the prejudice, I have here to combat with, that I shall now lay before the reader a state of the expenses of a labourer, as they now live, drawn up from the actual outgoings of *four*, who gave me the particulars . . .".³ The average expenses

¹ *Calculations of Taxes*, London, 1756. Mrs. George gives these more in detail in her *English Social Life in the Eighteenth Century*.

² *The Farmer's Letters*, Second edition, London, 1768, pp. 192-196.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

of these four families comes to £34-5-0, about £12-0-0 more than Young's calculations. If anyone as careful as Arthur Young could be so blinded by his own opinion of what *ought* to be expended, what can one expect from his less accurate contemporaries? And neither of these expenditure totals allows for the use of tea or sugar, luxuries which Young deplored, although he admitted that they had become an indispensable part of the laborer's diet.¹

It was soon after the publication of these letters that Young commenced his famous tours, the northern in 1768, the eastern in 1770. In the 1780's and 90's, while he was editing the *Annals of Agriculture*, there were still more tours — to Sussex, Norfolk, etc. These travels furnish a great deal of information as to laboring conditions for Young noted the price of labor and provisions in nearly every town and region he visited. Social investigators from Caird and Bowley to Mantoux have used these figures as the chief source of eighteenth century wage estimates.

An investigator who was as industrious as Young, but for some reason less well known to posterity, is William Marshall. He wrote exhaustive treatises on agriculture in Yorkshire, Gloucestershire and various southern and midland counties.² In my opinion, his account of agricultural methods in the different regions is distinctly more intelligible to the layman than those of Arthur Young, and certainly more interesting. He was more concerned with general social conditions and his comments on the life of the laborers are intelligent. The Reverend J. Howlett is also well known as one of the late century social investigators. He wrote a pamphlet on the reasons for the increase of the poor.³ He quoted wages in the southern and eastern counties in both 1737 and 1787 and the average price of wheat at that time.⁴ All these writers, in fact, give actual wages and prices.

The number of contemporary studies of wages and budgets increased as the century drew to a close. Eden⁵ and Davies⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

² These works are listed in detail as they are referred to.

³ *The Insufficiency of the Causes to which the Increase of our Poor*, London, 1788.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵ *The State of the Poor*, three volumes, London, 1797.

⁶ *The Case of the Labourers in Husbandry*, Bath, 1795.

published a series of actual budgets of agricultural laborers in all parts of England, which have been heretofore, with the contributions of Arthur Young and Marshall, the chief sources for students of eighteenth century laboring conditions. The *Annals of Agriculture* abounds in minor articles on the same subject, especially from 1790 on, and the whole of Thomas Ruggles' book on the poor was first published in that magazine. Finally the government itself was forced by the distress which came as the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, and the succession of bad harvests, to examine the agricultural conditions in each county, and to look into the amount and method of paying wages. The result was the series of agricultural surveys in the nineties, and a parliamentary report in 1824.¹

The difficulty in using the figures collected by these diverse individuals lies in their discontinuous nature (they are usually for only one year), the fact that those which approach accuracy come exclusively from the end of the century, and the suspicion that even cautious people like Eden and Davies may have been unconsciously biased. That they have been almost the only known sources for studies of the laborer's condition at this date may account for the dark and dreary pictures of his life which have been painted for the second part of the century. They were all attempts to explain the miseries of the poorer classes in the latter eighteenth century.² The authors themselves seem to ignore or minimize any indications that many of the poor were better off than they had ever been before, even at the end of the century.

Among more recent historians, Thorold Rogers has been the chief source of wage and price figures. His *History of Agriculture and Prices*, the first six volumes of which he edited himself, (the last two were compiled by his son) is a vast collection of wage and price figures, brought together from manuscript sources and

¹ *Report from the Select Committee on Labourers' Wages, 1824.*

² Practically all the budgets of Eden and Davies show a deficit. This may not be the general situation. They may have selected the less well-off families or neglected various favorable factors, such as supplementary income. Eden admits that his budgets often underestimate family earnings. (See *State of the Poor*, vol. I, pp. xxvi and xxvii.)

extending from the twelfth century to the nineteenth. The eighteenth century figures are the least satisfactory, as they are even more scattered than those for previous centuries.¹ Rogers also made averages of wages and prices from his data but these do not cover the eighteenth century. In another work Rogers set down his conclusions as to the course of wages throughout the centuries.² He was one of the first popularizers of the idea that the first half of the eighteenth century was "the golden age" of agricultural labor, and that the last half was a period of the extreme degradation of the working classes. His opinion as to laboring conditions throughout the centuries was pessimistic and he believed that the wage assessment clauses of the Act of 1563 were the result of "a conspiracy, concocted by the law and carried out by the parties interested in its success . . . to cheat the English workmen of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him into irremediable poverty."³

The work of Steffen is based on Rogers' averages.⁴ Steffen derived a chart of daily wages in terms of wheat and wheat-meat from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. He made no attempt to separate the localities included in the average, nor to weight their importance. His conclusions were similar to those of Rogers, with perhaps less extreme pessimism.

Furniss has used Steffen's charts in his discussion of the social and economic condition of the laborer in the eighteenth century.⁵ He concluded that conditions were relatively good, especially for the craftsmen, up to about 1755, with a decline thereafter. He also treated the social and moral conditions of the laborers,⁶

¹ I have used very few of these figures, only the wages at Guiting, Gloucestershire and the Gloucestershire and Yorkshire wheat prices. Most of the wage data do not refer to the regions taken up in this study. Rogers' Westminster figures, which extend to 1713, are similar to those used below and seem to have been obtained from a copy of the account book for the repairs of the Abbey. Rogers mentions using a book at the Bodleian, which contained accounts of the repairs of all the London churches after the Great Fire. (See volume II, p. 365.)

² *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, London, 1884, two volumes.

³ *Ibid.*, see discussion, pp. 406-409 in volume II.

⁴ *Studien zur Geschichte der Englischen Lohnarbeiter*, Stuttgart, 1901.

⁵ *Position of Laborer*, Appendix I. Furniss is more aware of the limitations of his data than either Rogers or Steffen.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Appendices II and III.

and appears to have taken some of the eighteenth century pamphleteers a bit too seriously. This point will receive more attention in the conclusion, but for the present, we may say the "sloth" and "indolence" were not necessarily the corollaries of "luxury" and "debauchery." The pamphlet material which Furniss has so ably used was for the most part written by Londoners and may therefore be supposed to apply with more accuracy to the metropolis than to any other part of the country. London conditions cannot be taken as typical of the rest of the country.

The best statistical treatment of the subject of wages has been made by Professor Bowley.¹ In his study of nineteenth century wages he has also included figures for the late eighteenth century in agriculture² and scattered eighteenth century wage rates for the building trades.³ By a rather complicated statistical process which involved a good deal of estimation and interpolation, Professor Bowley made index numbers of agricultural wages for each county. Then he divided the counties into districts and took index numbers of each district and from these indexes finally derived an index for the whole of England. He used a simple arithmetic average with 1892 as a base. The general index number of agricultural wages was 53 in 1767-70, and 66 in 1795. In a somewhat similar fashion, index numbers for England were derived for the various trades. In the index for the building trades Professor Bowley made special allowance for the influence of London, and weighted by population the districts included.

Although the fact that these indexes go back no further than the date of Arthur Young's tours makes them of small use for this study, Professor Bowley's method is of great importance.

¹ A. L. Bowley, *The Statistics of Wages in the United Kingdom during the Last Hundred Years* (Journal of Royal Statistical Society, 1898-1901) and his book based on these articles, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1900.

² These figures are those given by Caird in his *English Agriculture, 1850-1*, and are based on Arthur Young's averages.

³ In his book on nineteenth century wages Professor Bowley gives some building trade wages for repairs at Greenwich Hospital during the eighteenth century. He obtained these from a Greenwich Hospital account book in the British Museum. The rates are not so detailed as the Greenwich Hospital figures below, but are similar in amount.

In making his index numbers he used weekly wages, deriving them from the daily rates wherever that was necessary. The validity of this, and of his method in general, will be discussed further in the statistical appendix. Professor Bowley has made the first application of statistical method to the study of wage-history. He discussed the difficulties involved in making any estimate of wages over a period of time, owing to payment in kind, privileges and perquisites, and a lack of data on the number of days worked. He made allowance for regional divergence and attempted to weight his regional averages. Professor Bowley would be the first to admit that the amount of approximation which his statistical method involved makes the value of the final indices to the economist problematical. Considered as a study in method his work is invaluable.

Professor Bowley was, as we have seen, completely aware of the difficulties involved in any investigation of wages and prices, particularly in the case of the eighteenth century, where the initial figures are so dubious. These difficulties have been stated in graphic language by Mantoux:¹

“If we want to discover, not the nominal wage, i.e. the money paid for a certain time or for a certain piece of work, but the actual wage, together with its purchasing power, we are tackling a difficult and complicated problem, the solution of which can only be obtained by comparing a number of different data. We ought first to know a man’s total wage for a month, a season or a year, and how far it was reduced by either voluntary or compulsory unemployment. For a man may be well paid and yet earn very little if he does not work every day. Then we should know whether he had any other source of income, as was the case with village workers, who, when comparatively well off, cultivated their plots of land or grazed their cows on the common, and who, when very poor received help from the parish. We should also want to know what each member of the family contributed to the annual family budget. Then, even assuming that we have been able to solve that part of the problem, a no less difficult problem remains to be solved, for we should want to find out how this income was actually spent. And it would not be enough to know what were the price of foodstuffs and the rents. For unless we knew what kinds of food were actually consumed, and the relative quantities of each which the needs and habits of the consumers demanded, such a list of prices would not be of much use. In order, therefore, to be able to draw any conclusions, we should need to have at our disposal a great collection of facts which nearly always are missing, except for our own times.”

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 430-431.

This is certainly a formidable set of criteria. It is impossible of achievement at the present day, to say nothing of the eighteenth century. Budget investigators even now find it extremely difficult to determine accurately the extent of voluntary unemployment, supplementary sources of income, or the quantity of food consumed. Scientific perfection, when dealing with this sort of subject, cannot be obtained. Mantoux is therefore quite logical in stating that

"It would be rash to attempt to draw a general price curve on the basis of such approximate figures (Young's, Eden's, etc.) as it could only be done at the expense of scientific honesty; and *a fortiori* an attempt to make any mathematical comparison between the movements of prices and wages could only result in mystification."¹

In so far as this criticism applies to any application of statistical method to wage and price figures in the eighteenth or any other past century, it merits some attention. There are some economic historians who agree with Mantoux in thinking that the statistical data of past centuries are too imperfect to be of any use, and are in fact, misleading. They believe that safety and accuracy lie in the way of largely disregarding the figures that are available, and relying rather on descriptive historical evidence. But as eminent a statistician as Professor Bowley was not above applying statistical method to what data he could find for the eighteenth century. Although such a complex statistical method as he used is probably not generally applicable to the admittedly imperfect data of past centuries, some attempt at statistical measurement is, I believe, desirable. I do not agree with those who scorn the application of statistics to the problems of economic history. Even if the data are imperfect, they are, to my mind, if handled with caution, a better basis for discussion than purely descriptive material.

The eighteenth century wage figures which I have found, and the prices which Sir William Beveridge has so generously allowed me to use, will be presented in as simple and unobscure form as possible, and will be interpreted in the light of all other evidence I have been able to collect. It is true that these wage data are

¹ *O.P. cit.*, p. 439.

statistically very bad. They are subject to errors of locality, of quality, and of sampling. Some of them were influenced by contracts over a period of time. The prices are only of grain; in some cases discontinuous. The way in which these difficulties have been met in the present study will be discussed as they come up, and in more general fashion in the statistical appendix. Here I shall only state that the method used has in every case been as simple as possible. Medians have been taken for the county or regional averages wherever three or more cases occurred in a year. The number of samples on which the median was based fluctuated enormously by years and by regions. Sometimes there was only one sample; and again there would be about thirty or more each year.¹

Despite the inaccuracies of these figures they remain the most important facts available for the study of the laborer's standard of living during this period. With them it is possible to tell the approximate trend of money wages from 1700-1790, and to judge the differences in the level of wages among the regions studied. When they are compared with the prices of grain, the probable trend of real wages is apparent.² They afford the best foundation for the evaluation and discussion of general descriptive and social evidence gleaned from pamphlet material, and are in turn interpreted by this other testimony. They are at least concrete; and are as such preferable to vague generalities or descriptions.

The present study deals with three regions in England: London and its immediately surrounding area; the West, including Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire; and the North, namely, Lancashire and Yorkshire. Comparisons are therefore possible between a growing commercial centre such as London; a thriving industrial region such as the north; and a decaying industrial centre, such as the west. They are each

¹ The extent of this fluctuation is indicated in the median tables in the appendix.

² The use of the chief grain eaten by the laborers of each region as a measure of purchasing power is much less inaccurate for the eighteenth century than it would be today. Then, with a lower standard of living, and a less diverse budget, bread took up the major proportion of the family income. Professor Bowley translated some of his indices into the amount of wheat purchasable, and when I discussed the point with him, he brought out the above argument.

INTRODUCTION

xxix

analyzed in detail. The concluding chapter takes up various eighteenth century wage theories, and some later theoretical development. In the appendices may be found technical matter relating to sources and statistical method.

APPENDIX I

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Bath Chamberlain's Accounts

The account books are at the reference library in Bath and contain few wage rates.

Bristol Archives

Account . . . to build an Exchange and Market Place, 1739-1741

Cash Books 1698-1703 (no wages)

The archives are kept at the Bristol Town Hall in charge of Miss Harding.

Christ Church Churchwarden's Accounts, Bristol

The records have been transcribed by Canon R. T. Cole and are therefore legible and easy to use. A good many wage items for repairs of the church are included, which Canon Cole considers are representative of general Bristol rates.

Eighteenth Century Accounts of Dunster Castle, Dunster, Somersetshire

Through the kindness of G. F. Luttrell, Esq., and his son, the present incumbent of Dunster Castle, all the available bills for the eighteenth century were placed at my disposal. From them the wages of agricultural and general laborers, as well as some craftsmen, were derived for about twenty years in the middle of the century.

Exeter Municipal Records

Exeter Receivers' Vouchers, 1700-1790

Town Receivers' Books, Exeter, 1712-1720

The books contain no itemized wages. The vouchers, however, include many bills for work on city buildings, etc. The town records are kept in the New Muniment Room in the Public Library in Exeter, in charge of W. A. Gay, Esq.

Exeter Public Library—Original Documents (bound)

Southcomb's Diary

Lee Ledger

Diary of William Forde of Branscombe

Morebath Churchwardens Accounts (1607-1766)

Woodbury Churchwardens Accounts (1648-1792)

These documents contain very little on eighteenth century labor.

Gloucester Cathedral Records

Docketed Accounts of Salaries, Fabric and General Expenses,
1780-86 (Drawer 1, Staircase Cupboard)

Bailiff's Accounts, 1742-55 (no wages)

Book of Accounts, 1755-6 (no wages)

Repairs and Fabric Accounts, 1756 (Drawer 3, Staircase
Cupboard)

Treasurer's Accounts (no wages)

These records are kept at the Gloucester Cathedral under
the care of the Very Reverend Henry Gee, Dean of Gloucester.

Gloucester Chamberlain's Accounts

The accounts are kept at the Guildhall, Gloucester, and
although they contain a few wage figures, are not very useful.

Greenwich Hospital Accounts

Works Accounts, 1700-1800

These account books listed the repairs made at the Hospital
and the wages paid for such work. The books are kept at
the Public Record Office, London, under the heading, Ad-
miralty, Greenwich Hospital.

Oldknow Papers

These are the documents that Unwin and his fellow investi-
gators used for their book *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights*,
and which are now in the charge of Manchester University.
They contain few wage rates for unskilled labor, although
some scattered figures for the end of the century were found.

Oxford, St. John's College

Bills for repair of college

Bagley Wood Account Book

These records are kept in the library of the College in care
of Gavin Bone, Esq. All masons' and plasterers' bills were
examined for the eighteenth century; carpenters' bills were
sampled.

Parish Accounts of Thorpe Salvin, Yorkshire

These papers include the accounts of the constables, church-
wardens, and the overseers of the poor. The documents were
lent to me by Dr. Hubert Hall. There are many documents
of this sort, some of which have been printed. They contain
very little wage data, however, and hardly repay the labor of
going through them.

Sutton; Accounts of Surveyors of the Highway

The accounts are preserved at Chetham's Hospital, Manchester.

Account Book of the Thornborough Estate, Leyburn, Yorkshire

This book contains a detailed record of the expenses and profits of the estate during the period 1749-1775. The wages of servants and laborers on the estate are given, and it has been possible in several instances to estimate their annual income with some accuracy. The book belongs to Miss Cicely Hildyard of Scorton, Yorks, who was kind enough to let me use it.

Westminster Abbey Muniments

Stewards Accounts, 1698-1787

These accounts contain bills for the work of repairing the Abbey and its property, both in London and other parts of England. Household accounts are also included.

Christopher Wren Account Book, 1713-1720

This is an account of repairs to the Abbey done under the direction of Wren.

These documents are kept in the Abbey muniment room in Westminster.

Quarter Sessions Records

Devonshire—Loose bills, including bills for repair of roads and buildings.

Wage assessments have been removed from the Sessions Rolls and are now kept in a separate file.

Gloucestershire—Sessions Papers, 1724-30; 1735-79; 1781-89; 1795

Minute Books 1700-1800

Kent—Session Papers, 1700-1800

Lancashire—Petition Bundles, 1700-1800

Recognizance Bundles, 1701-1745

Middlesex—Chertsey Bridge Committee Book (1782-1788)

Minutes of the Committee for Building the New House of Correction, vol. I (1784-1795)

Orders of Court, vols. VI-VIII

Sessions Books, 1752-1775

Oxfordshire—Quarter Sessions Bundles, 1700-1780

Somersetshire—Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1700-1729

Disbursement Book of Treasurer of Gaols and Hospitals for Western Division, 1656-1735; 1735-1762

- Disbursement Book . . . for Eastern Division, 1735-1787 (absolutely no bills containing wages)
- Surrey—Sessions Bundles, 1700-1800
- Yorkshire—North Riding Sessions Books, 1755-1800
- North Riding Sessions Rolls, 1700-1800
- West Riding Sessions Books, 1700-1795
- West Riding Sessions Rolls, 1700-1800
- Manuscript Index of the Rolls

The Sessions papers or bundles are kept at each county seat and must be used there. They contain the original data for all matters which came under the jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions Court and which are usually noted in the minute books in brief form. The principal source of the wage figures are the bills for the work on county buildings, bridges, and roads which were preserved among these documents. These bills had to be approved by three Justices of the Peace before they could be paid, hence their presence in the bundles. Informations, letters, data on the cases which came up, often proved illuminating in connection with the social conditions of the time. Individual references have been given in the text. As a source of contemporary economic, social and legal matters these records are invaluable.

Printed Quarter Sessions Records

Only the eighteenth century ones which I have used are listed in this bibliography.

- Bedfordshire—Notes and Extracts from the County Records comprised in the Quarter Sessions Rolls from 1714 to 1832. (Compiled by Hardy and Page, 1907)
- Derbyshire—Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals (edited by Rev. T. C. Cox), vol. II, London, 1890
- Devonshire and Buckinghamshire—Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne (edited by A. H. A. Hamilton), London, 1878
- Hertford—Hertford County Records, vol. II, Sessions Rolls, 1699-1850; vol. VII, Sessions Records of the Liberty of Saint Albans' Division (1770-1840) (Calendar by W. T. Hardy)
- Middlesex—Middlesex County Records, volumes I-XIII (calendared by W. T. Hardy)

Surrey—Index to Surrey and South London Records (copies by W. E. S. and L. Finney, M.D.), London, 1923

Yorkshire (North Riding)—North Riding Record Society, volumes VII–IX (edited by T. C. Atkinson), London, 1884

Data on Prices

Most of the price series used by the writer, with the exception of the Gloucestershire, and some of the northern series, were lent by Sir William Beveridge, who is preparing a history of prices. These series are based on figures obtained from county records, manorial court rolls, assize prices, and other such manuscript sources. The research on these data has been largely carried on under the direction of Miss F. J. Nicholas, who was Sir William Beveridge's research assistant.

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON STATISTICAL METHOD

THE wage data used in the previous study are for the most part very discontinuous. The lack of continuity is largely a result of the fact that the preservation of the wage bills from which the figures were taken depended upon the chance recognition of their value by county officials from the eighteenth century to the present day. Some were thrown away as waste paper; others allowed to rot beside the steam pipes in the cellar of the county hall. Consequently some sessions bundles contained few of these bills in the first place, and others were in such poor condition that they could not be used. Nevertheless the data are sufficiently continuous to enable us to sketch the trend of the wages in certain districts. In the charts dotted lines have been used to indicate the breaks in the continuity of the data. The stability of wage rates over a considerable period of years was shown by the figures for any one place throughout the century, and consequently the lack of continuity does not seriously invalidate the course of wage rates during the period.

The only series which were continuous in any complete sense were the Westminster Abbey and Greenwich Hospital wages. In the case of the Abbey missing years were interpolated (the figure of the preceding year was used) in deriving the median. The same type of interpolation was used in making up annual averages from the monthly wage rates of Greenwich Hospital. Missing months were assumed to have the same rate as the preceding when inspection showed that this was likely to be true. A simple arithmetic average was used in obtaining the annual figure.

The data are peculiarly subject to errors, which may be grouped under the following heads:

1. Ordinary errors due to sampling.
2. Errors resulting from lack of the continuous quotation of the wage rates of specific places within any one district, so that one place or locality may dominate the final average at different times. This, for example, is what happened to Thorold Rogers' average. He himself admitted that the London wages

- dominated his series at certain periods.¹ The same was true of the median of laborers' wages for the North Riding.² The text has explained in each instance the methods which have been used to eliminate this source of error. In general, it may be said that grouping of the original data, according to statistical or geographical criteria, has minimized this type of error.
3. Errors resulting from differences in the quality of the work for which the wages were paid. It was difficult to distinguish between the kinds of work performed and the grades of skilled workmen from the original bills. Such quality differences were somewhat lessened by omitting rates obviously applicable to master craftsmen, boys, and women; and such figures as were extremely at variance with the customary wage in the locality. Originally, I went over the various series at least three times, several weeks apart, and checked the results. They have all been checked again, and the medians recomputed in 1933. But some quality differences undoubtedly remain.

Because the data are so imperfect to begin with, as little numerical manipulation as possible has been used. Experimentation with different kinds of averages indicated that the median was the most appropriate for this material, both because it has no upward bias, and because it requires no arithmetical handling of the data. The median therefore has been used in deriving the averages for each district wherever there were three or more samples in a year. A simple arithmetic average was used whenever there were only two samples in a year. When one sample alone occurred, the figure³ was utilized, if it did not deviate in too extreme a fashion from the general trend of the series. The variation of the number of samples upon which the medians are based in any one year was very great, ranging from one to over thirty. The median tables will indicate the approximate extent of this variation.

As a result, none of the medians are reliable over a short period of time, except those for Westminster Abbey and Greenwich Hospital. The general level of wages and their approximate trend, as checked by other evidence seem to be fairly accurate indications of what was going on, and sufficient as a basis of comparison of the situation in different regions.

¹ *History of Agriculture and Prices*, volume V, chapter 23.

² See above, Chapter V.

The prices were reduced from shillings per quarter (they are the annual arithmetic averages of the harvest year lent by Sir William Beveridge) to shillings and pence per half-peck for wheat; per three-quarters peck for barley; and per one and one-half pecks for oats. The Gloucestershire prices were taken from Thorold Rogers¹ and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The Yorkshire prices were derived from Beveridge's Assize figures for York, the Manchester prices of oats were taken from the *Manchester Mercury* by Mr. A. P. Wadsworth, and reduced from shillings per load (of 36 pecks) to pence per one and one-half pecks.

NOTES ON STATISTICAL TABLES

Laborers' Wages

Owing to the limitations of space the individual wage series for each place have not been given, except in a few instances. The exceptions are the Southwark, Dartford, Maidstone, Chertsey, Kingston, Gloucester, Cirencester, Aure, Winchcombe, Harfield Cam, Bristol, Dunster, Exeter, Guiting, Pershore, Islip, Oxford, How, Burn, Malton, Masham, Topcliff, Catherick, Corne, Yore, Wakefield, Ripon, Sutton, and Lancaster series which are not usually medians, with the exception of Oxford and Exeter, where a number of quotations existed for nearly every year listed.

The median series do not always average the same type of material. The Westminster and Greenwich series, for example, are medians of different kinds of labor (bricklayers, masons, etc.) whereas the other series are ordinarily medians of the rates paid for the same kind of work at different places.

The Surrey medians include the rates paid at six places in the county (exclusive of Southwark, Kingston, and Frensham) but no more than four of these were quoted in any one year, and the number of samples was usually only one or two. The Gloucestershire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire medians are based on a much larger number of samples. Ninety-two places in Lancashire are included in the median. In any one year, the samples varied from one to seventeen, and in nearly half of the cases the quotations were three and over. Rates from twenty places go to make up the West Riding series. It is rare, however, that more than one or two samples are quoted in a year. The North Riding median includes seventy-eight places. After 1740

¹ *History of Agriculture and Prices*, volume VI.

the number of samples per year was comparatively large, varying from one to twenty-eight, and the number was usually over five, and in half the cases, over ten. Eighty-four places are included in the Gloucestershire series. The samples in any single year ranged from one to eighteen, and the usual size of the sample was between five and ten quotations.

Of the county medians, the Gloucestershire and North Riding series are based on the largest number of samples per year and are therefore of greater validity than the others. Although the Lancashire series is derived from a smaller number of samples per year, it may be regarded with some assurance, as the regional variation within the county seems to have been less than in Yorkshire, and also because it follows the trend of the North Riding medians.

Craftsmen's Wages

The craftsmen's wage series are medians wherever possible (except in the case of Southwark) and the table headings indicate the crafts which are included. Usually masons and carpenters have been grouped together, as there was almost no difference in their rates. In the case of Westminster, the first series averages bricklayers', carpenters', masons', paviors', plasterers', and plumbers' wages; the second omits the carpenters' and plumbers' rates. The Greenwich series includes the wages of bricklayers, plumbers, masons, carpenters, plasterers, and joiners. The median of craftsmen's wages at Oxford averages the rates of masons, carpenters, plasterers, and slatterers. For Exeter the wages of masons, carpenters, hellyers, paviors, plumbers, and millwrights are included.

The county medians include the same number of places as those of the laborers' wages, but the number of samples in any one year is very much smaller.

TABLE I

WESTMINSTER ABBEY — MEDIAN OF LABORERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	Bricklayers' Labor	Masons' Labor	Paviours' Labor	Plasterers' Labor	Median
1700	1-8	1-8	1-8	1-9	1-8
01	1-8	1-8	1-8	1-8	1-8
02	1-8	1-8	1-8		1-8
03	1-10	1-8	2-0	1-10	1-10
04	2-0			2-0	2-0
05	1-10		2-0	1-10	1-10
06	1-10		2-0		1-10
07	1-10		2-0	1-10	1-10
09	1-10	1-8	2-0	2-0	1-11
1710	1-10	1-8	2-0	1-10	1-10
11	1-10	1-8	2-0	1-11	1-10½
12	1-10	1-8	2-0		1-10½
13	1-10	1-8	2-0		1-10½
14	1-10	1-8	2-0	1-10	1-10
15	1-10		2-0		1-10
16	1-10	1-8	2-0		1-10
17	1-10				1-10
18	1-10	1-8	2-0	1-10	1-10
19	1-10	1-8	2-0	1-10	1-10
1720	1-10	1-9		1-10	1-10
21	1-10				1-10
22	1-10	1-8		1-11	1-10½
23					
24					
25					
26	1-10		2-0		1-10½
27	1-10		2-0		1-10½
28	1-10	1-8	1-8		1-9
29	1-10		2-0		1-10½
1730	1-10		2-0	1-10	1-10
31	1-10	2-0	2-0	1-10	1-11
32	1-10	2-0	2-0	1-10	1-11
33	1-10	2-0	2-0	1-10	1-11
34	1-10		2-0	1-10	1-11
35	2-0	2-0	2-0	2-0	2-0
36	2-0	2-0	2-0	1-10	2-0
37	2-0	2-0	2-0	1-11	2-0
38	2-0		2-0	1-10	2-0
39	2-0	2-0	2-0	2-0	2-0
1740	2-0	2-0	2-0	1-10	2-0
41	2-0	2-0	2-0	1-10	2-0
42	2-0	2-0	2-0	1-11	2-0
43	1-10	2-0	2-0		1-11½

WESTMINSTER ABBEY — MEDIAN OF LABORERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	Bricklayers' Labor	Masons' Labor	Paviours' Labor	Plasterers' Labor	Median
1744	2 0	2 0	2 0		2 0
45	2 0	2 0	2 0		2 0
46	2 0	2 0	2 0		2 0
47	2 0	2 0			2 0
48	2 0	2 0	2 0		2 0
49	2 0	2 0			2 0
1750	2 2	2 0			2 0
51	2 0	2 0		2 0	2 0
52	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0
53	2 0	2 0			2 0
54	2 0	2 0		2 0	2 0
55	2 0	2 0	2 0		2 0
56	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0
57	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0
58	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0
59	2 0	2 0			2 0
1760	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0
61	2 0	2 0		2 0	2 0
62	2 0	2 0			2 0
63	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0	2 0
64	2 0	2 0	2 2		2 0
65	2 0	2 0	2 2		2 0
66	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0	2 0
67	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0	2 0
68	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0	2 0
69	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0	2 0
1770	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0	2 0
71	2 0	2 0	2 2		2 0
72					
73	2 0	2 0			2 0
74	2 0	2 0		2 0	2 0
75	2 0	2 0	2 0		2 0
76	2 0	2 0	2 0		2 0
77	2 0	2 0			2 0
79	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0
1780	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0
81	2 0	2 0		2 2	2 0
82	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 0
83	2 0	2 0		2 2	2 0
84	2 0	2 0		2 2	2 0
85	2 0	2 0			2 0
86	2 0	2 0			2 0
87	2 0	2 0			2 0

TABLE II

WESTMINSTER ABBEY — MEDIANS OF CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

s. d.

Year	Bricklayers	Carpenters	Masons	Paviours	Plasterers	Plumbers	Median	Median Excluding Carpenters and Plumbers
1700	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6
01	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6
02	2-6	2-6	2-6		2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6
03	2-8	2-6	2-6		3-0	2-6	2-6	2-7
04	3-0	2-6			3-0	2-6	2-6	2-9
05	2-8	2-6		3-0	3-0	2-6	2-7	2-10
06	2-8	2-6		3-0		2-6	2-7	2-10
07	2-8			3-0	3-0	2-6	2-7	2-10
09	2-8	2-6	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	2-10	2-10
1710	2-8	2-6	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	2-10	2-10
11	2-8	2-6	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	2-10	2-10
12	2-8	2-6	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	2-10	2-10
13	2-8	2-6	2-6	3-0		3-0	2-10	2-10
14	2-8	2-6	2-6	3-0	2-8	3-0	2-8	2-8
15	2-8	2-6	2-6	3-0	2-8	3-0	2-8	2-8
16	2-10	2-6	2-6	3-0		3-0	2-9	2-9
17	3-0	2-6	2-6			3-0	2-10	2-10
18	3-0	2-6	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
19	3-0	2-6	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
1720	3-0	2-6	3-0		3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
21	3-0	2-6					3-0	3-0
22	3-0	2-6	2-6		3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
23								
24								
25		2-6						
26	3-0	2-6		3-0			3-0	3-0
27	3-0	2-6	2-6			3-0	3-0	3-0
28	3-0	2-6	2-6	3-0		3-0	3-0	3-0
29	3-0	2-6	2-6	3-0		3-0	3-0	3-0
1730	3-0	2-6		3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
31	3-0	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
32	3-0	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
33	3-0	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
34	3-0	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
35	3-0	2-6	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
36	2-10	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
37	2-10	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
38	2-10	3-0		3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
39	2-10	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0
1740	2-10	3-0	2-9	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	2-11
41	2-10	3-0	2-9	3-0	3-0	3-0	3-0	2-11

TABLE III
GREENWICH HOSPITAL
MEDIAN OF LABORERS' AND CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES
s. d.

Year	Labor	Crafts	Year	Labor	Crafts
1700	1-8	2-6	1750	1-8	2-6
01	1-8	2-6	51	1-8	2-6
02	1-8	2-6	52	1-8	2-6
03	1-8	2-6	53	1-8	2-6
04	1-8	2-6	54	1-8	2-6
05	1-8	2-6	55	1-8	2-6
06	1-8	2-6	56	1-8	2-6
07	1-8	2-6	57	1-8	2-6
08	1-8	2-6	58	1-8	2-6
09	1-8	2-6	59	1-8	2-6
1710	1-8	2-6	1760	1-8	2-6
11	1-8	2-6	61	1-8	2-6
12	1-8	2-6	62	1-8	2-6
13	1-8	2-6	63	1-8	2-7
14	1-8	2-6	64	1-8	2-7
15	1-8	2-6	65	1-8	2-7
16	1-8	2-6	66	1-8	2-7
17	1-8	2-6	67	1-7	2-6½
18	1-8	2-7	68	1-7	2-6½
19	1-8	2-7	69	1-7	2-6½
1720	1-8	2-7	1770	1-9	2-7
21	1-8	2-7	71	1-9	2-7
22	1-8	2-7	72	1-9	2-7
23	1-8	2-9	73	2-0	2-8½
24	1-8	2-9½	74	2-0	2-8½
25	1-8	2-9	75	2-0	2-8½
26	1-8	2-9	76	2-0	2-8½
27	1-8	2-9	77	2-0	2-8½
28	1-8	2-9	78	2-0	2-8½
29	1-8	2-9	79	2-0	2-8½
1730	1-8	2-7	1780	2-0	2-9
31	1-8	2-7	81	2-0	2-9
32	1-8	2-6	82	2-0	2-9
33	1-8	2-6	83	2-0	2-9
34	1-8	2-6	84	2-0	2-9
35	1-8	2-6	85	2-0	2-9
36	1-8	2-6	86	2-0	2-9
37	1-8	2-6½	87	2-0	2-9
38	1-8	2-7	88	2-0	2-10
39	1-8	2-6	89	2-0	2-10
1740	1-8	2-6	1790	2-0	2-10
41	1-8	2-6	91	2-0	2-10
42	1-8	2-6	92	2-0	2-10
43	1-8	2-6	93	2-0	2-10
44	1-8	2-6	94	2-0	2-10
45	1-8	2-6	95	2-0	2-10
46	1-8	2-6	96	2-0	2-10½
47	1-8	2-6	97	2-0	2-11
48	1-8	2-6	98	2-0	2-11
49	1-8	2-6	99	2-0	2-11
			1800	2-0	2-11

TABLE IV
LABORERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	Southwark	Dartford	Chertsey and Kingston	Surrey (about Guildford)	Maidstone	Frenaham
1700						
01						
02						
03						
04						
05						
06						
07						
08	1-10					
09						
1710						
11					1-4	
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17	1-10					
18						
19				1-2½		1-0
1720						
21						
22		1-6				
23				1-6		
24				1-3½		
25				1-4		
26					1-1	
27	1-0				1-1	
28					1-1	
29				1-3	1-1	
1730						
31	1-0				1-1	
32				1-4	1-1	
33	1-0				1-1	
34	1-0	1-6		1-4	1-1	
35	1-0				1-1	
36	1-0				1-1	
37					1-1	
38	1-0				1-1	
39		1-0		1-3	1-1	
1740						
41					1-1	
42	1-6				1-1	

LABORERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	Southwark	Dartford	Chertsey and Kingston	Surrey (about Guildford)	Maidstone	Frensham
1743					1-4	
44					1-4	
45					1-4	
46					1-4	
47	2-0					
48		1-6				
49					1-4	
1750			1-4		1-4	
51						
52						
53	2-0					
54	2-0				1-4	
55	2-0				1-4	
56	2-0				1-4	
57					1-4	
58			2-0		1-4	
59					1-4	
1760				1-6	1-4	
61					1-4	
62					1-4	
63					1-4	
64					1-4	
65	2-0				1-4	
66			2-0		1-4	
67			2-0	1-4	1-4	
68				1-4	1-4	
69	2-0			1-4	1-4	
1770	2-0				1-4	
71	2-0				1-4	
72						
73	2-0				1-4	
74				1-6	1-5½	
75	2-2				1-5½	
76				1-6	1-7	
77		1-8			1-7	
78		1-8		2-0	1-7	1-2
79	2-0				1-7	
1780	2-0				1-7½	
81		1-10	1-10		1-7	
82			2-0	1-6	1-7	
83			1-10	1-8	1-7	
84			1-10		1-7	
85			2-0	1-4	1-7	

APPENDIX II

261

LABORERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	Southwark	Dartford	Chertsey and Kingston	Surrey (about Guildford)	Maidstone	Frensham
1786					1-7	
87	2-0	2-0		1-4	1-7	
88		2-0			1-7	
89	2-0				1-7	
1790	2-2	2-2	2-0	1-5	1-7	
91				1-3	1-7	
92	2-2			1-5	1-8½	
93	2-2	2-0			1-10	1-6
94	2-2	2-0			1-10	
95		2-7		1-6	1-10	
96		2-7			1-10	
97		2-7	2-4		1-10	
98			2-4		1-10	
99					1-11	
1800						

TABLE V

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES
(Bricklayers and Carpenters Combined)

Year	Southwark		Dartford	Chertsey and Kingston	Surrey (about Guildford)	Maidstone	Frensham
	B.	C.					
1700	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.
01							
02							
03							
04							
05							
06							
07							
08	2-8	2-8					
09							
1710							
11							
12							
13							3-0
14							
15							
16		2-6					
17	3-0	2-6					
18							
19		2-6			1-10		2-6
1720							
21							
22			2-6	2-0			
23		2-6					
24		2-6					
25		2-6					
26		2-6					
27	3-0	3-0				2-0	
28	3-0					2-0	
29					1-8		
1730							
31						2-0	
32			2-0		2-0	2-0	2-6
33	3-0					2-0	
34	3-0		2-0		1-10	2-0	
35	3-0	2-8				2-0	
36	3-0	2-6				2-0	
37		2-6				2-0	
38	3-0		2-0			2-0	
39			2-6			2-0	
1740			2-0			2-0	

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

(Bricklayers and Carpenters Combined)

Year	Southwark		Dartford	Chertsey and Kingston	Surrey (about Guildford)	Maidstone	Frensham
	B.	C.					
1741	a.d.	a.d.	a.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.
42	2-10					2-0	
43						2-0	
44						2-0	
45						2-0	
46						2-0	
47	3-0					2-0	
48			2-6				
49						2-0	
1750						2-0	
51							
52		2-8					
53	3-0					2-0	
54		2-8				2-0	
55	3-0					2-0	
56	3-0	2-6				2-0	
57						2-0	
58				2-10		2-0	
59						2-0	
1760					2-2	2-0	
61						2-0	
62						2-0	
63						2-0	
64						2-0	
65	3-0					2-0	
66				3-0		2-0	
67				3-0		2-0	
68					2-0	2-0	
69	3-0					2-0	
1770	3-0	3-0				2-0	
71	3-0	3-0				2-0	
72		3-0				2-0	
73		3-0				2-0	
74		3-0			2-2	2-0	
75		3-0				2-0	
76			2-6		2-2	2-0	
77			2-6		2-2	2-0	
78			2-6		2-2	2-0	
79	3-0				2-0	2-0	2-2
1780	3-0	3-0	2-6			2-0	
81			2-6	2-10		2-0	

APPENDIX II

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

(Bricklayers and Carpenters Combined)

Year	Southwark		Dartford	Chertsey and Kingston	Surrey (about Guildford)	Maidstone	Frensham
	B.	C.					
1782	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.
83		3-0		2-10		2-5	
84				2-10	2-5	2-5	
85		3-0		2-10	2-4	2-5	
86				3-0		2-5	
87	3-0		2-8		2-6	2-5	
88			2-8		2-0	2-5	
89	3-0	3-0			2-0	2-5	
1790	3-4	3-4	2-10	3-0	2-1	2-5	
91		3-4	2-11		2-0	2-5	
92	3-4		2-9		2-2	2-8	
93	3-4	3-6	3-0		2-6	2-11	2-0
94	3-4		3-0	3-6		2-11	
95			3- $\frac{1}{2}$	3-6		2-11	
96			3- $\frac{1}{2}$	3-6		3-0	
97			3- $\frac{1}{2}$	3-6	2-6	3-0	
98			3-6			3-0	
99						3-0	

s. d.

Year	Oxfordshire		Gloucestershire							Somersetshire		Devonshire		Guiting	Pershore	Ialip
	Oxford	Outside Oxford	Gloucester	Cirencester	Aure	Winchcombe	Harfield	Cam	County Median	Bristol	Dunster	Exeter	Outside Exeter			
1700	1-2															1-0
01		1-0														0-10
02	1-2	0-10½														
03	1-2															0-10
04										1-2		1-2				
05	1-2	1-2														
06	1-2															
07	1-2															
08		1-0										1-2				
09		1-2										1-2				
1710	1-2	1-2														
11		1-2										1-2				
12	1-2	1-2										1-2				
13	1-2											1-2				
14	1-2	1-2										1-2				
15												1-2				
16		0-10														
17		1-2														
18																
19	1-2											1-2				
1720	1-2											1-2				
21	1-2	1-0										1-2				
22	1-2	1-2										1-2				
23	1-2	1-1										1-2			0-10	
24	1-2															

LABORERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	Oxfordshire		Gloucestershire						Somersetshire		Devonshire		Gutting	Pershore	Tilip	
	Ox- ford	Outside Oxford	Glou- cester	Ciren- cester	Aure	Winch- combe	Har- field	Cam	County Median	Bristol	Dunster	Exeter				Outside Exeter
1725	1-2											1-2				
26	1-2	1-4										1-4				
27	1-2	1-2														
28	1-2															
29	1-2															
1730	1-2															
31																
32																
33																
34																
35																
36	1-2								1-0							1-0
37	1-2								1-1							
38																
39																
1740	1-2														0-10	
41	1-2															
42	1-2															0-10
43																0-10
44																
45	1-1															
46	1-2															
47	1-2															
48	1-1															
49	1-2														0-10	1-0

Year	Oxfordshire		Gloucestershire						Somersetshire		Devonshire		Gutling	Fenshore	Lalip	
	Oxford	Outside Oxford	Gloucester	Cirencester	Aure	Winchcombe	Harfield	Cam	County Median	Bristol	Dunster	Exeter				Outside Exeter
1750	1-2			1-0					1-0			1-4		0-10		
51	1-2								0-11			1-4		0-10		
52	1-1															
53	1-2								1-2							0-11
54	1-2								1-0							0-11
55	1-2								1-1							1-0
56	1-2								1-0							1-0
57	1-2								1-0							1-0
58	1-2								1-1							1-0
59	1-2								1-0							1-0
1760	1-2								1-0							
61	1-2								1-0							
62	1-2								1-0							
63	1-2								1-0							
64	1-2								1-1							
65	1-2								1-2							
66	1-2								1-2½							
67	1-2								1-0							
68	1-2								1-2							
69	1-2								1-0							
1770									1-0							
71									1-0							
72									1-0							
73									1-0							
74									1-1							

LABORERS' WAGES
s. d.

Year	Oxfordshire		Gloucestershire							Somersetshire		Devonshire		Guiting	Pershore	Islip
	Oxford	Outside Oxford	Gloucester	Cirencester	Aure	Wincombe	Harfield	Cam	County Median	Bristol	Dunster	Exeter	Outside Exeter			
1775					1-2½				1-2							
76					1-2½				1-2							
77			1-2						1-2							
78	1-4								1-2							
79	1-4								1-4							
1780	1-4		1-3						1-3							
81	1-4		1-3						1-3							
82								1-0	1-3		1-0					
83			1-2½				1-0		1-2						1-2	
84			1-3½						1-2		1-0				1-3	
85								1-0	1-2						1-2	
86								1-0	1-2½				1-3		1-2	
87									1-3				1-3		1-2	
88								1-1	1-1		1-1		1-4		1-2	
89											1-6		1-4			
1790											1-2		1-4			
91	1-4															
92																
93																
94																
95																
96																
97																
98																
99																
1800																

TABLE VII
CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

s. d.

Year	Oxford				Out- side Ox- ford	Gloucestershire					
	Ma- sons	Car- pen- ters	Plaster- ers and Slatter- ers	Med- ian		(Masons)		Low Rate	High Rate	Med- ian (all crafts)	Mas- ter crafts- men
						Glou- cester	Cire- cester				
1700	1 8	1 8		1 8							
01	1 8			1 8	1 8						
02	1 8			1 8	1 8						
03	1 8			1 8	1 8						
04	1 8			1 8	1 8						
05	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
06	1 8			1 8	1 8						
07	1 8			1 8	1 8						
08	1 8			1 8	1 8						
09	1 8			1 8	1 8						
1710	1 8			1 8	1 8						
11	1 8			1 8	1 8						
12	1 8			1 8	1 8						
13	1 8			1 8	1 8						
14	1 8			1 8	1 8						
15	1 8			1 8	1 8						
16	1 8			1 8	1 8						
17	1 8			1 8	1 8						
18	1 8			1 8	1 8						
19	1 8			1 8	1 8						
1720	1 8			1 8	1 8						
21	1 8			1 8	1 8						
22	1 8			1 8	1 8						
23	1 8			1 8	1 8						
24	1 8			1 8	1 8						
25	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
26	1 8			1 8	1 8						
27	1 8			1 8	1 8						
28	1 8			1 8	1 8						
29	1 8			1 8	1 8						
1730	1 8			1 8	1 8						
31	1 8			1 8	1 8						
32	1 8			1 8	1 8						
33	1 8			1 8	1 8						
34	1 8			1 8	1 8						
35	1 8			1 8	1 8						
36	1 8			1 8	1 8						
37	1 8			1 8	1 8						
38	1 8			1 8	1 8						
39	1 8			1 8	1 8						
1740	1 8			1 8	1 8						
41	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
42	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
43	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
44	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
45	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
46	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
47	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
48	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
1750	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
51	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
52	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
53	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
54	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
55	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
56	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
57	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
58	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
59	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
1760	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
61	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
62	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
63	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
64	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
65	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
66	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
67	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
68	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
69	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
1770	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
71	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
72	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
73	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
74	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
75	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
76	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
77	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
78	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
79	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
1780	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
81	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
82	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
83	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
84	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
85	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
86	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
87	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
88	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
89	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
1790	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
91	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
92	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
93	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
94	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
95	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
96	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
97	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
98	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						
99	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8						

APPENDIX II

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

s. d.

Year	Somersetshire			Perahore	Islip
	Bristol		Dunster		
	Craftsmen	Master Craftsmen			
1700					1-6
01				1-4	
02					
03				1-4	1-6
04	1-8				
05					
06					
07					
08					
09					
1710					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
1720					
21					
22					
23					
24					
25		1-0			
26					
27					
28					
29					
1730					
31					
32					
33					
34					1-6
35					1-6
36				1-1	
37					
38	1-10	1-0			
39		1-0			

APPENDIX II
CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

s. d.

Year	Somersetshire			Pershore	Islip
	Bristol		Dunster		
	Craftsmen	Master Craftsmen			
1740	1-10	2-0			
41	1-10	2-0			
42	1-10				
43					
44					
45					
46					
47	1-10				
48			1-4		
49			1-4		
1750					
51		2-6		1-2	
52	1-11	2-6	1-4		
53	1-11	2-11	1-4		1-4
54	2-0		1-4		1-4
55	1-10				
56	1-11				1-6
57		2-0	1-4		1-6
58		2-6			
59					
1760					
61					
62	2-0				
63	2-0				
64					1-6
65			1-6	1-6	1-6
66		2-4	1-6	1-4	
67	2-0				
68		2-2			1-6
69					
1770					
71					
72				1-6	
73					
74					
75					
76					
77					
78					
79					

APPENDIX II

273

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

s. d.

Year	Somersetshire			Pershire	Islip
	Bristol		Dunster		
	Craftsmen	Master Craftsmen			
1780					
81			1-8		
82					
83					
84					
85					
86	2-1	2-6			
87	2-4				
88					
89	2-4	2-6			
1790					

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

Year	Exeter								Outside Exeter	
	Masons	Carpenters	Paviors	Hell-yers	Plaster-ers	Plum-bers	Med-ian	Master Crafts-men	Med-ian	Master Crafts-men
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1740					1-8		1-8	2-6		
41	1-10	2-0			1-8	2-0	1-10	2-0		
42	1-9	2-0	2-0		1-8	2-0	2-0	2-0		
43										
44										
45	2-0	2-1					2-0	2-4		
46										
47										
48										
49										
1750	1-8	2-0	1-10	1-8	1-7	2-0	1-8	2-0		
51		2-0	2-0	1-8	1-7	2-0	1-10	2-0		
52										
53										
54								2-0		
55	2-1	2-0		1-8		2-0	2-0	2-6		
56										
57										
58	1-8						1-8	2-0		
59	1-10	2-0	2-0			1-10	2-0	2-7		
1760	2-0	2-0	2-0			1-10	2-0	2-6		
61			2-0			2-0	2-0	2-6		
62										
63										
64										
65	2-0	2-0		1-8			2-0	2-6		
66	1-8						1-8	2-0		
67										
68	1-10	2-0			1-8		1-10			
69	2-0	2-0	1-8	1-8	1-8	2-0	2-0	2-6		
1770	1-11	2-0	2-2	1-8			2-0	2-2		
71	2-0	2-0	2-3				2-0	2-8		
72										
73										
74	2-2	2-0					2-1			
75	2-0	2-1					2-0	2-1		
76										
77		2-2					2-2			
78		2-0	1-10	1-8			1-8	2-2		

APPENDIX II
CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

Year	Exeter								Outside Exeter	
	Ma-sons	Car-pen-ters	Pav-iors	Hell-yers	Plas-ter-ers	Plum-bers	Med-ian	Master Crafts-men	Med-ian	Mas-ter Crafts-men
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1779	2-0	2-0	1-10	1-8			2-0	2-2		
1780	1-10	2-0		1-8			2-0	2-2		
81	2-0						2-0	2-1		
82										
83									1-8	1-8
84									1-6	1-8
85	2-0	2-0		1-8			2-0	2-2	1-8	1-8
86	2-0	2-0					2-0	2-2	1-8	1-6
87	1-10	1-10		1-10			1-10	2-2	1-6	
88	1-10			1-10			1-10	2-2		
89	1-8	2-0		1-9			1-10	2-2		
1790								2-2		

APPENDIX II

LABORERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	North Riding of Yorkshire									
	How	Burn	Molton	Masham	Topcliff	Catherrick	Cover	Yore	Median (Bridges and Roads)	Median (Buildings)
1740										
41										0-10
42										
43										
44										
45										
46									0-8	
47										
48			1-0	0-10					0-10	
49										
1750	1-0	0-9		0-9					0-9	
51										
52										
53		0-9½		0-9½			1-0		1-0	
54									1-0	
55								0-10	1-0	1-2
56	1-2	1-0							1-1	
57									1-2	
58		0-10				1-0	1-0		1-0	
59	1-2						1-1		1-2	1-0
1760						1-0			1-0	
61		0-11							1-0	
62		1-0	1-0			0-10			1-0	
63		1-0				1-0	1-0		1-0	
64		1-0		1-0		1-0			1-0	
65	1-4	1-1	1-2			1-0	1-0		1-2	
66	1-4	1-1			1-1½	1-0	1-0		1-2	
67		0-10							1-1	
68		1-1							1-2	
69		1-0		1-0					1-2	1-2
1770	1-6	1-0		1-0					1-2	
71		1-1		1-0	1-4	1-1	1-2		1-2	
72						1-0		1-4	1-4	
73		1-6					1-6		1-4	1-0
74		1-6			1-6		1-6		1-6	
75	1-6			1-6	1-6				1-6	
76									1-5	
77										
78										1-2
79				1-8½	1-6				1-7	1-2

APPENDIX II

LABOURERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	West Riding of Yorkshire					Lancashire		
	Wakefield	Ripon	Sutton	Median (Industrial Area)	Median (Rest of County)	County Median	Lancaster	County Median
1740								1 0
41								1 0
42		1 0			1 0	1 0		1 0
43								1 0
44								1 0
45					1 0	1 0		1 0
46								0 11 1/2
47					1 0	1 0		
48								1 0
49								1 0
1750								1 0
51								
52								1 0
53								
54								
55								
56				1 0		1 0		
57								0 8
58								
59				1 0		1 0		1 0
1760							1 0	0 11
61								
62								
63					1 0	1 0		1 1
64			0 11				1 1	1 1
65			1 1					
66			1 1					
67			1 1					
68			1 0					1 0
69			1 1			1 0		1 0
1770			1 1				1 0	1 0
71			1 1				1 0	1 0
72			1 1				1 0	1 0
73			1 1				1 0	1 0
74			1 1					1 0
75			1 1					
76			1 0		1 0	1 0		
77			1 1					
78			1 1					1 0
79			1 1					

APPENDIX II

LABORERS' WAGES

s. d.

Year	West Riding of Yorkshire						Lancashire	
	Wakefield	Ripon	Sutton	Median (Industrial Area)	Median (Rest of County)	County Median	Lancaster	County Median
1780			1-2				1-6	1-6
81			1-1			1-0	1-6	1-6
82		1-0	1-1		1-0	1-0	1-6	1-7
83		1-0	1-1		1-0		1-6	1-6
84			1-1				1-5	1-5
85			1-3				1-6½	1-6½
86		1-2	1-3		1-2	1-2	1-8	1-8
87			1-4				1-8	1-7
88		1-2	1-4		1-2	1-2	1-8½	1-8½
89			1-4				1-9	1-8½
1790							1-8½	1-9
91							1-8½	1-8
92								1-6
93			1-6				1-9	2-0
94			1-5				1-9	1-9
95			1-6					
96			1-6					
97			1-6					
98			1-8					
99			1-7					
1800			2-0					

TABLE XI
CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES
s. d.

Year	North Riding of Yorkshire										West Riding			Launca- shire
	How	Burn	Molton	Cath- rick	Top- cliff	Morton	Medians			Wake- field	Ripon	County Median	Median all crafts	
							Carpen- ter	Mason	All crafts					
1700													1-0	
01						1-6							1-0	
02													1-0	
03													1-4	
04											1-5		1-0	
05										1-4			1-1½	
06													1-0	
07													1-0	
08													1-0	
09													1-6	
1710													1-4	
11													1-0	
12													1-0	
13													1-0	
14													1-0	
15													1-0	
16													1-0	
17													1-0	
18													1-0	
19											1-6	1-4	1-0	

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

s. d.

Year	North Riding of Yorkshire									West Riding			Lanca- shire
	How	Burn	Molton	Cath- rick	Top- cliff	Morton	Medians			Wake- field	Ripon	County Median	Median all crafts
							Carpen- ter	Mason	All crafts				
1720													1-6
21													
22													
23													
24													
25													
26													
27													
28											1-6		
29											1-4		
1730										1-6	1-6		1-6
31										1-6	1-6		1-1
32	1-6		1-6				1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6		1-6
33										1-6	1-6		1-4
34						1-8	1-6	1-8	1-8	1-6	1-6		
35													
36													1-6
37				1-6	1-8			1-7	1-7				1-6
38			1-6				1-7	1-6	1-6				
39								1-9	1-9				

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

s. d.

Year	North Riding of Yorkshire										West Riding			Lancashire
	How	Burn	Molton	Cath- rick	Top- cliff	Morton	Medians			Wake- field	Ripon	County Median	Median all crafts	
							Carpen- ter	Mason	All crafts					
1740							1-4	1-8	1-4			1-6		
41							1-6	1-8	1-8					
42														
43														
44														
45							1-7			1-6	1-4	1-2½		
46							1-7			1-6	1-6	1-4		
47								1-6			1-5			
48			1-6					1-6					1-6	
49								1-6						
1750								1-6						
51								1-6						
52								1-6						
53								1-6						
54								1-6						
55	1-6							1-6						
56	1-8							1-6						
57								1-6					1-9	
58	1-8							1-6					1-3	
59								1-6					1-6	

CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES

s. d.

Year	North Riding of Yorkshire						West Riding			Lancashire			
	How	Burn	Molton	Catherick	Top-cliff	Morton	Medians			Wake-field	Ripon	County Median	Median all crafts
							Carpenter	Mason	All crafts				
1760		1-6		1-8	2-0			1-6	1-6				1-8
61		1-6						1-6	1-6				1-8
62		1-6	1-6					1-9	1-6				1-8
63		1-6				1-6		1-9 1/2	1-7			1-6	1-8
64		1-6		1-6		1-6		1-8	1-6				1-8
65		1-6	1-9	1-6				1-8	1-7	1-6		1-6	1-8
66								1-6	1-6				1-8
67		1-6						1-6	1-7			1-7	2-0
68		1-6						1-6	1-8				2-0
69		1-6				1-10			1-8				2-0
1770		1-6				1-6			1-8				2-0
71		1-6						1-6	2-0			2-0	2-0
72									2-0				2-0
73		1-11						2-3	2-0				2-0
74		2-0				2-0		2-0	2-0			1-6	2-0
75	2-6	2-3		2-0	2-6	2-0		2-0	2-0				1-9
76								1-8	1-8			1-10	2-0
77													
78													
79					2-0			2-0	2-0				

APPENDIX II

TABLE XII
ANNUAL AVERAGE PRICE OF WHEAT (PER $\frac{1}{2}$ PECK)

s. d.

Year	Gloucester	Exeter	London	Maidstone	Oxford	York
1700		6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.
01		5d.	5d.	5d.	4d.	5d.
02		5d.	5d.	4½d.	4d.	4d.
03		5d.	7d.	9d.	6½d.	5d.
04			6d.	5d.	5d.	5d.
05		5d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	4d.
06		5d.	4d.		4d.	5d.
07		6d.	5d.	5d.	4d.	6d.
08		10d.	9d.	7d.	9d.	9d.
09		11d.	1-0	1-0	1-1	10d.
1710		7d.	8d.		9d.	7d.
11		6d.	7½d.	7½d.	8d.	7d.
12		7d.	6d.	7d.	6d.	7d.
13		9d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	8d.
14		6d.	6d.	6d.	5d.	6d.
15		6d.	7d.	7d.	8d.	7d.
16		6d.	7d.	6d.	6½d.	
17		6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.
18		5d.	4d.	4d.	5d.	6d.
19		7d.	5d.	5d.	5d.	
1720		7d.	6d.	5d.	5d.	6d.
21		6d.	5d.	4d.	5d.	6d.
22		6d.	5d.	6d.	5d.	7d.
23		5d.	6d.	6d.	5d.	6d.
24		6d.	6d.	7d.	5½d.	6d.
25		8d.	8d.	7½d.	8d.	8d.
26		6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	8d.
27		9d.	8d.	7½d.	8d.	9d.
28	11d.		8d.	8d.	9d.	9d.
29	8d.		6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.
1730	6d.		5d.	5d.	5d.	6d.
31	5d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	5d.
32	6d.	5d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	4½d.
33		6d.	5d.	5d.	4d.	6d.
34	8d.	7d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	(6½d.)
35	9d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	7d.	
36		5d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.
37		5d.	6d.	5d.	6d.	5d.
38		5d.	6d.	6d.	4d.	6d.
39		8d.	8d.	7d.	6d.	8d.
1740		9d.	9d.	8d.	9d.	9d.
41		6d.	5d.	5d.	6d.	6d.
42		5d.	5d.	4d.	5d.	
43		4d.	4d.	4d.	3d.	4½d.
44		4d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	6d.

APPENDIX II

289

ANNUAL AVERAGE PRICE OF WHEAT (PER ½ PECK)

s. d.

Year	Gloucester	Exeter	London	Maidstone	Oxford	York
1745		5d.	6d.	5d.	5d.	7d.
46	6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	5d.	6d.
47	6d.	6d.	6d.	5d.	5d.	6d.
48	7d.	5d.	6d.	5d.	5d.	6d.
49	7d.	6d.	6d.	5d.	5d.	6d.
1750	7d.	6d.	6d.	5d.	5d.	
51	8d.	7d.	7d.	6d.	6d.	7d.
52	8d.	7d.	7d.	6d.	6d.	
53	8d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	
54	8d.	5d.	5d.	4d.	5d.	6d.
55	7d.	7d.	6d.	5d.	5½d.	7d.
56	1-1	10d.	10d.	11d.	9d.	10½d.
57	1-0	7d.	8d.	8d.	9d.	8d.
58	7½d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	7d.	
59	7d.	6d.	5d.	5d.	6d.	5d.
1760	7d.	6d.	5d.	5d.	5d.	
61	7d.	5d.	5d.	5d.	5d.	6d.
62	7d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	5d.	7d.
63		7d.	7d.	7d.	6d.	
64		7d.	8d.	8d.	8d.	
65		8d.	7d.	7½d.	8d.	
66		9d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	
67	11d.	9d.	10d.	8d.	10d.	
68		8d.	7d.	7d.	9d.	
69		7d.	7d.	7d.	8d.	
1770		8d.	8d.	8d.	9d.	
71		9d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	
72	11d.	9d.	10d.	10d.	10d.	
73	11d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	10d.	
74	1-0	9½d.	9d.	10d.	1-0	
75	7d.	8d.	7d.	7d.	8d.	
76	8d.	8d.	8d.	8d.	7d.	
77	9d.	9d.	8d.	8d.	9d.	8d.
78	7d.	7d.	7d.	7d.	7d.	6d.
79	6d.	7d.	6d.	6d.	6d.	6d.
1780	8d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	8d.	8d.
81	9d.	9d.	8d.	8d.	9d.	8d.
82	11d.	10d.	9d.	9½d.	10d.	10d.
83	9d.	9d.	9d.	10d.	10d.	9d.
84	8d.	8d.	8d.	8d.	9d.	9d.
85	8d.	9d.	7d.	6d.	8d.	8d.
86	7d.	8d.	7d.	7d.	7d.	8d.
87	8d.	9d.	8d.	8d.	9d.	9d.
88	9d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	8d.	9½d.
89	11d.	10d.	10d.	9d.	10d.	9d.

APPENDIX II

ANNUAL AVERAGE PRICE OF WHEAT (PER ½ PECK)

s. d.

Year	Gloucester	Exeter	London	Maidstone	Oxford	York
1790	9d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	9½d.
91		8d.				
92		9d.				
93		10d.				
94		11d.				
95		1-3				
96		11d.				
97		11d.				
98		11d.				
99		1-7				

TABLE XIII
ANNUAL AVERAGE PRICE OF
a. d.

Year	Barley in Gloucestershire (Per $\frac{3}{4}$ Peck)	Oats (Per $1\frac{1}{2}$ Pecks)	
		Manchester	Lancashire
1728	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		
29	6d.		
1730	4d.		
31	5d.		
32			
33			
34	5d.		
35	5d.		
36			
37			
38		5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
39		5d.	
1741		6d.	
42		5d.	
43			
44			
45		7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
46	4d.		
47	4d.		
48	5d.		
49	5d.		
1750	5d.		
51	6d.		
52	6d.	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	
53	6d.	8d.	
54	5d.	9d.	
55	6d.	9d.	
56	8d.	10d.	
57	8d.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
58	6d.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
59	5d.	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
1760	5d.	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	
61	5d.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
62	5d.	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
63		10d.	
64		7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
65		9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	
66			
67	6d.		
68			
69			
1770			
71		10d.	

APPENDIX II
ANNUAL AVERAGE PRICE OF
s. d.

Year	Barley in Gloucestershire (Per $\frac{3}{4}$ Peck)	Oats (Per $1\frac{1}{2}$ Pecks)	
		Manchester	Lancashire
1772	8d.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
73	8d.		10d.
74	8d.		9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
75	6d.		8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
76	5d.		8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
77	6d.		9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
78	5d.		9d.
79	4d.		7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1780	4d.		8d.
81	5d.		8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
82	8d.		12 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
83	7d.		12 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
84	6d.		10d.
85	8d.		10d.
86	6d.		11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
87	6d.		10d.
88	6d.		9d.
89	7d.		11d.
1790	7d.		11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

INDEX

INDEX

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS, 51
 AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT, 141
 AGRICULTURAL WAGES, 52, 80ff, 148, 173,
 174; index numbers, xxv
 ALLEN, THOMAS, 146
 AMUSEMENTS — London, 30
 Rural, 64
 Working classes, 130
 ANNUAL EARNINGS, 155, 156
 ANNUAL WAGE ESTIMATES, 220
 ARCHENHOLE, W. DE, 6, 49
 ASHTON, 147, 185
 ASSESSED RATES, 110, 175

 BARLEY, standard of consumption, 118
 BATH ACCOUNTS, 84
 BEVERIDGE, SIR WILLIAM, 22, 252
 BEER. See Drinking
 BOTHFORD, 34
 BOWLEY, PROF. A. L., xxv ff, 19
 BREAD — expenditure for, 118, 119, 120,
 195
 price of, 122, 123
 riots, 123
 standard of consumption, 127
 BUDGETS, 58, 126, 203, 204
 BUDGET ESTIMATES, xix-xxv
 BUDGET IN TERMS OF WHEAT, 22, 195
 BURN, MABEL C., 4, 42
 BUILDING TRADE LABORERS, 7, 158
 BUILDING TRADE WAGE RATES. See La-
 borers' Wages and Craftsmen's Wages
 BUTCHER, E. E., 124

 CAIRD, JAMES, 186
 CAMPBELL, 211
 CARY, JOHN, 7
 CHAMBERLAYNE, 29
 CHERTSKY, 50
 CITY WAGES, 110
 CLASS COMPETITION, 212, 236
 CLEANLINESS, 33
 CLOTHES, 128, 129, 206, 207
 CLOTHING TRADE, 73-76
 COAL INDUSTRY, 146
 COAL MINERS' WAGES, 125
 COLLYER, J., 15
 COMMON RIGHTS, 197

COMMUNICATION, influence of, 43
 CONSUMPTION GROWTH, 228, 233, 234, 239
 CONTRACTS, 16
 COPPER WORKS, 76
 COTTAGES FOR LABORERS, 125, 128
 COTTON CLOTHING, 32, 33
 COTTON INDUSTRY, 144
 CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES, 96, 168, 223
 CRAFTSMEN'S WAGES — Dunster Castle.
 105
 Exeter, 107, 108, 109
 Gloucestershire, 98
 Oxford, 95
 Somersetshire, 104
 Westminster Abbey, 12
 Master craftsmen, 109

 DAILY WAGE RATES, 20, 150
 DAIRY PRODUCTS, 79
 DARTFORD WAGES, 48, 49
 DAVIES, DAVID, xxii, 58, 126
 DAYS OF WORK, 20, 114
 DEFOE, XX, 35, 231
 DEVONSHIRE, 78ff
 DIET, 27, 28, 57, 87, 123, 124, 199, 200,
 202
 DOUGLAS, P. H., 238
 DRESS, 32, 33, 35
 DRINK FOR WORKMEN, 19, 90, 125, 197,
 202
 Beer, 29
 Cider, 79
 Gin, 222
 DRUNKENNESS, 28, 202
 DUNSTER CASTLE, 84, 105
 DWELLINGS, 125, 128, 206

 EDEN, xxii, 7, 28, 32, 206
 EMPLOYMENT, amount, 115
 EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS, 5
 ENCLOSURES AND ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT,
 77, 125, 138, 139, 140, 141, 197
 EXETER WAGES, 108
 EXPORT INDUSTRIES, 241
 EXTRAVAGANCE OF LOWER CLASS, 219

 FABLE OF THE BEES, 232
 FACTORY SYSTEM, 239, 240, 242

- FAIRS, 30, 31, 64
 FAMILY ACCOUNTS, 153, 154
 FAMILY EARNINGS, 20, 155, 156, 196, 221
 FIELDING, 29, 43
 FOREST OF DEAN, 100ff
 FRONTIER SITUATION, 190
 FUEL, 127
 FURNISS, xxiv

 GAY, PROF. E. F., 134
 GARDEN WORKERS, 13
 GENERAL LABOR, 158ff
 GEORGE, MRS. M. D., 3, 18
 GIN. See drink
 GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 77ff
 GLOVE TRADE, 76
 GOLDEN AGE OF LABOR, 24
 GOVERNMENT, local, 65
 GRAS, PROF. N. S. B., 39
 GREENWICH HOSPITAL (figures), xxv, 45ff
 GROSLEY, 22, 62
 GUITING WAGES, 101

 HALE, SIR MATTHEW, xix
 HANWAY, JOSEPH, 29
 HEALTH CONDITIONS, 210, 211
 HEATON, 146
 HIGH WAGE AREAS, 161-164, 174, 212
 HIGH WAGES AND EFFICIENCY, 238, 239
 HOLT, J., 185, 187, 199, 214
 HOURS OF WORK, 8, 54, 87, 156, 157
 HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 207, 208
 HOWLETT, REV. J., xxii, 187, 235
 HUME, 234
 HUSBANDRY WAGES, 175
 HUTCHINS, MISS B. L., 15

 INDEPENDENT WORKMEN, 143
 INDUSTRIAL DECLINE, 134
 INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, 185ff, 213, 214
 INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT WAGES, 177
 INDUSTRIES — north, 147, 170
 west, 76
 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 241, 243
 IRON INDUSTRY, 76

 JENYNS, SOAME, 211
 JOURNEYMEN, 166, 183

 KALM, PEHR, 27, 53, 54
 KEARSLEY, G., 15, 18
 KENT WAGES, 50ff
 KINGSTON WAGES, 50

 LABORERS — London, 221, 222, 241
 North, 222, 223
 West, 222, 241
 LABORERS' WAGES — Metropolitan London, 41
 Oxford, 93
 Somersetshire, 103
 South, 14
 Westminster Abbey, 10
 LABOR SCARCITY, 188
 LAKE DISTRICT WAGES, 182
 LANCASHIRE, 139ff, 173ff
 LATIMER, 90, 104, 115, 121, 123
 LIPSON, E., 146
 LIVING CONDITIONS, 3, 4, 59ff, 123
 LONDON, 3, 8, 42, 43, 221, 222
 LOW WAGE AREA, 101, 106, 155, 161-164, 222
 LUXURY, 211, 228, 241
 regional conclusions, 241
 stimulus, 231

 MACKY, 30
 MAIDSTONE WAGES, 55
 MAKE-WORK THEORY, 233
 MALTHUS, T. R., 27, 224, 237
 MANCHESTER WAGES, 184
 MANDEVILLE, 228, 232
 MANTOUX, xvii, xxvi, xxvii
 MARSCHAK, JACOB, 238 n.
 MARSHALL, ALFRED, 224
 MARSHALL, WILLIAM, xxii, 51, 54, 56, 68, 77, 78, 90, 123, 131, 137, 138, 143, 151, 156, 157, 198, 206
 MASSIE, JOSEPH, xx
 MASTER CRAFTSMEN, 109, 111, 166, 183
 MEAT DIET, 202
 MEISTER, 6
 MERCANTILISTS, xix, 229, 230, 236, 237, 241
 METROPOLITAN AREAS, 39, 40, 189
 METROPOLITAN LONDON, 2, 39ff, 70
 MIDDLESEX WAGES, 50ff
 MINES, 76
 MISSON, H., 4, 6
 MONEY WAGES, 112, 113, 171, 172, 214
 MORE, HANNAH, 236
 MORITZ, 6, 33, 36

 NECESSITY AS STIMULUS, 235
 NEF, J. U., 147, 185
 NORTH, HON. ROGER, 5, 226
 NORTH RIDING, 136ff

- OATS, standard of consumption, 191, 193
 OFFICE HOLDERS, 66, 67
 OXFORDSHIRE, 77
- PAMPHLETERS, 229
 PATERNALISM, 57
 PERQUISITES, 19, 53, 54, 70, 80, 85, 103,
 125, 152, 196, 197, 222
 PERSHORE WAGES, 102
 PIN TRADE, 76
 PROTHERO, R. E., 224
 PURCHASING POWER OF LABOR, 24, 225
 PUTTING OUT SYSTEM, 142
- QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES, 108, 161
- REAL WAGES, 19, 46, 114ff, 191ff, 225, 236
 REDFORD, PROF., 39, 211
 REGIONAL DIFFERENTIATION IN WAGES,
 99, 113, 161, 164, 168, 175, 184, 223,
 225
 RENNIE, GEORGE, 140, 141, 186
 RENT, 63, 128, 155, 205
 RIPON, 176ff
 ROAD WORKERS, 158
 ROGERS, THOROLD, xvii, xxiii, 101, 193,
 252
 RUGGLES, THOMAS, xxiii
 RURAL WAGES, 50ff
- SAUSSURE, CÉSAR DE, 6, 22, 29, 63
 SCOTT, W. R., 26
 SELLERS, MISS, 142
 SERVANTS IN LONDON, 33, 34
 SHIPPING, 76
 SILK WEAVING, 76
 SIZE OF FARMS, 78, 141
 SLATER, GILBERT, 140
 SMITH, ADAM, 224
 SMITH, CHARLES, 27
 SOMERSET, 78ff
 SOURCES, Appendix I, 245-249
 SOUTHWARK, 8, 13
 STANDARD OF LIVING, xviii, 3, 36ff, 70,
 119, 122, 130-132, 194, 239ff, 222,
 240, 24
 STATISTICAL METHOD, Appendix II, 250-
 253
 STATISTICAL TABLES, Appendix II, 254-
 292
 STEFFEN, xxiv, 225
 SURREY, 50-55
 SWIFT, 36, 51
- TEMPLE, SIR WILLIAM, 21
 TEXTILE INDUSTRY, 133
 THIEVING, 60ff
 THORNBOROUGH ESTATE, 149ff
 TITHES, 206
 TOTAL EARNINGS, 20
 TUCKER, JOSIAH, xx
 TUKE, 157
 TURNER, 90
- UNEMPLOYMENT, 195
- VANCOUVER, 90, 116, 128
 VALPY-FRENCH, 28
 VON THÜNEN, 39
- WAGE DIFFERENTIATION — between
 crafts, 170
 regional, 99
 WAGE EARNING CLASS, 214
 WAGE MOVEMENTS COMPARED, 219
 WAGES AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS, 26
 WAGES AND PRICES COMPARED, 23, 45, 49,
 117, 118
 WAGES AND EFFECT OF DISTANCE, 85
 WAGES IN KIND, 197
 WAGES OF WOMEN, 86. See Women
 laborers
 WAGES, sources, xvi-xxvii
 WAGE THEORY, 236ff
 WAKEFIELD, 176ff
 WASTELAND IN NORTH, 144
 WEBB, S. and B., 44, 65, 224
 WEEKLY EARNINGS, 21
 WESTMINSTER ABBEY ACCOUNTS, xviii,
 8-13
 WEST OF ENGLAND, 72ff
 WEST RIDING, 139ff, 173ff
 WHEAT — diet, 27, 199
 prices, 22, 23, 49, 117, 118, 193
 standard of consumption, 26, 118, 121
- WIGS, 32
 WILBERFORCE, 37
 WOMEN LABORERS, 54, 86, 151, 196
 WOOLEN INDUSTRY, 145
 WORKMEN'S CHARACTER, 21, 22, 68ff, 241
- YEOMANRY, 132, 185
 YOUNG, ARTHUR, xxi, 39, 47, 77, 78, 85,
 121, 123, 173, 174, 179, 189, 199, 226,
 227, 231
 YOUNG, WILLIAM, 43

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