

Commercial Life and Trading Networks in the Manchester Region during the Nineteenth Century: the economic role of the public house, the warehouse and the Manchester Exchange.

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Introduction

The Manchester region was a key driver of trade and commerce during the nineteenth century, but despite extensive research on different aspects of industrialisation and its effects, there are still gaps in understanding as to how some of the processes operated, and this paper explores the nature and complexity of commercial activity in the Manchester region during the nineteenth century. Specifically, it considers the role of key institutions that participated in the economic life of the area, namely public houses, warehouses and the Manchester Exchange, in creating one of the world's most successful commercial places of its time. Research to-date has confirmed a distinct geographical location where the Manchester Exchange, public houses that were used for trading purposes and the warehouse district were very close together, but because the warehouse district moved away from this core area by mid-century, the resulting use of inns and public houses changed. At the same time the use of the Exchange flourished. So, what we see is the emergence and strengthening of some institutions, the demise of others, and at each key stage in between each of them adapting to meet their changing requirements. The research has been achieved by first analysing trade directory material on country manufacturers visiting the Manchester markets, which lists where they traded, particularly which pubs were used for commercial purposes. Second, the research looks at the Manchester Exchange archive, specifically membership rates. In addition, newspaper evidence, such as the advertising of auctions at warehouses and local inns, and business reports.

The results that emerge are presented against historiography on the commercial development of Manchester and Salford during the nineteenth century.¹ Lloyd-Jones & Lewis, whose work on Manchester's commercial activity through analysis of poor rate assessment books has been the one of the key pieces of research to-date on assessing its trading life, particularly between 1815 and 1825. The value of their research to this study lies in both the usage of public houses for commercial activity and the role of warehouses to Manchester's economic network. They refer to warehousing and pubs as key trading institutions, but do not reflect the role of the Manchester Exchange. So, the research presented here widens their timeframe and the institutions involved in trading activity. Research on Manchester's warehousing district has been produced by Cooper, whose doctoral research offers a valuable insight into the architecture and role of warehouses.² Furthermore, there are a number of brief histories that look at the development of the Manchester Exchange, such as those by Scott, Parsons, Allen, and Simpson.³ Finally, Farnie's research offers some useful insights into the more strategic role of the Manchester Exchange, such as membership and usage.⁴ Organisationally, the paper first looks at early commercial activity, and then moves on to consider the role of the Exchange and the development of warehousing. It then

looks at the result of trade directory analysis to establish the role of pubs and inns in trading activity; and finally puts the result in a historiographical context of debates in this field.

Early Commercial Activity

Research on early commercial activity in Manchester indicates a thriving and increasingly organised operation. The structure of the textile industry that dominated, particularly up to 1800, mainly comprised of cottage-based production financed by Manchester merchants, who supplied raw cotton to spinners, which to some extent overcame the limited transport system at this time.⁵ Organisationally, merchants and manufacturers were forming committees well before the turn of the nineteenth century, largely to deal with specific commercial issues, but which also included groups that offered a wider remit, such as the *Manchester Committee for the Protection and Encouragement of Trade* in 1774, followed by the *Manchester Commercial Society* of 1794. The *Manchester Chamber of Commerce*, which was established around 1820, is still in operation.⁶ Early meetings of these organisations have been traced to inns like the Bull's Head Inn in Market Place and Bridgewater Arms in the Market St and High St area, highlighting a key link between the economic life of Manchester and the drink place from well before the turn of the nineteenth century.⁷ It is easy to see why local inns and pubs had an instrumental role in the organisation of Manchester's commercial life when both *Baines' Directory* of 1824-5 and *Pigot's Directory* of 1828 emphasise the lack of public buildings used for trade and commerce in Manchester.⁸ This was despite the presence of the Manchester Exchange which had a reputation for being the largest commercial exchange of its kind.⁹ The first Exchange, built in 1729 and located in Market Place, catered for a range of trades until around the mid-1770s when cotton began to dominate, a trade that concentrated itself in a warehousing system that also emerged in the Market Place area.¹⁰ Country manufacturers met merchants at the original Exchange, a public house or a warehouse, and travelled considerable distances to attend the Manchester markets.¹¹ There were problems with the first attempt at a commercial institution in Manchester. Despite its impressive façade, it was neither presented to best effect nor could be utilised effectively owing to small, overcrowded and unpleasant streets that surrounded it and which became even more clogged with market stallholders.¹² The first Manchester Exchange ceased operation in 1790, leaving an absence of any commercial institution of this kind until its replacement in 1809. In the interim, merchants congregated outside at a site that became known as 'Penniless Hill' and close to the original Exchange site. Subsequently a room was provided near St Ann's Square in which to conduct business, but the development of trade and technological innovations made these meagre facilities insufficient, leading to the construction of the second Exchange in 1809, whose financial foundations lay in subscriptions from the commercial community.¹³ Therefore, this brief picture highlights an evolving network of commercial activity in Manchester from an early period, but one that was constrained by a fluctuating dedicated physical infrastructure to accommodate its requirements.

The Manchester Exchange

Local merchants were sufficiently sold on the notion that a trading focal point was required, indeed essential, to their trade and commerce, and the rebirth of the Manchester Exchange in 1809 reflected this view, where the commercial community were an integral part of its development through their financial contributions towards its creation. The trajectory of the Manchester

Exchange post-1809 was one of progressive development, with several modifications to its design to meet the ever-growing demands placed upon it. From its description the second Exchange was designed for function but not architectural symbolism. *Pigot's Directory* considered it more to 'be commended for its internal conveniences than admired for its outward beauty'.¹⁴ Baines regarded it as 'a spacious edifice, without any high claims to architectural beauty'.¹⁵ Therefore, the Exchange offered functional status rather than civic pride. The Exchange soon adopted a dominant role in the marketing of cotton and was seen to formalise trade in the area.¹⁶ However, this did not always correlate with its membership numbers. For example, despite the membership in 1830 being lower than at its inception in 1809 and only marginally higher in 1835, there were already plans to increase the floor space which came to fruition in 1841, and was followed by a further expansion which began in 1845.¹⁷ Figure one depicts membership trends throughout the nineteenth century and it demonstrates a sustained increase with the odd minor fluctuation between years. There appeared to be little long-term consideration to the usage of the building, with one expansion no sooner completed than other plans were initiated, and the impression was of Manchester's commercial activity being invincible and Farnie concludes that, 'as the main market of the cotton industry, it became the great meeting place between the Manchester merchants and country manufacturers of Lancashire'.¹⁸

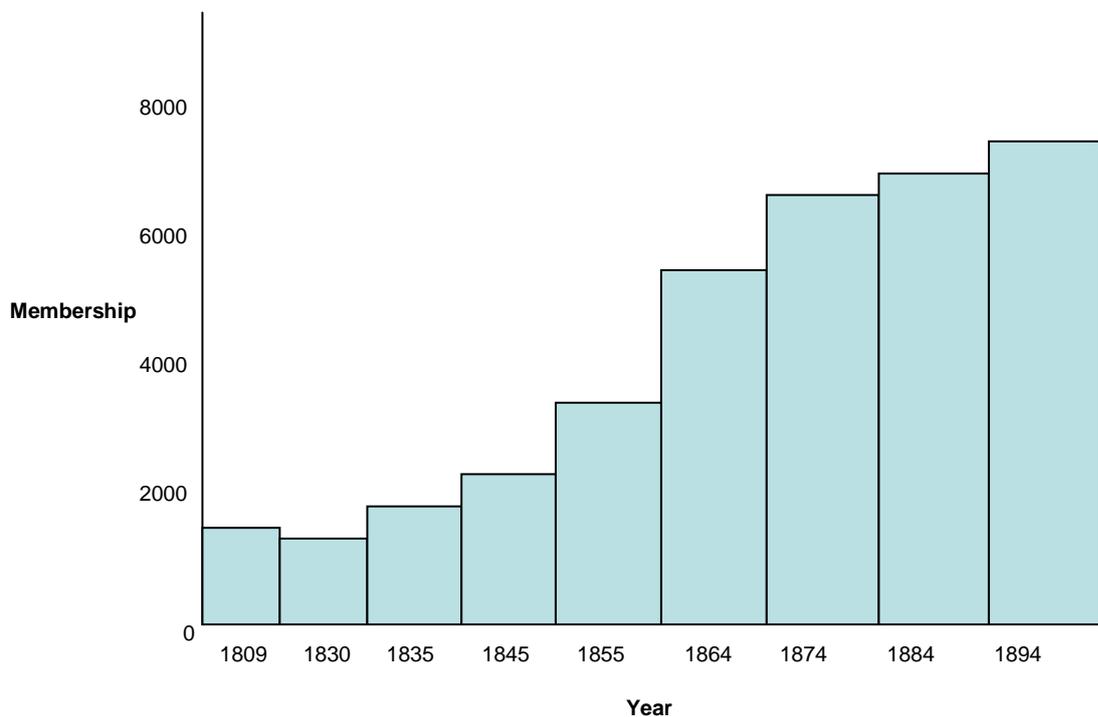


Figure 1: Membership of Manchester Exchange 1809 – 1894. (Source: Allen, R., *The Manchester Royal Exchange: two centuries of progress 1729-1921* (Manchester, 1921), pp. 11-13.; Parsons, J., *The Centenary of the Royal Manchester Exchange* (Manchester, 1904), p. 21; Farnie, Douglas A., 'An Index of Commercial Activity: the membership of the Manchester Royal Exchange, 1809-1948', *Business History* 21 (1979), p. 101).

Arguably, membership did not fully gain momentum until the mid-nineteenth century, though this disguises the fact that non-members used the facilities quite freely, until Edwin Simpson took over

the management in 1863 and tightened up the admissions procedure to the Exchange's facilities. By 1864, just a year after his appointment, he had increased its membership by 1,121.¹⁹ Therefore, looking at paid membership does not necessarily give us a true indication of actual usage of the Exchange, certainly until Simpson took charge. However, we can look at this in another way. Farnie has provided detailed statistics for the membership of the Exchange over its lifetime. The percentage increases between years are indicated below in Table One:

Between years	Percentage Increase in Membership
1821 and 1834	14.4
1834 and 1852	46.9
1852 and 1867	50.8
1867 and 1880	6.6

Table 1: Increases in Manchester Exchange Membership 1821-1880. (Source: Farnie, D., 'An Index of Commercial Activity: the membership of the Manchester Royal Exchange, 1809-1948', *Business History* 21 (1979), p. 101).

The largest percentage increases take place in the mid-nineteenth century, with the largest actual rise in the 1850s and 1860s. Farnie notes that despite fluctuations in trade, with frequent depressions, the expansion of the Exchange continued both physically and in increased membership.²⁰ Table One illustrates how the largest percentage increase in membership occurred during the period when Simpson took over, though the second largest increase preceded his leadership, suggesting that the membership of the Exchange was already on the increase.

Warehouses

In terms of warehouses, they developed in central Manchester largely after 1800 in reaction to increased specialisation of textile processes and development of technology. Originally many of these were former dwellings that were converted to meet their new requirements. Around 1804 home trade warehouses were in an area referred to a Blue Boar District around the Cannon St and High St area and were predominantly former house conversions.²¹ From the 1820s purpose-built premises began to be constructed to meet ever growing demands, with many clustering around Cannon Street, High Street and Church Street, in the Exchange and St Paul's districts of Manchester. By the 1830s even these were no longer fit for purpose and the warehouse district had begun to migrate towards neighbouring Fountain St and Mosley St in St James District, though even here some houses were converted owing to the demands for space. It seems that many warehouses suffered from poor ventilation and overcrowding, a notable feature of converted dwellings.²² So, clearly it was a great advantage if warehouses were specially built for their requirements, and indeed new purpose-built premises had both ventilation and space.²³ However, many warehouses were occupied by many companies in one building.²⁴ By the 1840s warehouses had adopted a specific architectural style and were now often ornate buildings, reflecting their position and

important role in the commerce. However, in nearby Mosley Street there were still some conversions from private housing to warehouses to keep up with the space required. Richard Cobden noted how owners sold their properties for such a purpose and made good financial gains in the process.^{25 26} By the 1850's the warehouse district was firmly located around Portland Street in larger purpose-built premises.²⁷ According to Cooper, 'a home-trade warehouse was designed to accommodate a large number of customers who would visit the warehouse rather than conduct their trade at the Exchange'.²⁸

Inns and Pubs as Commercial Outlets

Despite the reintroduction of the Exchange and its subsequent expansion, and the emergence of a thriving warehouse sector, the public house was at the core of commercial life, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. Arguably the scale and variety of trading activity could not be conducted in one institution, particularly with the Exchange's physical structure endlessly struggling to meet the demands placed upon it, and the diverse range of commercial products for exchange. However, more importantly a strong relationship between commerce and drink place evolved well before the nineteenth century and continued to develop alongside warehouses and the Exchange. It is difficult to imagine traders continuing to converge on 'Penniless Hill' each week in a region not exactly noted for a warm and dry climate, without accommodation or refreshments. Despite the second Exchange's bar and dining room, it seemed that surrounding inns and public houses were particularly attractive and had a range of services at least as equal, if not more suited, to the visiting merchant. Accommodation, food, postal connections, additional social interaction, and stabling, particularly during the early nineteenth century with a transport system still in its infancy, were all essential for commerce and comfort.

An illustration of the value of local inns and pubs to the commercial community is seen in Ainsworth's work on the history of the Bull's Head Inn, where he states,

A genuine proof of the use of the inn to the commercial community of the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign is seen in the framed list of merchants and firms, which number thirty, who made the Bull's Head their headquarters during market days and their visits to town. We can imagine a good deal of business being transacted here without the necessity of going across to the exchange.²⁹

Therefore, it is evident that despite merchants supporting the development of the Exchange, they often utilised a drink place in which to conduct their business. Publicans were aware of their role, obligations, and advantages in offering commercial services. For example, John Northcliffe, the new landlord of the original Spread Eagle Inn in Hanging Ditch, close to the main commercial centre of Manchester, reported in the *Manchester Observer* in 1819 that he 'respectfully announces to the nobility, gentry and the commercial classes that he has taken the above inn'.³⁰ Local observer, Thomas Swindells, gives an insight into the role of the public house in commercial activity on market days. He describes the role of 'hookers-in', who were pressure salesmen that would seek out new arrivals at inns and public houses and encourage country manufacturers to visit the numerous warehouses that they were representing.³¹ It seems clear that there was much to be made with a proactive sales approach. As he observed,

The merchants in those days adopted another means of securing the attendance of buyers at their warehouses. As soon as it was known that a probable customer had

arrived in town, which could be ascertained by a reference to the way-bills of the coaches recently arrived, a clerk was dispatched to interview the visitor. It is on record that one gentleman who had arrived overnight from London was honoured one morning before breakfast by no fewer than forty such callers. Needless to say the custom rapidly developed into a nuisance, and many were the indignant protests made by victims of it.³²

Equally, J T Slugg, who also wrote his memoirs of Manchester, commented that:

Hookers-in abounded at every street corner. In the days when there were no railways, and when men had to use the more tedious mode of travelling by stage-coach, a journey to Manchester and back was formidable affair. Country drapers from distant places could not then run over to Manchester, buy goods and return in a day. Hence they came here seldomer, but stayed longer and brought more largely at once. Living then in Market Street I had opportunities of the seeing hookers-in swarm about the doors of the Thatched House Tavern, the White Bear, and similar inns every morning, besieging head waiters, who were pretty well fee'd with the view of ascertaining who had arrived overnight'.³³

Sometimes the comfort provided by local hostelries became more formalised. For example, the Unicorn on Church St became known as 'Old Froggatt's' around 1810 and was where a group of merchants formed the Scramble Club. Merchants often had a quick lunch of a cold pie here and eventually began contributing towards Old Froggatt's wife cooking a proper joint for them.³⁴ It was named the Scramble Club owing to the hurried nature of eating at lunch before returning to work. In addition to the Scramble Club the John Shaw's club was another merchant club that had emerged and formalised the way in which merchants met through the use of local hostelries. Swindells tells us how John Shaw was a publican of the eighteenth century, who had a tavern in the Shambles which became known as John Shaw's Punch House.³⁵ Furthermore, Stancliffe's work has provided a detailed insight into the significance of this club to Manchester's commercial life. Shaw's tavern became a popular meeting place for merchants eager to exchange news and views, his punch drink being a particular attraction. Shaw was not only a publican, but one who had awareness of civic responsibility and was elected to a local office.³⁶ Despite Shaw's death in 1796, the tradition continued and it moved to the nearby Unicorn public house in Smithy Door. It had several homes after this, including the Dog and Partridge during part of the 1820s, the Thatched house Tavern from around 1827, the York Hotel, and the King's Arms in Deansgate.³⁷ In 1838 John Shaw's club ended up at the Blackfriars public house, run by Joseph Challender, where it had 57 members. Challender seems to have retired in 1851, since Elizabeth Burton took over the Blackfriar's and the club moved to the new Spread Eagle in Corporation Street. In 1860 the club moved again, this time to the Star Hotel.³⁸ By 1867 it held a club room in the Mitre Hotel. John Shaw's club was significant in gathering merchants together and its popularity was not in doubt.³⁹ The significance of it is undisputed during the majority of the nineteenth century, and as one home went another one was found, though it began to wane during the latter part of the century. The political views of Shaw and his customers were seen as extreme, and who were predominantly Church and King men. Heaven forbid any Whig entering their circles and airing their political views.⁴⁰

So to summarise so far, this section has outlined the role of three key players in the commercial life of the area and the next part will look specifically at the additional, and essential, role of the pubs and inns through an investigation of trade directories.

The Role of Pubs and Inns: Trade Directory Analysis

Trade directories allow both a detailed insight and the ability to quantify the nature of commercial activity in Manchester through the use of local hostelries. Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, who have researched this area in some detail, have pointed out that the trade directory for 1815 contains 496 manufacturers using Manchester markets, most of who had a warehouse and public house address to trade from.⁴¹ The data presented on inns and public houses used by manufacturers has been generated from trade directories for the years 1821, 1834 and 1852, by recording entries of country manufacturers visiting Manchester markets into a database so that statistical trends can be ascertained. These years are suitable for the study since they are appropriately spaced apart. 1821 falls within the timeframe of Lloyd-Jones and Lewis' study (which is 1815-1825) and the use of the subsequent years of 1834 and 1852 increases the scope of research by looking at the nature of Manchester's commercial life over a wider period. Trade directory analysis of country manufacturers visiting the Manchester markets stopped in 1852 since the information was no longer available in later directories, in itself indicating a shift in the nature of Manchester's trading activity. A database was created and contained the following categories:

- name of trader
- occupation/trade
- originating business town
- second business address/agent in Manchester
- drink place visited; drink place/trading location
- trading 'zone' (i.e. Manchester or Salford)

The study asks some fundamental questions about the nature of commercial activity in Manchester through the use of public houses. The following statistics offer the clearest picture possible to determine the relationship between merchant and public house in Manchester and Salford at this time. The key questions and areas that have been addressed from the data include:

- What was the total number of country manufacturers visiting Manchester & Salford?
- What were the total numbers of those using and not using public houses for trade purposes?
- Identifying the country manufacturers who *did* and also those that *did not* have an additional agent or warehouse address in Manchester, over and above their local originating address.
- Of those who *did not* have a central agent/warehouse address, how many did and did not use public houses to trade in?
- Of those who *did* have a central additional agent/warehouse address, how many used and did not use a public house?
- Which were the most popular trading days?
- Which particular drink places were used, and does their location offer us any insights into the nature of trading activity?
- What were the occupations or trades of the country manufacturers?
- Which were the most common originating towns?

Table two summarises the first five points above. We will now take each of these key areas in turn.

Criteria	Year									
	Actual	% of total			Actual	% of total	Actual	% of total		
Total visiting Manchester	659	94%			878	98%			371	100%
Total visiting Salford	37	5%			19	2%			1	0%
Uncertainty over Bull's Head Yard location (could be Manchester or Salford)	6	1%			n/a	n/a			n/a	n/a
Total Country Manufacturers	702	100%			897	100%			372	100%
Using public houses	549	78%			625	70%			263	71%
Not using public houses	153	22%			271	30%			109	29%
Total	702	100%			897	100%			372	100%
Country mfs who did not have a special warehouse/agent address	223	32%			603	67%			262	70%
Country mfs who did have a special warehouse address	479	68%			294	33%			110	30%
Total	702	100%			897	100%			372	100%
of the country mfs who did not have a special warehouse/agent address				% of overall total				% of overall total		% of overall total
but used a public house	176	79%		25%	351	58%		39%	263	100%
did not use a public house	47	21%		7%	252	42%		28%	0	0%
Total	223	100%			603	100%			263	100%
Country mfs who did have a special warehouse address										
and used a public house	373	78%		53%	274	93%		31%	1	1%
did not use a public house	106	22%		15%	20	7%		2%	109	99%
Total	479	100%		100%	294	100%		100%	110	100%

Table 2: Summary of Country Manufacturers Visiting Manchester Markets 1821-1852.

First, these figures demonstrate that country manufacturers visiting Manchester and Salford for commercial purposes reached a peak in Manchester during the 1830s. The trend is a consistent upward increase in their commercial activity to 1834, followed by a sharp decline to 1852, with a net increase in 1834 of 195 manufacturers or 21.7 per cent increase on 1821, which is reduced between 1834 and 1852 by 525 manufacturers, equivalent to a 58.5 per cent drop. It is clear that Manchester outshone its neighbour, Salford, when it came to commerce and the data reveals the extent to which Manchester was developing over Salford in the commercial sector. In 1821, at least 94 per cent of country manufacturers visited Manchester, rising to 98 per cent in 1834, with no trade directory record of such commercial activity taking place in Salford by 1852. In terms of country manufacturers utilizing inns and public houses for commercial purposes, Table Two indicates that in actual terms the number was at its height in 1834, with 625 using drink places as part of their trading process. This increased from 1821, but between 1834 and 1852 there was a sharp decline. Despite fluctuations in actual numbers, the percentage of country manufacturers using public houses to trade remains fairly consistent at around three quarters of merchants utilising drink place facilities on arrival in Manchester's commercial centre in each year of the study, with 1834 showing the lowest percentage at 70 per cent using drink places to trade in.

When looking at those who *did*, as opposed to those who *did not* have a central Manchester warehouse or agent address in addition to their originating town address, it is evident that in 1821 approximately two-thirds of the country manufacturers visiting Manchester and Salford to trade had a second location in the centre of the commercial district that they traded in, which underlines the degree to which Manchester was a substantive warehousing district at this time. The confined area in which country manufacturers traded was due not only to the location of the Exchange and public houses nearby, but also the location of warehouses which were large buildings often divided between several occupants to reduce the burden of high rents. Country manufacturers were also known to 'borrow' space from more successful traders.⁴² However, this position reverses by 1834, where this year records a reduced one-third of country manufacturers having a second warehouse or agent address. This gap further widens slightly in 1852 with 70 per cent not having a second trading location, an indication that the nature of commercial activity had begun to change from the 1830s. Arguably, transport improvements and the Exchange developing a more pivotal role in commercial activity were key factors in this seeming lack of need for a second trading location in the centre of Manchester. A further comparison of these two groups with regard to their use of public houses reveals that in 1821, of those 479 traders who *did* have a second trading location, 78 per cent used a public house to trade as well. In 1834 this rises to 93 per cent, but falls away by 1852 to just one per cent. Therefore, this demonstrates that post-1834, those who retained a second warehouse address radically decreased their utilization of drink places to trade in. This is quite a striking change and could be explained with the fact that Manchester's warehousing districts began to move to areas not particularly noted for public houses, such as Portland Street and Mosley Street, and the scale of new warehouses were such that they had no need to use a pub. Of those that *did not* have a second trading location, the majority utilized public houses to trade in, though 1834 is less marked than other years.

This complex set of variables can be set against Table One and Figure One which indicates the changing membership of the Exchange. It is clear that the decrease in use of drink places correlate with the increase in the membership of the Exchange. Whilst, as it has been noted, Simpson’s administration of the Exchange affected the membership rates, it was also demonstrated that increases took place prior to his reign and the correlation with trade directory analysis reveals a potential shift from public house to Exchange from mid-century.

Days traded	1821		1834		1852
Monday	9	1%	49	5%	Days not recorded in this year.
Tuesday	670	95%	872	97%	
Wednesday	20	3%	92	10%	
Thursday	132	19%	247	28%	
Friday	9	1%	50	6%	
Saturday	368	52%	409	46%	
Sunday	0	0%	0	0%	
Every day (except Sunday)	9	1%	49	5%	
Tuesday & Thursday	119	17%	32	4%	
Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday	107	15%	154	17%	

Table 3: Summary of Days Traded, 1821 – 1852.

Table Three summarises the statistics for the days traded. It is important to note when looking at this data that traders in the last three categories also appear in the individual day categories. Analysis of this evidence reveals the overwhelming importance of Tuesday in the trading calendar. It is no coincidence that noon on Tuesday was the Exchange’s key trading time.⁴³ It is evident that the distance travelled correlated to the duration of the visit, as some distant traders visited for a whole week or on specific days per month. Traders closer to Manchester took advantage of their proximity with regular weekly visits, sometimes several days per week. Approximately half of country manufacturers visited on Saturday, with Thursday also a popular day. When looking at the occupational breakdown for Tuesdays and Saturdays for 1821 and 1834, it is clear that around 97 per cent of traders are textile related on Tuesdays, and 93 per cent on Saturdays in 1821, with 98 per cent textile related trades for both Tuesday and Saturdays for 1834. Closer analysis of these two key trading days is provided in Table Four:

	1821		1834	
	Tuesday	Saturday	Tuesday	Saturday
% Using Public Houses	78.5	83.7	69.7	63.6
Approx. no of Public Houses used for trading purposes	78	66	92	67

Table 4: Country Manufacturers Using Public Houses on Tuesdays & Saturdays – 1821 and 1834, together with number of establishments used.

It is clear that the use of public houses for trading was greater on Tuesdays than any other time, but Saturday was a key time also.

So far the commercial activity that has been discussed has focussed on a simple model of traders coming in to Manchester for buying and selling purposes and this has been located around three types of trading location. However, this simplicity fails to acknowledge the role of trading with overseas businesses. Farnie states,

The merchants of Manchester had been merchant-manufacturers in the eighteenth century; they became pure merchants in the early nineteenth century, conducting the home trade from their warehouses and the export trade through the Exchange. They remained the central figure within the industry, standing between producers and ultimate consumer.⁴⁴

Kidd agrees that the Exchange's role in commercial activity was based around the export market.⁴⁵ Cooper confirms this notion when she states, 'the Manchester Exchange...was the meeting place of most buyers and sellers in the cotton trade, although it excluded buyers of finished goods for London and its region, and most departments of the home trade'.⁴⁶ Furthermore, her work suggests a shift in the nature of trading activity from the mid-1820s, where trade had been seen to split between the home trade conducted through warehouses, and, as shown in this study, public houses, and foreign trade conducted through the Exchange. Previously, Manchester merchants engaged with foreign trade via London merchants to trade overseas, though the Exchange evolved a role that eliminated this stage.⁴⁷ Despite these factors one basic issue must be remembered: the Exchange dealt with transactions only and was not a centre for cloth samples or goods, which were excluded. Most of this had to remain at the warehouses, so there was a symbiotic relationship between these two institutions.⁴⁸

This section looks at the most commonly used establishments and assesses how this changed over time. Table Five represents establishments used by ten or more manufacturers visiting the Manchester markets.

Establishment	Location	District	No. of Traders		
			1821	1834	1852
Black Boy	Old Millgate	Exchange	9	11	0
Blue Bell	High St	St Paul's	9	16	19
Blue Boar	Blue Boar Court	Exchange	17	23	0
Bull's Head	Market Place	Exchange	31	22	13
Bush Inn	Deansgate	St Mary's	7	13	0
Commercial	Brown St	St Ann's	0	12	2
Crown & Thistle	Half St	Collegiate Church	8	18	7
Fleece	Old Shambles	Exchange	6	3	14
Fountain	Meal St	St James	0	0	28
Fox	Cockpit Hill	Exchange	0	15	0
Fox & Goose	Broom St	Exchange	12	0	0
Griffin	Dangerous Corner	Exchange	15	0	0
Lower Turk's Head	Shudehill	Exchange	14	23	2
New Boar's Head	Hyde's Cross	Collegiate Church	27	4	0
Old Boar's Head	Hyde's Cross	Collegiate Church	6	18	22
Palace	Market St	Exchange	4	10	0
Seven Stars	Withy grove	Exchange	4	18	9
Shakespeare	Fountain St	St James	1	4	23
Ship	Chapel St	Salford	12	2	0
Spread Eagle	Chapel St	Salford	19	0	0
Spread Eagle	Hanging Ditch	Collegiate Church	2	17	0
Swan	Withy grove	Exchange	13	19	1
Thatched House Tavern	Market St	St Ann's	0	43	1
Three Crowns	Cockgates	Exchange	14	6	0
Three Horse Shoes	Old Shambles	Exchange	17	1	0
Turk's Head	Shudehill	Exchange	20	2	0
Unicorn	Church St	St Paul's	0	2	34
Von Blucher	Old Bridge St	Collegiate Church	14	0	0
Waterloo	Cockpit Hill	Exchange	3	14	0
Weaver's Arms	Cockpit Hill	Exchange	12	0	0
White Bear	Piccadilly	Piccadilly	15	30	9
White Horse	Hanging Ditch	Collegiate Church	5	26	10
White Lion	Hanging Ditch	Collegiate Church	10	13	0
Windmill	Bridge St	St Mary's	19	13	0
York Inn	Shudehill	Exchange	15	0	0

Table 5: Drink places used by 10 or more country manufacturers visiting the Manchester markets, 1821 – 1852.

Beginning with the analysis of 1821, the most popular public houses visited included the Bull's Head, Market Place, New Boar's Head at Hyde's Cross, the Turk's Head on Shudehill, the Windmill on Bridge St, the Blue Boar in Blue Boar Court, and the Griffin on Dangerous Corner. The majority of these were within close proximity to both the old and new Exchanges. The ties that bound these establishments were their location, all within a confined area of the 'old quarter' of Collegiate Church district and adjoining Exchange district, which included Market Place, Cannon St, Shudehill and Withy Grove and these areas directly map onto the original eighteenth century trading area. The development of this key trading area's infrastructure is also seen, which had up to the 1820s struggled to keep up with the expansion of commercial activity. In 1834 there was a change in the drink places utilised. The most popular one in 1834 was the Thatched House Tavern on Market St, followed by the White Bear in Piccadilly, White Horse in Hanging Ditch, alongside old establishments such as the Blue Boar, Lower Turk's Head and Bull's Head Inn. Table Five gives a remarkable insight into the shift in the location and nature of commercial activity in Manchester and Salford. As regards the Collegiate Church and Exchange districts, apart from the Old Boar's Head and Fleece public houses, all other establishments showed a marked decrease in usage for trading purposes between 1834 and 1852. Furthermore, districts directly fringing these such as St Mary's and St Ann's also see a decrease. Salford, which did see promising commercial activity earlier in the century, lost significance as a trading area quite quickly, presumably losing out to the increased dominance and influence of Manchester and the Exchange.

Analysis of trade directory entries provides us with a correlation between the use of establishments by specific trades or those visiting from a particular town. By looking at the most popular establishments it is evident that in 1821 the Bull's Head near Market Street largely dealt with cotton and fustian related trades, though this is unsurprising given the general amount of cotton and fustian trade in the locality. Those visiting the Bull's Head largely came from the Bolton, Bury and Chorley areas, with some from Hayfield and Glossop. The New Boar's Head traded in some cotton, but also substantial fustian and woollen trade with merchants from Todmorden, Hebden Bridge and Saddleworth regular visitors. The Turk's Head also was a trading location for fustian manufacturers, attracting merchants from the Royton, Shaw Chapel, Crompton and Rochdale corridor. The Windmill on Bridge Street largely catered for muslin manufacturers from the Bolton and West Houghton areas. The Blue Boar largely specialised in dimity manufacture and also had visits from spinning merchants from Barton, Eccles and Pilkington. In 1834, the Thatched House Tavern was particularly popular amongst cotton manufacturer traders, particularly from the Blackburn, Bolton and Preston areas. The White Bear attracted largely cotton spinners from the Ashton, Hyde and Stalybridge corridor. In 1852 the most commonly used public houses such as the Fountain largely catered for gimp and silk traders from Macclesfield and the surrounding areas, with the Unicorn predominantly dealing with cotton spinning and cotton waste spinning from Stockport traders. The Shakespere was more generalised with largely, though not exclusively, cotton from a range of areas. There are some links between the location of the drink place in relation to the proximity of the main highway that serviced these areas, such as the Turk's Head being close to the main route to Rochdale, though this model does not fit all establishments, so linking up with a specific trade was as important as doing business in a pub that was en-route.⁴⁹

Finally, this study investigated the towns where country manufacturers originated. Table Six illustrates those towns that had ten or more manufacturers using the Manchester markets, and demonstrates that all the towns that used the Manchester markets circled the city centre, as one would expect. It also confirms that whilst the cotton industry naturally dominated Manchester's commercial activity, it was by no means an exclusive sector. The woollen and fustian sectors, alongside a developing silk trade showed degrees of significance, and which is reflected in the origins of traders, where towns in Yorkshire and Cheshire were an important part of Manchester's commercial activity. More specifically, country manufacturers from Bolton were the most prolific traders up to the mid-1830s, but they were overtaken by Stockport by 1852. Oldham and Stockport were the most consistent areas for trading with Manchester across the whole period of the study. In fact, in 1852 if the data for Oldham is combined with Greenacres, an area adjacent to Oldham town centre, this area is highest for merchants visiting Manchester. The Yorkshire woollen trade declined in commercial activity by 1852, and was largely replaced by towns south of the city that largely traded in silk, such as Macclesfield. The most noticeable conclusion is the degree of change in trading patterns between 1834 and 1852, which supports previously presented data on this remarkable transition. It is clear how improvements to transport and towns developing their own local exchanges impacted on trading in central Manchester.

1821			1834			1852		
	Actual	% of total		Actual	% of total		Actual	% of total
Bolton	81	11.5	Bolton	112	12.5	Stockport	40	10.8
Oldham	56	8.0	Blackburn	43	4.8	Oldham	31	8.3
Royton	35	5.0	Bury	43	4.8	Rochdale	28	7.5
Bury	33	4.7	Ashton	35	3.9	Bury	18	4.8
Stockport	30	4.3	Stockport	34	3.8	Macclesfield	18	4.8
Leigh	22	3.1	Oldham	33	3.7	Greenacres	16	4.3
Heywood	16	2.3	Heywood	31	3.5	Radcliffe	16	4.3
Saddleworth	16	2.3	Rochdale	28	3.1	Bolton	14	3.8
Mumps	14	2.0	Royton	27	3.0	Bacup	12	3.2
Todmorden	14	2.0	Lees	24	2.7			
Hebden Bridge	12	1.7	Todmorden	20	2.2			
Astley	11	1.6	Hebden Bridge	18	2.0			
Colne	11	1.6	Stalybridge	18	2.0			
Halifax	11	1.6	Colne	16	1.8			
Little Bolton	10	1.4	Radcliffe	16	1.8			
Shaw Chapel	10	1.4	Chorley	15	1.7			
			Burnley	14	1.6			
			Leigh	14	1.6			
			Preston	14	1.6			
			Stand	13	1.4			
			Waterhead Mill	13	1.4			

Table 6: Originating towns with 10 or more manufacturers visiting the Manchester markets.

In terms of the links with public houses in commercial activity there are clues from the observations of Swindells as to what changed. His recollections describe a new career for some by becoming travelling salesmen going out to trade rather than coming into to the central commercial districts. He observes how,

The introduction of railways did much to render former business customs obsolete and out of date. As the means of travelling multiplied and became cheaper, firms began sending out travellers to call upon customers, carrying an array of samples that would have been impossible under the former conditions.⁵⁰

This fits in neatly with the demise of trade directory entries of country manufacturers visiting drink places by the 1850s; the commercial and economic infrastructure of Manchester had begun to change with immediate effect once a railway system radiating from the city had started to take shape. Rather than manufacturers converging on one site each week due to the time and limitation of transportation, their new found freedom took them away from the commercial centre. Arguably, transport changes altered the nature of trading in Manchester, at least as much if not more than the development of the Exchange, and this had a huge economic impact on public house usage for trade purposes post-1850.

Context

This section examines these results in relation to existing debates. To begin it is clear how important merchants and country manufacturers were to the region's economy. Chaloner for one considered the significance of Manchester merchants in developing the cotton industry, since they provided the necessary investment for technology and mechanisation, and therefore can be regarded as just as important as the inventions themselves.⁵¹ Equally, the work of Lloyd Jones and Lewis, both through their article in *Textile History*, looking at the economic structure of Manchester in 1815, and their subsequent book *Manchester and the Age of the Factory: the business structure of Cottonopolis in the industrial revolution*, is highly relevant and they constructed their data using rate books and placed property assets into twelve functional categories based on descriptions of their usage. Rateable values were gathered for each property asset, which were allocated into the relevant category. These data were constructed in such a way that they could be cross-referenced with trade directories.⁵² They use rate books to categorise building functions, and located public houses under retail: drink and hostelry. From their tabular information it can be ascertained that in 1815, 304 public house property assets were assessed with a total rateable value of £14,966, and 5.03% of total value of all twelve categories (excluding housing). They argue,

The relative importance of the licensed trade is to be expected. Public houses obviously fulfilled leisure functions for the rapidly growing factory population, but they were also more directly linked into the economic system. During market days in Manchester, held on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays public houses were utilised as meeting places for prospective buyers and sellers. The commercial directories indicated that pubs were extensively used by out-of-town manufacturers as meeting places for prospective buyers. Thus, seventy Bolton manufacturers who rented warehouse space in Manchester also specified particular public houses where they could be contacted.

There does appear to be a close linkage between warehouses and public houses and district six, by far the largest warehouse area in Manchester, also possess the biggest public houses and inns.⁵³

They also estimate that the average rateable value for pubs and inns in district six (the Exchange District) was £73.64, the largest of any Manchester district.⁵⁴ District six was central to warehouse functions for cotton goods and calico printing warehouses with such highways as Cannon St, Peel St, Lower High St, Marsden Square, Blue Boar Court and Abraham's Court, and had some of the largest drink places according to Lloyd-Jones and Lewis.⁵⁵ Here they are referring to such establishments as the Bull's Head Inn, Blue Boar and New Boar's Head, which were significant commercial establishments at the time of their study. Their book goes further than their article in comparing cotton factories as against other property users. Warehouses had the highest rateable value at £73,627 (48.1% of total excluding private housing), followed by public houses and inns with a rateable value of £13,608 (8.89% of total excluding private housing).⁵⁶ As a result of their research they came up with a number of conclusions. First, they argue that warehousing and distribution was far more significant than production; second, investment in public houses was greater than spinning factories; thirdly, the notion that Manchester was a 'typical factory town' was in doubt.⁵⁷

What does all this tell us? First, the number of pubs and inns specifically engaging in commercial activity was quite small when compared with the hundreds of hostelrys that existed and this is reflected in their locations, where the trade directory study demonstrates how all this activity took place in an extremely confined area of the city. Lloyd-Jones and Lewis estimated that 52 public houses were used for trading purposes in 1815.⁵⁸ Table four indicates the approximate numbers of public houses that were utilised for trading purposes. Whilst there are variations depending on the days traded, approximately 21 per cent of public houses were used for trading purposes. In 1834 this had dropped to 16 per cent, with a further drop in 1852 to 5.3 per cent. Therefore, there is an overall upsurge then rapid decline in country manufacturers coming into Manchester and Salford from the surrounding towns to trade. It can be concluded that the public house was a key factor in the organisation of the region's commercial and economic activity during the first half of the nineteenth century, though this is not followed through to the second half. Arguably their multi-functional and flexible role in society and the services they provided – accommodation, food, social interaction, transport and stabling, postal services and meeting facilities – were a major attraction and it is evident that a number of publicans were capturing a business need to their own and to the trading merchants' advantage. These observations support the idea that the public house offered a great deal that led to a thriving trade environment. As Lloyd-Jones and Lewis state,

Public houses were extensively used by the outside manufacturers as meeting places for the purchase and sale of goods and were an important part of Manchester's marketing/economic structure.....Clearly, apart from their obvious leisure function, supplying a rapidly rising workforce, public houses had a direct economic linkage with warehouses, which reinforces the relations of distribution and exchange in the Manchester economy.⁵⁹

The most utilised drink places were close to where the warehousing district and the Exchange had evolved. Returning to Baines' observation that public institutions for trade were sparse, it can now be seen that what had emerged instead was a complex network of trading activity through a variety of means, with both 'formal' and 'informal' public and social institutions participating.

Conclusion

It has been shown how Manchester had significant commercial activity during the first half of the nineteenth century that embraced the use of the inn and public house, warehousing and the rapidly developing Manchester Exchange. There was a change in the nature of commercial activity through country manufacturers' use or otherwise of drink places to trade. This change was attributed to the development of railways, which was a crucial factor in altering the nature of commercial activity in the city, the two halves of the nineteenth century showing a marked contrast; and the development of the Exchange, which was an increasingly important part of Manchester's trading activity. However, Manchester's commercial activity was complex and several institutions contributed to its success.

Notes

- ¹ Lloyd-Jones, R. and Lewis, M., *Manchester and the Age of the Factory: the business structure of Cottonopolis in the industrial revolution* (London, 1988); Farnie, D., *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market 1815-1896* (Oxford, 1979).; Farnie, D., 'An Index of Commercial Activity: the membership of the Manchester Royal Exchange, 1809-1948', *Business History* 21 (1979). pp. 97-106. ; Smith, R., 'Manchester as a Centre for the Manufacture and Merchanting of Cotton Goods, 1820-1830', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* IV (1953). pp. 47-65.
- ² Cooper, A., 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse, 1780-1914' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Manchester Polytechnic in association with University of Manchester School of Architecture, 1991).
- ³ Scott, R., *The Biggest Room in the World: a short history of the Manchester Royal Exchange* (Manchester, 1976); Parsons, J., *The Centenary of the Royal Manchester Exchange* (Manchester, 1904); Allen, R., *The Manchester Royal Exchange: two centuries of progress 1729-1921* (Manchester, 1921); Simpson, E., *A Sketch of the History of the Manchester Royal Exchange* (Manchester, 1875).
- ⁴ Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry*; Farnie, 'An Index of Commercial Activity: the membership of the Manchester Royal Exchange, 1809-1948'.
- ⁵ Cooper, A., 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse, 1780-1914' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Manchester Polytechnic in association with University of Manchester School of Architecture, 1991), pp. 41-2.
- ⁶ Redford, A., *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade, 1794-1858* (Manchester, 1973), pp. 1-2.
- ⁷ Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade*, p. 65.
- ⁸ Baines, E., *History, Directory, & Gazetteer*, p. 136; *Pigot & Co's Directory of Lancashire* (1828), p. 241.
- ⁹ Parsons, J., *The Centenary of the Royal Manchester Exchange* (Manchester, 1904), p. 5.
- ¹⁰ Allen, R., *The Manchester Royal Exchange: two centuries of progress 1729-1921* (Manchester, 1921), p. 7.
- ¹¹ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 47.
- ¹² Scott, R., *The Biggest Room in the World: a short history of the Manchester Royal Exchange* (Manchester, 1976), p. 9.
- ¹³ Allen, *The Manchester Royal Exchange*, p. 9.
- ¹⁴ *Pigot & Co., Directory of Lancashire* (1821), p. 241.
- ¹⁵ Baines, *History, Directory, & Gazetteer*, p. 130.
- ¹⁶ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 48.
- ¹⁷ Allen, *The Manchester Royal Exchange*, pp. 12-13.
- ¹⁸ Farnie, D., 'An Index of Commercial Activity: the membership of the Manchester Royal Exchange, 1809-1948', *Business History* 21 (1979), pp. 97-106. p. 97.
- ¹⁹ Scott, *The Biggest Room in the World*, p. 36.
- ²⁰ Farnie, D., *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market 1815-1896* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 75-83.
- ²¹ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 52.
- ²² Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 52.
- ²³ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 60.
- ²⁴ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 71.
- ²⁵ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 86.
- ²⁶ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 88.
- ²⁷ Cooper, *The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse*, pp. 46-50.
- ²⁸ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 90.
- ²⁹ Ainsworth, R., *History of Ye Old Bull's Head Hotel, Old Market Place* (Manchester. 1923), p. 40.
- ³⁰ *Manchester Observer*, 16 January 1819.
- ³¹ Swindells, *Manchester Streets*, vol. 3, pp. 103-4.
- ³² Swindells, *Manchester Streets*, vol. 3, p. 105.
- ³³ Slugg, J T., *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (Shannon, 1881), p. 44.
- ³⁴ Stancliffe, F.S., *John Shaw's, 1738-1938* (Timperley, 1938), p. 116.
- ³⁵ Stancliffe, *John Shaw's*, p. 18.
- ³⁶ Stancliffe, *John Shaw's*, p. 21.
- ³⁷ Stancliffe, *John Shaw's*, p. 157.

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- ³⁸ Stancliffe, *John Shaw's*, p. 29; *Manchester Times*, 18 December 1880.
- ³⁹ Swindells, *Manchester Streets*, vol. 3, pp. 162-167.
- ⁴⁰ Swindells, *Manchester Streets*, vol. 3, pp. 162-167., p. 166.
- ⁴¹ Lloyd-Jones, R. and Lewis, M., *Manchester and the Age of the Factory: the business structure of Cottonopolis in the industrial revolution* (London, 1988), p. 36.
- ⁴² Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Manchester and the Age of the Factory*, pp. 35-6.
- ⁴³ Scott, *The Biggest Room in the World*, p. 27.
- ⁴⁴ Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry*, p. 61.
- ⁴⁵ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 105; Farnie, D, 'An Index of Commercial Activity: the membership of the Manchester Royal Exchange, 1809-1948', *Business History* 21 (1979), p. 98.
- ⁴⁶ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 86.
- ⁴⁷ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 55.
- ⁴⁸ Farnie, 'An Index of Commercial Activity', p. 99.
- ⁴⁹ Analysis taken from the trade directory entries for *Pigot & Dean Trade Directory of Manchester & Salford (1822)*; *Pigot & Co's Directory of Lancashire (1834)*; *Slater's Directory of Manchester & Salford (1850)*.
- ⁵⁰ Swindells, *Manchester Streets*, vol. 3, p. 106.
- ⁵¹ Cooper, 'The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse', p. 41.
- ⁵² Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, 'The Economic Structure of 'Cottonopolis'', p. 76.
- ⁵³ Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, 'The Economic Structure of 'Cottonopolis'', p. 77.
- ⁵⁴ Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, 'The Economic Structure of 'Cottonopolis'', fn 39, p. 88.
- ⁵⁵ Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, 'The Economic Structure of 'Cottonopolis'', p. 81.
- ⁵⁶ Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Manchester and the Age of the Factory*, p. 30.
- ⁵⁷ Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, 'The Economic Structure of 'Cottonopolis'', p. 78.
- ⁵⁸ Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Manchester and the Age of the Factory*, pp.35-6.
- ⁵⁹ Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Manchester and the Age of the Factory*, pp.35-6.