

Horses & Livestock in Hanoverian London

Thomas Almeroth-Williams

Ph.D.

University of York

History

September 2013

Abstract

In his classic study, *Man and the Natural World* (1983),¹ Keith Thomas assumed and asserted that by 1800 the inhabitants of English cities had become largely isolated from animal life. My research challenges this assumption by highlighting the prevalence and influence of horses and other four-legged livestock in London in the period 1714–1837. This study represents a deliberate shift in historical enquiry away from the analysis of theoretical literature and debates concerning the rise of kindness and humanitarianism, towards the integration of animals into wider historiographies and a demonstration of how animals shaped urban life. Reasserting the need to unbound the social, my research places human interactions with non-human animals centre stage in London's history to reassess key issues and debates surrounding the industrial and consumer revolutions; urbanization and industrialization; and social relations.

Following an introductory section, Chapter one assesses the role played by urban husbandry in feeding the metropolitan population and asserts that Hanoverian London was a thriving *agropolis*. Chapter two challenges and complicates the orthodox assumption that steam substituted animal muscle power in the industrial revolution and asserts that equine power helped to make London a dynamic hub of trade and industry. Chapter three examines the metropolitan trades in meat on the hoof and horses. These were significant features of the consumer revolution and major sectors of the British economy which impacted heavily on London life. Chapter four asserts that equestrian recreation played a powerful role in metropolitan culture, both promoting and acting as an alluring alternative to, sociability. Chapter five examines the heavy demands which horses and other livestock placed on metropolitan infrastructures, and assesses the city's remarkable investment in these animals. In my conclusion, I consider the significance of recalcitrant interactions between plebeian Londoners and non-human animals.

¹ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (1983; Harmondsworth, 1984).

Table of Contents

LIST OF MAPS & ILLUSTRATIONS	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	14
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION	15
INTRODUCTION	16
1. METROPOLITAN HUSBANDRY	34
Scale & importance	39
Locating metropolitan husbandry	49
An agricultural-industrial hybrid	65
Interactions with livestock	76
2. EQUINE INDUSTRIOUSNESS & LONDON'S INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION	105
I HORSE MILLS	108
Grinding & mixing raw materials	115
Leather production	118
Paint production	127
Waterworks	140
Brewing	149
II EQUINE HAULAGE	157
London's draught-horses	159
Construction	161
Town carts & errand carts	165
The coal trade	170
Dray-horses	176
3. THE ANIMAL MART	190

I	MEAT ON THE HOOF	191
	Expansion of the livestock trade	194
	Impact on metropolitan life	201
	Cultural visibility	210
II	THE HORSE TRADE	222
	London: hub of equestrian consumption	223
	Expansion & decentralization of the horse trade	227
	London's equine knowledge economy	253
	4. EQUESTRIAN RECREATION	268
	Expansion & commercialization	273
	Riding & urbane sociability	308
	The appeal of equine companionship	320
	5. DEMANDS & INVESTMENT	331
	Architecture	331
	Equine care	356
	The recalcitrant beast	366
	CONCLUSION: RECALCITRANT INTERACTIONS	386
	'Two-legged brutes'	392
	Regulating the human-animal unit	403
	The 'compassion versus social order' debate	408
	ABBREVIATIONS	413
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	414

Maps, plates, figures & tables

Maps	Page
1 John Rocque, <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark</i> (1747). London Topographical Society, <i>The A to Z of Georgian London</i> (London, 1982).	22
2 Richard Horwood, <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining showing every house</i> (3rd edn., 1813). London Topographical Society, <i>The A to Z of Regency London</i> (London, 1985).	23
3 London's principal cow-keeping areas, 1730–1800 (marked on John Rocque's <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark</i> , 1747).	48
4 Location of victims of pig-theft in the Old Bailey Proceedings, 1730–1829. (marked on John Rocque's <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark</i> , 1747).	57
5 Location of pig-keepers and slaughterhouses fined for emptying animal waste into Turnmill Brook in 1773 (marked on John Rocque's <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark</i> , 1747).	63
6 Proximity of cow-keepers to breweries and distilleries in Hoxton & Shoreditch in the 1740s (marked on John Rocque's <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark</i> , 1747).	69
7 Proximity of cow-keepers to breweries and distilleries in Tothill Fields, Westminster in the 1740s (marked on John Rocque's <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark</i> , 1747).	70
8 Proximity of cow-keepers to breweries and distilleries in Southwark in the 1740s (marked on John Rocque's <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark</i> , 1747).	71
9 Cow-keepers in St Saviours Parish, Southwark, 1807, marked on Richard Horwood, <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining showing every house</i> (3rd edn., 1813).	72
10 Distribution of known horse mills in the metropolis, 1740–1815 (marked on John Rocque's <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark</i> , 1747).	114
11 Location of the New River Company office & yard as shown in Richard Horwood, <i>Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining showing every house</i> (3rd edn., 1813).	143
12 Plan of London around 1300 indicating situation of Smithfield market,	202

- from W.R. Shepperd, *Historical Atlas* (New York, 1911), p.75.
- 13 Wencesclas Hollar & others, *Map of London* (after 1688), indicating situation of Smithfield market. 203
- 14 John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747), indicating the main drovers' routes into Smithfield market. 205
- 15 'A plan of the New Road from Paddington to Islington', *London Magazine* (1756). 206
- 16 John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747), showing Smithfield (far right), Hatton Garden and the principle metropolitan markets to which livestock were driven. 208
- 17 Sites advertising 'horses for sale' in the London press, 1780-85. 234
- 18 Hyde Park in John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747). 276
- 19 Location of London's public riding houses: phase 1: 1761–1765 (marked on Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813). 285
- 20 Location of London's public riding houses: phase 2: 1786 –1790. (marked on Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813). 286
- 21 Location of London's public riding houses: phase 3: 1831–1835. (marked on Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813). 287
- 22 Detail of Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813), showing the prevalence of mews stabling in the heart of the West End. 340
- 23 John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747), showing part of the Grosvenor Estate. 343
- 24 Detail of Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813), indicating the location of No.4 Grosvenor Square. 344
- 25 Detail of the Cavendish–Harley Estate from Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark ...* 351

(3rd edn., 1813).

- 26 Detail from Peter Potter's *Plan of the Parish of St Marylebone* (2nd edn., 1832), showing the key mews developments serving Portland Place, Harley Street and Wimpole Street on the Cavendish–Harley Estate. 352

Plates

- 1 William Hogarth, *Second Stage of Cruelty* (Etching & engraving, London, 1751). Private collection. 18
- 2 Thomas Bowles III, *The North Prospect of London taken from the Bowling Green at Islington* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1752) [detail]. The Trustees of the British Museum. 37
- 3 Anon, *A Picturesque View of the State of the Nation for February 1778*, originally published in the *Westminster Magazine*, vol.6 (1/3/1778), p.66. 40
- 4 George Scharf, *A Cowkeeper's shop in Golden lane* (drawing, 1825). The Trustees of the British Museum. 92
- 5 George Scharf, *The Westminster Dairy in the Quadrant, Regent Street, near Piccadilly Circus* (drawing, 1825). The Trustees of the British Museum. 93
- 6 Robert Pollard after Edward Dayes, *View of Bloomsbury Square* (Etching & aquatint, London, 1787) [Detail]. The Trustees of the British Museum. 95
- 7 Elias Martin, *View of Hanover Square* (oil on canvas, 1769) [Detail]. Private collection. 96
- 8 Thomas Bowles III, *A New and Exact Prospect of the North Side of the City of London taken from the Upper Pond near Islington* (Etching & engraving, 1730). [Detail] The Trustees of the British Museum. 98
- 9 Attributed to Joseph Nickolls, *St James's Park and the Mall*, (Oil on canvas, after 1745). [Detail]. The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. 100
- 10 William Hogarth, *The Four Times of the Day: Evening* (Oil on canvas, 1736). Private Collection. 102
- 11 *The High Mettled Racer. By the Late Charles Dibdin, 1831; 'Blind, old, lean, and feeble, he tugs round a mill'; engraving by G. W. Bonner from a design by Robert Cruikshank. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.* 112

- 12 Anon, *The horse wheel of a Brewery* (1763). Reproduced from B. Spiller, 'The Georgian brewery', *Architectural Review*, 122 (1957), p.314. 112
- 13 'Brickfield: Horse-powered pug mill grinding clay. Women with hack barrow for transporting green bricks to clamps to dry out before firing', aquatint from William Henry Pyne, *Costume of Great Britain* (London, 1808). 116
- 14 G. Forster, *William Nash's Brickfield at Edmonton* (1856) [Detail]. Private collection (the London Brick Company). Photograph by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. 118
- 15 'A tanning mill' in Benjamin Martin, *The general magazine of Arts and Sciences ...* (London, 1765), vol.14, p.52. 120
- 16 William Henry Pyne (1769-1843), *Tanner's mill* (drawing, undated, pre-1803). The Trustees of the British Museum. 120
- 17 James Weldon's bark mill (patented 1797) in *The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures*, vol. 10 (London, 1799), p80. 125
- 18 Thomas Chapman's bark mill (patented 1805) in *The Repertory of Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture*, (London, 1805), vol.7, Plate XIX. 126
- 19 Design for the drawing room at Northumberland Street, early 1770s. Adam Albums, Vol.11, No.33. The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum. 128
- 20 Design for a Ceiling for the Front Drawing Room, House of Robert Child Esq, Berkley Square, 1769. Adam Albums, Vol.11, No.213. The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum. 128
- 21 Ceiling of the back parlour at Sir George Colebrooke's in Abingdon Street, 1771. Adam Albums, Vol.12, No.78. The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum. 129
- 22 Anon, Trade card of Joseph Emerton, Colour Man (etching & engraving, c.1744). The Trustees of the British Museum. 130
- 23 Anon, Trade card of Emerton & Manby, oil & colourmen (etching & engraving, marked 1792) The Trustees of the British Museum. 132
- 24 Anon, *Trade card for George Farr, grocer, at the Bee-hive and Three Sugar Loaves in Wood Street near Cheapside, London* (etching & engraving, 1750s) & detail. The Trustees of the British Museum. 133
- 25 William Parrott, Lambeth & Westminster from Millbank (lithograph, 1841). The Trustees of the British Museum. 162

- 26 Anon, 'Westminster Bridge', illustration to Thomas Malton's *Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London & Westminster*, 2 vols. (1792), vol.1. The Trustees of the British Museum. 164
- 27 Thomas Rowlandson, *A Bird Eye View of Covent Garden Market* (Hand-coloured aquatint, 1811) [detail]. The Trustees of the British Museum. 166
- 28 Trade Card for Robert Stone, Nightman and Rubbish Carter (1745) [detail]. London Metropolitan Archives, Prints & Drawings Collection. 168
- 29 Trade Card for Robert Stone, Nightman and Rubbish Carter (c.1750) [detail]. London Metropolitan Archives, Prints & Drawings Collection. 168
- 30 Trade card of Philip Fruchard, Coal Merchant (etching, c.1750). London Metropolitan Archives. 174
- 31 Draft trade card of Benjamin Levy, coal merchant (engraving, undated). The Trustees of the British Museum. 175
- 32 Draft trade card of Richard Adams, coal merchant (engraving, undated). The Trustees of the British Museum. 175
- 33 W. Ward after George Garrard, View of the East End of Whitbread's Brewery in Chiswell St (Aquatint, London, 1792). The British Library Board. 179
- 34 J. Egan after J.C. Zeitter, Pirate and Outlaw (engraving, London, c.1818). Rothamsted Research Ltd. 181
- 35 Thomas Rowlandson, *Peter Plumb's Diary* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1810). The Trustees of the British Museum. 211
- 36 Augustus Pugin and Thomas Rowlandson, *A Bird's Eye View of Smithfield Market taken from the Bear and Ragged Staff* (hand-coloured aquatint, 1811), from Ackermann's *Views of London* (London, 1811-22). 214
- 37 'Markets' column from *St. James's Chronicle* (14-16/1/1794). 218
- 38 Anon, *The bargain – a specimen of Smithfield eloquence* (engraving, London, 1780) [detail]. London Metropolitan Archives. 229
- 39 Theodore Lane, "How to pick up a "RUM ONE to look at" and a "GOOD ONE to go" in Smithfield" (Etching, London, 1825). 230
- 40 Jacques-Laurent Agasse (1767-1849), *Old Smithfield Market* (Oil on canvas, 1824). Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. 232
- 41 An early example of multiple advertisements for 'horses for sale' in the 237

- Daily Advertiser* (17/1/1752).
- 42 Horses for sale advertisements in the *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (28/2/1780). 239
- 43 Horses for sale advertisements in the *Morning Post and Fashionable World* (16/9/1795). 240
- 44 Tattersall advertisement in *Morning Post and Fashionable World* (28/10/1795). 243
- 45 ‘Tattersall’s’, engraving published in *The Farrier and Naturalist*, vol.1 (1828). 245
- 46 Anon, *Interior view of the auction rooms at Aldridge’s horse repository* (lithograph published by J. Watson & J. Beckensall, London, 1824). London Metropolitan Archives. 246
- 47 Thomas H. Shepherd, ‘North West View of the London Horse and Carriage Repository, Gray’s Inn Road’ in James Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements* (London, 1829). 247
- 48 George Cruickshank, *The Knackers Yard or the Horses last home!* (Etching, second state, as reissued in 1832-3). The British Library Board. 251
- 49 Thomas Rowlandson, *A Dead Horse on a Knacker’s Cart* (watercolour with ink over graphite, undated). Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. 252
- 50 Thomas Rowlandson, *A horse sale in Hopkins’s Repository, Barbican* (Watercolour with pen in black and grey ink on paper, London, c.1798–1800). Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. 266
- 51 ‘The Entrance to Hyde Park on a Sunday’ in Richard Phillips, *Modern London; Being the History and Present State of the British Metropolis* (2nd edn., London, 1805). 277
- 52 Thomas Rowlandson, *The Riding School* (drawing, late eighteenth century). Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. 290
- 53 Thomas Rowlandson after Henry William Bunbury, *Cit’s Airing Themselves on a Sunday* (Hand-coloured engraving, London, 1810). 294
- 54 Thomas Rowlandson, *Easter Monday, or the cockney hunt* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1811). 301
- 55 Dean Wolstenhome the elder, *The Epping Forest Stag Hunt* (Oil on canvas, 1811). South African National Gallery. 304

- 56 Isaac Cruikshank, *Sunday Equestrians or Hyde Park Candidates for Admiration* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1797). The Lewis Walpole Library. 313
- 57 Raphael Lamar West [?], *A Fat Buck of Hyde Park* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1787). The Trustees of the British Museum. 315
- 58 Anon, *A Macaroni taking his Morning Ride in Rotten-Row Hyde Park* (engraving, London, 1770). The Trustees of the British Museum. 316
- 59 *KITTY COAXER driving LORD DUPE towards ROTTEN ROW. From the Original Picture by John Collet, in the possession of Carington Bowles* (engraving, London, c.1793–1820). The Trustees of the British Museum. 318
- 60 Thomas Rowlandson, *A Crowded Race Meeting* (Watercolour with pen in brown and grey ink on paper, London, c.1805–1810). Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. 327
- 61 Plan of Thrale's Anchor Brewery, 1774 (not to scale; author's illustration after original in London Metropolitan Archives, ACC/2305/01/834). 334
- 62 Cross-section of one of the new stables at Truman's brewery, in *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (1837–38), p.47. 336
- 63 A coach waits outside a house in Portland Place, c.1777–80, view from Thomas Malton, *A Picturesque Tour* (London, 1792), vol.1, plate 88. 341
- 64 Detail of Sutton Nicholl's *View of Grosvenor Square* (engraving, 1754). Indicating the location of Three Kings Yard. 344
- 65 Ground & first floor plan of coach house and stables at Derby House, 26 Grosvenor Square, built 1773–74, from Robert & James Adam, *The Works in Architecture*. 345
- 66 Plans of the Parlor Story & Ground Floor of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn's House in St. James's Square, built 1771–74, from Robert & James Adam, *The Works in Architecture*. 346
- 67 William Hogarth, *Second Stage of Cruelty* (etching & engraving, London, 1751). Private collection. 369
- 68 Thomas Rowlandson, *Miseries of London [traffic]* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1807). The Trustees of the British Museum. 372
- 69 'View of Soho Square' from *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics*, printed for R. Ackermann (London, 1812), vol. 8, plate 22. 376

70	William Barnard after Dean Wolstenholme, <i>A Correct View of the Golden Lane Genuine Brewery</i> (mezzotint, London, 1807) [detail]. The Trustees of the British Museum.	384
71	W. Ward after George Garrard, <i>View of the East End of Whitbread's Brewery in Chiswell St</i> (Aquatint, London, 1792) [detail]. The British Library Board.	385
72	James Gilray, <i>Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion, -or- forcible Reasons for Negotiating a Regicide Peace</i> (Hand-coloured engraving, London, 1796). The Trustees of the British Museum.	391
73	George Woodward, <i>Miseries of Human Life</i> (Hand-coloured etching, London, c.1800). London Metropolitan Archives.	396
74	Thomas Rowlandson, <i>The Overdrove Ox</i> (Hand-coloured etching & aquatint, London, 1790).	397
75	'Smithfield Drover' from William Henry Pyne, <i>Costume of Great Britain</i> (hand-coloured aquatint, London, 1805). Museum of London.	404

Figures

1	Geographical movement of metropolitan cow-keepers in the eighteenth century.	54
2	Truman brewery horse stock (1790–1835).	156
3	Intensity of work performed by Truman's dray horses: approximate number of barrels distributed by each horse per year, 1776–1829.	186
4	Population of London / head of livestock brought to Smithfield market, 1700–1831.	198
5	Prevalence of public riding houses in London, 1731–1835.	283

Tables

1	Evidence of change in the cow-keeping trade (bankruptcy, herd size and acreage of pasture in use) – gleaned from metropolitan press reports, Sun Fire insurance policy documents and the 'London Lives' online database.	53
2	Location of pig-keepers appearing as victims of animal theft at the Old Bailey, 1730–1829.	56
3	Middlesex Jury Presentments against nuisance pig-keepers, recorded by the Court of King's Bench, 1735–40; 1760–65; 1790–95.	59

4	Use of property neighbouring cow yards in St Saviour's Parish, Southwark, 1807.	88
5	Timeline of horse-driven grinding machines, patented 1695–1805.	124
6	Horse-driven colour mills in London, 1725–1815.	138
7	Boulton & Watt Steam Engines Planned for London Trades, 1784–1799 (36 engines in total).	146
8	Steam engines at work in London in 1799 and 1805.	148
9	Orders Placed for Steam Engines by London's Breweries, 1784–1819.	150
10	Truman brewery dray- and mill-horse stock, 1762–80; 1790–1835.	155
11	Annual barrelage & number of dray-horses employed by eight largest London breweries, 1780–1825.	177
12	Intensity of work performed by Truman's dray horses: approximate number of barrels distributed per horse annually, 1776–1829.	185
13	Sheep and black cattle brought for sale to Smithfield market, 1732–1794.	196
14	Smithfield livestock per head of population, 1700–1831.	197
15	Estimated scale and value of the metropolitan horse trade, c.1800.	226
16	Advertising of horses for sale in the London press, 1703–1719; Jan–Feb 1752; Jan–Feb 1782.	237
17	London horse repositories, established 1754–1835.	241
18	London's public riding houses, 1731–1835.	280
19	Prevalence of public riding houses in London, 1731–1835.	282
20	Horse race meetings within twenty miles of Charing Cross, London.	297
21	Ratio of mews units: houses in key streets on Cavendish-Harley Estate (north of Queen Ann Street) in the early 1800s.	353
22	Newspaper adverts for rent & sale of properties with coach houses & stables (1775–1790).	354
23	Coach and horse capacity in mews serving Cavendish-Harley Estate, North of Queen Ann Street (1775–1790).	355
24	List of taxable servants at Grosvenor Square, 4 May 1782.	362
25	Approximate density of equine servants living and working in mews on the Cavendish-Harley Estate, North of Queen Ann Street (1775–1790).	362

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the culmination of an idea sparked by an equine encounter in London in 2006. Since then, *City of Beasts* has developed far beyond initial expectations, and has accumulated many debts along the way. Above all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Mark Jenner, who immediately appreciated my topic's potential and has nurtured its progress with exceptional enthusiasm and ingenuity ever since. Like the most skilful of cattle drovers, Dr Jenner has coaxed and goaded unruly thoughts through a labyrinth of challenges. He and I have been ably supported by Dr Alison O'Byrne, to whom I am also grateful.

Outside York, several scholars have given me valuable advice and encouragement. In particular, I would like to thank Roey Sweet and Celina Fox, both inspiring academics and paragons of generosity. Hannah Greig, Peter Guillery, Jon Stobart, Frances Sands, Ian Bristow and Derek Morris were kind enough to scour their notes, suggest avenues of research, and set me straight. At Durham University, Adrian Green and David Craig put me on a happy collision course with the eighteenth century a decade ago, and have offered valuable support since, as has the saintly art historian Anthony Parton. Colleagues and friends from the National Gallery have also provided considerable inspiration and encouragement.

A great deal of the work conducted for this study, including many of its most enjoyable and rewarding moments, took place in archives. I am grateful for the assistance of countless individuals, but in particular to the superb staff of the London Metropolitan Archives. I am also indebted to Charles and Samuel Whitbread for showing me George Garrard's animal paintings and models at Southill, and to their archivist James Collett-White. It goes without saying that any factual errors are entirely my own responsibility.

Finally, I would like to thank my loving parents, Lesley and Derek Williams; my *belle femme*, H el ene Frelon ("I can't wait to marry you on 5th October"); and my great friend, Simon Willis, for their extraordinary support – I couldn't have done it without you. Last but not least, my cat Mimi deserves high praise for saving me from mid-thesis madness.

This research was supported by an AHRC studentship, which was all the more appreciated in a global financial meltdown.

Cambridge

20 September 2013

Author's Declaration

The work in this thesis is all my own and has not previously been submitted for examination at this or any other institution.

Parts of Chapter 2 were published in T. Almeroth-Williams, 'The brewery horse and the importance of equine power in Hanoverian London', *Urban History*, 40 (2013), pp.416-41.

Introduction

The endless stream of men, and moving things,
 From hour to hour the illimitable walk
 Still among streets with clouds and sky above,
 The wealth, the bustle and the eagerness,
 The glittering Chariots with their pamper'd Steeds,
 Stalls, Barrows, Porters: midway in the Street
 The Scavenger, who begs with hat in hand,
 The labouring Hackney Coaches, the rash speed
 Of Coaches travelling far, whirl'd on with horn
 Loud blowing, and the sturdy Drayman's Team,
 Ascending from some Alley of the Thames
 And striking right across the crowded Thames
 Til the fore Horse veer round with punctual skill:
 Here there and everywhere a weary throng

William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book VII (1805), lines 158-171.²

The hustle and bustle of London, which amazed Wordsworth as much as it had Samuel Johnson thirty years earlier, provides exceptionally rich material for historians.³ Hanoverian London emerged as the largest and most powerful city in the world, its population increasing from 575,000 in 1700 to 1,595,000 in 1831, dwarfing that of rival capitals.⁴ Recent ground-breaking projects have made the city one of the most digitised in human history. Since the launch of the Old Bailey Online in 2003, researchers have gained rapid access to nearly 200,000 trials from London's

² William Wordsworth, *The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind* (ed.) E. de Selincourt & corrected by S. Gill (1805; Oxford, 1970), p.109.

³ Johnson proclaimed that 'By seeing London' he had 'seen as much of life as the world can shew' and that the city's 'wonderful immensity' lay not in 'the showy evolutions of buildings' but in its 'multiplicity of human habitations'; James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (Dublin, 1785), p.379 & *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791; Ware, 2008), p.215.

⁴ The population of Paris in 1800 was 550,000. E.A. Wrigley, 'A simple model of London's importance in changing English society and economy', *P&P*, 37 (1967), p.44; 1730s – 1790s: J. Landers, *Death and the Metropolis: Studies in the Demographic History of London, 1670-1830* (Cambridge, 2006), p.179; 1801, 1821, 1831: L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.125-8. T. Barker, 'London: A Unique Megalopolis?' in T. Barker & A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *Megalopolis: The Giant City in History* (Basingstoke, 1993); P. Bairoch, J. Batou & P. Chevre, *The Population of European Cities from 800-1850* (Geneva, 1988), p.283.

central criminal court, containing the details of millions of metropolitan lives.⁵ And in 2010, *London Lives* digitised and made text searchable 240,000 manuscript and printed pages – containing more than 3.35 million name instances – from eight London archives.⁶ The full impact of these developments remains unclear, but there is every reason to believe that Hanoverian Londoners will receive even greater attention as historians explore the material now within their reach. And yet, scholars may fail to do justice to these resources by following overly narrow lines of established enquiry. Of particular concern, in the context of this study, is the risk that by encouraging searches for human names and lives, these facilities will contribute to the traditional portrayal of life in cities as being overwhelmingly human.

A City Full of People, the title of Peter Earle's survey of London, 1650–1750, and a phrase borrowed from Daniel Defoe, neatly summarises the intense human activity so often associated with the rise of the British metropolis.⁷ By contrast, animals have rarely been noticed, to the extent that a recent volume of the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, covering the period 1540–1840, is almost entirely bereft of horses, sheep, cattle, pigs, dogs or any other animal convergence.⁸ Animals make no more of an impression in the three most recent biographies of London.⁹ This is despite the ubiquity of animals in archival records, as well as in numerous literary and visual depictions of the metropolis, including Wordsworth's *The Prelude*, quoted above. Indeed, one of the most famous images of London, William Hogarth's *Second Stage of Cruelty*, 1751 (see Plate 1), discussed throughout this thesis, features almost as many animals as it does people. It is an image which confirms John Berger's assertion that before the twentieth century, animals were 'with man at the centre of his world'.¹⁰ Yet, while this image has been mined for particular kinds of information, its animal presences demand much closer scrutiny.

⁵ www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Project.jsp.

⁶ <http://www.londonlives.org/static/Project.jsp>.

⁷ Daniel Defoe, *History of the Plague in London* (1722; reprinted, 2008), p.34; P. Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London, 1650 – 1750* (London, 1994).

⁸ P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.2: 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁹ Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (London, 1998); Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London, 2000); Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London, 2012).

¹⁰ J. Berger, 'Why look at animals?' in Berger, *Why Look at Animals?* (1980; London, 2009), p.12.

Plate 1: William Hogarth, *Second Stage of Cruelty* (Etching & engraving, London, 1751).



There has been a lingering tendency to view cities as being somehow divorced from the influence of animals – an assumption which threatens to exaggerate the artificial characteristics of cities and to downplay their complex relationship with the natural world. Furthermore, as discussed below, the category of the social has rarely acknowledged the extent of human interaction with animals in the city.¹¹ Yet, recent studies of North American cities by scholars including William Cronon, Joel Tarr and Michael Gandy have shown that we no longer need to limit ourselves to arguing the case for urban environmental history, and can now explore new avenues in social and urban history, such as the role played by animals in work cultures and social relations.¹²

Urban-environmental history offers many exciting opportunities for research but also poses some analytical problems, not least in framing the parameters of debate. It is important to consider, for instance, whether to write about animals is necessarily to write about nature and if either category, when found in the city, should necessarily be understood as being ‘urban’. Chris Philo has argued that geographical literature ‘has largely overlooked animals as distinctive objects of study, often subsuming them within broader discussions of nature and environment’.¹³

Attempting to define and delineate the terms ‘city’, ‘urban’ and ‘urbanite’ is no less problematic. Is it possible to discuss London’s ‘urban boundaries’, and if so, how and where should they be drawn? Did London’s urbanity only extend as far as its outermost paved streets and buildings, or

¹¹ Important recent exceptions to this trend are C. McShane & J.A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the 19th Century* (Baltimore, 2007); A. Norton Green, *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America* (Cambridge, Mass & London, 2008) & D. Roche, *La Culture Équestre Occidentale, XVIe-XIXe Siècle, l’Ombre du Cheval: Tome I, Le Cheval Moteur, Essai sur l’Utilité Équestre* (Paris, 2008).

¹² W. Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York & London, 1991); M.V. Melosi, ‘The place of the city in environmental history’, *Environmental History Review*, 17 (1993), pp.1-23; C.M. Rosen & J.A. Tarr, ‘The importance of an urban perspective in environmental history’, *Journal of Urban History*, 20:3 (1994), 299-310; M. Gandy, *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* (Cambridge, MA, 2002); see also B. Herman, ‘City and nature and nature in the city’, in U. Lehmkuhl & H. Wellenreuther (eds.), *Historians and Nature: Comparative Approaches to Environmental History* (Oxford, 2007), 226-56; W. Klinge, *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven, 2007); M.V. Melosi & J.A. Pratt, (eds.), *Energy Metropolis: An Environmental History of Houston and the Gulf Coast* (Pittsburgh, 2007); J. Wolch, ‘Anima urbis’, *Progress in Human Geography*, 26 (2002), pp.721-42; J. Wolch & J. Emel, *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (New York, 1998); U. Lassiter & J. Wolch, ‘From barnyard to backyard to bed: attitudes towards animals among Latinas in Los Angeles’, in G. Hise & W. Deverell (eds.), *Land of the Sunshine: The Environment History of Greater Los Angeles* (Pittsburgh, 2005); M. Davis, *Dead Cities and Other Tales* (New York, 2002); S. Whatmore, *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces* (London, 2002); A.C. Isenberg (ed.), *The Nature of Cities* (Rochester, NY, 2006); S. Castonguay & M. Dagenais (eds.), *Metropolitan Natures: Environmental Histories of Montreal* (Pittsburgh, 2011).

¹³ C. Philo, ‘Animals, geography, and the city: notes on inclusions and exclusions’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1995), pp.657-58.

did it permeate the surrounding countryside, and if so for how many miles and to what extent? Alternatively, might it be more useful to think of the city as a system or as an organism, as proposed by the Chicago School after 1915;¹⁴ by Mumford in the 1930s;¹⁵ and by subsequent social scientists? The systems models which became popular in the 1960s were soon criticised as being ‘too formal and restrictive’, and since the 1980s, there has been a growing emphasis on ‘unbounding’ cities in various ways to conceive them as ‘spatially open and connected’.¹⁶ Bruce Braun observes that ‘urbanization occurs in and through a vast network of relationships, and within complex flows of energy and matter, as well as capital, commodities, people and ideas, that link urban natures with distant sites and distant ecologies’.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Samuel Hays asserts that ‘An urbanizing society cannot be understood if one’s vision is limited to the city itself’ and calls for a consideration of ‘the direct interface between the city and the countryside’.¹⁸ The need to ‘unbound’ London’s history has been promoted by historians such as Margaret Pelling, who has argued for ‘a mode of metropolitan living’ in the seventeenth century ‘which was mobile, the effect of constant movement in and out of the city’.¹⁹

The human-animal interactions discussed below offer considerable support for the unbounding of urban history, and I emphasise from the outset that London’s impact on animal life, and broader ecological influence, extended far beyond the geographical area upon which this study is primarily based. My focus is on the greater metropolitan area represented in the maps of John

¹⁴ As noted by Edward Soja, the notion that the city could be conceived as a ‘pseudo-biological organism’ emerged as the foundation for the Chicago School’s theories about the geographical patterning of the city. First proposed by Robert Park in 1915, the idea was further developed in the 1920s, principally by Park, Ernest Burgess and Roderick McKenzie. R. Park, ‘The city: suggestions for the investigation of human behaviour in the city environment’, *American Journal of Sociology* (1915); Park, E.W. Burgess & R.D. McKenzie, *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment* (Chicago, 1925; reprint, 1967); E.W. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (New York, 2000), p.86; R. Lindner, *The Reportage of Urban Culture: Robert Park and the Chicago School* (Cambridge, 1996); D.R. Judd, & D. Simpson (eds.), *The City Revisited: Urban Theory from Chicago Los Angeles New York* (Minneapolis, 2011), pp.5-6; Isenberg (ed.) *The Nature of Cities*; S. Roberts, ‘A critical evaluation of the city life cycle idea’, *Urban Geography*, 12 (1991), pp.431-49.

¹⁵ L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938) & *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations and its Prospects* (New York, 1961).

¹⁶ L.S. Bourne (ed.), *Internal Structure of the City: Readings on Urban Form, Growth, and Policy* (New York, 1982), pp.29-35; S.J. Mandelbaum, ‘Thinking about cities as systems: reflections on the history of an idea’, *Journal of Urban History*, 11 (1985), pp.139-50; Melosi, ‘The place of the city’, pp.10-11; H. Leitner & E. Sheppard, ‘Unbounding critical geographical research on cities: the 1990s and beyond’, *Urban Geography*, 24 (2003), pp.510-28; see also N. Thrift & A. Amin, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban* (Cambridge, 2002).

¹⁷ B. Braun, ‘Environmental issues: writing a more-than-human urban geography’ *Progress in Human Geography*, 29 (2005), p.637.

¹⁸ S.P. Hays, ‘From the history of the city to the history of the urbanized society’, *Journal of Urban History*, 19 (1993), pp.3-4 & 8.

¹⁹ M. Pelling, ‘Skirting the city? Disease, social change and divided households in the seventeenth century’ & M.S.R. Jenner, ‘From conduit community to commercial network? Water in London 1500-1725’ in P. Griffiths & Jenner (ed.), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester, 2000); see also G. Maclean, D. Landry & J.P. Ward (eds.), *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 1999).

Rocque (1747) and Richard Horwood (3rd edn., 1813), comprising the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and 'Parts Adjoining' (see Maps 1 & 2). Rocque surveyed approximately 10,000 acres, Horwood around 12,700 acres. Although dominated by built space, this area also comprised urban fringe and fields. This study will occasionally venture beyond this area, but only to examine interactions between people and animals which were travelling to, or spending limited time outside, the metropolis.

This study often blurs the traditionally held boundaries of 'town' versus 'country' and 'urban' versus 'rural', building on Roy Porter's assertion that

In these days of ecocrisis, it is tempting to contrast the country and city, and to assume a radical opposition between them, the one natural ... the other one man-made ... To think in such terms, however, would be a grotesque oversimplification; indeed, it would be to perpetuate certain aristocratic prejudices reformulated in time in the language of Romanticism. Man has made the country no less than he has made the town, and from this it follows that the historical relations between town and country are contingent, expressions in part of changing images of the urban and the pastoral ... The comparative history of urbanism is an enticing field, or rather piazza, ripe for further study.²⁰

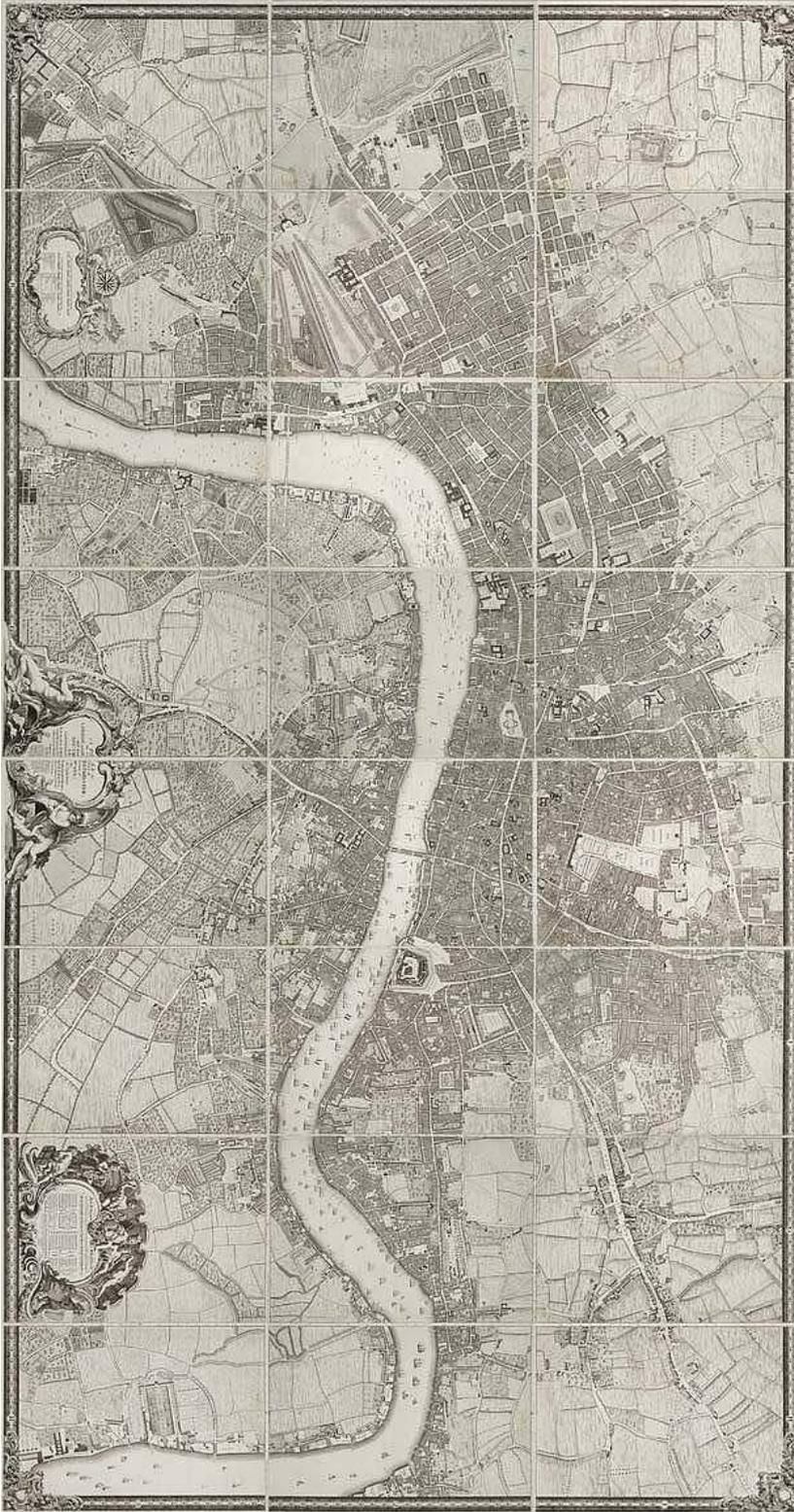
In pursuing urban-environmental histories, we also have to consider whether it is appropriate to conceive of a city, and in this case London, as a unified or consistent whole.²¹ Since Dorothy George's *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, historians have often commented on the diverse functions which London performed in the Hanoverian period, while more recent studies have begun to recognise the city's variegated urban topographies.²² In this vein, I emphasise that the

²⁰ R. Porter, 'Enlightenment London and urbanity' in T.D. Hemming, E. Freeman & D. Meakin (eds.), *The Secular City: Studies in the Enlightenment* (Exeter, 1994), pp.40-1; see also Porter, 'The urban and the rustic in Enlightenment London', in M. Teich, R. Porter & B. Gustafsson (eds.), *Nature and Society in Historical Context* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.176-94.

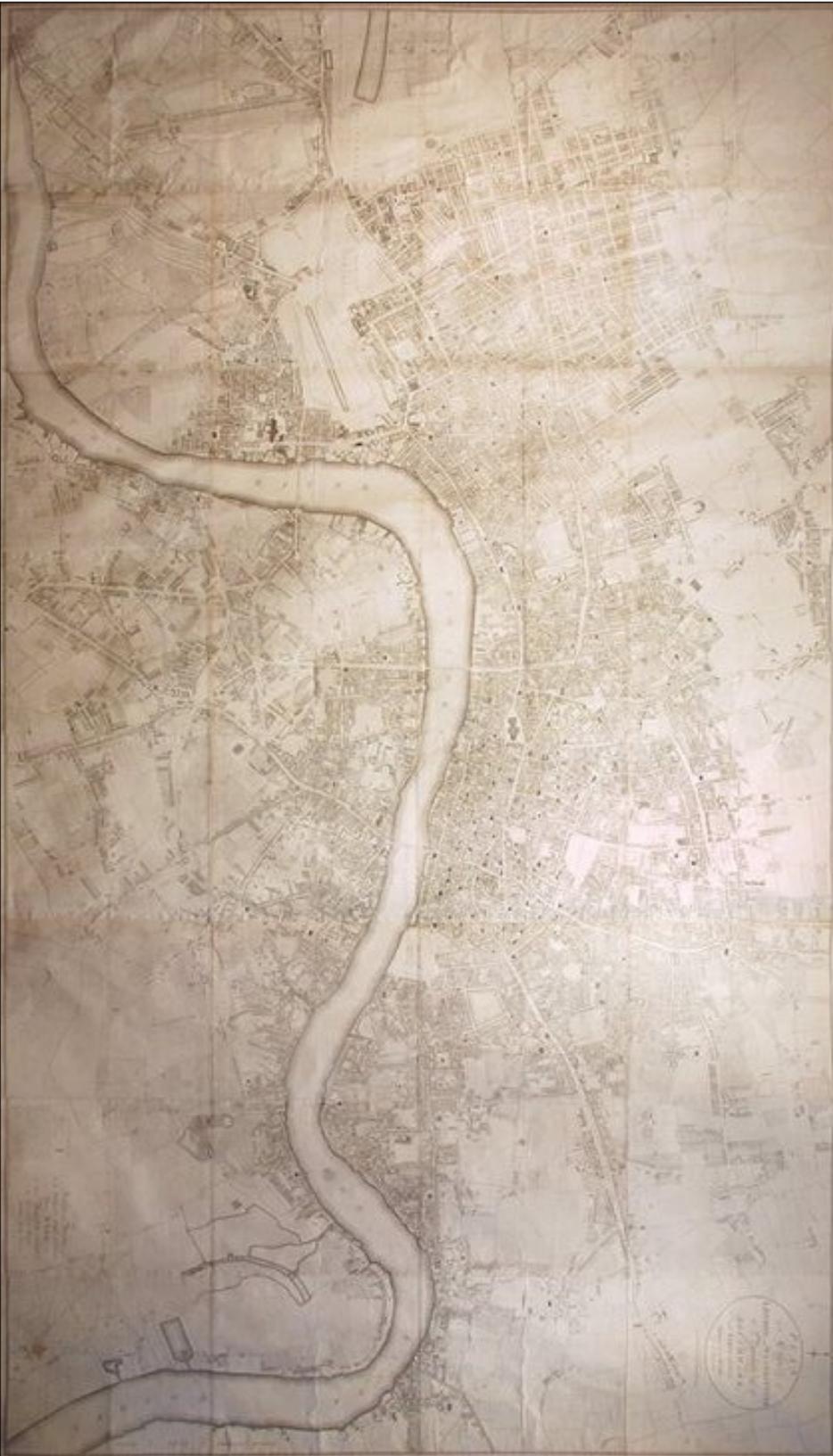
²¹ For a discussion of the challenges facing urban nature studies, see Braun, 'Environmental issues', *Progress in Human Geography*, 29 (2005), pp.635-37; for a critique of writing on urban environments, see N. Smith, 'The production of nature' in G. Robertson, L. Tickner, J. Bird, M. Mash & B. Curtis (eds.), *Future Natural: Nature, Science, Culture* (New York, 1996), pp.35-54; C. Katz, 'Whose nature, whose culture?' in B. Braun & N. Castree (eds.), *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millennium* (London, 1998), pp.46-63.

²² D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925); G. Rude, *Hanoverian London 1714-1808* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1971); P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford & New York, 1989); R. Porter, *London: A Social History* (London, 1994); L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialization: Entrepreneurs, Labour force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1992); Earle, *A City Full of People*; P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.II: 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000). On the need for variegated topographies, see M. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies 1680-1780* (New York, 1998); J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987; 2005 edn.); P.E. Malcolmsom, 'Getting a living in the slums of Victorian Kensington', *London Journal*, 1 (1975), pp.28-55.

influence of particular animals in one street was not necessarily mirrored in the next, let alone in a different parish.



Map 1: John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747).



Map 2: Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining showing every house* (3rd edn.. 1813).

The study of animals in English history has seen tremendous expansion in recent decades, resulting in the publication of innumerable monographs and articles; the creation of specialist journals such as *Anthrozoös* in 1987 and *Society & Animals* in 1993; and the emergence of a thriving cross-disciplinary culture of debate.²³ While these developments owe much to the rise of environmental history in general, they also stem from a particular response to Keith Thomas's classic *Man and the Natural World*, first published in 1983.²⁴ Thomas' ambitious assessment of man's relationship to animals and plants in England from 1500–1800 firmly established non-human animals as a subject worthy of historical enquiry and remains a scholarly *tour de force*. Yet, Thomas claimed that by 1800, English urban societies had become alienated from animals, observing

The triumph of the new attitude was closely linked to the growth of towns and the emergence of an industrial order in which animals became increasingly marginal in the processes of production. This industrial order first emerged in England; as a result, it was there that concern for animals was most widely expressed, though the movement was very far from being peculiar to this country. Of course, working-animals of every kind were extensively used during the first century and a half of industrialization. Horses, donkeys, even dogs, were employed in woollen mills, breweries, coal mines and railway shunting-yards. Horses did not disappear from the streets until the 1920s or from the farms until the 1940s. But long before that, most people were working in industries powered by non-animal means. The shift to other sources of industrial power was accelerated by the introduction of steam and the greater employment of water power at the end of the eighteenth century; and the urban isolation from animals in which the new feelings were generated dates from even earlier.

For the agitation did not begin among butchers or colliers or farmers, directly involved in working with animals ... Neither did the pressure emanate from those most accustomed to handling animals for working purposes. Grooms, cab-drivers and other servants did not own the animals themselves and were usually concerned only to get their particular job done as quickly as possible. The new sentiment was first expressed either by well-to-

²³ H. Ritvo, 'History and animal studies', *Society and Animals*, 10 (2002), pp.403-6; E. Fudge, 'A left-handed blow: writing the history of animals' in N. Rothfels (ed.), *Representing Animals* (Bloomington, IN, 2002); the Animal Studies Group, *Killing Animals* (Urbana & Chicago, IL, 2006) was the first collective work by a group of eight British academics approaching 'the field of animal studies from backgrounds in different humanities disciplines'; the British Animal Studies Network was launched in 2007, with AHRC-funding, to hold seminar discussions about humans and other animals, and was re-launched in 2012 with the support of the University of Strathclyde; www.britishanimalstudiesnetwork.org.uk (accessed 1/3/2013); *The Eighteenth Century*, 52 (2011).

²⁴ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (1983; Harmondsworth, 1984).

do townsmen, remote from the agricultural process and include to think of animals as pets rather than as working livestock, or by educated country clergymen, whose sensibilities were different from those of the rustics among whom they found themselves.²⁵

While Thomas does not refer to London directly here, the giant metropolis has to represent the most advanced model for his hypothesis. Here, above all, Thomas would expect to find ‘well-to-do townsmen, remote from the agricultural process and inclined to think of animals as pets rather than as working livestock’.²⁶ One of the central aims of this study is to test what appear to be misleading and unsubstantiated assumptions in Thomas’s hypothesis and, at the same time, to challenge conventional urban historiographies by exploring Hanoverian London as a human-animal hybrid, a ‘city of beasts’ as well as the ‘city full of people’.²⁷ Yet, as shown below, the urban beast did not just occupy the city; it underpinned its architectural, social, economic and cultural development in startling and fundamental ways.

Since *Man and the Natural World*, several studies have questioned the idea that animals were ‘peripheral’ in nineteenth-century London. Diana Donald has asserted that they were ‘ubiquitous ... absorbed into its working economy and patterns of consumption in a variety of species and purposes so complex it would fill a volume’.²⁸ Yet, in reassessing the relationship between animals and English society, recent literature has tended to focus on issues of animal cruelty and the rise of humanitarianism.²⁹ Its central aim has been to show, in contrast to Thomas’ view, that ‘it was not philosophical distance from sites of cruelty, but painful proximity to them which prompted Londoners’ protests’.³⁰ Thus, Harriet Ritvo has argued

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the English would have been surprised to hear themselves praised for special kindness to animals. They were surrounded by evidence to

²⁵ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, pp.181-83

²⁶ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 182.

²⁷ P. Earle, *A City Full of People*.

²⁸ D. Donald, “‘Beastly Sights’: the treatment of animals as a moral theme in representations of London c.1820-1850’ in D. Arnold (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London, c.1750-1950* (Oxford, 1999), p.49; H. Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London, 1998), p.13, has argued that ‘during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries animals continued to be a highly visible aspect of British life.’

²⁹ K. Tester, *Animals & Society: The Humanity of Animal Rights* (London, 1991); R. Caras, *A Perfect Harmony: The Intertwining Lives of Animals and Humans Throughout History* (New York, 1996); Kean, *Animal rights*; D. Donald, “‘Beastly sights’”; E. Fudge, *Animal* (London, 2002) & *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English culture* (Houndmills, 2002); D. Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights* (Cambridge & New York, 2003); L. Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London, 2007); Chien-hui Li, ‘A union of Christianity, humanity, and philanthropy: the Christian tradition and the prevention of cruelty to animals in nineteenth-century England’, *Society & Animals*, 8 (2000), pp.265-85; aimed at a more popular audience is K. Shevelov, *For the Love of Animals: The Rise of the Animal Protection Movement* (New York, 2008).

³⁰ Donald, “‘Beastly Sights’”, p.50.

the contrary ... the streets of London were crowded with horses and dogs that served as draft animals and beasts of burden, in addition, passers-by often encountered herds of cattle and sheep ... Many of these animals were obviously exhausted or in pain ... Those who deplored the mistreatment of animals agreed that the English were especially inclined to inflict it.³¹

While this approach has an important role to play, the tendency to consider human-animal histories as narratives of abuse threatens not just to over-simplify complex phenomena but also to seriously under-estimate the multi-faceted role of animals in society. While, for instance, several historians have discussed the ill-treatment of horses, there has been little analysis of the scale of equine traffic, its impact on the construction and use of metropolitan space or the challenges of commanding equine behaviour.

To compound matters, animal studies relating to England between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries³² have tended to rely on theoretical sources, particularly philosophical/religious works, natural histories and Romantic literature.³³ While this kind of material reveals much about animal

³¹ H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp.125-6.

³² An important precursor to the studies listed below is Dix Harwood's *Love for Animals and How it Developed in Great Britain* (New York, 1928); Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*; Fudge, *Perceiving Animals & Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, 2006); Kean, *Animal Rights*; Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights*; Tester, *Animals & Society*; Chien-hui Li, 'A union of Christianity, humanity, and philanthropy'; J. Passmore, 'The treatment of animals', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 36 (1975), pp.195-218; C. Kenyon-Jones, *Kindred Brutes. Animals in Romantic Period Writing* (Farnham, 2001); D. Denenholz Morse & M.A. Danahay (eds.), *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Aldershot, 2007); I.H. Tague, 'Companions, servants, or slaves? Considering animals in eighteenth-century Britain', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 39 (2010), pp.111-30; D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750-1850* (New Haven & London, 2007); F. Palmeri (ed.), *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture: Representation, Hybridity, Ethics* (Aldershot, 2006); R. Boddice, *A History of Attitudes and Behaviours Toward Animals in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain. Anthropocentrism and the Emergence of Animals* (Lewiston, NY, 2008); see also R. Preece, *Brute Souls, Happy Beasts and Evolution: the Historical Status of Animals* (Vancouver, 2005) & *Awe for the Tiger, Love for the Lamb: A Chronicle of Sensibility to Animals* (New York & London, 2002), esp. ch.5; see also J.L. Wyett, 'A horse is a horse ... and more: some recent additions to early modern animal studies', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10 (2010), pp.148-62.

³³ The following provides a selection of sources typically discussed in animal studies: René Descartes' "beast-machine" hypothesis, first outlined in *Discourse on the Method*, published in French in 1637, translated into Latin in 1644 and into English in 164; John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690); Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789; Oxford, 1907), ch.18; Humphry Primatt, *The Duty of Mercy and the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals* (London, 1776); John Wesley, *The Character of a Methodist*, 3rd edn. (1766), *A Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation or a Compendium of Natural Philosophy*, 3 vols. (1770) & 'The General Deliverance' in *Sermons on Several Occasions* (1788); Thomas Pennant, *British Zoology*, 4 vols. (1768); Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, *Natural History, General and Particular*, trans. William Smellie, 2nd ed., 9 vols. (1785); Oliver Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature*, 8 vols. (1774); Jonathan Swift, *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, in Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and Then a Captain of Several Ships* (1726; amended 1735); Anna Letitia Barbauld, *The Mouse's Petition* (written, 1771; published 1792); Lord Byron 'Epitaph to a dog' (1808);

symbolism, anthropomorphism, Romanticism and other developments in intellectual history, it says little about tangible human-animal interactions. Many of those who produced this commentary viewed urban life from a distance and had little or no experience of working with animals. Let us consider how three influential recent studies have interpreted this evidence. In *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800*, Hilda Kean observes that ‘The attitude towards animals did not suddenly change at the start of the nineteenth century. Rather there was a coming together of different ideologies and practices emanating from political activists, philosophers, religious thinkers and artists’. Kean goes on to assert that ‘Those supporting humane treatment for animals adhered to no one political or ideological set of beliefs. But increasingly the way in which people treated animals became a distinguishing feature of being humane and of membership of a new middle class and respectable working class’.³⁴ Yet, in *Romanticism and Animal Rights*, David Perkins admits that the extent to which ‘all this writing registered or helped bring about a general change of mind, and to what extent it contributed to developments in the actual treatment of animals, are questions that cannot be answered with much certainty’. He, therefore, declares that ‘the literature itself, the discourse, is my primary subject’.³⁵ Finally, Rob Boddice’s recent critique of earlier studies, *A History of Attitudes and Behaviours Towards Animals*, rightly observes that scholars should make ‘a positive enquiry as to the real nature of the relationship’ between humans and animals ‘in the appropriate context’. But Boddice fails to broaden the archival horizons of the debate and restricts his interest in the urban beast to the possibility that ‘the rise of the city’ forced ‘animals into the physical space of intellectuals who may not otherwise have been given cause to think about them’.³⁶ All three studies neglect the attitudes and actions of ordinary people, and the role which animals played in their lives.

By contrast, other branches of animal studies – particularly those related to economics, sociology and urban geography – have made valuable observations about human-animal interactions, ranging from cock-fighting in modern America to the persistence of domestic husbandry in twentieth-century urban Australia.³⁷ Moreover, from a philosophical perspective, Donna Haraway has asserted that dogs ‘are not here just to think with. They are here to live with. Partners in the crime of human evolution’. Determined to ‘learn how to narrate this co-history’, Haraway

Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Ode to a Skylark* (1820), *Prometheus Unbound* (1820), *Orpheus* (c.1820), *Ode to Liberty* (1820), *A Vindication of Natural Diet* (1813) & *On the Vegetable System of Diet* (1814-15).

³⁴ Kean, *Animal Rights*, pp.13 & 24.

³⁵ Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights*, ix.

³⁶ Boddice, *A History of Attitudes and Behaviours Towards Animals*, p.84.

³⁷ C.J. Forsyth, ‘A pecking disorder: cockfighting in Louisiana’, *International Review of Modern Sociology*, 26 (1996), pp.15-25; A. Gaynor, ‘Regulation, resistance and the residential area: the keeping of productive animals in twentieth-century Perth, Western Australia’, *Urban Policy & Research*, 17 (1999), pp.7-16.

is concerned with ‘the implosion of nature and culture in the relentlessly historically specific, joint lives of dogs and people, who are bonded in significant otherness’.³⁸

This study represents a deliberate shift in historical enquiry away from debates centred on intellectual history, the rise of kindness, humanitarianism and animal welfare legislation; towards the integration of animals into wider historiographies and a demonstration of how the presence of animals shaped urban existence. Traditional histories of London appear to have considered the presence of animals as incongruous with the key manifestations of the capital’s success in this period: thriving commerce, grand architectural developments and the fashionable lifestyles of polite society. Moreover, urban historians have too often treated animals as generic case studies of nuisance.³⁹ Because eighteenth-century topographers were so concerned with aesthetics; sites of production and commerce – in which animals were prevalent – were regularly condemned as filthy and disorderly with little consideration of their social or economic importance. Thus, in drawing on these accounts, some historians appear to have become fixated by the grotesque and chaotic extremes of urban life. While such an approach has some useful applications, it also threatens to make light of complex and sophisticated activities, including those underpinned by animals. Recently, Emily Cockayne has sought to show how people living in England from 1600–1770 ‘were made to feel uncomfortable’ by the ‘noise, appearance, behaviour, proximity and odours’ of other beings. She describes pigs as ‘notorious mobile street nuisances’, examines the negative impact of barking and biting dogs, accidents involving horses and the stench produced by dung.⁴⁰ Cockayne acknowledges that she is only highlighting the ‘worst parts’ of urban life, but such a one-sided approach threatens to caricature London’s streets as out of control and to downplay the positive contribution made by animals, the challenges posed by their needs and behaviour, and the complexity of human-animal relationships.⁴¹

The neglect of horses in economic studies of Hanoverian Britain also reflects the historiographical dominance of radical technological innovations, and the steam engine in particular. In his recent *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution*, Wrigley suggests that in the eighteenth century, ‘Animal muscle power’ symbolized the ‘constraints of an organic economy’ out of which coal provided the critical ‘escape route’. While Wrigley admits that ‘the energy output derived from draught animals rose much more substantially’ than current data suggests, the contribution made

³⁸ D. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago, 2003), pp.3-16.

³⁹ M. Ogborn, ‘Ordering the city: surveillance, public space and the reform of urban policing in England, 1835-1856’, *Political Geography*, 12 (1993), pp.505-21, considers the removal of stray and dangerous dogs in Portsmouth; See also E. Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England 1600-1770* (New Haven & London, 2007).

⁴⁰ Cockayne, *Hubbub*, pp.1, 107, 148, 166-72, 192-93 & 213.

⁴¹ Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p.1.

by horses in the industrial revolution continues to be side-lined by coal and steam technology.⁴² This is despite several recent studies highlighting the need to look beyond a narrow band of technological innovations and to acknowledge the existence of ‘other’ industrial revolutions in which human industriousness played a key role.⁴³ Meanwhile, David Edgerton has criticised ‘innovation-centric’ accounts of man’s technological progress, which he defines as ‘the assumption that the new is much superior to older methods’ and that ‘failure to move from one to the other is to be explained by “conservatism”, not to mention stupidity or ignorance’.⁴⁴ Thus, Edgerton rejects as too simplistic the kind of ‘before’ and ‘after’ model which underlies many economic studies as well as Thomas’ narrative of man’s relationship with animals.

This study reasserts the significance of animal technologies and the ability of animals to make profound and far-reaching changes in society. Since the 1970s, some historians have begun to reassess the role played by horses in early modern and industrial cultures and economies. Thus, Thirsk and Edwards have argued that by 1700, ‘the horse-keeping business,’ in England ‘had become everyman’s business, rooted in a ‘highly differentiated pattern of demand and supply’.⁴⁵ More recently, Raber and Tucker have argued that in early modern Europe, horses were

the literal and figurative vehicles for the transmission of goods, people, and ideas ... They functioned both as a kind of technology in and of themselves ... Horses served man at all levels of society: they pulled both carts and carriages; they carried farmers to market and noblemen into battle; they plodded across poor fields and pranced in equestrian ballets.⁴⁶

Others have shown that horses played a crucial role in the expansion and modernisation of European and American cities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁷ Edgerton asserts that ‘twentieth-century horsepower was not a left-over from a pre-mechanical era; the gigantic horse-drawn metropolis of 1900 was new’ while McShane and Tarr argue that ‘Humans could not have built nor lived in the giant, wealth-generating metropolises’ of the nineteenth century

⁴² E.A. Wrigley, *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.16, 84, 239, 38, 98.

⁴³ R. Samuel, ‘Workshop of the world: steam power and hand technology in mid-Victorian Britain’ in J. Hoppit & E.A. Wrigley (eds.), *The Industrial Revolution in Britain: II* (Oxford & Cambridge, Mass., 1994), vol.3, pp.197-250; M. Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain* (2nd edn., London & New York, 1994).

⁴⁴ D. Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old. Technology and Global History Since 1900* (London, 2006), p.9; F.M.L. Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society* (Inaugural Lecture, Bedford College, University of London, 1970).

⁴⁵ J. Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, For Pleasure, For Power*, The Stenton Lecture, 1977 (University of Reading, 1978), pp.24-8; D. Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore, 2009).

⁴⁶ ‘Introduction’ in K. Raber & T.J. Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline and Identity in the Early Modern World* (Houndmills & New York, 2005), p.1.

⁴⁷ Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old*, p.9; McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*.

‘without horses’.⁴⁸ These studies have rightly sought to redress the almost exclusive analysis of industrialisation from ‘the viewpoint of mechanisation’. Because historians have focussed so heavily on the triumph of the steam engine, they have tended to ignore the contribution of the ‘living’, ‘oat-fuelled’ machine.⁴⁹ Thus, this study applies Edgerton’s ‘use-centred’ approach to assess the ways in which traditional equine systems continued to function alongside technological innovations.⁵⁰ In doing so, I emphasise that this was a dynamic relationship, involving major investment (both financial and intellectual) in working horses and the mechanisms which they powered.

Above all else, this study is concerned with unbounding the social. Animals have been taken seriously as ‘agents of historical change’ by environmental historians since at least the 1960s, with particular attention being given to ‘ecological imperialism’.⁵¹ In a recent study, Virginia Anderson placed livestock at the heart of the colonisation and transformation of early America. Taking account of ‘myriad encounters’, she argued that ‘animals not only produced changes in the land but also in the hearts and minds and behaviour of the peoples who dealt with them ... sometimes mundane decisions about how to feed pigs or whether or not to build a fence also could affect the course of history’.⁵² Crucially, this work has emphasised that non-human animals were more than subordinate objects of abuse in their interactions with people. Yet, while the integration of animals into North American social history has seen major advances in recent years, this approach is much less developed in Britain. Ritvo’s *The Animal Estate* and *Mad Dogs and Englishmen* by Pemberton and Worboys offer important exceptions. Ritvo bases her interpretations about human-animal relations in the Victorian period ‘primarily on texts produced by people who dealt with real animals’ and entirely excludes ‘the large literature of animal fable and fantasy, which has little connection to real creatures’.⁵³ Meanwhile, Pemberton and Worboys

⁴⁸ Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old*, p. 33; McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.1.

⁴⁹ McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.14; Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society*, p.19 & p.13, argues that horse numbers only peaked in Britain in 1902 and that ‘without carriages and carts, the railways would have been like stranded whales, giants unable to use their strength’; Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old*, p.33, asserts that horsepower in the United States only peaked in 1915, with more than twenty-one million horses working on American farms.

⁵⁰ Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old*.

⁵¹ V. Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford & New York, 2004), p.4; C.F. Bennett, ‘Cultural animal geography: an inviting field of research’, *Professional Geographer*, 12 (1960); A. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, 1972) & *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (New York, 1986); P.J. Atkins, ‘London’s intra-urban milk supply, circa 1790-1914’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series 2 (1977), pp.383-99; H. Epstein & I.L. Mason, ‘Cattle’ in Mason (ed.), *Evolution of Domesticated Animals* (London, 1984); Donald Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York, 1992); T. Griffiths & L. Robin (eds.), *Ecology & Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies* (Edinburgh, 1997).

⁵² Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, pp.5 & 7.

⁵³ Ritvo observes that ‘Even thus restricted ... the animal-related discourse of nineteenth-century England was both enormous and diverse’; Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, p.4.

assess the progress of scientific knowledge about rabies with reference to diverse interactions between humans and dogs in the nineteenth century.⁵⁴

Recent studies of Hanoverian London, such as Tim Hitchcock's *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* and Gretchen Gerzina's *Black London: Life Before Emancipation*, have highlighted less familiar urban social types.⁵⁵ This work has broadened the scope of social history but this study goes further by asserting the need to integrate the city's non-human animals. In doing so, I hope to contribute to a cross-disciplinary intellectual movement – crystallizing around Bruno Latour's work on actor-network theory⁵⁶ – which is turning 'away from notions of a coherent social totality, and towards the erasure of familiar conceptual distinctions between the natural and the social, the human and the non-human, and the material and the cultural'. As recently asserted by Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett, the key point here is that the social is seen to be performed by non-human things 'just as much as by humans' and cannot, therefore, be seen to 'lie outside the actors and networks in which it is located'.⁵⁷ In this vein, I challenge the dominant view of London's social history as being the product of human activity alone, and assert the need to recognise the metropolis as a hybrid of human and non-human animal agency and interaction.

This study shows that animals have a crucial role to play in the historiography of Hanoverian London and cities more generally. For the first time, non-human life takes centre stage in the major themes of eighteenth-century English urban history: commerce, trade and industry; the consumer revolution and fashionable urban living; urban expansion and improvement; social conflict, crime and disorder. My research draws on a wealth of source material, including maps and architectural plans, newspapers, paintings and prints, personal papers as well as commercial, legal and parliamentary records. In contrast to previous British animal studies, I prioritise a spectrum of evidence generated by those who had first-hand experience of the urban beast, including those who employed or worked with animals and those who sought to regulate their presence within the metropolis.

In Chapter 1, I assess the role played by urban husbandry in feeding the metropolitan population and assert that the city should be viewed as an *agropolis*. Many urbanised societies are becoming

⁵⁴ N. Pemberton & M. Worboys, *Mad Dogs and Englishmen: Rabies in Britain, 1830-2000* (Basingstoke, 2007).

⁵⁵ T. Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2004); G. Gerzina, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation* (New Brunswick, 1995).

⁵⁶ Actor-network theory insists on the capacity of non-humans to participate in systems and networks; B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social – An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford, 2005).

⁵⁷ P. Joyce & T. Bennett, 'Material powers: introduction', in Bennett & Joyce (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon, 2010), p.4.

increasingly alienated from their animal food supply chains but Hanoverian London evinces a starkly different form of urbanity at the start of the modern age, in which farm animals were a familiar feature of the urban environment, and their relationship to consumers much more open. While acknowledging that this relationship was rooted in urban tradition, I show that cow- and pig-keeping adapted in dynamic ways to urbanization and industrialization rather than becoming their victim.

Chapter 2 challenges and complicates the orthodox assumption that steam substituted animal muscle power in the industrial revolution, a process which, it has often been assumed, prompted the disappearance of working animals from cities. I demonstrate that the contribution made by horses in London increased dramatically in the Hanoverian period, drawing attention to London's underestimated role as a hub of production and distribution. The mill-horse helped to transform industrial production in London long before the introduction of double-acting steam engines in the 1780s, and remained an effective power source in some trades into the nineteenth century. Moreover, equine haulage work was promoted to unprecedented heights by the radical innovation of steam technology, as distribution requirements soared.

Consumption, as well as production, played a critical role in Britain's industrial revolution and historians have often highlighted the particular importance of metropolitan consumer behaviour. Yet, London's extraordinary demand for animals has been largely neglected, contributing to the impression that the city was somehow isolated from rural ecosystems and agricultural production. Chapter 3 challenges these impressions by showing that London was the nation's leading mart for livestock and horses, a key component of the city's role as an *agropolis*.

Metropolitan culture has received a great deal of attention from eighteenth-century scholars but sociability has tended to overshadow other important sources of pleasure and diversion. Horse riding, racing and hunting were major elements of Hanoverian culture but historians have generally viewed these sports as rural phenomena. Thus, the role played by the horse in metropolitan culture has largely been overlooked. Yet, Chapter 4 shows that pleasurable interactions with horses were widespread and powerful, and that equestrian culture was both entwined with and independent of urban sociability.

While Chapters 1–4 focus on the contribution made by horses and livestock to Hanoverian London, Chapter 5 shows that these animals placed heavy demands on the city's architectural and social infrastructures, into which impressive intellectual and financial investments were made. Moreover, in metropolitan street space, they demanded certain conditions of care upon which

their cooperation depended. In my Conclusion, I consider the significance of recalcitrant interactions between plebeian Londoners and animals.

Chapter 1

Metropolitan Husbandry

In 2000, Londoners consumed an estimated 385,000 tonnes of meat, 764,000 tonnes of milk and cream, and 63,000 tonnes of egg. To satisfy this demand, the city harvested the produce of millions of *invisible livestock*, animals which had never lived in the greater London area.⁵⁸ Moreover, despite the spread of certain forms of urban agriculture, such as vegetable growing and bee-keeping, there is little sign that husbandry will return to London on any significant scale.⁵⁹ Food production, and especially husbandry, has been virtually eliminated from wealthy cities, particularly in the West, to the extent that ‘urban places are often defined in terms of having “non-agricultural’ land-uses, functions and employment’. Consequently, ‘The lives of food-producing animals are now seen to belong to the ‘rural’ world’.⁶⁰ In London’s case, it has been difficult, since at least the 1950s, for its residents to even imagine a time when this was not the case.

The social and cultural effects of this change – for it was not always so – occasionally spark interest in politics and the media. In 2007, journalists seized on research exposing the apparent ignorance of children asked about the origins of bacon, burgers and eggs. ‘City children’ fared worst, proving themselves half as likely as ‘countryside kids’ to know that beef burgers came from cows.⁶¹ Such findings generate responses ranging from laughter to outrage but the chasm between Londoners and the animals they eat is now undeniably vast, the implications of which are as complex for society as for the environment.⁶² In 2013, Europe’s horse-meat scandal

⁵⁸ *City Limits: A resource flow and ecological footprint analysis of Greater London* [commissioned by the Chartered Institution of Wastes Management Environmental Body] (2002), p.12.

⁵⁹ J. Meikle, ‘Pigs in the city’, *The Guardian* (11/8/1999). At the time of writing, there were fifteen city farms in the Greater London area, including sites at Hackney, Vauxhall, Hounslow, the Isle of Dogs and Kentish Town. But city farms are primarily geared towards education, recreation and tourism rather than production. <http://www.london.gov.uk/young-london/kids/things-to-do/farm/jsp>; C. Cadwalladr, ‘Urban farms: can you source a complete meal from inside the M25?’, *The Observer* (20/6/2010); a key campaign group for urban agriculture in Britain is ‘Sustain’s City Harvest’: <http://www.sustainweb.org/cityharvest> (accessed 24/4/2012).

⁶⁰ P. J. Atkins, ‘Is it urban? The relationship between food production and urban space in Britain, 1800-1950’ in M. Hietala & T. Vahtikari (eds.), *The Landscape of Food: The Food Relationship of Town and Country in Modern Times* (Helsinki, 2003), p.133 & 139; see also, A. Gaynor, ‘Regulation, resistance and the residential area: the keeping of productive animals in twentieth-century Perth, Western Australia’, *Urban Policy and Research*, 17 (1999), pp.7-15.

⁶¹ This research was conducted by Dairy Farmers of Britain based on its “Grass is Greener” educational campaign and involved a poll of more than 1,000 children aged eight to fifteen; www.sky.com/home/article/13569871, ‘Townie Children Think Cows Lay Eggs’ (Published 28/2/2007; accessed 23/04/2012); www.thepigsite.com/swinenews/13561 (published 1/3/2007; accessed 23/04/2012);

⁶² H. Girardet, ‘Cities, people, planet’, *Liverpool Schumacher Lectures: Urban Sustainability* (April 2000).

underlined the degree to which urbanised societies in the West have lost track of from where, and from what animals, their meat originates.⁶³

By contrast, many modern cities in low income countries – such as Chennai in India, Dhaka in Bangladesh and Amman in Jordan – remind us that ‘cities are not inevitably exclusion zones for farming activity’.⁶⁴ In the 1990s, it was estimated that some 800 million of the world’s urban dwellers were food producers, 100 million of whom sold their surplus produce.⁶⁵ In their relationship with livestock, modern urbanites currently inhabit a world of two cities, but for how long? The geographer, Peter Atkins, observes that some cities in developing countries exhibit ‘a strong survival of rural functions’ including urban cow-, pig- and poultry-keeping. Yet, as Atkins suggests, this mode of life has been, and continues to be under threat from urbanisation, modernisation and globalisation.⁶⁶ In 2006, a UN report observed that while urban and suburban husbandry offer ‘a quick fix for countries in rapid economic development with fast-growing urban centres’, these activities are eventually forced out of the city towards ‘feedcrop areas, or transport and trade hubs where feed is imported’.⁶⁷ Thus, the urbanites of Asia, Africa and South America may soon join Londoners in their alienation from livestock.

It is often assumed that Britain’s industrial revolution brought about a growing separation between sites of food production and consumption.⁶⁸ Trow-Smith claimed that ‘the agriculturally unproductive citizens of London and other towns’ were forced to look ‘to the countryside both near and far’ for their milk and meat in the eighteenth century.⁶⁹ Atkins has challenged this assumption by showing that London retained a major intra-urban milk supply until the late

⁶³ Times Staff, ‘How the horsemeat scandal unfolded’, *The Times* (8/2/2013); www.guardian.co.uk/uk/horsemeat-scandal (accessed 27/4/2013); G.H. Shackell, ‘Traceability in the meat industry – the farm to plate continuum’, *International Journal of Food Science & Technology*, 43 (2008), pp.2134-2142.

⁶⁴ Atkins, ‘Is it urban?’ in Hietala & Vahtikari (eds.), *The Landscape of Food*, pp.133-5 & 139; See also D.B. Freeman, *A City of Farmers: Informal Urban Agriculture in the Open Spaces of Nairobi, Kenya* (Montreal, 1991); B. Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe: Implications for Urban Management and Poverty* (Aldershot, 1995); G. Stanhill, ‘An urban agro-ecosystem: the example of nineteenth-century Paris’, *Agro-Ecosystems*, 3 (1977), pp.269-84.

⁶⁵ K. Helmore & A. Ratta, ‘The surprising yields of urban agriculture’, *Choices (UNDP)*(April 1995), pp.22-7.

⁶⁶ Atkins, ‘Is it urban?’ in Hietala & Vahtikari (eds.), *The Landscape of Food*, pp.133-5 & 139.

⁶⁷ H. Steinfeld, P. Gerber, T. Wassenaar, V. Castel, M. Rosales & C. de Haan, *Livestock’s Long Shadow* (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, Rome, 2006), p.230 & xxi; see also, J. Huang & H. Bouis, ‘Structural changes in the demand for food in Asia: empirical evidence from Taiwan’, *Agricultural Economies*, 26 (2001), pp.57-69; F. Fuller, F. Tuan & E. Wailes, ‘Rising demand for meat: who will feed China’s hogs?’ in F. Gale (ed.), ‘China’s food and agriculture: issues for the 21st century’, *U.S. Department of Agriculture. Agriculture Information Bulletin*, No. 775 (2002), pp.17-19.

⁶⁸ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth, 1984); Hietala & Vahtikari (eds.), *The Landscape of Food*.

⁶⁹ R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry, 1700-1900* (London, 1959), p.18.

nineteenth century’⁷⁰ while Collins notes that as late as 1893, 15,000 acres of land within the County of London – one fifth of its total area – was under cultivation.⁷¹ While such studies have made a valuable contribution to the subject, the tendency to look for a chronology of separation may be misguided – instead, this study reveals a more complex story of continuity and change in metropolitan husbandry in the Hanoverian period.

For John Berger, the fact that ‘A peasant becomes fond of his pig and is glad to salt away its pork’ evinces the ‘existential dualism’ which, until the modern age, had always underpinned man’s relationship with animals. ‘What is significant, and is so difficult for the urban stranger to understand,’ he argued, ‘is that the two statements in that sentence are connected by an *and* not by a *but*’.⁷² It may not be possible to pin down when this ancient dynamic broke down but there is a wealth of evidence showing that it permeated London life throughout the Hanoverian period.

Yet, this study also emphasizes that metropolitan husbandry was a highly dynamic urban economic sector. While the urban commoner was in retreat in the eighteenth century, many Londoners found opportunities to raise and fatten livestock in the city and on its fringes. Indeed, cow-keeping became a lucrative and respectable trade in this period, while large-scale pork and milk production were increasingly integrated into the industrial operations of London’s distillers, brewers and starch-makers. At the same time, while domestic pig-keeping was forced out of some parts of the metropolis, it flourished elsewhere, and exerted an intense local influence. Thus, far from being rigidly traditional in character, metropolitan husbandry was transformed by the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation.

⁷⁰ Atkins, ‘The milk trade of London’, pp.1 & 6.

⁷¹ ‘Introduction’ in E.J.T. Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.7, 1850-1914: Part 1* (Cambridge, 2000), p.21; James Belich also asserts that British and North American cities relied on ‘local supply’ well into the nineteenth century in *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo World, 1783-1939* (Oxford, 2009), pp.438-39; the County of London (1889-1965) was a politically constructed area as much as a geographical one. Its Conservative architects included green field areas whilst excluding some expanding urban areas such as West Ham; H. Jones, ‘Conservatives and the LCC after 1934’ & J. Davis, ‘The progressive council, 1889-1907’ in A. Saint (ed.), *Politics and the People of London. The London County Council, 1889-1965* (London, 1989); see also J. Davis, *Reforming London: The London Government Problem, 1855-1900* (Oxford, 1988) & W.A. Robson, *The Government and Misgovernment of London* (London, 1939).

⁷² J. Berger, ‘Why look at Animals?’, in Berger, *Why Look at Animals?* (essay 1st published, 1980; London, 2009), p.16.

Plate 2: Thomas Bowles III, *The North Prospect of London taken from the Bowling Green at Islington* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1752) [detail].



As shown in Plate 2, a visitor to Hanoverian London was rarely more than a few hundred yards from grazing livestock. Published in 1752, Thomas Bowles', *The North Prospect of London taken from the Bowling Green at Islington* depicts London as an island of buildings surrounded by a sea of green. In the foreground, cows, sheep and horses graze in a patchwork of fields fringing the city. Yet this is not a familiar impression of the world's first modern metropolis. This may stem from a tendency among eighteenth-century commentators to exaggerate London's size and built-up character, either to celebrate or condemn the pace of modernity. In 1738, one writer proclaimed 'We may call it [Middlesex] almost all London, being inhabited chiefly by the Citizens'. Historians have given further credence to this view; in 1960, W.K. Jordan asserted that by 1600 'London was Middlesex'. Yet, this seriously underestimates the rusticity of London's surroundings; Middlesex remained 'principally an agricultural county' throughout the eighteenth century.⁷³

The role played by farming in metropolitan life has been similarly downplayed. Phythian-Adams memorably described London's emergence as a modern city through the juxtaposition of soot, symbolising the city's urbanisation and industrialisation in the eighteenth century; and milk, representing an earlier époque when the city was more in touch with rural life.⁷⁴ Although a valuable study, Phythian-Adams' milk-soot dichotomy is too simplistic and reinforces the traditional juxtaposition of town and country. Just as Peter Guillery has shown that wooden buildings now labelled 'vernacular' were common in many parts of Hanoverian London and not viewed as 'rural', livestock-keeping was part of an urbanity different from that which we understand today.⁷⁵ Historians have often acknowledged the success of rural farmers and landowners in the improvement of animal husbandry in the eighteenth century.⁷⁶ By contrast, metropolitan husbandry has been associated with nuisance and poverty, suggesting that such

⁷³ Magnae Britannia, *The Whole Being More Comprehensive and Instructive than Camden or any Author on the Subject* (1738), p.1; W.K. Jordan, *The Charities of London, 1480-1660* (London, 1960), p.46; both quoted in L. Martindale, 'Demography and land use in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Middlesex' (unpublished PhD thesis, London University, 1968), pp.1 & 240.

⁷⁴ This article focusses on the adoption and adaptation of the milkmaids' May Day rituals by London's chimney sweeps in the early nineteenth century; C. Phythian-Adams 'Milk and soot: the changing vocabulary of a popular ritual in Stuart and Hanoverian London' in D. Fraser & A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), pp.83-104.

⁷⁵ P. Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven & London, 2004).

⁷⁶ G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.6, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989); D. Brown, 'Reassessing the influence of the aristocratic improver: the example of the fifth Duke of Bedford (1765-1802)', *AHR*, 47 (1999), pp.182-195. R.A.C. Parker, *Coke of Norfolk: A Financial and Agricultural Study, 1707-1842* (Oxford, 1975); Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry*; G.E. Fussell, 'Science and Practice in Eighteenth-Century British Agriculture', *Agricultural History*, 43 (1969), pp.7-18; D.L. Wykes, 'Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) of Dishley: Farmer and Livestock Improver', *AHR*, 52 (2004), pp.38-55; D.J. Rowe, 'The Culleys, Northumberland Farmers, 1767-1813', *AHR*, 19 (1971), pp.156-74.

activities were incongruous with urban life.⁷⁷ Heightened interest in Victorian slums appears to have encouraged the impression that urban cow- and pig-keeping could only have occurred on a small scale, in filthy backyards concentrated in the city's poorest districts.⁷⁸ But, as this study shows, the situation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was markedly different.

As suggested, the marginalisation of nature from urban studies has been criticised in recent years, but Hanoverian London's identity as an *agropolis* has yet to be examined in detail. Analysis of pig- and cow-keeping reveals that husbandry played an important role in the metropolitan economy while also promoting diverse and powerful interactions between livestock and a spectrum of Londoners.

Scale & importance of metropolitan husbandry

The milch cow was a powerful symbol of London's and Britain's prosperity. In the seventeenth century, milk production had been the pride of the Dutch but English farmers took the lead in the 1700s.⁷⁹ As is shown by an anonymous 1778 caricature, milk was imbued with patriotic meaning. *A Picturesque View of the State of the Nation* (Plate 3) depicts an American congressman sawing off the horns of an English milch cow which, as the *Westminster Magazine* observed, 'are her natural strength and defence'.⁸⁰ A Dutchman milks 'the poor tame Cow with great glee' while French and Spanish rogues carry away full bowls. Rather than defending the cow, the British Lion has dozed off, mirroring events across the Atlantic, where General and Admiral Howe allow Philadelphia to slip from Britain's grasp. Here is an image to make blood boil – an Englishman is shown wringing his hands in despair – in which the violation of a milch cow foreshadows a nation's downfall.

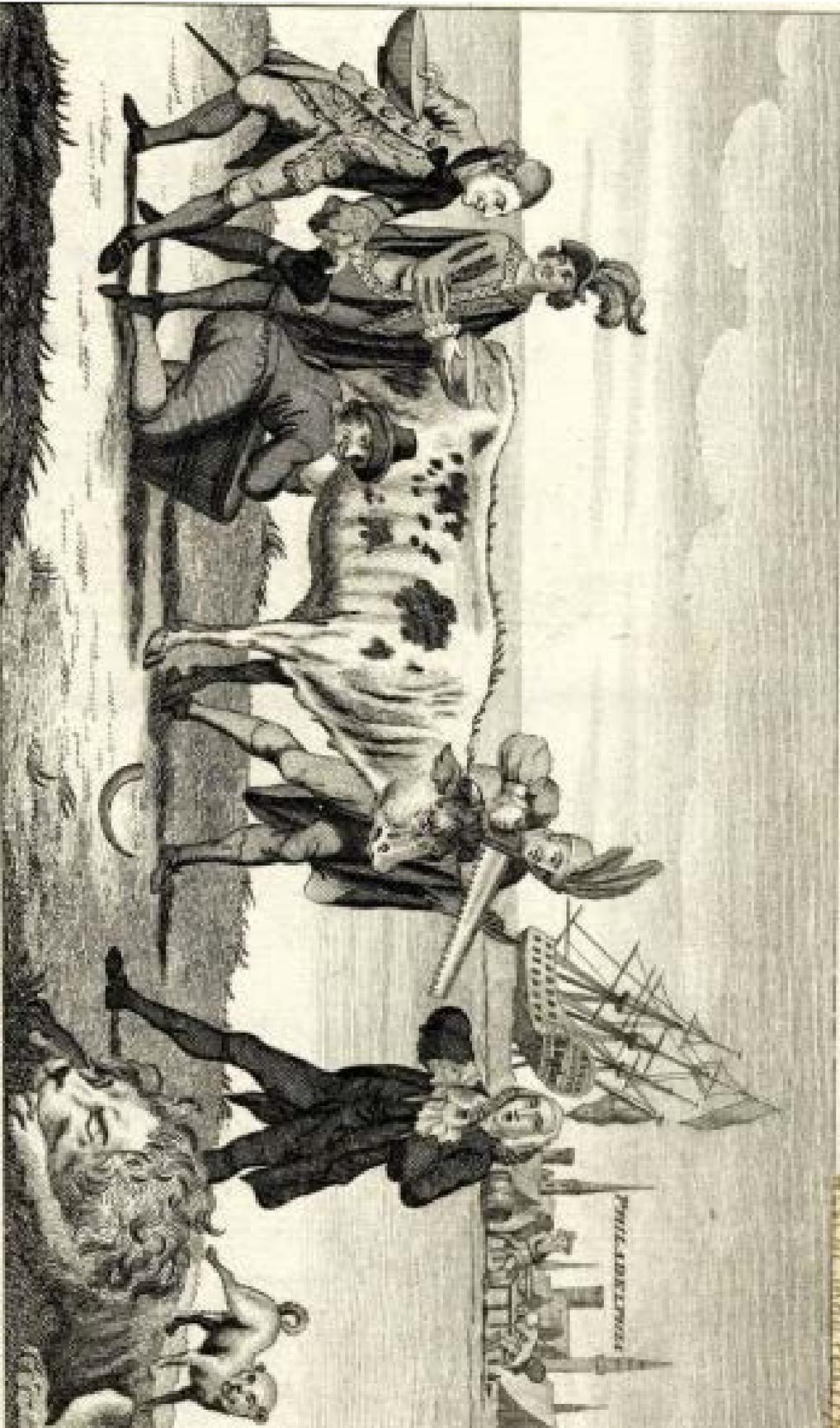
⁷⁷ E. Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England 1600-1770* (New Haven & London, 2007), pp.147-48, 192-93, 213-15.

⁷⁸ D. Gray, *London's Shadows: The Dark Side of the Victorian City* (London & New York, 2010), p.76; T. Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* (London, 2004), xxix-xxx; S. Wise, *The Blackest Streets: The Life and Death of a Victorian Slum* (London, 2009); C. Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800-1854* (Cambridge, 1998) & 'Nuisances and community in mid-Victorian England: the attractions of inspection', *Social History*, 38 (2013), pp.346-79. M. Sigsworth & M. Worboys, 'The public's view of public health in mid-Victorian Britain', *Urban History*, 21 (1994), p.24.

⁷⁹ D. Valenze, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven & London, 2011), pp.85-99.

⁸⁰ *The Westminster Magazine*, vol.6 (1778), pp.64-66.

Plate 3: Anon, *A Picturesque View of the State of the Nation for February 1778*. Originally published in the *Westminster Magazine*, vol. 6 (1/3/1778), p.66.



This connection would have been particularly meaningful in London because it was here that demand for milk was greatest and its trade at its most advanced.⁸¹ Alongside the gargantuan trade in meat on the hoof (see Chapter 3), metropolitan cow-keeping was part of a sophisticated livestock economy. In the early 1790s, Thomas Baird estimated that approximately 9.8 million gallons of milk were sold in the city every year, a trade worth half a million pounds.⁸² Cow-keeping was a lucrative trade. In 1773, the *Gazetteer* newspaper announced the sale of a substantial cow-keeping business in Park Lane, a site bordering the wealthiest part of the city. Its stock included ‘sixty young milch cows, two young bulls, twelve stout able geldings of the draught kind’ plus several carts and a waggon.⁸³ This scale of operation was not unusual – cowkeepers were often referred to as ‘wealthy’, ‘eminent’, ‘great’ and ‘noted’. When the ‘noted and wealthy cowkeeper’ Mr Salisbury of Cabbage-Lane, Westminster, died in 1735, he was described as ‘one of the most eminent and skilful Men in England in his Way of Business’.⁸⁴ The following year, another ‘great cowkeeper’, Mr Capper of Tottenham Court Road, was ‘said to have died worth 30,000l’.⁸⁵ And in 1743, the ‘noted and wealthy cowkeeper’ John Hall won the hand of Dolly Des Champes of Rathbone Place, a lady in command of £5000.⁸⁶ As shown below, cow-keeping was a thriving commercial activity fully integrated into the metropolitan economy.

While it is unclear how many cows were involved in the milk trade, some useful estimates were made in the late eighteenth century. One of the earliest published, made by Peter Foot in 1794, suggests a total of 8,500 animals. Foot was a Soho-based land surveyor and claimed to have taken ‘great pains to ascertain these numbers with as much precision as the nature of the subject is capable of’ for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture (1793–1822).⁸⁷ Yet, we do not know which cow-keepers he visited, whether he accepted their estimates or counted for himself; or the degree to which he extrapolated. It seems unlikely that Foot visited more than a small fraction of the city’s cowsheds and his total may exaggerate by a significant margin.⁸⁸ A statistical approach does not, however, do justice to the influence – a complex and contestable criterion – of London’s milch cows. To do so requires consideration of the geographical context of these activities, their links to other economic sectors and the human-animal nexuses which they involved.

⁸¹ Valenze, *Milk*, p.137.

⁸² Thomas Baird in Arthur Young (ed.), *Annals of Agriculture* (1793), vol.21, p.117.

⁸³ *Gazetteer* (26/1/1773).

⁸⁴ *London Evening Post* (18-20/2/1735).

⁸⁵ *London Daily Post* (25/3/1736).

⁸⁶ *General Evening Post* (6-9/8/1743).

⁸⁷ Foot’s research was published in his *General view of the agriculture of the county of Middlesex* (1794), p.80; this book was part of the Board of Agriculture’s series of county agricultural surveys, published 1793-1817; R. Mitchison, ‘The Old Board of Agriculture (1793-1822)’, *The English Historical Review*, 74 (1959), pp.41-69; Museum of English Rural Life, Reading, SR, RASE/B/XIII, Board of Agriculture, Minute & Letter Books (1793-1822).

⁸⁸ On the size of the trade see, Atkins, ‘The milk trade of London’.

The scale and economic importance of metropolitan pig-keeping has been even more neglected. Since the early modern period, English writers have generally condemned swine, and particularly the town pig, as useless and loathsome, or as agents of filth and nuisance. Thus, this animal has come to symbolise the incongruity of livestock-keeping in the civilised city. In his tirade against metropolitan meat in Smollet's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), the country gentleman, Matt Bramble, describes the city's pigs as 'an abominable carnivorous animal, fed with horse-flesh and distillers' grains'.⁸⁹ In Smollet's imagination, London transformed piglets into foul urban monsters, unfit for human consumption. While this critique contained a kernel of truth, Smollet was primarily poking fun at rural prejudice. This image continues to resonate but porcine history has been revised in recent years, particularly in histories of North America, where pigs have been integrated into the social dynamics of early modern frontier colonies and the industrial economies of nineteenth-century cities.⁹⁰ *The English Pig* has also received attention but the authors of this study were primarily concerned with the cottage pig rather than its town-dwelling cousin, leaving a great deal to learn about this animal.⁹¹

The particular neglect of pig-keeping in London appears to stem from a widespread but mistaken belief that swine were almost entirely driven out of the city in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In his wide-ranging survey of British husbandry, Trow-Smith asserted that 'pork and bacon were ... mainly home-grown comestibles of the countryman' and said nothing of pig-keeping in the metropolis, because, he argued, Londoners relied so heavily on imported pig meat. While acknowledging the expansion of piggeries attached to 'suburban maltings', Trow-Smith considered these to belong to the countryside more than the city and dismissed them as 'quite minor exceptions'.⁹² While it is certainly true that London relied heavily on imported bacon, this should not obscure that a great deal of pork was produced in the metropolis.

Urban pigs were certainly viewed as an urban nuisance in the eighteenth century, as they had been throughout the early modern period. The late seventeenth century brought a new round of legislative action, initially reinforcing existing orders but later extending their reach. In 1671, an Act of Common Council decreed that 'no Man shall feed any Kine, Goats, Hogs, or any kind of

⁸⁹ Tobias Smollet, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, (ed.) L.M. Knapp, rev. P-G, Boucé (1771; Oxford, 1998), p.121.

⁹⁰ V. DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York, 2004); C. McNeur, 'The "Swinish Multitude": Controversies over Hogs in Antebellum New York City', *Journal of Urban History*, 37, pp.639-660; W. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York & London, 1991), pp.225-59; B. Mizelle, *Pig* (London, 2011) offers a broader overview, although America dominates sections on the early modern and modern periods.

⁹¹ R. Malcolmson & S. Mastoris, *The English Pig: A History* (London, 1998), p.31, focuses on the role of the cottage pig in rural Britain, although chapter 2 makes some valuable points about urban pig keeping, discussed below.

⁹² Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry*, pp.18 & 217.

Poultry, in the open Streets' of the City of London or be fined 3s 4d for each offence. This was a restatement of an earlier City statute 'against Noysaunces' published for citizens in 1562.⁹³ As discussed below, by 1600, pigs had been largely ousted from the City but this did not reflect the situation in other parts of the metropolis where pig-keeping was tolerated into the early nineteenth century.⁹⁴

During the plague of 1582, hogs were banned from wandering in the streets of Westminster, the Liberties and the Duchy of Lancaster without Temple Bar but the keeping of swine itself was allowed to continue.⁹⁵ A century later, nuisance pig-keepers in Westminster were being prosecuted on a regular basis, suggesting a significant number of operators and an even larger convergence of animals. In October 1682 alone, eighteen indictments were heard at the Middlesex Sessions.⁹⁶ The statute book was further augmented in 1690 and 1696 with 'London Street Acts' which prohibited the keeping, feeding or breeding of pigs in any paved areas of the metropolis – including backstreets and yards – or within fifty yards of any building.⁹⁷ The Middlesex JP's printed 30,000 abstracts of the Act – which remained in force throughout the Hanoverian period⁹⁸ – to be distributed in London's extra-mural parishes. This action makes it tempting to assume that pigs had been eliminated from London life by the early eighteenth century. Yet, there was a significant gulf between the aims and impact of legislation. In 1720, the Middlesex JPs felt the need to clarify their strategy for tackling the on-going problem of nuisance pig-keepers in the paved areas of the city. Once the justices had received information against a pig-keeper on oath, warrants would be given to the Church Wardens, Overseers of the Poor, or Constables of the parish to search for 'any Such Swine'.⁹⁹ This action almost certainly reflected immediate

⁹³ 'An Act for settling of Lay-Stalls, preventing several Inconveniencies to Passengers, and relating also to the cleansing of the Streets and Passages within this City and the Liberties thereof' (27/10/1671): Rules, orders and Directions, no.27, in John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster: Containing The Original, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate and Government of those Cities Written at first in the Year MDXCVIII by John Stow... Since Reprinted and Augmented... By John Strype* (1720), Appendix 1: Ch.8, p.49; during the plague of 1665, the mayor and aldermen ordered that any swine kept in the City or allowed to stray in the City's streets 'be impounded by the Beadle or any other Officer, and the Owner punished according to Act of Common-Council'; Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year: Being Observations or Memorials, Of the most Remarkable Occurrences, As Well Publick as Private, Which happened in London During the last Great Visitation In 1665. Written by a citizen who continued all the while in London* (1722), p.54.

⁹⁴ E.G. Dowdell, *A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions: The Government of Middlesex from 1660 to 1760* (Cambridge, 1932), p.123-24; W.H. Manchée, *The Westminster City Fathers (The Burgess Court of Westminster) 1585-1901: Being Some Account of their Powers and Domestic Rule of the City Prior to its Incorporation in 1901* (London, 1924), pp.75-6.

⁹⁵ John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720), book 5, p.450.

⁹⁶ Dowdell, *A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions*, p.123.

⁹⁷ William Maitland, *The History and Survey of London from its Foundation to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (1760), vol.1, p.456; Public Act, 2 Will. & Mar. 2 c.8 (1690); 8 & 9 Will.3 c.37 (1696).

⁹⁸ W.J. Hardy (ed.), *Middlesex County Records. Calendar of the Sessions Books 1689 to 1709* (London, 1905), pp.27, 28, 33-40, 44-50, 56-61 et seq.

⁹⁹ LL, SM/GO/400000233, Middlesex Sessions: General Orders of the Court (6/12/1720); see also LL, SM/PS/501900086, Middlesex Sessions Papers, Justices Working Documents: 'An Abstract of the

anxieties over disease – generated by the outbreak of plague around Marseille in 1719–22 – rather than amounting to a campaign against rising pig numbers. In 1722, a survey presented to the Middlesex court identified straying hogs and putrid slaughterhouses among an array of serious nuisances affecting the city’s streets.¹⁰⁰ Yet this, and subsequent outpourings of concern, did not lead to the eradication of pigs from the metropolis.

In 1762, Mayor Fludyer announced a crack-down on the ‘many Persons ... who breed, feed, or keep Swine within this City and Liberties’. Public notice was to be ‘given to all such persons ... that they will incur the Forfeiture of all such Swine which will be seized and sold for the Use of the Poor of the several Parishes’ according to the original acts.¹⁰¹ Six years later, the *Public Advertiser* reported that ‘a great Number of Swine were seized in Holborn Upper Division’. This probably referred to the area around Saint Giles-in-the Fields, a district closely associated with pig-keeping.¹⁰² The article claimed that it was ‘contrary to Law to breed or keep Swine within the weekly Bill of Mortality, and the Owners of them will be prosecuted’.¹⁰³ But I have found no other reference to such a sweeping ban, suggesting a degree of confusion over the law. These developments do not evince a growing porcine population or problem but do signal the repeated referencing of pigs in debates about disease and public order, which flared up at times of particular tension.

At the same time, they show that pig-keeping remained remarkably resilient in an age of improvement campaigns which sought to remove all kinds of nuisance – including that brought about by animals – from the city’s streets. By resilience, I do not imply static continuity; as shown below, urban pork production was highly sensitive to fluctuating demand and to myriad local factors. That the Westminster and City paving acts of the 1760s do not refer explicitly to swine does not evince their prior removal. The dirtying of streets with ‘dirt, soil, or other filth or

Forfeitures and Penalties to be levy’d upon the Inhabitants and Others, for Offences done, contrary to the Acts of Parliament, now in Force, for Paving and Cleansing the Streets, Etc’ (December 1720).

¹⁰⁰ Cited in S. & B. Webb, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Parish and the County* (London, 1906), p.531; news of the plague led to a wave of miasmatic concern in London, and the passing of several acts of parliament in 1720-21, designed to protect the city. R.B. Shoemaker, ‘Crime, courts and community; the prosecution of misdemeanours in Middlesex County, 1663-1723’ (PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1986), p.273; A.J. Henderson, *London and the National Government, 1721-1742: A Study of City Politics and the Walpole Administration* (Durham, 1945), passim; M.S.R. Jenner, ‘Nauseous and abominable’? Pollution, plague and poetics in John Gay’s *Trivia*, in C. Brant & S.E. Whyman (eds.), *Walking the Streets of Eighteenth-Century London: John Gay’s Trivia* (Oxford, 2007), pp.90-104.

¹⁰¹ *Public Advertiser* (6/3/1762).

¹⁰² Holborn was a division of the hundred of Ossulstone in Middlesex, and included the parishes and liberties of St Andrew Holborn above bars, St George the Martyr, St Giles-in-the Fields, St George Bloomsbury, the Liberty of Saffron Hill, Ely Rents, Liberty of the Rolls, Liberty of the Duchy of Lancaster, Hampstead, and St Marylebone.

¹⁰³ *Public Advertiser* (6/8/1768).

annoyance whatsoever' and the erection of obstructive posts or enclosures (presumably including pig sties) subsumed many forms of nuisance.¹⁰⁴ Yet, while this legislation had a considerable impact on the condition of metropolitan streets, it did not extinguish pig-keeping. In 1794, a pig-owning victualler from West Smithfield, just within the City boundary, was asked at the Old Bailey 'You know that pigs are not to be kept in [the City of] London?' Unfazed, he countered, 'Upon my word mine is a very large yard'.¹⁰⁵ And in 1799, the vestry for St Clement Danes, Westminster, was forced to hold a special meeting 'to consider and give directions for removing the Hogs kept in Several streets in this Parish to the great Nuisance of the Inhabitants'. The churchwarden presented a list of the known pig-keepers in the parish (unfortunately unfound) and the vestry clerk was ordered to write to each of them demanding they remove their animals within ten days or face prosecution.¹⁰⁶

Throughout the century, anti-pig-keeping laws appear to have been loosely interpreted and only sporadically enforced by parish officials. And the threat of confiscation and fines failed to break the bond between Londoners and their pigs. Moreover, the fact that London's pig-keeping regulations were restricted, at first to the City and later to the paved areas of the city, raises important questions about how we should define 'London'. Most historians would agree that a comprehensive study of the metropolis has to explore districts such as Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Lambeth. This broader approach reveals that pigs weathered the legislative storm of the seventeenth century and continued to thrive in many parts of the metropolis throughout the Hanoverian period. A key reason for this was the conduciveness of porcine behaviour to urban husbandry.

While London's demand for beef and lamb relied on animals being driven in from the countryside, pork was largely an urban product. In 1822, 20,000 pigs were sold at Smithfield – just 1 per cent of the total livestock traded that year¹⁰⁷ – but the city was then consuming more than 210,000 hogs and 60,000 suckling pigs.¹⁰⁸ Some of these would have been killed in the Home Counties and their carcasses carted into the city, but this was discouraged by the threat of deterioration and financial loss, particularly in summer. Many more pigs were fattened in the city than were driven in from the countryside. While cattle, with their bulk, long legs and generally placid nature, were well suited to being driven, pigs were difficult to manage on the road and shed weight too quickly to remain profitable. Indeed, as Cronon notes, nineteenth-century American hog-drovers found

¹⁰⁴ Westminster Paving Acts: 2 Geo. III, c.21 (1762) & 4 Geo. III, c.39 (1763); City of London Paving Acts: 6 Geo. III, c.26 (1765); 8 Geo. III, c.21 (1768).

¹⁰⁵ OBSP, t17940219-77 (19/2/1794).

¹⁰⁶ WCA, CD/MV/362010177, 'St Clement Danes Parish Minutes', 3/10/1799.

¹⁰⁷ James Bell, *A System of Geography* (1832), vol.3, p.102.

¹⁰⁸ John Feltham, *The Picture of London for 1807* (1807), p.37.

the challenge so great that some ‘stitched shut the eyelids of particularly obstreperous animals’ to make them more docile. Hog drives soon fell into decline as slaughtering arrangements were established closer to rural production sites.¹⁰⁹ By contrast, the rearing and slaughtering of pigs for the London market remained an intra-urban affair throughout the Hanoverian period.¹¹⁰

Pigs were also physiologically well-adapted to life in Hanoverian London. With their formidable omnivorous digestive system, they could be fattened on a wide range of cheap foodstuffs, domestic waste and other materials, readily available in the city. This included whey from the milk trade and spent grain from the brewing and distilling industries (discussed below), but also cheap root vegetables, the refuse of market gardens and leftovers from domestic kitchens – as well as the city’s bakeries, inns, taverns and chop houses – plus offal and other butcher’s waste.¹¹¹ Fussier ruminant beasts, including cows and sheep, would have shunned much of this matter or derived little nutrition from it, but because of their digestive versatility, pigs profited from urban life.¹¹² Catherine Breeze rightly observes that ‘a great deal of experimentation took place in pig feeding’ on English farms in the second half of the eighteenth century, ‘centring around clover, pasturing, the new root crops, and especially the potato’.¹¹³ But at the same time, Londoners drew on a much longer tradition of urban pig-feeding. A 1697 husbandry manual includes ‘Instructions to fatten Swine in Towns’. Admitting that urbanites lacked ‘the advantage of letting [sic]’ pigs ‘run abroad so much’, its author celebrates their access to cheap, flesh-raising foodstuffs. These ranged from vegetables which ‘may be bought for little matter’ and offal to wash, whey and the ‘Washings of Ale Barrels’.¹¹⁴ Urban pig-keepers continued to use these foods throughout the eighteenth century.

Pigs secured their niche in the city by providing an invaluable service, recycling a significant amount of urban waste, swill, – matter which scavengers would otherwise have had to collect and dispose of at a significant cost – into profitable flesh. In turn, metropolitan pork helped to feed the urban population, particularly its poor, as well as supplying much of the Navy’s demand for

¹⁰⁹ Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis*, pp.225-6; Clemen, *The American Livestock and Meat Industry* (1925), pp.58-9.

¹¹⁰ Holderness observes that in even in nineteenth-century British cities, ‘The trade in pork was held to be characteristically short-range’ while Collins notes that ‘In the early 1850s a considerable proportion of the pork consumed in London was town-made, much of it in Shepherd’s Bush’. B.A. Holderness, ‘Intensive livestock keeping’ & E.J.T. Collins, ‘Intro’ in Collins (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol.7, pp. 489 & 21.

¹¹¹ As I discuss below, this encouraged some pig-keepers to feed their pigs on putrid and stinking offals, to the great offence of the neighbourhood.

¹¹² Malcolmson & Matoris, *The English Pig*, p.35; Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.6, pp.326-34 & 348-50; Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis*, p.226.

¹¹³ Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.6, p.357.

¹¹⁴ Adolphus Speed, *The Husbandman, Farmer and Grasier’s Compleat Instructor* (1697), p.91.

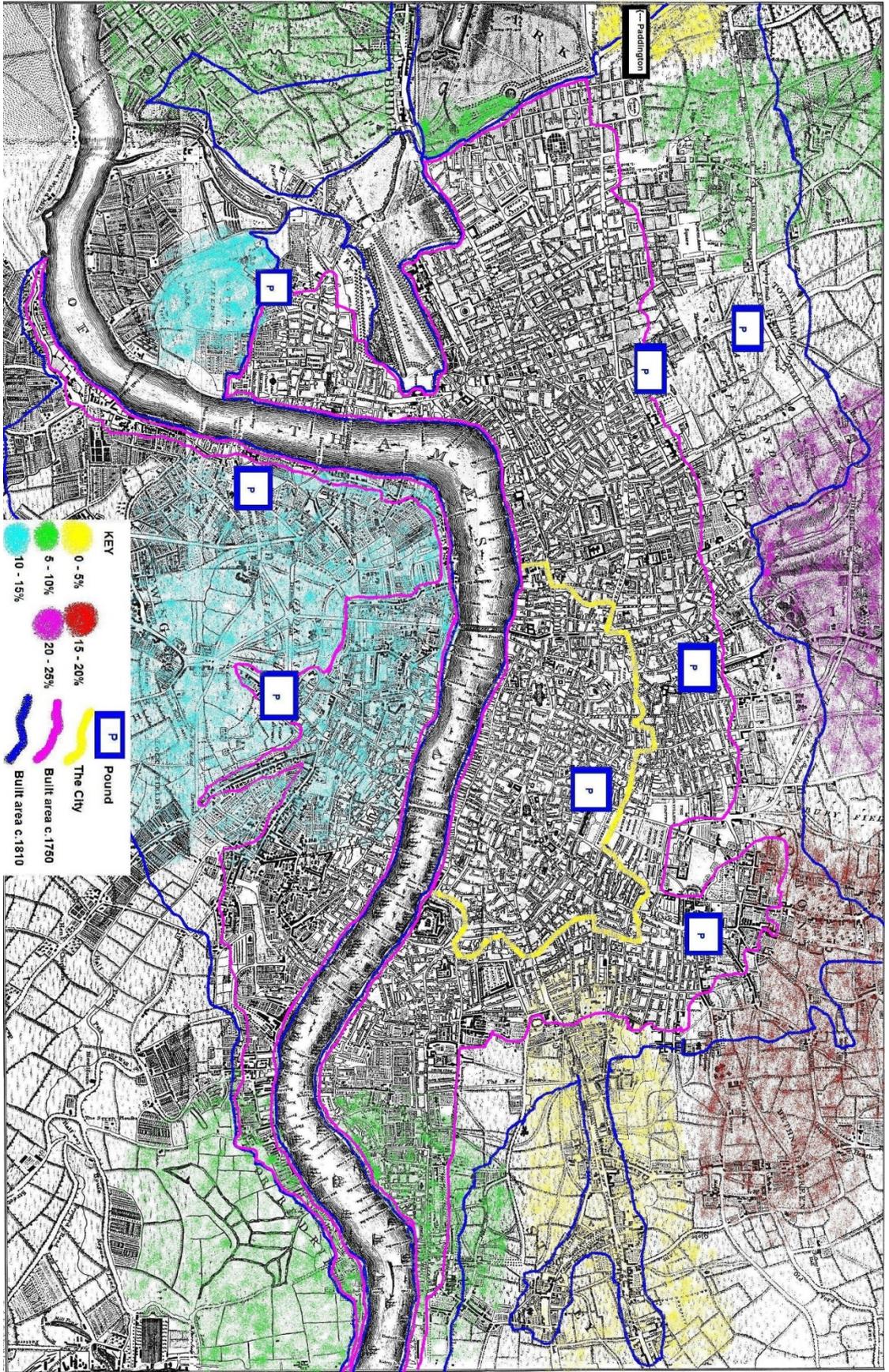
salted pork, through its Victualling Offices at East Smithfield and Deptford.¹¹⁵ Even as streets and buildings swallowed up green space, pigs thrived because their spatial requirements were relatively low. Unlike sheep, cows, and horses, London's pigs did not require pasture on which to graze and could be penned in modest sties and yards, thus enabling their owners to make the most of shrinking pockets of land.¹¹⁶

The above suggests that cow- and pig-keeping were significant economic activities in Hanoverian London, helping to satiate voracious metropolitan demand for animal foods. But to understand their mechanics and impact on urban life, we first need to consider their geography.

¹¹⁵ Pig fat was also used to make candles and soap, significant metropolitan industries in this period. OBSP, *t17571207-23* (7/12/1757); Anon, *The Corn Distillery, stated to the consideration of the landed interest of England* (London, 1783), p.44.

¹¹⁶ Metropolitan pig-keeping was also aided by advances in breeding in the second half of the eighteenth century, which created a more compact, flesh-carrying animal. By the nineteenth century, some breeders were modifying their animals with metropolitan pig-keepers specifically in mind. The new pig was largely a product of breeding with pigs of oriental descent, imported into England via southern Europe; Malcolmson & Mastoris, *The English Pig*, pp.44 & 72; Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.6, pp.353-55; Richard Bradley, *The Gentleman and Farmer's Guide for the Increase and Improvement of Cattle* (2nd edn., 1732), pp.67-8; William Ellis, *The Practical Farmer* (1732), p.108; Robert Brown, *The Compleat Farmer* (1759), pp.46-7; George Cooke, *The Complete English Farmer* (c.1775), pp.62-3; Cuthbert Clarke, *The True Theory and Practice of Husbandry* (1777), pp.127-28; William Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, 2 vols. (1788), vol.2, p.235.

Map 3: London's principal cow-keeping areas, 1730–1800 (marked on John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*, 1747).



Locating metropolitan husbandry

Geographical change in modern livestock production has been cited as a key factor in ‘shifting the balance of environmental problems caused by the sector’.¹¹⁷ At the same time, mapping this activity helps to explain how societies relate to the animals they consume. To do so in an historical context is challenging but Hanoverian London offers a wealth of evidence. Drawing on the metropolitan press, Old Bailey depositions, insurance policy documents, Middlesex Session papers, wills and Westminster poll books, I have been able to plot the approximate locations of around 250 cow-keepers active in the period 1730–1800.¹¹⁸ My findings, illustrated in Map 3, demonstrate striking similarities between eighteenth-century London and recent models for industrializing cities in modern developing countries. A recent UN report observed that ‘In the early phases of industrialization’, humans and livestock ‘rapidly urbanize ... usually in a peri-urban belt around consumption centres’. But ‘once living standards, environmental awareness and institutional capacity permit’ these activities move away from the city.¹¹⁹

In the eighteenth century, London’s dairy herds were concentrated in a peri-urban belt which fringed the northern limits of the City and Westminster, from Marylebone and St Pancras in the West to Islington, Clerkenwell, Bethnal Green, Hackney and Shoreditch in the East. This area provided fertile pasture enabling the city’s cow-keepers to maximise milk yields whilst remaining close to the urban market. Half of the cow-keepers identified belonged to this area but there was significant activity in other parts of the metropolis. Despite its limited size, Tothill Fields – a 35-acre pocket of grassland between Westminster and the Thames – offered immediate access to the West End and its wealthy, milk-consuming residents. Milk remained a semi-luxury throughout the Hanoverian period and demand for freshness made proximity to the West End an important factor in the trade’s development. This also explains the presence of milch cows in Knightsbridge, Chelsea and the eastern fringe of Hyde Park. The prevalence of cow-keeping in Southwark and Lambeth (where 14% of cow-keepers identified were located) partly stemmed from the proximity of pasture in St George’s Fields and around Newington but also the area’s industrial activities, discussed below.

¹¹⁷ Steinfeld et al., *Livestock’s Long shadow*, xxi.

¹¹⁸ LMA, MS/11937-7, Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers (1710-1863); 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers (Gale Digital Collections); www.londonlives.org.uk; cow-keepers also appear in the the Carpenter’s Company Minute Books; Pauper Settlement records; Vagrancy & Bastardy Examinations; Westminster Coroners Inquests; and the St Thomas’s Hospital Admission & Discharge Registers, which are also searchable on London Lives.

¹¹⁹ Steinfeld et al., *Livestock’s Long Shadow*, p.33.

It might be expected that urbanization would have forced London's cow-keepers to move progressively deeper into the countryside but this was not the case. On the contrary, as sites were enveloped by the city, proximity to customers enhanced the prosperity of many operators.¹²⁰ Throughout the Hanoverian period, cow-keeping remained a major beneficiary of urbanisation rather than its victim. This challenges an assumption in 'bid-rent theory' that urban land uses supplant agricultural ones, but also throws into question whether or not metropolitan cow-keeping can be defined as 'agricultural'.¹²¹ Rather than picturing an archaic rural activity struggling against the forces of urbanisation, we should see the trade as a hybrid of urban, industrial and agricultural traditions and modernities.

As suggested, the story of metropolitan husbandry in this period is not one of static survival; cow-keeping adapted to urbanisation in remarkable ways. The average rental value for suburban grassland increased from around £2–3 per annum in the 1780s to as much as £15 in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹²² This posed a serious challenge. Retreat into the countryside, where land rates were lower, was tempting but highly problematic as there was no effective means of transporting milk over distances of five miles or more, without it spoiling or spilling from containers. While there were major improvements to Britain's roads in the eighteenth century, vehicles remained unsuitable for the carriage of milk. Thus, 'the location of most milk production remained constrained by the distance the milk women could walk with their heavy load of yoke and pails'.¹²³

Unable to flee the city, London's cow-keepers were forced to find urban solutions, a situation which transformed their trade. Some adapted by expanding their herds and engrossing land – the number of operations in Islington and Clerkenwell peaked in the 1770s but fell dramatically in the 1780s as a handful of families began to monopolise.¹²⁴ But the majority survived by scaling down, relocating and altering feeding regimes. Newspaper advertisements for the lease and sale of cow-keeping sites suggest that the amount of pasture in use fell from an average of 54 acres in 1720–1749 to 45 acres in 1780–1799 (see Table 1). Due to the limited number of data points (just six for each period) these figures should be treated with caution but they do suggest a significant squeeze on pasture. Sale of stock advertisements also indicate a decline in average herd size from 45 in 1750–1779 to 33 in 1780–1799 (see Table 1). And in the final quarter of the century, there

¹²⁰ Atkins, 'The milk trade of London', p.22.

¹²¹ Atkins, 'Is it urban?', p.138; 'The milk trade of London' & 'London's intra-urban milk supply'.

¹²² Atkins, 'The milk trade of London', pp.24 & 26.

¹²³ Atkins, 'The milk trade of London', p.24.

¹²⁴ The leading firms in this area were West's, Rhodes' and Laycock's. Atkins, 'The milk trade of London', p.28; Martindale, 'Demography and land use', pp.319-20; see also Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London* (1795), vol.3, pp.123-4; John Nelson, *The History, Topography, and Antiquities of the Parish of St. Mary Islington* (1811), pp.106-11.

was a significant geographical shift in cow-keeping activity. As shown in Figure 1, herds ebbed away from Marylebone and the eastern edge of Hyde Park as fields were devoured by fashionable streets and land values were driven up. At the same time, cow-keepers multiplied in less expensive areas such as Bethnal Green, St Pancras, Southwark, Rotherhithe and Deptford, a trend which began to undermine the trade's respectability. This might also suggest that consumption of milk was becoming more widespread, although few industrial workers could afford milk until the second half of the nineteenth century.¹²⁵ More importantly, however, these changes were linked to a gradual transition from grazing to stall-feeding.

In the 1750s, the vast majority of London's milch cows spent more than half the year grazing but towards the end of the century this balance began to change. The growing need to replace grass with grain, hay and vegetables, meant that for increasing periods, cows were stall-fed in covered sheds constructed within or on the edge of the built environment.¹²⁶ In the early 1790s, five cow-keepers interviewed for an article in Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture* confirmed that their animals were kept indoors for six or seven months of the year.¹²⁷ At that time, herds continued to be left outside overnight in summer but from the early nineteenth century they were increasingly returned to cowsheds at dusk.¹²⁸ We should not assume that cow-keepers acted in unison. The 'progress of intensification' towards 'permanent or semi-permanent stall-feeding' was gradual and uneven but by the 1830s the traditional summer grazing period (early May to October) was shrinking 'in some cases to six or seven weeks' and some animals 'were entirely restricted' to the built area of the city.¹²⁹ The intensity of the new urban system is emphasised by the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia's* observation in 1832 that cows were

confined in stalls during the night; about three in the morning, grains are given them; from four to half past six they are milked by the milk-dealers ... they are afterwards fed

¹²⁵ D.B. Grigg, *The Agricultural Systems of the World: An Evolutionary Approach* (Cambridge, 1974), p.195.

¹²⁶ Insurance policy records show that many cow-keepers owned substantial timber and brick cowsheds in the second half of the eighteenth century; see, for instance, LMA, MS/11936/266, Sun Fire Insurance policy: 403811.

¹²⁷ Anon, 'Cows for the supply of London', *Annals of Agriculture*, 21 (1793), pp.530.

¹²⁸ Anon, *A Treatise on Milk* (1825), p.81.

¹²⁹ Atkins, 'The milk trade of London', pp. 22, 26 & 31; Atkins describes the years 1790-1860 as a 'transitional period'; as late as the early 1830s, Laycock was still turning his cows out into the fields every day between the end of June until Michaelmas, from six in the morning until midday, and from two in the afternoon until about three the following morning. In the remaining half of the year, the animals were let into a yard for between half an hour and three hours. With his unparalleled access to grazing land, however, Laycock's operation would have been unusual. Most of London's milch cows would have spent considerably longer in sheds by this point; William Youatt, *Cattle; Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases* (1834), p.264.

with turnips and hay; at eight o'clock put into the cow-yard; at twelve confined to their stalls, and grains given them; and at half-past one they are again milked.¹³⁰

After 1800, the withdrawal of cows from the city's fields would have been obvious to many Londoners, just as streets, yards and sheds became increasingly normalised bovine sites. To some extent, this curtailed opportunities for Londoners to see and interact with cattle but we should not exaggerate the pace and extent of this change. As discussed below, throughout the Hanoverian period, many Londoners came into close contact with cows in sheds and yards as well as in fields.¹³¹ Moreover, the connection between milk production and consumption remained strong well into the early nineteenth century. Before turning to these issues in detail, we need to consider the equally complex topography of London's porcine ecologies.

¹³⁰ David Brewster, *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (Philadelphia, 1832), 13:1, p.257.

¹³¹ Some cow-keepers failed to adapt – bankruptcies spiked in the 1770s and 1790s, a pattern linked to the soaring cost of provender in these years; R.C. Allen, 'Agriculture during the industrial revolution, 1700-1850' in R. Floud & P. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, vol.1* (Cambridge, 2004), p.98; R. Brown, *Society and Economy in Modern Britain 1700-1850* (London, 1991), p.184; Richard Parkinson, *Treatise on the Breeding & Management of Livestock* (1810), vol.1, p.82, observed that as a herd aged, it became less productive until the animals had to be replaced.

Table 1: Evidence of change in the cow-keeping trade (bankruptcy, herd size and acreage of pasture in use) – gleaned from metropolitan press reports, Sun Fire insurance policy documents and the ‘London Lives’ online database.¹³²

	Total references to cow-keepers	No. of cow-keepers referred to as bankrupt	No. of milch cows in herd at time of stock sale (where detailed)	Acres of pasture (where detailed)
1710s	3	0	-	-
1720s	19	0	-	80
1730s	24	0	-	36 56 65
1740s	25	1	-	26 60
				Average pasture area for 1720-49 = 54 acres
1750s	30	3	100	-
1760s	28	2	27 60	16
1770s	63	12	7 30 10 32 10 32 17 36 20 40 21 60	-
			Average herd size for 1750-79 = 45 cows	
1780s	62	2	10 60 20 60 20 28 31 52	7
1790s	51	14	50 27 10	10 85 15 110 40
			Average herd size for 1780-99 = 33 cows	Average pasture area for 1780-99 = 45 acres

¹³² LMA, MS/11937-7, Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers (1710-1863); 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers (Gale Digital Collections); www.londonlives.org: details mostly derived from wills proved at the prerogative court of Canterbury, Westminster poll-books, the Old Bailey Sessions Papers and Middlesex Sessions Papers.

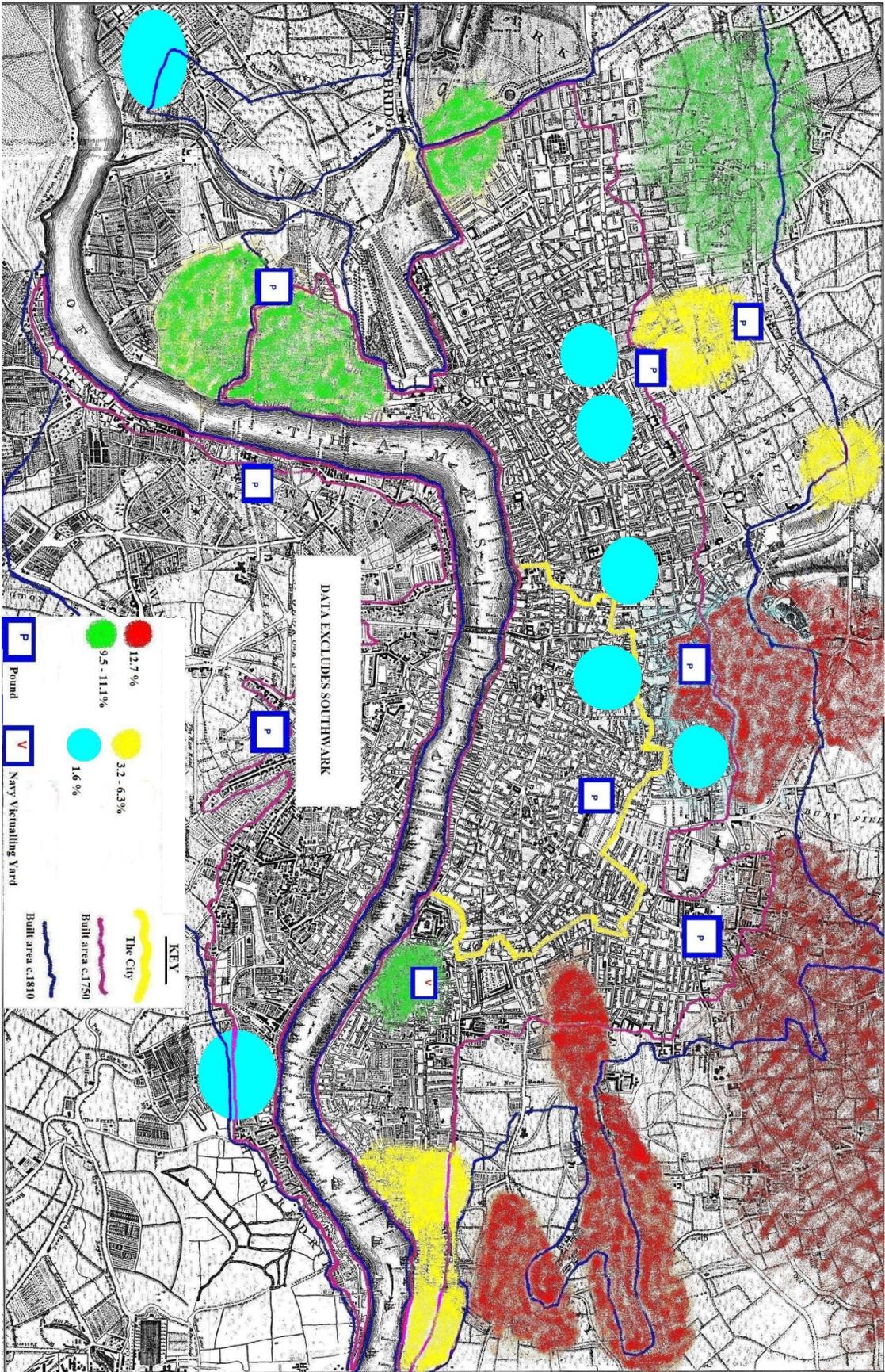
The prevalence, location and behaviour of London's pig-keepers are richly documented in the Old Bailey Proceedings, where these individuals appeared as victims of animal theft. Having surveyed cases heard between 1730 and 1829, I have traced the locations of 63 pig-keepers in the metropolitan area covered by the Old Bailey. This does not include Southwark – an area in which both pig- and cow-keeping were prevalent – because its cases were heard at the Surrey quarter sessions.¹³³ This area receives special treatment below. As shown by Table 2 and Map 4, pig-sties were far more widespread in Hanoverian London than historians have previously acknowledged. The highest proportion of pig-keepers appearing as plaintiffs operated in the same peri-urban zone as that used by many cow-keepers, running from Clerkenwell in the West to Hoxton in the East. But pig-keeping was equally prominent in Whitechapel, Mile End and Stepney. In 1750, most of this area was situated just beyond the urban fringe but by 1810, almost a third of it had been enveloped by the city. Other significant pig-keeping zones included the Minories and the nearby dock areas of Wapping, Shadwell, and Limehouse.

Pigs were not, however, confined to the East End and northern suburbs. A significant proportion of pig-keepers were found in Marylebone, Tothill Fields and at Hyde Park Corner, areas fringing the wealthy West End. Furthermore, while the most intensive pig-keeping zones continued to occupy an outer ring of London's built-up area, there were instances of activity much closer to the urban core, including in St Giles', Soho, Holborn, West Smithfield and Old Street, districts which were fully urbanised by 1730. Significantly, these pig-keepers were active in the period 1794–1829, undermining the idea that swine had been ejected from built-up areas of the city by the mid-1700s.

¹³³ J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1986), pp.309-13; see Surrey History Centre, QS2/6/1765/Mid/39; QS2/6/1770/Eph/60-61; QS2/6/1778/Eas/39; QS2/6/1788/mid/43; QS2/6/1792/mid/46.

Table 2: Location of pig-keepers appearing as victims of animal theft at the Old Bailey, 1730–1829.

Location	No. of pig-theft cases heard at the Old Bailey	% of Total
Bethnal Green, Hoxton, Hackney Rd	8	12.7
Whitechapel, Mile End & Stepney	8	12.7
Clerkenwell / Islington	8	12.7
Tothill Fields / Hyde Park Corner	7	11.1
Marylebone	6	9.5
The Minories (East Smithfield)	6	9.5
Wapping, Shadwell, Limehouse	4	6.3
St Giles' / Tottenham Court Rd	3	4.7
Battle Bridge	2	3.2
Holborn	1	1.6
Bunhill Row (St Luke's, Old St)	1	1.6
Soho	1	1.6
West Smithfield	1	1.6
Old Street	1	1.6
Rotherhithe	1	1.6
Deptford	1	1.6
Chelsea	1	1.6
Paddington	1	1.6
Kennington	1	1.6
Poplar	1	1.6
TOTAL	63	100



Map 4: Location of victims of pig-theft in the Old Bailey Proceedings, 1730–1829 (marked on John Rocque’s *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*, 1747).

A striking feature of the map is the almost complete absence of pig-keeping in the City of London, the only exception being the Ram Inn in West Smithfield, a site at the very edge of the City boundary which was also at the epicentre of the metropolitan livestock trade.¹³⁴ This appears to have been one of the last enclaves for pig-keeping in the area. While pigs had appeared quite commonly in medieval City inventories, they make no appearances after 1666.¹³⁵ This is confirmed by the absence of pig-nuisance cases in the eighteenth-century records of the Mansion House and Guildhall Courts, which regularly considered other forms of animal nuisance.¹³⁶ Moreover, hog-houses and pigsties are strikingly absent from plans of City properties from this time. In addition to implementing effective regulation, the City's densely packed streets probably provided a further deterrent by denying the space needed to erect sties and enable pigs to forage.¹³⁷

When considering variations in land use in Hanoverian London, historians have tended to carve the city into large analytical zones, generally the West and East Ends, and Southwark. Yet, analysis of pig-keeping suggests that such an approach is too imprecise – the evidence points to a complex clustering of pig-keeping sites involving the emergence of isolated pockets of fairly intensive activity, surrounded by much larger areas which maintained a largely pig-free environment.¹³⁸ The application of nuisance law to pig-keeping in this period helps to explain why this was the case. Opposition to pig-keeping occasionally led to court action, evidence of which appears in the records of the Court of King's Bench which received the presentments of juries serving in Middlesex and, to a lesser extent, the City of London.¹³⁹ These formal statements,

¹³⁴ OBSP, *t17940219-77* (19/2/1794).

¹³⁵ Prerogative Court of Canterbury: TNA, PROB 2, Inventories compiled before 1661 (1417-1668) & PROB 4, Engrossed Inventories Exhibited from 1660 (1660-1720); Reginald R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258-A.D. 1688, preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London, at the Guildhall*, 2 vols. (London, 1889), vol.1: A.D. 1258-1358, p.256; LMA, CLA/023/DW/02/018, Calendar of Wills Enrolled in the Court of Husting, City of London (1258-1717); see also U. Alberella, 'Pig husbandry and pork consumption in Medieval England' in C.M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson & T. Waldron (ed.), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford, 2006), pp.72-87.

¹³⁶ LMA: CLA/004/02, Mansion House Justice Room Minute Books (1784-1821); CLA/005/001, Guildhall Justice Room Minute Books (1752-1796). These courts regularly heard cases involving bullock 'hunting', mischievous dogs and equine traffic offences; D. Gray, *Crime, Prosecution and Social Relations. The Summary Courts of the City of London in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2009).

¹³⁷ On increasing population densities in the City, see V. Harding, 'City, capital, and the metropolis: the changing shape of seventeenth-century London' in J.F. Merrit (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.123-43.

¹³⁸ Advocates of a more variegated approach include P.E. Malcolmson, 'Getting a living in the slums of Victorian Kensington', *London Journal*, 1 (1975), pp.28-55 and J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (1987; Cambridge, 2005).

¹³⁹ TNA, KB/10, 'Court of King's Bench: Crown Side: London & Middlesex Indictment Files', covers the period 1675-1845, with some gaps before 1702, but after this, is almost complete. J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1986), pp.18-19; I have found very few hog-nuisance cases in the records of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, supporting Shoemaker's view that indictments against animal-keeping, among other regulatory offences, declined in the early 1700s, which he argues, was due to 'more laissez-faire attitudes towards economic regulation'; LMA, MJ/SP, Middlesex Sessions,

made on oath, detail the nature of crimes in cases where guilty verdicts were reached, including the name, address and occupation of the guilty party. They therefore provide useful information about pig-keepers and their location, but also the aspects of their business which generated opposition. Surveying a ten-year sample, covering the years 1735–37, 1759–63 and 1790–91, revealed six relevant cases (Table 3).¹⁴⁰ While accusation rates could have been higher, this figure remains remarkably low considering that there were probably thousands of people keeping pigs in the metropolis. Closer analysis suggests that attitudes towards pig-keeping were complex and entwined with changes in the urban environment and conflict over the use of urban space.

Table 3: Middlesex Jury Presentments against nuisance pig-keepers, recorded by the Court of King’s Bench, 1735–37; 1760–63; 1790–91.

Year	Location of pig-keepers (Parish)	Name of Guilty Party	Occupation	Nuisance	Source (TNA)
1760	Holles St (St Clement Danes)	John Jolly	Butcher	Keeping hogs near dwelling houses and streets and feeding them with offals & entrails of beasts & other filth... noisome smells	KB 10/33, box 1, item 33 (1760)
1761	Clapton (Hackney)	Joseph Cowling,	Yeoman	Keeping hogs near dwelling houses and streets, and feeding them with offals & entrails of beasts & other filth... noisome smells	KB 10/33, box 1, item 78 (1761)
1761	Hampstead	William Duck	Butcher	Keeping hogs near dwelling houses and streets, and feeding them with offals & entrails of beasts & other filth... noisome smells	KB 10/33, box 1, item 82 (1761)
1761	Spitalfields, Parish of Christ Church	John Hardy	Unknown	Keeping hogs near dwelling houses and feeding them with offals & entrails of beasts & other filth... noisome smells	KB 10/33, box 3, item 17 (1761)
1791	Elder Walk, Islington;	Frederick Tasman	Milkman	Keeping 10 hogs and permitting them to ‘run up and down the Kings common Highway ... whereby divers noisome and offensive smells have arisen’	KB 10/47 (Easter, 1791)
1791	Gardiners Lane, St Margaret, Westminster	James Welch	Herdsmen	Keeping a ‘great number’ of hogs & feeding them with blood and offals of animals...noisome and offensive smells	KB 10/47 (Hilary 1791)

Justices Working Documents (1550-1903); R.B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, c.1660-1725* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.130 & 133.

¹⁴⁰ Four of the six cases took place in the years, 1760–61, with another two in 1791; TNA, KB 10/33, box 1: item 33 case of John Jolly of St Clement Danes (1760); box 1: item 78, case of Joseph Cowling of St John, Hackney (1761); box 1: item 82, case of William Duck of Hampstead (1761); box 3: item 17, case of John Hardy of Spitalfields (1761) & KB 10/47, case of James Welch of St Margaret, Westminster (Hilary, 1791) & case of Frederick Tasman, Islington (Easter, 1791).

Olfactory nuisance was the predominant cause of complaint against pig-keepers.¹⁴¹ In part, this reflected the genuinely offensive smells generated by their food and waste. However, this focus was also promoted by English nuisance law. In 1733, a barrister defending one pig-keeper reminded the jury, ‘The question is not w[hethe]r one or two particular p[er]sons [are] affected by it, but w[hethe]r ye subjects in general’.¹⁴² To prove a ‘Common Nuisance’, it was necessary to show that a substantial number of people were being affected. Stench was the most likely nuisance to do so, and represented an established tort, meaning that prosecutors prioritised olfactory evidence in court.¹⁴³ In his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1770), William Blackstone noted that

if a person keeps his hogs ... so near the house of another, that the stench of them incommodes him and makes the air unwholesome, this is an injurious nuisance, as it tends to deprive him of the use and benefit of his house. A like injury is, if one’s neighbour sets up and exercises any offensive trade; as a tanner’s, a tallow chandler’s, or the like.¹⁴⁴

Yet, between the 1730s and the 1830s, metropolitan pig-keepers also appear to have encountered growing sympathy in court. Across a wide range of metropolitan nuisance cases, there was a gradual shift in ‘the standard of reasonableness’ applied by the courts towards the compromises necessitated by industrialization and urbanization. Consequently, industrial operations were increasingly treated as “‘reasonable polluters’” undertaking ‘beneficial mercantile activities’.¹⁴⁵ The relatively small number of successful prosecutions brought against London’s pig-keepers in this period suggests that they were among those to benefit from these developments. It is important to remember that Londoners were habituated to the smells of livestock to an extent that urbanites find difficult to imagine today. Visitors to the city described the streets as smelling like a stable because of the vast number of horses and the huge quantities of dung which they

¹⁴¹ In 1791, Frederick Tasman, milkman, of Islington was presented for permitting ‘Ten Hogs’ to ‘run up and down the Kings common highway’ exposing the area ‘divers noisome and offensive smells’; TNA, KB 10/47 (Easter 1791). I did not, however, find any presentments complaining about damage caused by pigs rooting up the ground or instigating traffic accidents; McNeur has shown that this kind of behaviour was a major source of opposition to pig-keeping in New York City in the first half of the nineteenth century. This difference may suggest that pigs were freer to roam in New York than was the case in London; McNeur, ‘The “Swinish multitude”’, p.643.

¹⁴² George Harris, *The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwick; With Selections from his Correspondence, Diaries, Speeches, and Judgements*, 3 vols. (1847), vol.1, p.269.

¹⁴³ James Oldham, *The Mansfield Manuscripts and the growth of English law in the eighteenth century*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1992), vol.2, ch.15.

¹⁴⁴ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the laws of England*, 4 vols. (4th edn., Oxford, 1770), p.217; see also Giles Jacob, *Every man his own lawyer; or, a summary of the laws of England in a new and instructive method* (2nd edn., 1737), pp.38-9; William Hawkins, *A Treatise of the Pleas of the Crown; or, a System of the Principal Matters relating to that subject*, 2 vols. (4th edn., 1762), vol.1, p.199.

¹⁴⁵ Oldham, *The Mansfield Manuscripts*, vol.2, p.892.

produced.¹⁴⁶ London's air was pungently infused with a plethora of animal smells, competing for dominance with coal fumes and other man-made pollutants. Thus, many Londoners were prepared to accept the smell of pig-sties providing that their noses and stomachs were not overwhelmed by the pollution they emitted. Moreover, while it was widely assumed that bad smells could bring on sickness, urban husbandry was not as closely associated with serious disease as it would be after the cholera outbreaks of the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁴⁷

The acceptability of a metropolitan pig-sty was, therefore, highly dependent on local context as well as its scale and management. Previously, historians have assumed that pig-keeping was simply forced out of the city and into the suburbs. Yet, while this was partly true of the largest commercial piggeries, discussed below, the wider picture was far more complex. In particular, we need to consider why many small-scale pig-keepers operating in built-up areas avoided prosecution while other semi-rural sites were punished.¹⁴⁸ The case of Lewis Smart, a considerable distiller and pig-keeper in the early 1730s, reveals that an area's social geography was an important factor. Smart's plot near Tottenham Court Road was, he claimed, ideal for a piggery because its environs were already blighted by the stench of cows, nightmen's pits, common laystalls and a ditch. Yet, as several witnesses testified, the stench from his sty carried to nearby Great Russell Street, 'a very handsome and well built street ... in an aristocratic area'.¹⁴⁹ Its respectable residents complained that they were unable to sit in their front rooms because of the smell, that they had fallen sick, that clean linen had been stained by the contaminated air, and that their servants had fled. With good reason, Smart made the distinction between 'Erecting hogstyes in ye middle of ye town, and hogstyes in the outskirts of ye town'. London was expanding to such an extent, he complained, that 'people build their house up to' existing pigsties. Yet, this reasoning failed to sway the jury, who defended the property rights of wealthy local residents.¹⁵⁰ Smart's conviction may appear to support the orthodox view that urbanisation forced agricultural activities out of the metropolis. But it would be unwise to extrapolate from the outcome of a single case in which a jury's composition would have exerted a strong influence.

Evidence from the Court of King's Bench archive, discussed above, complicates this impression. The guilty verdicts reached in 1760–61 involved activity in St Clement Danes, Hackney, Hampstead and Spitalfields, while those in 1791 related to Islington and St Margaret's,

¹⁴⁶ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. (1851-62; London, 1967), vol.2, p.193.

¹⁴⁷ Atkins, 'Is it urban?' in Hietala & Vahtikari (eds.), *The Landscape of Food*, p.142; Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick*.

¹⁴⁸ Such as William Duck's site in Hampstead in 1761; TNA, KB/33, box 1: item 82.

¹⁴⁹ Construction began in the early 1670s; John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720), vol.2, book 6, p.93.

¹⁵⁰ George Harris, *The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwick* (1847), vol.1, p.269; *Daily Journal* (19/2/1734).

Westminster.¹⁵¹ These districts were distributed across the metropolitan area and varied in social geography and land use. Moreover, we know that husbandry was common in parts of Hackney, Islington and St Margaret's (which incorporated Tothill Fields). Unfortunately, these records do not explain why certain activities were judged to be a nuisance. But a remarkable document in the minutes of the Commissioners of Sewers and Pavements for the divisions of Holborn and Finsbury suggests that local circumstances must have been key.¹⁵²

In August 1773, the jurors of the sewer court set about investigating whether local pig-keepers were emptying dung into the Turnmill Brook, and thereby causing a public nuisance by obstructing its passage.¹⁵³ This behaviour was not new – in the 1630s, three houses were built on the foundations of hog sties in Turnmill Street.¹⁵⁴ And by 1683, the brook was already being 'choaked up with the Garbages of Beasts dung dirt & soyle', largely as the result of intensive pig-keeping.¹⁵⁵ The sewer court jurors presented twenty offenders operating at nine sites, each bordering the sewer.¹⁵⁶ As shown by Map 5, this area was home to very intensive pig-keeping in the early 1770s. The jurors were only concerned with those which interfered with the sewer but powerful opposition to pig-keeping in nearby Bloomsbury and the City meant that there was little scope to expand beyond the area shown. Here was an island of agro-industrial activity involving several inter-related noxious trades – including slaughter-houses, breweries and distilleries; as well as the Smithfield's livestock trade – at the heart of which was pig-keeping.¹⁵⁷ This local context made prosecuting pig-keepers difficult to sustain under contemporary nuisance law. It is important to note that the sewer commissioners did not object to the presence of the pig-keepers, merely their dumping of animal waste into the sewer. Thus, while the offenders were each fined £10, a very substantial sum, they were not banned from operating in an area where pig-keeping

¹⁵¹ TNA, KB 10/33, box 1: item 33 case of John Jolly of St Clement Danes (1760); box 1: item 78, case of Joseph Cowling of St John, Hackney (1761); box 1: item 82, case of William Duck of Hampstead (1761); box 3: item 17, case of John Hardy of Spitalfields (1761) & KB 10/47, case of James Welch of St Margaret, Westminster (Hilary, 1791) & case of Frederick Tasman, Islington (Easter, 1791).

¹⁵² LMA, HFCS (4) / 18, Holborn & Finsbury Commissioners of Sewers and Pavements, Minutes (1763-98).

¹⁵³ On London's rivers, see N.J. Barton, *The Lost Rivers of London: A Study of Their Effects upon London and Londoners, and the Effects of London and Londoners on them* (1962; London, 1998).

¹⁵⁴ W.C. Baer, 'Housing for the lesser sort in Stuart London: Findings from certificates, and returns of divided houses', *London Journal*, 33 (2008), pp.61-88, p.64.

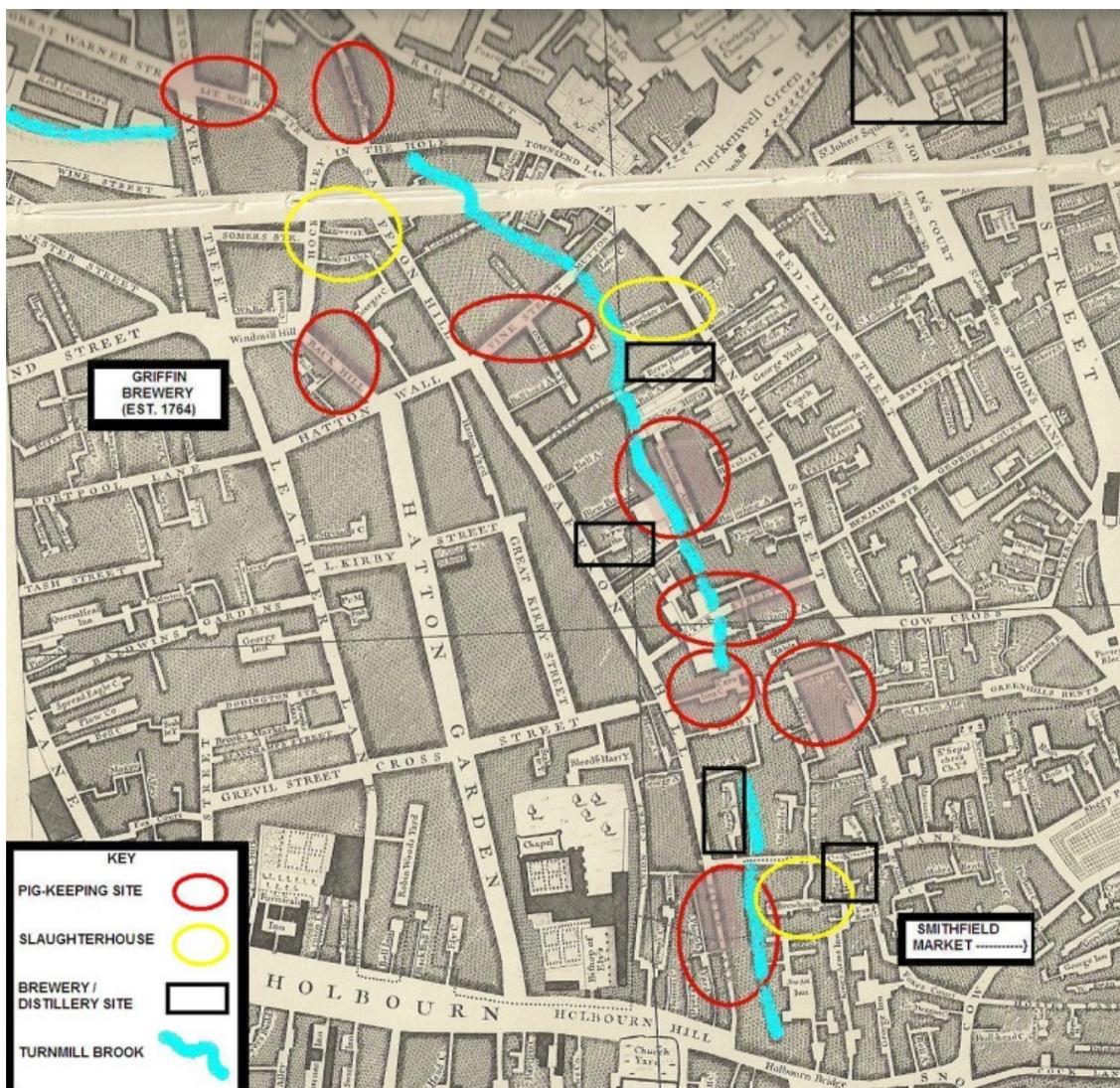
¹⁵⁵ LMA, HFCS/11, fo.6, Holborn & Finsbury Commission of Sewers: Extracts from minutes, copies of warrants, etc (1683-88).

¹⁵⁶ LMA, HFCS/4/18, Holborn & Finsbury Commission of Sewers and Pavements, Minutes (18/8/ 1773), pp. 257-58.

¹⁵⁷ Alexander Gordon moved his distillery from Southwark to Clerkenwell in 1786 and in the early nineteenth century, John and William Nicholson opened another substantial site in Woodbridge Street. Several slaughterhouses were fined for dumping animal waste into the Turnmill Brook sewer in the 1770s (some of these are marked on Map 5); LMA, HFCS/4/18, pp.107, 222, 257-58; see also LMA, MR/L/SB/001, Register of licences to slaughter horses and other cattle (Aug 1786 – Jan 1822), which identifies several horse slaughterhouses in this area.

was rooted in, and legitimised by, strong local tradition. Pig-keeping's development in the Hanoverian period was one of both continuity and change.

Map 5: Location of pig-keepers and slaughterhouses fined for emptying animal waste into Turnmill Brook in 1773 (Marked on John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*, 1747).



The tendency for pig-keepers to cluster in certain areas was enshrined in and encouraged by the law because legal conceptions of nuisance sought to ensure “aptness of place”. Early modern London was structured spatially and economically, producing a myriad of small districts each with a different tolerance of disruptive or polluting behaviour. Thus, throughout the Hanoverian period, rather than expelling pig-keepers from the metropolis, the law restricted them to pockets of land, where animal ecologies and economies would have played a particularly influential role in local life. Turnmill Brook encapsulates this situation strikingly well, but similar clusters can be found in Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Tothill Fields and elsewhere.¹⁵⁸

Recent work on North America has identified porcine nuisance as a major source of social conflict.¹⁵⁹ While the above offers some evidence of this in Hanoverian London, it also shows that pig-keeping was a far more accepted feature of the urban environment than has previously been acknowledged. By focussing on the mid-nineteenth-century – which saw ‘Hog Wars’ in New York City and hygienist campaigns to eradicate pig-keeping in London – historians have tended to lose sight of the diverse forms which urban pig-keeping took in the longer term.

As shown in Maps 3 and 4, there were considerable similarities in the distribution of pig- and cow-keeping activity in Hanoverian London. Largely excluded from the City and polite West End estates, both activities were concentrated in a ring incorporating outer districts of the built-up area and urban fringe. That a large and growing proportion of Londoners lived in this zone¹⁶⁰ emphasises that milch cows and pigs became increasingly integrated features of the urban landscape. There were also important differences between the trades. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, small-scale pig-keeping could be found in many paved, built-up parts of the metropolis, generally in pockets of intensive activity. Cow-keeping was more closely associated with the urban fringe and suburbia, although this began to change in the late eighteenth century with the rise of stall-feeding in increasingly built-up districts.

¹⁵⁸ Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, p.294, notes there were ‘marked occupational and social differences’ in Southwark; LMA, THCS/4/014, Tower Hamlets Commissioners of Sewers Minutes (Oct & Dec 1749).

¹⁵⁹ McNeur, ‘The “Swinish Multitude”’, p.641; see also P.A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763-1834* (Williamsburg, Va., 1987), pp.224-232; Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*.

¹⁶⁰ By the early 1700s, it is possible that half of the metropolitan population was living in London’s eastern and northern suburbs and south of the river, in precisely the zones where livestock production was most prevalent; Guillery, *The Small House*, p.21; C. Spence, *London in the 1690s: A Social Atlas* (London, 2000), p.65; V. Harding, ‘Housing and health’ in V. Berridge & M. Gorsky (eds.), *Environment, Health and History* (Basingstoke, 2011), p.28 & ‘The population of London, 1550-1700: a review of the published evidence’, *London Journal*, 15 (1990), pp.111-28.

These developments provide a gateway for exploring the influence of animal ecologies in metropolitan life. In particular, I want to examine the role played by cow- and pig-keeping in London's dynamic industrial economy before turning to consider the ways in which husbandry promoted interaction between urbanites and four-legged animals.

An agricultural-industrial hybrid

Historians have tended to view the relationship between meat production and industrialisation from a critical perspective, echoing certain kinds of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century discourse.¹⁶¹ The quality of 'town' milk, as well as pork, generated scathing criticism in the Hanoverian period. Smollet's country squire described London's milk as 'the produce of faded cabbage-leaves and sour draff' which milkmaids exposed to the city's filth.¹⁶² Such criticisms were not without foundation but the difference between 'urban' and 'rural' milk production was exaggerated, owing to a long tradition of demonising the former while romanticising the latter.¹⁶³ The agricultural revolution intensified husbandry across the British countryside.¹⁶⁴ For much of the period, the treatment of urban milch cows bore considerable similarities to that of rural herds, with grass continuing to dominate the diet of metropolitan cows into the early 1800s. Moreover, in London and the provinces, cows were fed on a mixture of foodstuffs, which included hay, turnips and swedes, as well as vegetable refuse. Much of this was grown locally by suburban market gardeners. Daniel Lysons noted that in Fulham and Deptford, large parts of the local gardens were used to grow fodder for the city's milch cows.¹⁶⁵ In exchange, these growers acquired manure to fertilise their land. The milk trade's expansion meant that cow-keepers increasingly purchased country-grown vegetables. While less expensive per acre, they incurred high rates of cartage and so by 1830s, some leading cow-keepers maintained their own supply

¹⁶¹ Cockayne, *Hubbub*, ch.4; J. Burnett, 'History of food adulteration in Great Britain in the nineteenth century', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, 32 (1959).

¹⁶² Tobias Smollet, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771; Oxford, 1998), p.122; quoted in Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p.99; Valenze, *Milk*, p.137; M. Lane, *Jane Austen and Food* (London, 1995), p.12; K. Colquhoun, *Taste: The Story of Britain Through its Cooking* (London, 2008), pp.193-4.

¹⁶³ Criticism of urban farmers by agricultural writers was often infused with rural snobbery, see Edward Lisle, *Observations in Husbandry* (1757), vol.2, p.102.

¹⁶⁴ C.J. Griffin, 'Animal maiming, intimacy and the politics of shared life: the bestial and the beastly in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England', *TIBG*, 37 (2012), pp.301-16; Mingay, *The Agrarian History of England & Wales*, vol.6; B. Holderness & M. Turner (eds.), *Land, labour and agriculture, 1700-1920* (London, 1991).

¹⁶⁵ Daniel Lysons, *Environs of London* (1806), vol.4, pp.575-76; Martindale, 'Demography and land use', pp.72-5.

farms outside the metropolis.¹⁶⁶ Thus, cow-keeping evinces a complex network of exchange between the city and its hinterland.¹⁶⁷

Throughout the Hanoverian period, cow-keepers across Britain experimented with feeding regimes designed to boost milk and meat yields.¹⁶⁸ But in London, a characteristically urban solution was found in the operations of the city's massive brewing and distilling industries (see Chapter two). After extracting liquid wort from grains, these operations were willing to sell their waste product, 'spent grain', to metropolitan cow-keepers. The transformation of an industrial by-product into a low-cost, energy-rich animal feed gave London's cow-keepers the key to unlocking higher milk yields, and increased profits.¹⁶⁹ Analysis of this relationship emphasises that the story of metropolitan husbandry is not one of resilience and survival but of dynamic adaptation to London's rapidly changing industrial and economic circumstances. One of the few to acknowledge this, Peter Mathias, suggests that the incorporation of pig- and cow-keeping by England's brewing and distilling trades was an important example of the close connection between urban industries 'and the agricultural economy of the country'.¹⁷⁰ A more focussed analysis of developments in London highlights the particular sophistication of this relationship in Britain's leading industrial hub.

London's brewers, distillers and cow-keepers shared certain agro-industrial interests which created a valuable symbiosis between their operations. Crucially, the brewing season lasted from October to May (the warm summer months being unsuitable for malting and fermentation). Thus, wasted grains were made available precisely when the city's cow-keepers most needed stimulating food for their animals.¹⁷¹ Thomas Legg's *Low Life* (1755) observed that, on Sunday

¹⁶⁶ Richard Parkinson, *Treatise on the Breeding & Management of Livestock* (1810), vol.1, pp.68-9. Atkins, 'The milk trade of London', pp.29-30; Anon, 'A day at a London dairy', *Penny Magazine*, 10 (1841), p.301; John Nelson, *The History, Topography, and Antiquities of the Parish of St. Mary Islington, in the County of Middlesex* (1811), pp.106-7.

¹⁶⁷ Martindale, 'Demography and land use'; M. Thick, *The Neat House Gardens: Early Market Gardening Around London* (Totnes, 1998); S. Gee, *Making Waste: Leftovers and the Eighteenth-Century Imagination* (Princeton & Oxford, 2009); B. Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1994), pp.164-61.

¹⁶⁸ G.E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880* (London, 1966); R.J. Moore-Colyer, 'Sheep: Feeding methods' & 'Cattle: Feeding methods' in Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.6*, pp.26-33 & 348-50; Brown, 'Reassessing the influence of the aristocratic improver', pp.182-195. Parker, *Coke of Norfolk*; Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry*; Fussell, 'Science and Practice in Eighteenth-Century British Agriculture', pp.7-18; Wykes, 'Robert Bakewell', pp.38-55; Rowe, 'The Culleys', pp.156-74.

¹⁶⁹ The value of distillery grains was higher than that of brewery grains, 'largely because of the proportion of unmalted barley used in distilling after 1720', Mathias, 'Agriculture and the brewing and distilling industries', p.250; Martindale, 'Demography and land use', p.323.

¹⁷⁰ Mathias, 'Agriculture and the brewing and distilling industries in the eighteenth century', *EcHR*, 2 (1952) pp.249-57.

¹⁷¹ Mathias, 'Agriculture and the brewing and distilling industries', p.249; Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England & Wales, Vol.6*, p.255.

evenings, ‘Cow-Keepers Carts, for three Miles round this Metropolis’ could be seen driving ‘through the Streets, to fetch the Grains from the respective Brew-Houses they deal with’.¹⁷² Some cow-keepers made direct contracts with breweries while others may have used grain merchants, middlemen who were occasionally fellow cow-keepers.¹⁷³ In 1834, William Youatt observed that ‘The dairyman ... must know his brewer, and be able to depend on him’ to ensure the grain was of sound quality.¹⁷⁴

In some cases, this association produced multi-operational shared sites. In 1782, the *Gazetteer* advertised the sale of a plot in Bethnal Green, where the ‘farmer and cow-keeper’ Pearce Dunn ran a series of cow-houses, hog-sties and a dairy, on premises shared with a dealer in yeast and stale beer.¹⁷⁵ This was not an unusual arrangement – in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, utensils for both brewing and dairying are frequently listed in sale-of-stock lists of outgoing cow-keepers.¹⁷⁶ As well as underlining the close relationship between brewing and urban husbandry, this case also evinces the common integration of cow- and pig-keeping activities. Before Dunn sold his cow’s milk, he would have skimmed off the whey to supplement his pigs’ diets. Pigs appear in the majority of cow-keeper stock advertisements, ranging in number from three to 34,¹⁷⁷ emphasising that London witnessed the emergence of sophisticated, hybridised agro-industrial operations in the Hanoverian period.

As access to grazing declined and milk production became more intensive, cow-keepers became increasingly reliant on industrial partnerships. Atkins estimates that by the early nineteenth century, wasted grains represented 20–35% of an average cow-keeper’s expenditure on feed.¹⁷⁸ By then, leading concerns were achieving impressive economies of scale by bulk ordering, transporting and storing huge quantities of food – in 1810, Laycock employed 80 horses to pull

¹⁷² Thomas Legg, *Low life* (1755; 2nd edn., 1764), p.90.

¹⁷³ In 1803, William Clement, a cow-keeper in the Hackney Road, was purchasing grain from Charrington’s Brewery in Mile End, and employed carters to deliver this food to his premises; OBSP, t18030525-38 (25/5/1803); Atkins, ‘The milk trade of London’, p.75.

¹⁷⁴ William Youatt, *Cattle: Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases* (1834), p.264.

¹⁷⁵ *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (19/2/1782).

¹⁷⁶ See the stock lists of Joseph Ennever of Mile End Old Town and William Pollard of Holloway in *Gazetteer* (6/1/1773) & *Bell’s Weekly Messenger* (14/10/1798).

¹⁷⁷ Some agricultural writers advised dairy farmers to keep as many pigs as they did cows but these ratios varied between regions; Malcolmson & Mastoris, *The English Pig*, p.39; Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History*, vol.6, pp.169-70 & 356-57; Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry*, p.220; for cow-keeper stock lists featuring pigs, see *Gazetteer* (13/5/1769) & (27/9/1775); *Daily Advertiser* (28/2/1776) & (28/1/1777); *London Chronicle* (18-21/7/1778); *Parker’s General Advertiser* (4/12/1782); *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (19/2/1782) & (5/3/1783); *Morning Post* (2/1/1788); *Times* (19/3/1792); *Evening Mail* (3-6/5/1793); *Oracle & Daily Advertiser* (10/11/1798); on this subject, see also Richard Bradley, *Gentleman and Farmer’s Guide* (1732), p.77 & *The Complete Grazier* (2nd edn., 1767), p.169.

¹⁷⁸ Mathias, ‘Agriculture and the brewing and distilling industries’; Atkins, ‘The milk trade of London’, pp.29 & 75.

50 carts.¹⁷⁹ And in 1819, Mr Millan, the owner of a 'large Milk Farm' in Paddington had 'eighty Quarters' (approximately 800 cubic feet) of grain transported from Whitbread's Brewery – located on the other side of the metropolis – every day.¹⁸⁰

By contrast, the vast majority of cow-keepers were forced to cluster around breweries to minimise haulage costs. Maps 6 – 8 show that this process was well under way by the 1740s in at least three major cow-keeping districts. Operators in Hoxton and Shoreditch (see Map 6) were served by at least two large-scale distilleries (marked A & B) and two breweries (C & D) less than half a mile away. The herds of Tothill Fields (see Map 7) abutted five breweries, including the enormous Stag brewery on Castle Lane (A). And in Southwark (see Map 8), there was at least one distiller (A) and four breweries (B, C, D & E). This area provides compelling evidence of the intensification of this relationship in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Map 9 plots the location of fourteen cow-keepers in the parish of St Saviour, as recorded by the vestry's land surveyors in 1807.¹⁸¹ By the early nineteenth century, Southwark's cowsheds had moved well within the district's industrial core, occupying yards within a few hundred metres of London's premier brewery, Barclay-Perkins', as well as two smaller, but still substantial, breweries on Maid Lane: the Wheatsheaf and the United Public.¹⁸² Together with a substantial distillery on Red Cross Street and the huge vinegar manufactory of Messrs Pott, these sites provided a rich food supply for Southwark's cow-keepers.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Atkins, 'The milk trade of London', p.28; Martindale, 'Demography and land use', pp.319-20.

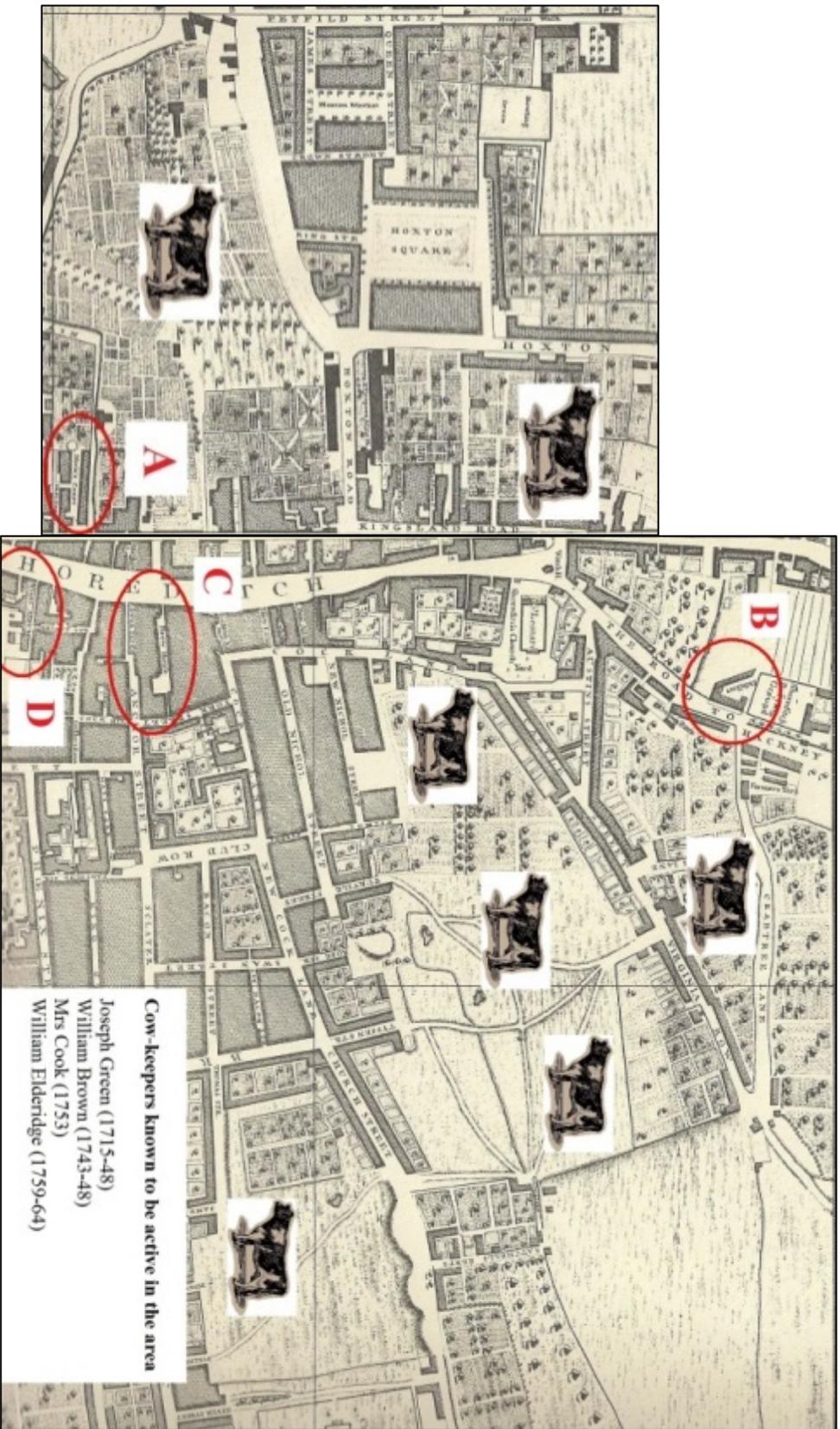
¹⁸⁰ F. & K. Wood (eds.), *A Lancashire Gentleman: The Letters and Journals of Richard Hodgkinson, 1763-1847* (Stroud, 1992), pp.186-7.

¹⁸¹ LMA, P92/SAV/0444, 'A survey and valuation of all the lands, buildings, houses, tenements and hereditaments within the parish of Saint Saviour Southwark pursuant to two orders of vestry of the 2nd and 16th days of October 1806 by John Middleton, Lambeth and Thomas Swithin' (1807).

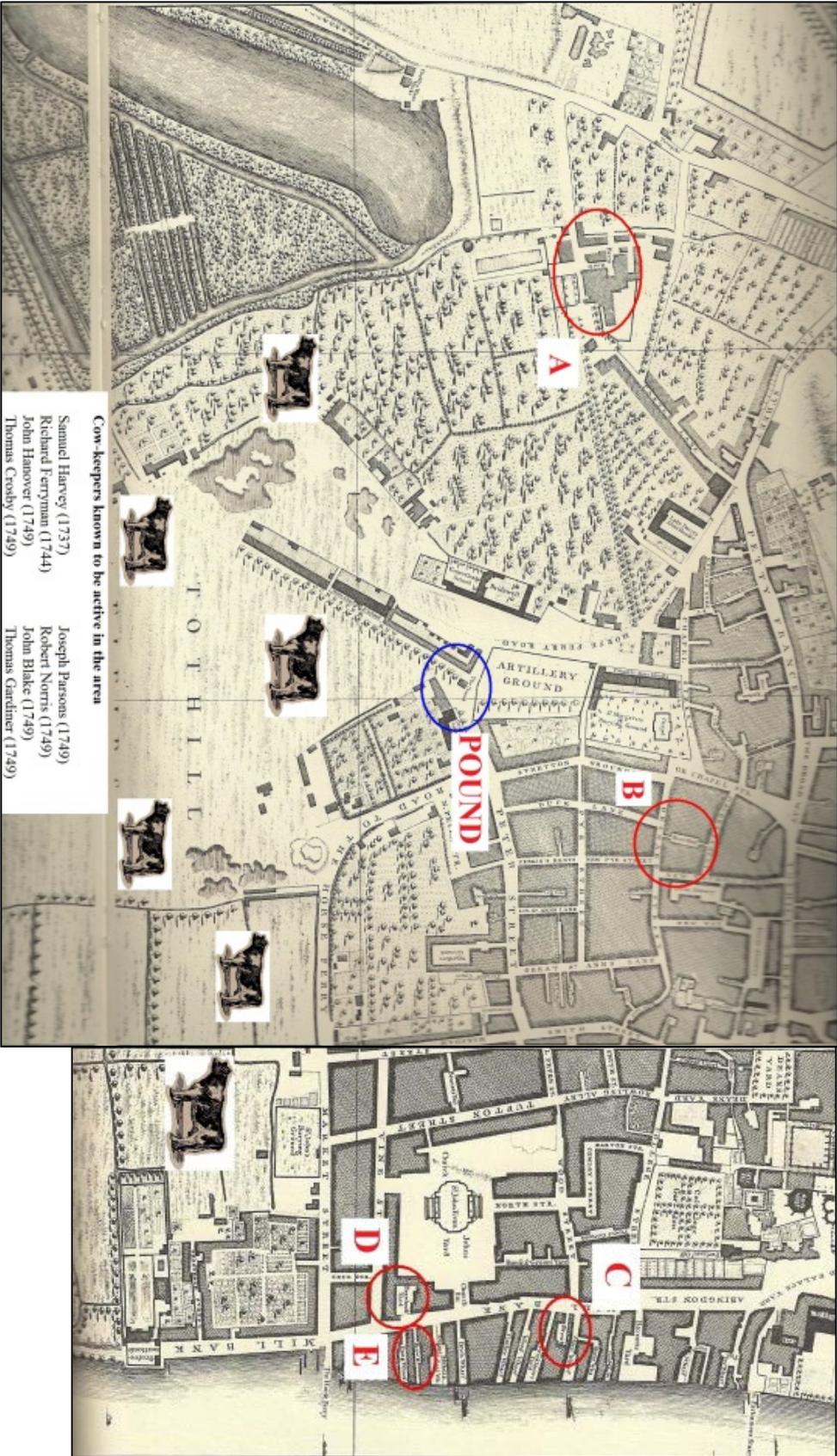
¹⁸² By 1820, the United had been taken over and renamed Drury & Co. LMA, MS 11936/478, Sun Fire insurance policy: 9622467 (17/1/1820).

¹⁸³ Thomas Allen, *The History and Antiquities of London, Westminster and Southwark, and Parts Adjacent* (1829), vol.4, p.539.

Map 6: Proximity of cow-keepers to breweries and distilleries in Hoxton & Shoreditch in the 1740s (marked on John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark*, 1747).



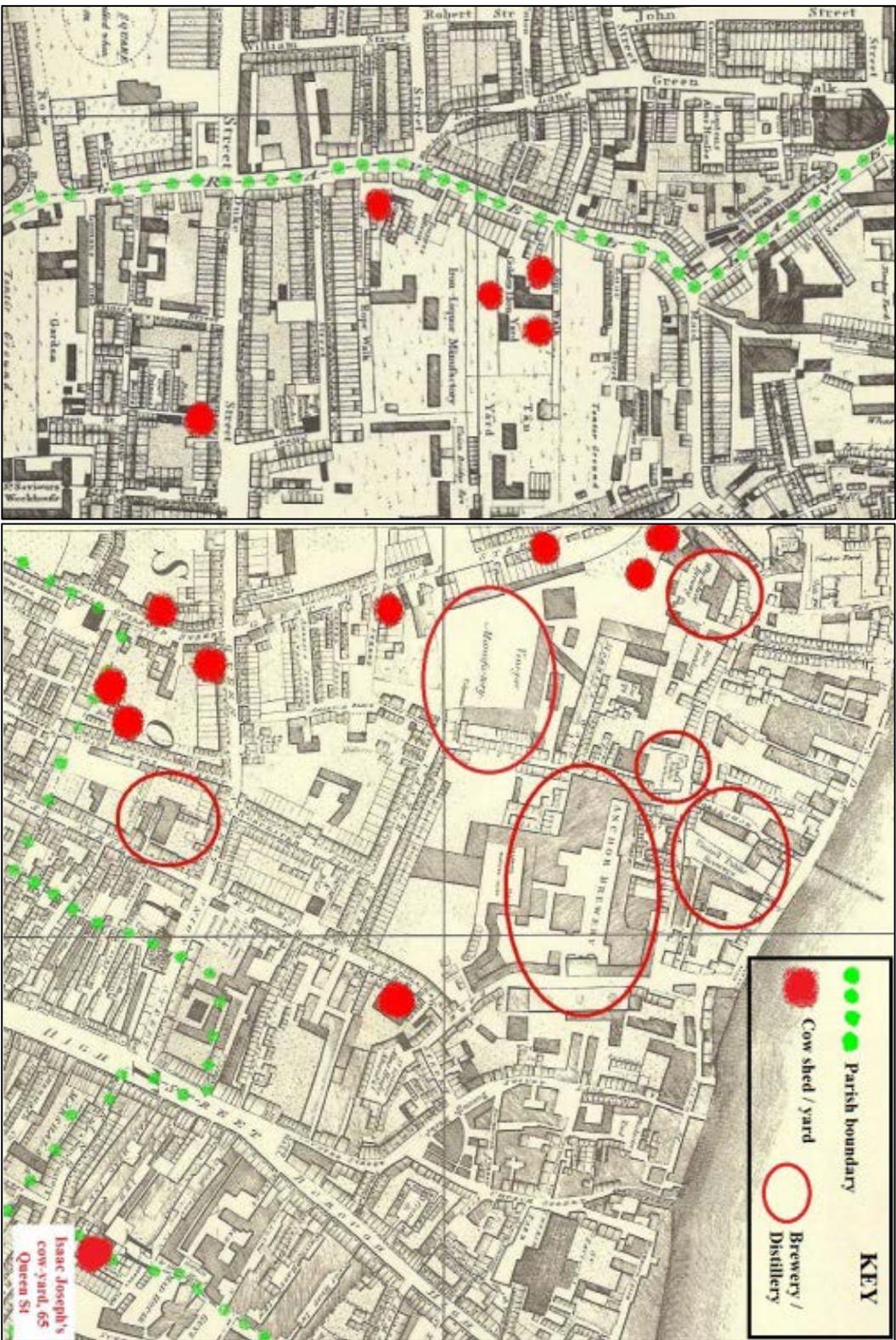
Map 7: Proximity of cow-keepers to breweries and distilleries in Tothill Fields, Westminster in the 1740s (marked on John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*, 1747).



Map 8: Proximity of cow-keepers to breweries and distilleries in Southwark in the 1740s (marked on John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*, 1747).



Map 9: Cow-keepers in St Saviours Parish, Southwark, 1807, marked on Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining showing every house* (3rd edn., 1813).



Distillers were particularly well-known for fattening large numbers of pigs on the waste products of their principal operations, a process which began in the 1600s and accelerated in the first half of the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁴ In 1748, Pehr Kalm noted that

in and near London, the Distillers keep a great many [pigs], often from 200 to 600 head, which they feed with the lees, and anything that is over from the distillery: and after these animals have become fat enough, they are sold to the butcher at a great profit.¹⁸⁵

By the late 1730s, the scale of these activities was such that farmers in Shropshire and the Home Counties – who were being undercut by their metropolitan rivals at market – were forced to defend their livelihoods. Rural farmers were unable to fatten pigs as cheaply as London’s distillers and objected to sending their young animals to the capital, only for their rivals to feed them up and reap the profit.¹⁸⁶ The pig-keeping departments of the distilling trade expanded early and rapidly. In 1736, a defender of the distillers – and therefore, an individual keen to downplay their activities – claimed that the number of hogs fattened ‘does not exceed 50,000’.¹⁸⁷ In 1783, another commentator estimated that the figure had been closer to 100,000 during the ‘gin craze’ of the 1720s–1750s, but fell to 30,000 after 1760, reflecting the impact of increasingly harsh duties on distilling.¹⁸⁸ The above shows that while pig-keeping had a long tradition in London; it was highly sensitive to economic conditions and underwent major change in the Hanoverian period.

This is underlined by developments in the second half of the eighteenth century when the distilling trade was consolidated by a narrow elite of large operations. Thomas Pennant was amazed by

¹⁸⁴ Starch factories fattened pigs on wheat refuse from their production process. Unlike distillers, they had to supplement this diet with beans and peas, a significant disadvantage. Nevertheless, some starch manufacturers developed huge pig-keeping operations. In the 1794, Stenard’s was said to fatten, on average, 2,700 animals annually; Joseph Lucas (trans.), *Kalm’s Account of his Visit to England on his way to America in 1748* (1892), p.411; Mathias, ‘Agriculture and the brewing and Distilling industries’, p.254; William James & Jacob Malcolm, *State of the Agriculture of Surrey* (1794), p.33.

¹⁸⁵ *Kalm’s Account of his Visit to England*, p.411; see also Richard Bradley, *Gentleman and Farmer’s Guide* (1732), pp.77-8 & *A General Description Of All Trades, Digested In Alphabetical Order* (1747), p.79; hog-yards are listed in several advertisements for the sale of distilleries; see *Daily Advertiser* (7/5/1745); *Morning Chronicle & London Advertiser* (2/12/1772); *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (29/5/1788).

¹⁸⁶ Petitions from these farmers were presented to the House of Commons in January 1740, and following a Committee investigation, a report was presented to the House in 1745; *Journals of the House of Commons, vol.23, From January the 24th 1737...to April the 25th 1741* (1803), pp.584 & 630 & vol.24, pp.833-6; Mathias, ‘Agriculture and the Brewing and Distilling Industries’, pp.251-2; Thomas Wilson, *Distilled Spiritous Liquors the Bane of the Nation: being some considerations humbly offer’d to the legislature* (1736); J.T. of Bristol, *An Impartial Inquiry Into The Benefits and Damages Arising to the Nation from the present very great Use of Low-priced Spiritous Liquors* (1751).

¹⁸⁷ Anon, *An Impartial Enquiry into the Present State of the British Distillery; Plainly demonstrating the Evil Consequences of imposing any Additional Duties on British Spirits* (1736), p.38.

¹⁸⁸ Anon, *The Corn Distillery, stated to the consideration of the landed interest of England* (1783), p.44. P. Dillon, *Gin, The Much-Lamented Death of Madam Geneva: The Eighteenth-Century Gin Craze* (Boston, 2003), ch.17.

Lambeth's 'vast distilleries' where he found 'seldom less than two thousand hogs constantly grunting'.¹⁸⁹ Other sites, including Thomas Cooke's Distillery at Milbank, Johnson's at Vauxhall and Benwell's at Battersea, were fattening as many as 3,000 – 4,000 pigs. In the 1760s, Cooke's animals were consuming 350 tonnes of grain every month and demanded the specialist attention of five servants. While smaller distillers sold their hogs alive to carcass butchers, Cooke invested in sophisticated processing arrangements to slaughter, cut and cure his fattened animals on-site, thereby enabling him to profit from the lucrative trade in finished bacon.¹⁹⁰

The above appears to parallel the kind of capitalist modes of production discussed by Linda Clarke with reference to the consolidation of multiple construction trades by powerful contractors.¹⁹¹ Some distillers pursued several livestock-related activities – including pig-keeping, slaughtering and meat processing – into already impressive industrial operations. As suggested, this behaviour was not altogether new – around 1600, the theatre impresario John Henslowe invested in a starch-works in Surrey, complete with a 'grownd to keppe hogg'.¹⁹² But the remarkable scale of pig-keeping operations achieved by distillers in the eighteenth century was new and remained unsurpassed in British farming until the twentieth century, long after their disappearance from the metropolis.¹⁹³

As well as having privileged access to London's voracious market for pork and pig fat, distillers and starch manufacturers benefited from their proximity to the Navy's Victualling Yards at Tower Hill and Deptford, where they secured valuable contracts based on 'large-scale deliveries at a low price'.¹⁹⁴ This helps to explain the high concentration of pig-keepers in the Minories, the area immediately abutting the victualling office, as well as in Whitechapel, Bethnal Green and Mile End (see Map 4). In 1776, the Whitechapel distiller Samuel Liptrap contracted with the Navy Board to supply 2,000 hogs – which he delivered to East Smithfield in six batches of around 300 animals over a nineteen day period – for the impressive sum of £8,200. It is unclear how many of these pigs Liptrap fattened himself but he almost certainly sourced animals from other producers.

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Pennant, *Of London* (1790), p.33, these distilleries had lately been the property of Sir Joseph Mawbey (1730-98), a leading metropolitan distiller and MP for Southwark and Surrey; James Gilray plays on Mawbey's pig-keeping activities in his 1788 caricature, *A pig in a poke. Whist, whist*.

¹⁹⁰ BL, Add MSS 39683, Thomas Cooke, *Observations upon Brewing, Fermentation, and Distillation, with sundry remarks and observations upon erection of corn distillhouses, situation, conveniences, repairs, expences, etc* [apparently unpublished, c.1792?]; Cooke provides considerable detail on the fattening, killing, butchering and curing of pigs, including costs. In March 1767 alone, the company slaughtered and cured 324 hogs; Mathias, 'Agriculture and the Brewing and Distilling Industries', p.254; William James & Jacob Malcolm, *State of the Agriculture of Surrey* (1794), p.33.

¹⁹¹ L. Clarke, *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment* (London & New York, 1992).

¹⁹² R.A. Foakes & R.T. Rickett (ed.), *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge, 1961), p.244.

¹⁹³ B.A. Holderness, 'Intensive livestock keeping' in Collins (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.7, 1850-1914: Part 1* (Cambridge, 2000), p.489.

¹⁹⁴ Mathias, 'Agriculture and the brewing and distilling industries', p.252.

Nevertheless, the deal illustrates the crucial role which London's distillers played in the supply of pig flesh to a major metropolitan client.¹⁹⁵ It also suggests that fluctuations in metropolitan pig-keeping were linked to Britain's global military activities.¹⁹⁶

As recent archaeological work has shown, the operations of the Royal Navy victualling yard at Tower Hill increased significantly in the eighteenth century. An important feature of these developments was the construction, in the late 1720s, of a new and much larger slaughterhouse (measuring 41.4m x 9.7m) plus a hanging house with capacity for around 700 hogs, new hog pens, a scalding house and a cutting house, with further work taking place over the next half century.¹⁹⁷ Until its closure in 1785, the yard was central to the expansion and improvement of the Navy's victualling operations. This was despite being several hundred metres from the Thames, far removed from the major Channel ports, and hemmed in by urban growth.¹⁹⁸ A convincing explanation for why the Navy retained the yard for so long is the fact that it benefited from such a large, reliable and cost-effective urban meat supply.

Like the Smithfield livestock trade, examined in Chapter 3, large-scale pig-and cow-keeping were sophisticated animal economies in the Hanoverian period. But the impact which husbandry exerted on metropolitan life went far beyond this. Thomas assumed and asserted that only a very narrow group of individuals – butchers, colliers, farmers, grooms and cab-drivers – were 'directly involved in working with animals' in the eighteenth century and that even fewer 'own[ed] the animals themselves'. According to Thomas, the vast majority of urbanites were, therefore, 'remote from the agricultural process and inclined to think of animals as pets rather than working livestock'.¹⁹⁹ Yet, these impressions are undermined by a wealth of evidence for London, which shows that a much more diverse group of lower middling and plebeian individuals was directly involved in husbandry. Moreover, changes in the geography and character of metropolitan husbandry, discussed above, promoted myriad interactions between Londoners and livestock. It is to these relationships that we now turn.

¹⁹⁵ TNA, PRO, ADM 112/162, Navy Board: Office of Surveyor of Victuals and Victualling Office: Contract Ledger (1776); see also Essex Record Office, D/DC 27/821, indenture of co-partnership between Samuel Liptrap, malt-distiller, and John Milward, salesman (1780); D. Morris, *Whitechapel 1600-1800: A Social History of an Early Modern London Inner Suburb* (London, 2011).

¹⁹⁶ N.A.M Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London, 1996) & *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, vol. II, 1649-1815* (London, 2004); J. Macdonald, *Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era* (London, 2006).

¹⁹⁷ I. Grainger & C. Phillpotts, *The Royal Navy Victualling Yard, East Smithfield, London* (London, 2010), pp.37 & 11; TNA: PRO, ADM 110/9, 73-6, Navy Board: Victualling Office: Out-letters: letter book (1722-27); an earlier slaughterhouse, built in the sixteenth century, had measured 15.8m x 6.7m; see also D. Morris & K. Cozens, *Wapping 1600-1800: A Social History of an Early Modern London Maritime Suburb* (Brentwood, 2009).

¹⁹⁸ Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p.306; Grainger & Phillpotts, *The Royal Navy Victualling Yard*, pp.86 & 90.

¹⁹⁹ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.182.

Interactions with livestock

Historians have tended to associate domestic husbandry in the Hanoverian period with the countryside.²⁰⁰ This is partly because cow- and pig-keeping played a central and long-established role in the English cottage economy, but it also relates to the politicization of these activities in the early nineteenth century. In the 1820s, William Cobbett (1763–1835) highlighted the absence of a cow or pig outside a labourer’s house as evidence of rural hardship and the proletarianization of farm workers, ‘the great cause and inspiration’ of his Radicalism.²⁰¹ Cobbett passionately defended the cottager’s right to engage in small-scale husbandry. At the same time, he cast London, the ‘all-devouring WEN’, and its idle ‘tax-eaters’, as parasites on the countryside while viewing its wretched industrial labourers as the antithesis of the self-sufficient cottager.²⁰² Londoners certainly siphoned off the fat of the land in this period but the idea that domestic husbandry played no role in the city is misleading.

Men and women, involved in many different occupations, engaged in cow- and pig-keeping in the Hanoverian metropolis. In the case of cow-keeping, this runs contrary to Richard Perren’s assumption that those involved in the metropolitan milk trade ‘had only this one source of profit’.²⁰³ Insurance policies for the period reveal that as well as being cow-keepers, these individuals were brick-makers, graziers, victuallers, scavengers, blacksmiths, dealers, chapmen, butchers, lamp-lighters, carmen or coachmasters. Indeed, by the 1780s and 1790s, tradesmen as diverse as a rope-maker, shoe-maker and gardener were entering the cow-keeping business. In most cases, the two trades were complimentary, with cow-keeping often taking the lead. Several cow-keepers to the north of the city acted as graziers for droves destined for Smithfield market,²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, pp.94-5; Malcolmson & Mastoris, *The English Pig*; N. Verdon, *Rural Women Workers in 19th-Century England: Gender, Work and Wages* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp.45 & 186-7.

²⁰¹ I. Dyck, ‘Introduction’ in William Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (ed.), Dyck (1830; Harmondsworth, 2001), xv; riding north of Chichester in 1823, Cobbett asserted ‘I have seen no wretchedness in Sussex; nothing to be at all compared to that which I have seen in other parts ... I saw, and with great delight, a pig at almost every labourer’s house. And near Tonbridge Wells, he reported ‘The labouring people look pretty well. They have pigs’. By contrast, Cobbett was infuriated by conditions in the Avon Valley in Wiltshire; William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, pp.89 & 133 & 284-88, 296.

²⁰² William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, pp.7, 36-38, 49, 285, 322, 355 377; Cobbett’s *Cottage Economy* (1822), which included advice on the keeping of cows, pigs, goats, poultry, and rabbits; see also Sir John Sinclair, ‘Observations on the means of enabling a cottager to keep a cow’, *Annals of Agriculture*, 37 (1801), pp.225-45.

²⁰³ R. Perren, ‘Markets and Marketing’ in Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England & Wales, Vol.6*, p.256.

²⁰⁴ William Pollard was described as a ‘grazier and cowkeeper’ in Holloway; *Bell’s Weekly Messenger* (14/10/1798).

while others took advantage of the clay deposits beneath their fields to manufacture bricks.²⁰⁵ In other instances, however, cow-keeping was the side-line activity. Dealers, chapmen and butchers were well placed to keep cows because they knew how to negotiate the livestock and provender markets. The same applied to carmen and coach masters, who also had access to yards and vehicles needed to transport food and dung.²⁰⁶ Meanwhile, victuallers benefited from close relationships with breweries and distilleries to secure favourable terms on spent grain.²⁰⁷ The involvement of a rope-maker in the 1780s suggests that the business was open to anyone with a relatively modest amount of money to invest and access to some pasture.²⁰⁸ Rope-making was performed on strips of land known as 'walks', mostly located in fields around Shadwell, Rotherhithe and Limehouse.²⁰⁹ These arrangements gave master rope-makers a valuable opportunity to depasture cattle and even to erect cowsheds. In 1781, William Cornwell's site in Sun Tavern Fields, Upper Shadwell, featured a 'Ropehouse, Tarhouse & Stable' in one timber building and a 'Hemphouse & Cowhouse' in another.²¹⁰

Recent work on urban commons and grazing rights would, however, suggest that the ability of lower middling and plebeian men to engage in cow-keeping diminished in the Hanoverian period. Henry French has shown that commons played a vital and complex role in the life of towns in the early modern period but focusses on provincial towns.²¹¹ The situation in London demands attention. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were numerous common pastures on the outskirts of the city, including those in St George's Fields, Stoke Newington, South Lambeth,

²⁰⁵ In 1794, a cow-keeping site in Bagnigge-Wells was advertised as having 'Fifteen acres of meadowland containing a large quantity of brick earth and an established brick and tile manufactory' as well as 'extensive cow-houses'; *Morning Chronicle* (18/7/1794); see also details for William West's site at Penton Street, Islington; *Oracle & Public Advertiser* (12/5/1794); on 'imperfect occupational specialisation' in Middlesex, see Martindale, 'Demography and land use', pp.105-7.

²⁰⁶ LMA, MS 11936/279, Sun Fire insurance policy: 421775, Richard Onion, carman and cowkeeper (1779); LMA, WR/PP/1784/16-20/346/34654, William Terry, coachmaster & cowkeeper (1784); in some of these cases, cow-keeping may have been the lead operation. Because the big cow-keepers employed numerous cart horses, these animals may have been used in the transport or carrying trades, when they were not needed on the farm.

²⁰⁷ *London Gazette* (13/17/5/1755) & (10-14/6/1755); *London Evening Post* (2-5/4/1763); LMA, MS 11936/268/403811 (1778); *Gazetteer* (13/5/1769); LMA, MS 11936/282/426237 (1780).

²⁰⁸ LMA, MS 11936/293, Sun Fire insurance policy: 445713, William Cornwell, ropemaker and cow-keeper (1781); see also LL, WR/PP/1788/1-3/430/43073, Westminster Pollbooks (1788), John Tice, cow-keeper and shoe maker, Princes Street.

²⁰⁹ See John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark* (1747).

²¹⁰ LMA, MS 11936/293, Sun Fire insurance policy: 445713.

²¹¹ H.R. French, 'The common fields of urban England: communal agriculture and the 'politics of entitlement', 1500-1750' in R.W. Hoyle (ed.), *Custom, Improvement and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2011), pp.149-75; see also, J.M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge, 1993); J. Humphries, 'Enclosures, common rights, and women: the proletarianization of families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Journal of Economic History*, 50 (1990), pp.17-42; L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Labourers, cows, common rights and parliamentary enclosure: the evidence of contemporary comment c.1760-1810', *Past & Present*, 171 (2001), pp.95-126.

Woolwich, Wandsworth, Clapham and Chelsea.²¹² Encroachments on these lands by enclosure and urban expansion began in the seventeenth century, as in the case of St George's Fields, which gradually diminished in size after 1621.²¹³ Enclosure of metropolitan commons accelerated in the eighteenth century and between 1800 and 1810, grazing rights were extinguished by act of parliament on some important sites. These developments support the impression that 'access to grazing rights became increasingly restricted' in London as in most other towns, but there were significant variations across the metropolitan area.²¹⁴

Until the late eighteenth century, St George's Fields – land owned by the City of London – retained a strip system of agriculture and was open for common grazing between 1st August (Lammastide) and 2nd February (Candlemas), although it is not clear which groups benefited from this arrangement.²¹⁵ The site's enclosure act (1810) claimed that the common lands comprised 64 acres dispersed 'in many small Pieces' and that 'no Right of Common hath, for many Years past, been exercised or claimed to be exercised thereon, by reason that from local Circumstances, the same ... is of no Value to the Persons entitled thereto'.²¹⁶ The act does not elaborate on this claim but it should be treated with caution. Supporters of the legislation, principally the Corporation of London, would have been keen to discourage claims for compensation by downplaying the use of grazing rights.²¹⁷ It is, however, conceivable that these rights had fallen into the hands of individuals who had little or no interest in using them for agricultural purposes. Shaw-Taylor suggests that in the English lowlands, the rural poor were largely excluded from common grazing by the mid-eighteenth century and that 'parliamentary enclosure cannot be regarded as the final decisive stage in the transition to agrarian capitalism'.²¹⁸

²¹² M. Bowden et al, *An Archaeology of Town Commons in England* (2009); grazing on Stoke Newington Common is alluded to in OBSP, *t17320223-9* (23/2/1732) & *t17950701-59* (1/7/1795).

²¹³ I. Darlington (ed.), *Survey of London, vol.25: 'St George's Fields (The Parishes of St. George the Martyr Southwark and St Mary Newington)'* (1955), pp.39-48; Moorfields was transformed into a public park in 1607 but prior to this, horses, cattle and pigs had occupied the land; Bowden et al., *An Archaeology of Town Commons*, p.58.

²¹⁴ Bowden et al., *An Archaeology of Town Commons*, p.41; H. French, 'Urban common rights, enclosure and the market: Clitheroe Town Moors, 1764-1802', *AHR*, 51 (2003), p.41.

²¹⁵ Lammastide marked the end of the wheat harvest; Darlington (ed.), *Survey of London, vol.25*, pp.39-48; Bowden et al, *An Archaeology of Town Commons*, p.27; on the difficulty of assessing who exercised rights of common in provincial towns, see French, 'The common fields of urban England', pp.149-75

²¹⁶ Public Act, 50 Geo. III, c.191 (1810).

²¹⁷ In 1812, further legislation enabled the Corporation of London to 'sell and dispose of any Part ... of Land in Saint George's Fields', thereby inviting construction on the remaining pasture; Public Act 52 Geo. III, c.211(1812).

²¹⁸ Shaw-Taylor, 'Proletarianisation, parliamentary enclosure and the household economy of the labouring poor, 1750-1850' (Univ. of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1999) & 'Labourers, cows, common rights and parliamentary enclosure', pp.124-25; for the alternative, traditional view, see E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (London, 1993), ch.3.; Neeson, *Commoners*, p.13; Humphries, 'Enclosures, common rights, and women'; J.L. & B.B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer, 1760-1832* (1911; Stroud, 1995); less clear-cut is J.D. Chambers & Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution*, pp.19-20 & 97.

While the evidence is far from definitive for the metropolitan area, it seems reasonable to suggest that London's common grazing rights were dominated by elites and middling sorts decades before parliamentary enclosure acts swept them away. Even in the early eighteenth century, metropolitan commons rarely offered the urban poor an affordable opportunity to keep their own cow. Nevertheless, some commons played a significant role in metropolitan husbandry for much of the period. As late as 1806, John Middleton found that some inhabitants of Stockwell Manor were keeping cattle on South Lambeth Common, despite the fact that they had no right to do so as the land belonged to Vauxhall Manor.²¹⁹ Middleton's interest in this case suggests that it was unusual, and I have been unable to find comparable examples. However, Londoners defended common grazing rights in other ways. In Woolwich, ancient grazing rights were exercised throughout the eighteenth century on an 80-acre common owned by the Crown. Around 1760, the Woolwich vestry successfully defended its rights against enclosure, by opposing the granting of building leases. In the 1770s, an even greater threat emerged as the Board of Ordnance began using the land for artillery practice but local people continued to keep cows on the common. Despite this defiance, the militarization of the land accelerated during the Napoleonic wars and in 1803, the Board of Ordnance took full control by Act of Parliament, finally extinguishing rights to herbage in the process.²²⁰

These cases emphasise that the process of extinguishing common grazing was protracted in parts of the metropolis and that some Londoners energetically defended their perceived rights. Urban commons reveal 'a great deal about the 'politics of entitlement' that ebbed and flowed in urban society'.²²¹ At the same time, they indicate that the creation, control and removal of space for animals were dependant on complex configurations of power in the metropolis and, no doubt, in other cities and towns. While the above suggests that it became more difficult for lower middling and plebeian Londoners to engage in small-scale cow-keeping in the eighteenth century, I have shown that determined entrepreneurs continued to find opportunities to do so.

Domestic pig-keeping was even more widespread and socially diverse. Drawing on probate inventories, Carole Shammas suggests that pig-keeping in London's East End – the parishes of Stepney, Whitechapel, Stratford-Le-Bow, and St Leonards Bromley – doubled from 1.6 to 3.5 per cent between 1661–64 and 1720–29, bucking the pattern of decline seen in smaller towns in the

²¹⁹ F.H.W. Shepherd (ed.), *Survey of London, vol.26: Lambeth: Southern area* (London, 1956), pp.61-62.

²²⁰ A. Saint & P. Guillery, *Survey of London, vol.48: Woolwich* (New Haven & London, 2012), ch. 10; LMA, P97/MRY/49-50, St Mary Magdalene, Woolwich Vestry Minutes (1698-1819); S. Newsome & A. Williams, 'Woolwich Common', English Heritage Research Department Report 98 (2009), pp.7-8; Public Act, 42 Geo III, c.89; 43 Geo III, c.35 & 44 Geo III, c.107; the Board of Ordnance also acquired the 102 acre, Charlton Common.

²²¹ French, 'The common fields of urban England', p.172.

South of England. Meanwhile, the data indicates a negligible decline in East End cow-keeping from 3.1 to 2.9 per cent.²²² These would be remarkable findings, but as Shammaas acknowledges, the available data for the earlier period is limited and although much larger, that for the later period is ‘skewed towards wealthier residents’.²²³ While it may not be possible to pin down how many pig-keepers were active during the eighteenth century, there is a wealth of evidence to show that the practice played a much more significant role in metropolitan life than historians have previously acknowledged.

The prevalence of pigs, as well as chickens and rabbits, among items stolen from plebeian and lower middling households suggests that cottage-style husbandry was common, particularly in outer districts such as Clerkenwell, Shoreditch and Southwark. Victims of such crimes included a coal-dealer, greengrocers, bakers, publicans and labourers. In 1774, William Archer was indicted for stealing a live pig, hen, and five live young chickens, along with other household goods, from a house in Bunhill Row, in the built-up parish of St Luke’s, Old Street.²²⁴ And in the 1820s, a family in Shoreditch were keeping eight fowls and fifteen rabbits in their washhouse,²²⁵ while a Mr Ireland of Tottenham Court Road was feeding several pigs on ‘things used in the house’ and ‘emptied into the trough’.²²⁶

Though a growing proportion of London’s pigs were kept by large-scale operations in the outer ring of the city, domestic pig-keeping did not fall into terminal decline.²²⁷ In 75% of Old Bailey pig theft trials, the crime took place within or in the immediate vicinity of the pig-keeper’s residence. This data demands caution as large-scale piggeries were probably more secure and are, therefore, under-represented. Nevertheless, it is fair to assume that the vast majority of pig-keeping Londoners were small-scale operators, owning fewer than ten animals.²²⁸

²²² Shammaas suggests that household possession of livestock – including cows, sheep, pigs and poultry – fell into general decline in the South of England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, particularly in smaller urban communities. Pigs, she asserts, ‘were the last livestock to die out in towns, but by the early eighteenth century, their numbers, too, had fallen off’; C. Shammaas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990), pp.29-30; 302 & Table 2.2.

²²³ In the first data series, covering 1661-4, only about 16% of adult male decedents left an inventory’; Shammaas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer*, pp. 29-30; 302 & Table 2.

²²⁴ OBSP, t17740112-34 (12/1/1774).

²²⁵ OBSP, t18240407-7 (7/4/1824); see also t18190526-98 (26/5/1819).

²²⁶ OBSP, t18230514-80 (14/5/1823).

²²⁷ Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p.193; S. Tarlow, *The Archaeology of Improvement in Britain, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 2007), p.65, notes that ‘household pig-husbandry was relatively common even in cities, until well into the nineteenth century’.

²²⁸ The number of pigs owned by each victim of theft is only apparent in 21 cases but the data suggests that a high proportion of London’s domestic pig-keepers kept just one or two animals. The largest such sty, Thomas Powell’s in East Smithfield, contained twenty pigs; OBSP, t17900224-68 (24/2/1790).

At all scales, pig-keeping remained a subsidiary activity²²⁹ – rarely in eighteenth-century England did men give ‘pig-keeper’ as their occupation in insurance or probate records.²³⁰ In the metropolitan context, pig-keeping represented an attractive and accessible side-line for a spectrum of ordinary Londoners. The city’s craftsmen and tradesmen probably formed the highest proportion of pig-keepers in the city.²³¹ Those identified in the Old Bailey proceedings include a carpenter, stone mason and baker, as well as victuallers and chandlers. Depending on the scale of their principal business, such individuals generally kept between one and five animals. In 1773, William Barrow, a scavenger, kept three pigs in a sty close to his house in Westminster.²³² This was an ideal subsidiary activity for a scavenger, offering an opportunity to recycle vegetable and animal matter collected from the city’s streets and yards. As one writer observed in the 1830s, pigs were ‘especially valuable to those persons whose other occupations furnish a plentiful supply of food at a trifling expense’.²³³ Inn-keepers were one such group, as underlined by three cases heard in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²³⁴ As well as having access to yard space, victuallers could put their stale beer and food scraps to productive use in a sty. The processing and marketing of food were two of the biggest occupational sectors in the metropolitan economy.²³⁵ The city teemed with inns, taverns, chop-houses, pie shops and bakeries, and each of these businesses provided a potential niche for pigs to serve as living recycling plants. In the 1790s, therefore, we find the keepers of a chandler’s shop in East Smithfield and a ‘cook-shop’ in Brick Lane each fattening four pigs as an appendage to their principal trades.²³⁶ Thus, pig-keeping enabled many metropolitan tradesmen to supplement their income at relatively little expense and with minimal effort.

²²⁹ Malcolmson & Mastoris, *The English Pig*, p.41.

²³⁰ By contrast, ‘pig-dealer’ was used fairly commonly by the late eighteenth century.

²³¹ Jeremy Boulton notes that householders in seventeenth-century Southwark - including inn-holders, bakers, cobblers and tailors - often kept pigs to supplement their incomes; Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, pp.84 & 226.

²³² OBSP, *t17731020-2* (20/10/1773).

²³³ Thomas Bell, *A History of British Quadrupeds* (1837), p.363.

²³⁴ John Thompson kept the Pied Bull at Islington; William Goodall kept the Ram Inn at West Smithfield and Barnard Hales kept the Durham Arms on the Hackney Road; OBSP, *t17850223-95* (23/2/1785), *t17940219-77* (19/2/1794) & *t18140914-21* (14/9/1814).

²³⁵ A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven & London, 2009), p.59; S. Pennell, ‘Great quantities of gooseberry pie and baked clod of beef’: victualling and eating out in early modern London’, in P. Griffiths & M.S.R. Jenner (eds.), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester, 2000), pp.228-59; A.L. Beier, ‘Engine of manufacture: the trades of London’, in Beier & R. Finlay (eds.), *London, 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986), pp.147-8.

²³⁶ OBSP, *t17900224-68* (24/2/1790) & *t17960622-15* (22/6/1796); a tradition of pig-keeping among London’s bakers may date back to the medieval period. John Strype noted that the baker’s halimote court ordered that bakers may ‘safely nourish’ hogs ‘for themselves in their own Houses, or elsewhere, without the Streets and Lanes of the City’; Strype does not give the date of this order but it seems to have predated the sixteenth century; John Strype, *Survey of London* (1720), vol.2, p.343.

Further down the wealth scale, some labourers also managed to engage in small-scale pig-keeping. The Old Bailey Proceedings reveal two such cases, the first, a resident of suburban Hammersmith in the 1790s; and the second, of St Giles' in the 1810s, by which time the area was becoming a rookery.²³⁷ Because pigs fattened cheaply and efficiently – in the 1780s, a piglet was worth approximately 3–4 shillings but within a year a well-fattened hog could fetch at least two pounds²³⁸ – as well as reproducing rapidly, pig-keeping offered an accessible investment opportunity for sections of the urban poor.²³⁹ This is emphasised by the appeal of young pigs to thieves and the fact that while many stolen swine were quickly slaughtered, audacious thieves retained them for fattening. In 1752, James Penprice and Edward Perry were convicted for stealing a black-spotted pig from the sty of Joel Chapman in Rotherhithe. The men 'cut the sty down ... took [the pig] by the tail ... ran it into a boat' and carried it over the Thames to a house in Shadwell, where they had 'laid sand' in a specially prepared sty.²⁴⁰

Contrary to the stipulations of the law, pigs were often kept in sties constructed in the back gardens and yards of houses. Unfortunately, these modest constructions rarely appear in surviving architectural plans and it is unclear what proportion of households kept pigs in different parts of London in the Hanoverian period. Developments in the mid-nineteenth century suggest that the practice may have intensified in certain working-class districts at the end of the Hanoverian period. Patricia Malcolmson has shown that in the Potteries, a slum in Victorian Kensington, pigs became 'the most visible feature of the local landscape, outnumbering people three to one in 1849'. As in the eighteenth century, the vast majority of those involved did so as a side-line to trades such as brickmaking but the proportion of families engaged in this kind of small-scale pig-

²³⁷ This complicates the findings of a recent archaeological report which suggested that consumption of meat, including pork, declined in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as St Giles changed from being a moderately wealthy suburb to a rookery. The report did, however, emphasise that there was considerable variation in land use and wealth levels in St Giles in the Hanoverian period; S. Anthony, *Medieval Settlement to 18th-/19th-Century Rookery; Excavations at Central St Giles, London Borough of Camden, 2006-8*, Museum of London Archaeology Studies Series, 23 (London, 2011).

²³⁸ OBSP, *t17859112-21* (12/1/1785); *t17850223-95* (23/2/1785); the value of pigs fluctuated a great deal: in 1788, a sow was valued at £2 6s, while in 1794, a similar animal was only worth half this amount, at 12s. Moreover, the value of stolen property was a matter of negotiation at the Old Bailey; OBSP, *t17880402-40* (2/4/1788); *t17940430-24* (30/4/1794); on the profitability of pig-keeping, see Humphries, 'Enclosures, common rights, and women', p.31.

²³⁹ OBSP, *t17990911-97* (11/9/1799) & *t181809-277* (9/9/1818); a sow became fertile after just one year, compared to more than three years for a cow. Moreover, a sow produced a litter of several piglets after just four months gestation, whereas a cow produced only one calf (or occasionally two) after nine months; see Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, p.226. John Mortimer, *The Whole Art of Husbandry* (1707), p.184; Richard Bradley, *The Gentleman and Farmer's Guide for the Increase and Improvement of Cattle* (1732) p.64 & *The Complete Grazer* (1767), p.166; William Marshall, *Minutes of Agriculture* (1783), entry for 5 November 1775; Robert Brown, *General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Edinburgh, 1779), p.197; Howard Rock has shown that artisans in New York City relied on hogs as part of a broader informal economy, particularly during economic downturns; H.B. Rock, 'A Delicate Balance: The Mechanics and the City', *The New-York Historical Quarterly*, 63 (April 1979), pp.93-114; McNeur, 'The "Swinish Multitude"', pp.639-60.

²⁴⁰ OBSP, *t17520914-26* (14/9/1752); see also *t17851019-52* (19/10/1785).

keeping may have exceeded that of preceding decades. A report by the Kensington Sewers Committee in 1856 suggests that a remarkable 25–30 per cent of households were involved.²⁴¹

The Old Bailey Proceedings reveal that small-scale pig-keepers lived in close proximity to their animals in the Hanoverian period. House and sty were often close enough for owners to hear their animals ‘grunt’ or ‘squeak’ as thieves disturbed them.²⁴² In more fringe districts such as Clerkenwell, pigs were often let out of their sties during the day, and allowed to roam in their owner’s back-yard. Some animals were even permitted to enter their owner’s living quarters, or were kept in sties erected in the corner of a room. In 1797, an elderly brick-maker’s servant living in suburban Battle Bridge (later King’s Cross) told the court that a ‘porker’ which he had bred ‘used to run about the house’.²⁴³ In some instances, urbanisation appears to have forced people to share their own living space with pigs. In 1814, a resident of Hoxton admitted to keeping an adult pig in a sty erected ‘next [to] the kitchen’ because he ‘had no yard’, and in 1829, a man in Deptford claimed to have kept a sow ‘at the back of my house’ for ‘about a year and a half’.²⁴⁴ These cases may not have been typical, but one is struck by the closeness of the relationship between man and pig, even when the boundary between house and sty was more pronounced. Most pig-keepers would have come into contact with their animals at least twice a day – several described feeding their animals in the evening when they locked the sty, and checking on them again in the morning, when some were let into the yard.

These narratives evince a complex entwining of human and non-human animal lives,²⁴⁵ and help us to understand attitudes towards animals in the Hanoverian period. While livestock probably did become ‘more objectified, more distanced from an investment of human emotion’²⁴⁶ in London, the extent and speed of this change can be exaggerated and fleeting glimpses of sentiment overlooked in everyday interactions. The task of assessing the attitudes or feelings which domestic pig-keepers held towards their animals is fraught with difficulty but some useful observations can be made. First and foremost, these animals were viewed as profitable commodities but ‘Economic-rooted relations are also informed by feeling, sentiment and imagination, all of which have been implicated in people’s links with pigs’.²⁴⁷ Thus, London’s

²⁴¹ Malcolmsen, ‘Getting a living in the slums of Victorian Kensington’, p.34; Kensington Vestry, Minutes of the Sewers Committee (1/4/1856), p.48 cited in Malcolmsen, p.34.

²⁴² OBSP, *t17300704-45* (4/7/1730); *t17520914-26* (14/9/1752);

²⁴³ OBSP, *t17851019-52* (19/10/1785); *t17970920-69* (20/9/1797).

²⁴⁴ OBSP, *t181401112-102* (12/1/1814); OBSP, *t18290219-12* (19/2/1829).

²⁴⁵ D. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago, 2003); Berger, ‘Why look at animals?’.

²⁴⁶ K. Raber, ‘From sheep to meat, from pets to people: animal domestication 1600-1800’ in M. Senior (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals, vol.4: In the Age of Enlightenment* (Oxford & New York, 2007), p.73; Griffin, *England’s Revelry*, p.121; Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*.

²⁴⁷ Malcolmsen & Matoris, *The English Pig*, p.32; Berger, ‘Why look at animals?’, p.16.

pigs may not have been as distanced from human emotion as it might first seem. Small-scale urban pig-keepers became familiar with their animals – sows may have been kept for up to six years for breeding and their young matured for perhaps eight months, providing ample time for relationships to develop.²⁴⁸ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that pig-keepers were so quick to recognise their animals when they were stolen, even when they had already been killed and partly butchered.²⁴⁹

Moreover, some testimonies blur the boundary between business and leisure. In 1803, John Willis, a gentleman ‘in a confidential situation in the Bank’ and a livery stable-keeper on the Hackney Road admitted

I have for some time past, for *amusement* when at home, kept a few rabbits, and some pigs, and have been in the habit of purchasing grains for them of Mr. Lee, a cow-keeper in my neighbourhood.

Willis had been accused of purchasing grains stolen from a cow-keeper’s cart but having asserted his ignorance of the theft and his upright character, was acquitted.²⁵⁰ As well as insisting that theft was beneath a man of his wealth and position, Willis emphasised that he kept his rabbits and pigs for pleasure rather than for financial gain.²⁵¹ While the circumstances of this case were perhaps unusual, it was not uncommon for pig-keepers to express what we might tentatively describe as fondness for their animals. Domestic pig-keepers did not regard their animals as ‘pets’ but their attitudes were framed the kind of ‘existential dualism’ discussed above.²⁵² When pigs were kept in the backyards of houses, entire families became closely involved in their care. In 1765, a resident of Hounslow told the Old Bailey that his ‘wife and daughter put my hogs into the sty; I saw them there, and fed them as usual’ and in the morning ‘My wife, children, and I, went about to see for them’.²⁵³ This kind of behaviour involved a bond of dependency and responsibility which fostered intimate relationships. Just as the pigs relied on the family for food and security, the latter had an invested interest in their animals’ wellbeing and security.

²⁴⁸ One in five victims of pig-theft referred to breeding pigs but the practice was probably even more common than this; OBSP, *t17540116-38* (16/1/1754); *t17880402-40* (2/4/1788); *t17900224-68* (24/2/1790); *t17940219-77* (19/2/1794); *t17960622-15* (22/6/1796).

²⁴⁹ OBSP, *t17940219-77* (19/2/1794); *t17960622-15* (22/6/1796); *t17970920-69* (20/9/1797); *t18110109-75* (9/1/1811); *t18220911-35* (11/9/1822).

²⁵⁰ OBSP, *t18030525-38* (25/5/1803), my italics.

²⁵¹ Victims of rabbit theft sometimes described rearing the animals for sale but also for their own ‘amusement’ or that of a child; OBSP, *t17830604-3* (4/6/1783); *t18270215-18* (15/2/1827).

²⁵² Berger, ‘Why look at animals?’, p.16.

²⁵³ OBSP, *t17650710-50* (10/7/1765).

Porcine intelligence made this relationship much more tangible. In court, pig-keepers were emphatic that their animals could find their way home, even from a thief's den in another parish.²⁵⁴ Pigs were also known to follow their guardians, behaviour which reinforced a sense of mutual trust and reliance. When a baker at Wapping lost his pig in 1826, he told the Old Bailey that it 'ran out after my boy into the street'.²⁵⁵ The above underlines Harriet Ritvo's assertion that it was not alienation but proximity to animals which generated sympathetic attitudes in this period. Yet, while Ritvo focuses on examples of negative proximity – in particular the sight of mistreated horses and cattle in the streets of the city²⁵⁶ – we also need to consider other interactions between man and beast.

The bond between Londoners and their pigs appears to have remained strong until the mid-nineteenth century, when sanitary reformers began to attack the keeping of animals by the urban working class. To many respectable people, urban pigs spoke of 'poverty, bad hygiene and an absence of civilised life'.²⁵⁷ Reforming visitors to the East End reviled against the stinking pigsties which 'abound everywhere'.²⁵⁸ Around the same time, Friedrich Engels was appalled to find that in Manchester, the Irishman 'eats and sleeps' with his pig, and lets 'his children play with it, ride upon it, roll in the dirt with it'.²⁵⁹ For Engels, this was a despicable example of Irish behaviour infecting England's industrialising towns. Yet, as shown above, co-habitation with pigs flourished in London long before the mass migrations of the nineteenth century.²⁶⁰ Indeed, migrants from the countryside had been bringing agricultural skills and rural ways to London for centuries. For these newcomers, pig-keeping provided a sense of continuity as well as an opportunity to make money. At the same time, pig-keeping was part of a lively interchange between 'urban' and 'rural' economic activities, which saw workers moving freely between the city and its agricultural hinterland. Farm labourers in the London basin often took on extra work as industrial workers or as middlemen in the food trade.²⁶¹ Thus, metropolitan pig-keeping highlights the kind of 'urban-

²⁵⁴ OBSP, *t17851019-52* (19/10/1785) & *t17960622-15* (22/6/1796).

²⁵⁵ OBSP, *t18261207-225* (7/12/1826).

²⁵⁶ Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, pp.125-6.

²⁵⁷ Malcolmson & Mastoris, *The English Pig*, p.43.

²⁵⁸ Hector Gavin, *Sanitary Ramblings: Being Sketches and Illustrations of Bethnal Green* (1848), p.87; Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice*, p.111.

²⁵⁹ Engels complained that Manchester's Irish built pig-sties 'against the house wall as he did at home, and if he is prevented from doing this, he lets the pig sleep in the room with himself'; Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, (ed.) V. Kiernan (first published in German, 1845; Harmondsworth, 1987), pp.91-2 & 124-5.

²⁶⁰ Roger Scola asserts that manorial court records from the late eighteenth century show that pig-keeping was well established in Manchester 'before the major waves of immigration from Ireland'; R. Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770-1870* (Manchester, 1992), p.39.

²⁶¹ B.M. Short, 'The south-east: Kent, Surrey and Sussex' in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.5: 1640-1750* (Cambridge, 1984), p.307.

rural interaction' which, as Carl Estabrook rightly suggests, demands much greater attention from historians.²⁶²

As suggested, there was far more acceptance of pig-keeping in the Hanoverian period, when it retained close links to respectable urban trades and lower middling domestic economies. While pigs were condemned for causing nuisance, there were also 'useful'²⁶³ and, as the leniency of juries in pig-nuisance cases suggests, many Londoners defended the practice on these grounds. One reason for growing opposition to pig-keeping in the mid-nineteenth century may, therefore, have been a shift towards high-density activity in poor districts, which undermined earlier perceptions.²⁶⁴ Having shown that a spectrum of Londoners were involved in husbandry in the Hanoverian period, it is important to emphasise that this culture promoted many different forms of interaction between livestock and the wider metropolitan population. Moreover, contrary to Thomas' assumption that urbanites became alienated from livestock,²⁶⁵ it becomes clear that developments in this period often fostered new levels of proximity and familiarity.

The milk trade's shifting geography meant that cowsheds were increasingly erected in the vicinity of houses or commercial properties involved in non-agricultural trades. As a result, a spectrum of middling sorts, tradesmen and labourers came to live or work cheek-by-jowl with the city's herds. Striking evidence of this appears in the 1807 survey of lands and buildings in Saint Saviour's parish, discussed above.²⁶⁶ This identified fourteen cow yards, one to every thirteen streets or alleys. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Southwark's manufacturing zone had been encircled by residential and commercial properties, and as shown in Map 9, it was among these houses and shops that the majority of cowsheds were located. The surveyors described each property's use, as well as the names of its owner and occupier, thus providing remarkable insight into the area's character and the people who lived and worked alongside milch cows. The cow yards were not the only operations involved in the livestock trade – there were several butchers' shops in the area, each with their own slaughter houses.²⁶⁷ Yet, this was not an area reserved for the raising and slaughtering of animals. Table 4 demonstrates the striking diversity of property types and occupational groups abutting the cow yards. At No.65 Queen Street (marked on Map 9), Isaac Joseph's cows were surrounded by residential properties, nine shops (including two chandlers, a

²⁶² C.B. Estabrook, *Urban and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces 1660-1780* (Manchester, 1998), p.10; see also M. Pelling, 'Skirting the city? Disease, social change and divided households in the seventeenth century' in Griffiths & Jenner (eds.), *Londinopolis*, pp.154-75.

²⁶³ Thomas Bell, *A History of British Quadrupeds* (1837), p.363.

²⁶⁴ Gray, *London's Shadows*, p.76; Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, xxix-xxx; Wise, *The Blackest Streets*; Hamlin, *Public health and Social Justice* & 'Nuisances and community in mid-Victorian England', pp.346-79; Sigsworth & Worboys, 'The public's view of public health in mid-Victorian Britain', p.24.

²⁶⁵ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.182.

²⁶⁶ LMA, P92/SAV/0444.

²⁶⁷ LMA, P92/SAV/0444.

basket-maker, a clothier, a barber, an apothecary, a grocer and a cheesemonger) and three alehouses. Despite the presence of a 'large bricklayers yard' and a peppering of sheds, this site was very much part of a residential and commercial zone. Queen Street was inhabited by a spectrum of middling and plebeian Londoners, who would have seen, smelled and perhaps touched these animals. This pattern is repeated throughout the parish. Except for one verdigris manufactory, George Adams' cow yard at 10 Little Guildford St was entirely surrounded by houses while John Frye's site at 63 Duke Street abutted several houses as well as the shops of a tobacconist, baker, brazier, painter and pawnbroker; plus three hatters' workshops.²⁶⁸

As suggested, the rise of stall-feeding probably began to reduce the visibility of London's milch cows in the second half of the eighteenth century, but we should not exaggerate the pace of change. Well into the first half of the nineteenth century, many Londoners remained familiar with the sight of cows being driven to and from pasture.²⁶⁹ Milch cows remained highly visible features of metropolitan life throughout the Hanoverian period. Newspaper reports and Old Bailey depositions suggest that ordinary Londoners were so confident in their presence that many entered cow sheds surreptitiously – neighbours wandered around the yards looking for lost property (including loose poultry); thieves and drunks took to the hay lofts to sleep at night; and children extended their urban playground.²⁷⁰ In 1776, an eight year old boy was trampled to death by cows whilst playing in the yard of the cow-keeper William Guest in Park Lane, near Hyde Park.²⁷¹

Table 4: Use of property neighbouring cow yards in St Saviour's Parish, Southwark, 1807.²⁷²

Property use	Frequency	%
Residential	122	49.5
Yards / Sheds	55	22.3

²⁶⁸ LMA, P92/SAV/0444.

²⁶⁹ This practice was so well-established that cow-keepers were legally entitled to ride through turnpikes toll-free with their animals. In 1796, a cow-keeper at Grays Inn Lane successfully defended this right against a turnpike 'renter'; *Oracle & Public Advertiser* (22/2/1796); see also Public Act, 9 Geo III, c.89, 'An Act for making a Road from the South End of Blackfriars Bridge to the present Turnpike Road cross Saint George's Fields' (1768) & 26 Geo III, c.131, 'An Act for making, widening and keeping in repair certain roads in the several parishes of Lambeth, Newington, St George Southwark...' (1786).

²⁷⁰ OBSP, t18250217-179 (17/2/1825); P. Corfield 'Walking the city streets: the urban odyssey in 18th century England', *Journal of Urban History*, 16 (1990), pp.132-74.

²⁷¹ LL, WACWIC652160463, City of Westminster Coroners' Inquests (18/10/1776).

²⁷² LMA, P92/SAV/0444.

Stables	13	5.3
Gardens	7	2.85
Alehouse	7	2.85
Slaughter House	5	2
Hatters Workshops	4	1.6
Warehouse	4	1.6
Butcher's shop	3	1.1
Bricklayer's shed	2	0.8
Counting House	2	0.8
Chandler's shop	2	0.8
Tobacconist's shop	1	0.4
Baker's shop	1	0.4
Yard for drying linen	1	0.4
Cheesemonger's shop	1	0.4
Carpenter's Workhouses	1	0.4
Basket maker's shop	1	0.4
Barber's Shop	1	0.4
Apothecary's shop	1	0.4
Grocer's shop	1	0.4
Cloathes shop	1	0.4
Tallow chandler's shop	1	0.4
Painter's shop	1	0.4
Brazier's shop	1	0.4
Pawnbroker's shop	1	0.4
Verdigris manufactory	1	0.4
Smith's shop	1	0.4
Tanner's yard	1	0.4
White lead mills	1	0.4
Spinning sheds	1	0.4
Alm's house	1	0.4

Some individuals deliberately sought out physical interaction with livestock. In 1790, Mathew Mulvie, a tailor's assistant, was tried for 'bestiality with a cow' at five o'clock in the afternoon in Tothill Fields. After making 'his first attempt' with a sow 'which broke away from him', Mulvie had more success with one of John Sommers' cows. Caught red-handed by a farm-hand watching 'from a haystack', Mulvie attempted to mitigate his actions by claiming to have been 'very drunk'. A sympathetic jury agreed that it was unclear whether the sexual act had been 'completed' and, after a brief detention, Mulvie was freed. In reporting the case, *Woodfall's Register* commented

‘That it must have been madness to perpetrate such a crime in such a publick place’.²⁷³ While perhaps a rare form of interaction, this case underlines the ease with which Londoners could still gain access to livestock in the late eighteenth century, as well as their diverse motivations for doing so.

This is underlined by the behaviour of London’s thieves. Despite being far less portable than pigs or poultry, and more dangerous to handle, milch cows remained remarkably attractive to thieves. Cow-keepers were particularly vulnerable in the summer months when their animals were let out to graze. In July 1784, Joseph Holmes, a Southwark cow-keeper apprehended a woman with two pans of milk which she had stolen from his cows in Saint George’s Fields. Suspicious that his animals had been milked by ‘persons unknown’ for some time, Holmes was forced to keep watch.²⁷⁴ In the most serious cases, cows were driven out of fields and sold to butchers. In 1773, two men were sentenced to death for stealing a milch cow belonging to Charles Laycock from his fields in Islington. The pair drove the animal several miles overnight to a slaughterhouse in Stepney, but Laycock ‘received intelligence’ of the crime and discovered the carcass.²⁷⁵ In 1782, another ‘eminent Cow-keeper’ in Islington, Mrs Sibbons, had a calf and nine pigs snatched from her yard.²⁷⁶ In 1789, the problem was sufficiently serious in Camberwell for the vestry to offer a ten pound reward for the conviction of those ‘stealing any horse, bullock, cow or sheep from any field or common of pasture within this parish’.²⁷⁷ More frequently perhaps, animals were driven to local pounds in exchange for an illegitimate reward. This behaviour prompted regulatory action in the 1730s but continued into the early nineteenth century.²⁷⁸

At the same time, a distinctive feature of metropolitan milk consumption promoted legitimate interaction between people and cows. Distrust of milk-sellers became so entrenched in the eighteenth century that many customers demanded to see their milk being taken from the cow to

²⁷³ *Diary or Woodfall’s Register* (18/9/1790); on sexual interactions with livestock on rural farms, see C.J. Griffin, ‘Animal maiming, intimacy and the politics of shared life: the bestial and the beastly in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37 (2012), pp.301-16.

²⁷⁴ SHC, QS2/6/1784/MIC/57, Surrey Quarter Sessions: sessions bundles, case of Eleanor Harris, ‘The Information of Joseph Whiting Homes of the parish of Saint George Southwark ... Cow Keeper’ (19/7/1784).

²⁷⁵ OBSP, t450190499 (16/11/1773).

²⁷⁶ *General Evening Post* (24-26/1/1782).

²⁷⁷ SLHL, 2536, parish of St Giles, Camberwell vestry minutes (29/10 – 5/11/1789).

²⁷⁸ In March 1731/2, the Court of Aldermen ordered that ‘persons who bring in stray cattle shall give their true name and address to the Keeper of the Green-Yard pound’ in Cripplegate, ‘and shall not be rewarded until 48 hours later; to prevent persons from driving cattle from fields ... and giving fictitious names’; LMA, COL/SP/05/084; those involved in the practice of driving animals to the Green Yard were sometimes accused of animal theft at the Old Bailey; for cases involving cattle, see OBSP, t17320223-9 (23/2/1732) & t18350202-586 (2/2/1835).

ensure its authenticity and quality.²⁷⁹ While Matt Bramble's claim that London's milk 'was lowered with hot water, [and] frothed with bruised snails'²⁸⁰ was exaggerated for comic effect, the adulteration of milk was widespread and despite infuriating consumers, enabled vulnerable milk-sellers to stay in business.²⁸¹ Increasing demand for quality-assured milk gave rise to new modes of retailing in the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁸² Discerning customers could visit the cow-keeper's premises in person or send a servant to watch a cow being milked. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, some cow-keepers sought to improve this experience and enhance their respectability by constructing dairy shops in front of their cow yards, to face the street. George Scharf (1788–1860) depicted this kind of arrangement in 1825 as part of a planned (but uncompleted) study of London's changing shop-scape. Scharf's eye was caught by a cow-keeper's shop in Golden Lane (Plate 4), on the City's northern boundary. As well as highlighting its then old fashioned façade, Scharf depicts several cows waiting to be milked behind a low wooden partition at the back of the shop, adjacent to the counter. While much more refined than a cow yard, this plan continued to enable customers to see, hear, smell and even touch the animals which supplied their milk.

Far from being a source of embarrassment, the connection between animals and consumables was accepted and often highly valued. As discussed in Chapter 2, in the second half of the eighteenth century, trade cards for some metropolitan shops provided glimpses of mill-horses contributing to the production of expensive goods, such as snuff and paint.²⁸³ And in the same period, perfumers, barbers and apothecaries invited customers, and their servants, to see 'bear grease' – a pomade for hair and wigs – 'cut from' recently slaughtered Brown Bears to authenticate an expensive and exotic product.²⁸⁴ Scharf noted that he selected the Golden Lane site to compare it

²⁷⁹ Atkins, 'The milk trade of London', p.257.

²⁸⁰ London milk was sometimes referred to as 'Blue Milk'; Lane, *Jane Austen and Food*, p.12; Smollet, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771; 1998), p.122.

²⁸¹ Somewhat unfairly, Thomas Baird condemned what he regarded as the dairyman's shameless greed, for 'their profit is surely so great not to tempt them to any adulteration'; *General view of the Agriculture of the County of Middlesex* (1793), p.13.

²⁸² Charles Dickens described the dairyman's water pump as 'The Cow with the Iron Tail'; *Household Words: A Weekly Journal* (New York, 1851), vol.2, p.145.

²⁸³ Civet cats, from which 'civet' – a very expensive scented glandular secretion – was extracted, were commonly featured on the trade cards and signs of perfume shops, or referenced in shop names, such as 'The Civet Cat' and 'The Civet Cat and Rose'; some shopkeepers may also have exhibited their living civet cats to customers; C. Plumb, 'Exotic animals in eighteenth-century Britain (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2010), p.74; see British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, Trade cards Banks 93.29, Trade card of Charles Lillie, perfumer at 'The City of Barcelona', the corner of Beauford Buildings in the Strand, London (before 1736); Arthur Rothwell, *Arthur Rothwell, per-fumer, at the Civet-cat and Rose. In New Bond Street, Lon-don (Late partner with Mr. James Smyth). Imports, makes and sells...all sorts of perfumes, snuffs, &c.* (1740); William Bayley kept the 'Civet Cat' in Cockspur-Street, St. James's, *London Chronicle* (16-19/10/1762).

²⁸⁴ Plumb, 'Exotic animals', pp.74-5; small pots of bear grease could sell for between one shilling and a guinea. Extinct in Britain by the tenth or eleventh century, Brown Bears were imported from North America, Scandanavia or Russia; 'Reeve's Perfumery Warehouse and Ornamental Hair Manufactory' on

with the later and more elegant Westminster Dairy, 'an elegant Milk Shop in the Quadrant, Piccadilly' (Plate 5). In doing so, the artist highlighted changes in signage and shop decoration in the Regency period but more strikingly, the withdrawal of milch cows from public view. This marked the early stages of an accelerating separation of milk production and consumption in the nineteenth century.

Plate 4: George Scharf, *A Cowkeeper's shop in Golden lane* (drawing, 1825).



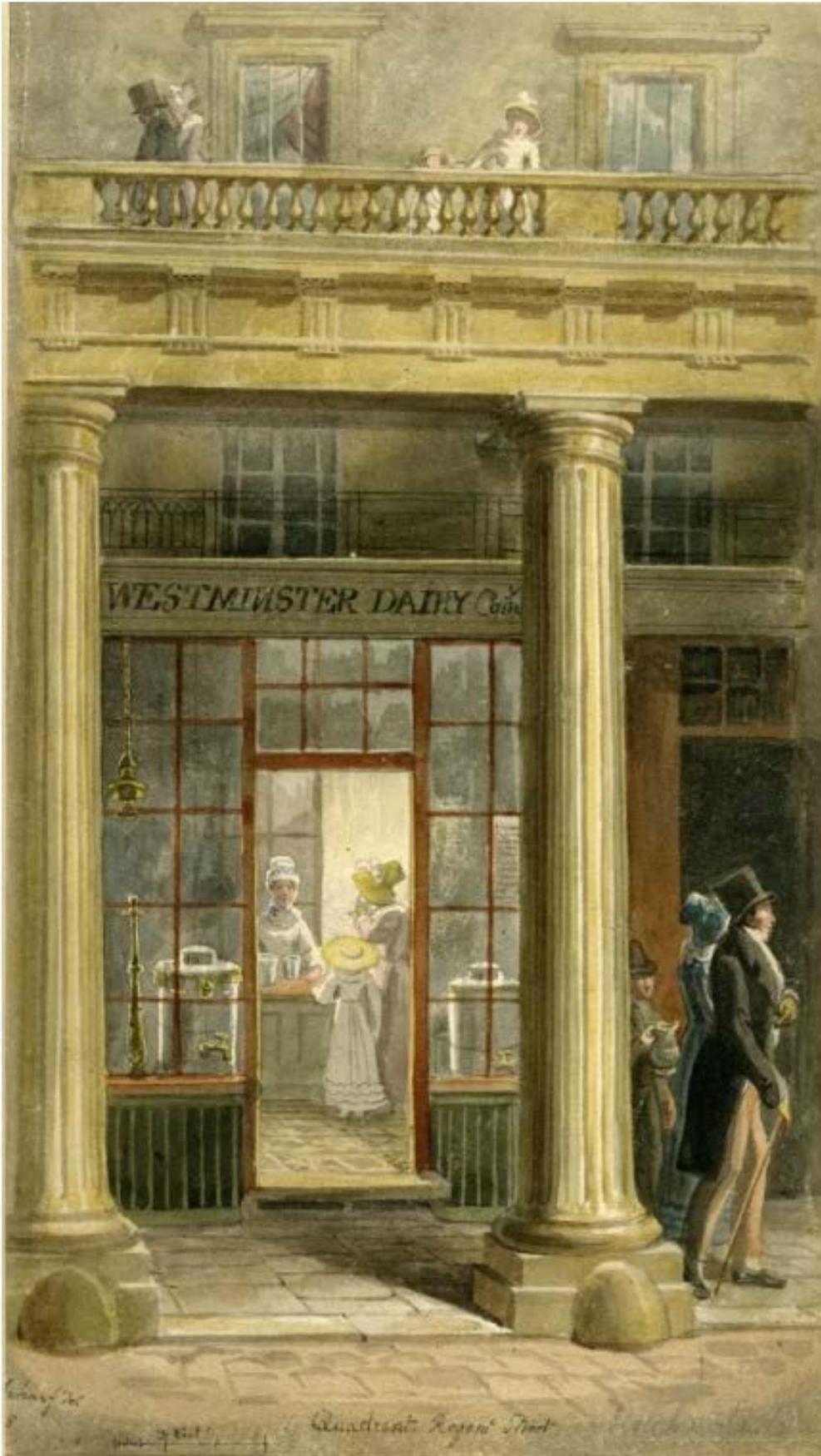


Plate 5: George Scharf, *The Westminster Dairy in the Quadrant, Regent Street, near Piccadilly Circus* (drawing, 1825).

In parallel with these developments, some wealthy Londoners benefited from a door-to-door milking service, as shown in the 1787 print, *View of Bloomsbury Square* (Plate 6). At the heart of this polite scene, a milkmaid can be seen driving three cows, with a stick in one hand and a pail in the other. Their presence arouses no surprise or concern implying that, like the carriage horses featured nearby, milch cows were an accepted feature of West End life. Indeed, ‘milk walks’ were intimately connected to the polite fashion for *rus in urbe*.²⁸⁵ This is emphasised by a more vibrant depiction of Hanover Square, completed in 1769 (see Plate 7) by Elias Martin (1739–1818), in which a care-free milkmaid leaves two cows to graze among a throng of polite walkers.²⁸⁶ Yet, as shown by a memorandum published by the Southwark cow-keeper, William Gibbons in 1783, this acceptance was conditional. Banned from sending his animals into the City for allowing them to walk on the pavement,²⁸⁷ Gibbons implored his customers to send their servants to collect from his premises in Blackman Street. As a further guarantee, he published a sworn affidavit guaranteeing the purity of his milk.²⁸⁸

Demand for door-to-door milking was probably even greater when it came to the purchase of ass’s milk. Because its purveyors charged a high premium for its curative properties, customers had to be sure that they were being sold unadulterated milk from a genuine ass. This activity attracted the attention of Thomas Legg, the author of *Low Life*, who noted that between five and six in the morning, ‘People who keep She-Asses about Brumpton, Knightsbridge, Hoxton and Stepney’ prepared ‘to run with their Cattle all over the Town, to be milked for the Benefit of sick and infirm Persons’.²⁸⁹ In the 1770s, a leading family of ass-keepers offered to lease out their animals to be milked in ‘Town or Country where Gentlemen & Ladies may be served in the best manner, at their own Houses any hour in the Day, at a very Reasonable Rate’.²⁹⁰ In light of William Gibbons’ misfortune, it is revealing that another ass-keeper’s trade card promised that his animals were ‘*carefully drove* to any Person’s House in City or Suburbs’ from Stoke Newington.²⁹¹ Polite society could accept the presence of cattle in the metropolis but only if their guardians could prevent them from causing nuisance (see Chapter 5).

²⁸⁵ L. Williams, ‘Rus in urbe: greening the English town, 1660-1760’ (PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1998); T. Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Square: Gardens in the Midst of Town* (New Haven & London, 2012).

²⁸⁶ Elias Martin, ‘View of Hanover Square’ (oil on canvas, 1769). Private Collection; see also Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Square*.

²⁸⁷ Public Act, 6 Geo. II, c.26, City Paving Act (1765), directed that ‘if any person ... shall wilfully ride, lead or drive, any horse, ass, mule, other cattle ... upon any part of the said foot pavements in the city or liberties’ they would receive a 10s fine for the first offence, 20s for the second and 40s for subsequent offences. But the Corporation of London appears to have taken further action to ban Gibbons.

²⁸⁸ LMA, SC/GL/TCC/Gibbons (W), memorandum, dated September 1783; Atkins, ‘The milk trade of London’, p.257.

²⁸⁹ Thomas Legg, *Low Life* (1764), p.27.

²⁹⁰ LMA, SC/GL/TCC/Prockter (1775).

²⁹¹ LMA, SC/GL/TCC/Parker (1754), my italics.

Plate 6: Robert Pollard after Edward Dayes, *View of Bloomsbury Square* (Etching & aquatint, 1787) [Detail].

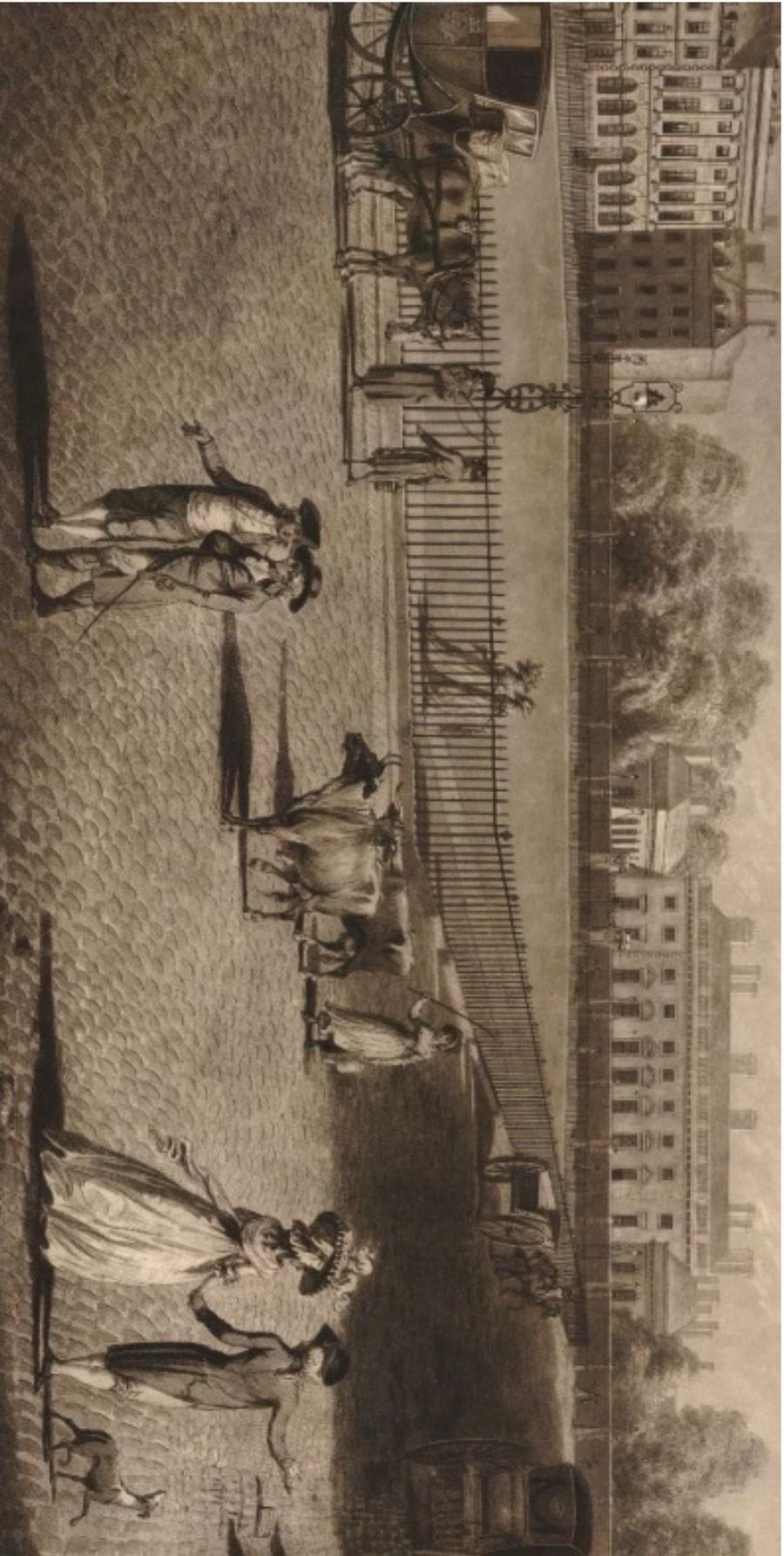


Plate 7: Elias Martin. *View of Hanover Square* (oil on canvas, 1769) [Detail].



The above suggests that metropolitan consumer culture placed a degree of pressure on cow-keepers to keep their animals in a respectable state. If not out of sympathy for the animals, then for their own health, customers did not want to drink milk extracted from filthy or sickly beasts. Thus, we should not necessarily read back criticism from the 1850s into the eighteenth century. While some cow-sheds were becoming over-crowded in the late eighteenth century, intensification accelerated after 1800 as cows began to live most of their lives indoors.²⁹² It would be a mistake, therefore, to describe eighteenth-century cowsheds as nascent factory farms.

Moreover, consumer interaction with milch cows involved more than a desire to ensure quality and authenticity. At a time when the fashion for *rus in urbe* was in the ascendancy, the milch cow played a significant role in urban recreation. The fashionability of milk in this period was influenced by several factors, including growing artistic and literary interest in the pastoral. Valenze asserts that milk had the same effect as a pastoral work of art: ‘it offered a tonic for those who were weary of the demands of a rich and over-refined society’.²⁹³ While valid, this interpretation overlooks the supplier of this milk, the cow, and reinforces the traditional juxtaposition of urban and rural culture. Yet, in London, the consumption of milk was one of the ways that refined urban society responded to living in an agropolis.

London’s parks, pleasure gardens and suburbs were alluring recreational venues in the Hanoverian period, offering relief from urban hubbub as well as opportunities to exercise and socialise.²⁹⁴ Milch cows were intimately linked to this culture. Plate 8, a detail from a 1730s topographical view of London from Islington features several polite Londoners walking through fields fringing the north of the city. In the immediate foreground, a well-dressed man has entered a fenced enclosure to fish in the Upper Pond, seemingly unconcerned by the nearby cows. In the right centre-ground, a gentleman accompanied by his yapping dog approaches a large horned cow.²⁹⁵ Analysis of this behaviour broadens Pelling’s suggestion that semi-rural suburbs were integral to metropolitan life, while also emphasising that many Londoners chose to interact with livestock for pleasure.²⁹⁶

²⁹² It was only from the 1840s that customers increasingly began to purchase their milk from dairy shops, rather than from the cowshed itself; Atkins, ‘The milk trade of London’, pp.258-61.

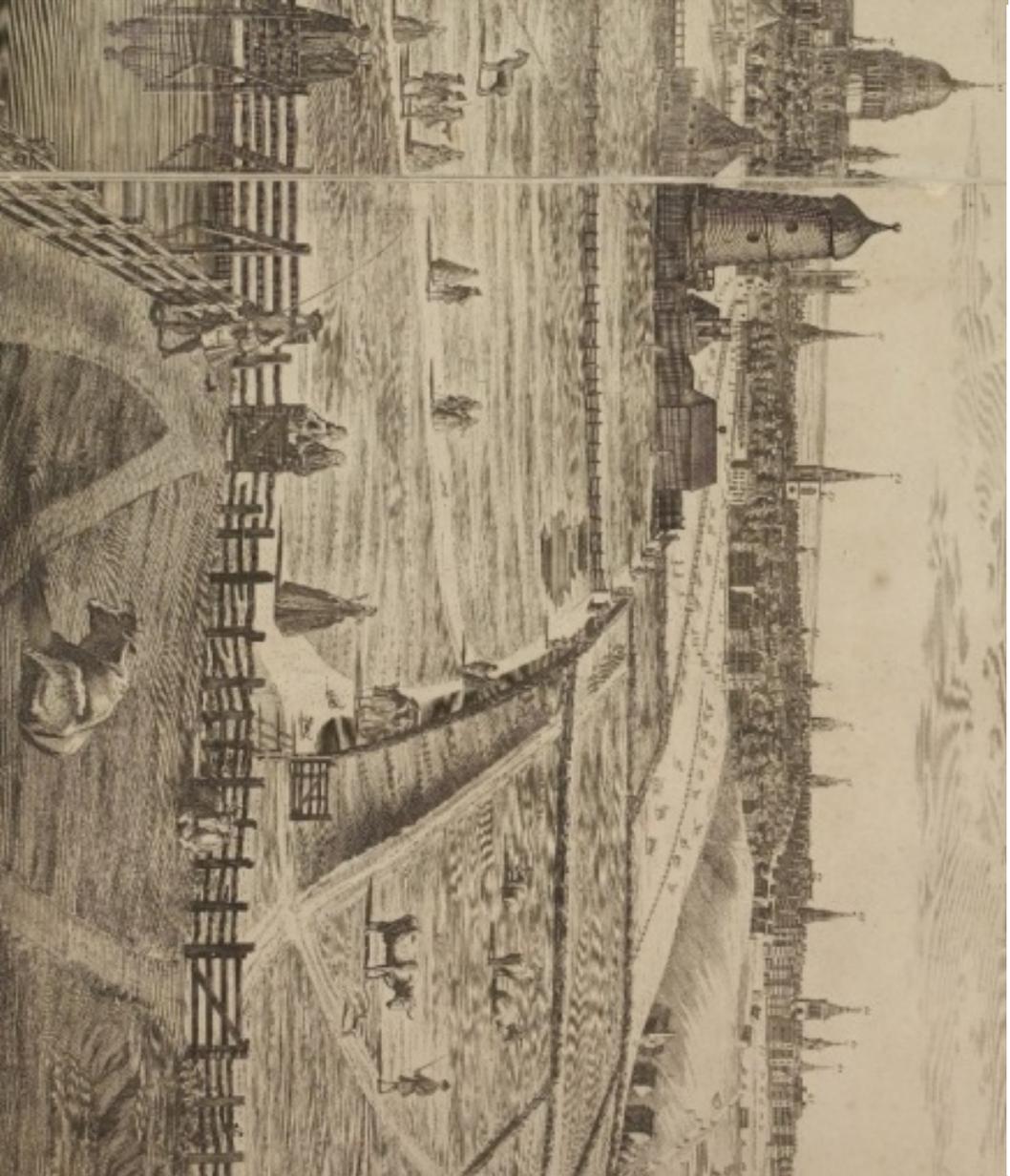
²⁹³ Valenze, *Milk*, p.116.

²⁹⁴ See Chapter 4; Williams, ‘Rus in urbe’; A. O’Byrne, ‘Walking, rambling, and promenading in eighteenth-century London: a literary and cultural history’ (PhD thesis, University of York, 2003), esp. pp.133-66.

²⁹⁵ William Burgess, a fifteen year-old Marylebone resident often ‘took a walk in the fields’ around his family home; LMA, F/WHB/001, Diary of William Hugh Burgess (Jan 1788-June 1789).

²⁹⁶ Margaret Pelling, ‘“Skirting the city?”’, pp.154-75.

Plate 8: Thomas Bowles III, *A New and Exact Prospect of the North Side of the City of London taken from the Upper Pond near Islington* (Etching & engraving, 1730). [Detail].



Similar images appeared into the 1790s, by which time they may have become more idealised.²⁹⁷ In the early nineteenth century, the spread of brickfields and dust-heaps, combined with the gradual withdrawal of grazing herds, began to erode the pastoral qualities of London's urban fringe. Yet, when Charles Jenner satirised the condition of London's suburbs in 1772, he assured his readers that 'the following trifles ... were not dictated by spleen' and should be 'read with candour'. In one of Jenner's *Town Eclogues*, a fictional poet complains

Where'er around I cast my wand'ring eyes,
 Long burning rows of fetid bricks arise,
 And nauseous dunghills swell in mould'ring heaps,
 Whilst the fat sow beneath their covert sleeps.
 I spy no verdant glade, no gushing rill,
 No fountain bubbling from the rocky hill,
 But stagnant pools adorn our dusty plains,
 Where half-starv'd cows wash down their meal of grains.
 No traces here of sweet simplicity,
 No lowing herd winds gently o'er the lea,
 No tuneful nymph, with cheerful roundelay,
 Attends, to milk her kine, at close of day²⁹⁸

Interestingly, this poem associates urbanisation with the loss of urban natures as well as the intensification of pig- and cow-keeping, discussed above. Yet, as Jenner acknowledged, this dystopian vision had not materialised. Indeed, metropolitan polite society continued to enjoy certain pastoral bovine rituals throughout the Hanoverian period. Writing from Strawberry Hill in June 1752, Horace Walpole celebrated having 'a syllabub under the cow', by which he meant milking a cow into a glass of cider or ale. For Walpole, this was one of the glorious benefits of leading 'quite a rural life' together with, or so he claimed, sheep-shearing, haymaking and fishing.²⁹⁹ Yet, there was no need to flee the city to enjoy these 'rural' treats as *lactarium* could be found in metropolitan parks and pleasure gardens. The most fashionable emerged in St James' Park, where the resident herd began to inspire pastoral poems, paintings and prints in the late

²⁹⁷ See LMA Prints collection, Charles White after anon, *View of the River Thames from the end of Chelsea* (engraving, 1794), which depicts lovers embracing in an Arcadian setting featuring a milkmaid and cow.

²⁹⁸ Charles Jenner, *Town eclogues* (1772), p.27, 'Eclogue IV: The Poet'.

²⁹⁹ Horace Walpole to George Montagu, 6 June 1752 in Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford: Including Numerous Letters now First Published from the Original Manuscripts* (ed.), [anon], 6 vols. (1840), vol.2, p.425; Lane, *Jane Austen and Food*, p.69.

1740s.³⁰⁰ Visiting in 1765, Pierre-Jean Grosley was delighted to find udder-fresh cow's milk 'served, with all the cleanliness peculiar to the English, in little mugs at the rate of a penny a mug'.³⁰¹



Plate 9: Attributed to Joseph Nickolls, *St James's Park and the Mall*, (Oil on canvas, after 1745). [Detail].

³⁰⁰ Anon, *The Red Cow's Speech, To a Milk-Woman, In St. J---S's P---K* (c.1750), a brief tale about a talking cow and a very surprised milkmaid. After deliberately kicking over the woman's pail, the cow proclaims 'A long Winter; a green Spring; / A fine Summer; God bless the King.'

³⁰¹ Pierre Jean Grosley, *A Tour to London: or, new observations on England, and its inhabitants*. By M. Grosley, F.R.S. Member of the Royal Academies of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, (trans.), Thomas Nugent, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1772), vol.1, p.87.

Grosley's experience is brought to life by *St James's Park and the Mall*, a vibrant conversation piece attributed to Joseph Nickolls (active 1726–55), thought to have been painted after 1745 (Plate 9). In the immediate foreground (A), a large milk cow rests in the shade of a tree. Nearby, several well-dressed men, women and children gather around a milkmaid's stall (B). A boy (C) reaches out to receive his cup of warm milk and a young woman gulps hers down with evident gusto (D). Meanwhile, a fashionable young man (E) directs his companions to sample this paradoxically Arcadian urban treat.

Traditionally, this image has interested historians because it bustles with human activity and promotes London as a place of polite sociability where different social groups rub shoulders.³⁰² By contrast, the park's bovine occupants and their interactions with people have been largely overlooked. As discussed in Chapter 4, analysis of eighteenth-century sociability has tended to obscure the strong appeal of animal companionship in this period. Yet, Grosley intriguingly observed that grazing cows gave 'the walks a lively air, which banishes solitude from them when there is but little company'.³⁰³ Several milch cows (F) can be seen grazing in an area bordering the footpath. A small wooden fence attempts to separate man and beast but at least three people can be seen walking among the herd (G). Meanwhile, a horned cow crosses onto the footpath (H) taking two ladies by surprise. Behind them, a milkmaid drives a pair of cows (I) towards a gate, presumably to be milked or to be taken to fresh pasture. To the right of the image (J), a group of men and women pause to admire the cows. To some extent, consuming milk in this way juxtaposed the artificiality of the urban shop. As Claire Walsh has shown, shop keepers worked hard to manufacture particular conditions in their shop spaces, whereas the appeal of fresh milk depended on its associations with the natural and the pastoral.³⁰⁴ Yet, the authenticity of this experience is questionable – after all, the St James's Park cows were milked in an idyllic glade but it was one managed by gardeners, divided by footpaths, and surrounded by streets.³⁰⁵

³⁰² E. Einberg, *Manners & morals: Hogarth and British painting 1700-1760* (Exhibition catalogue, Tate, 1987), p.132; C. Lloyd & K. Barron, *The Quest for Albion: Monarchy and the Patronage of British Painting* (London, 1998), p.62; D. Shawe-Taylor, *The Conversation Piece: Scenes of Fashionable Life* (London, 2009), pp.94-5.

³⁰³ Pierre Jean Grosley, *A Tour to London* (Dublin, 1772), vol.1, p.87.

³⁰⁴ C. Walsh, 'Shop design the display of goods in eighteenth-century London', *Journal of Design History*, 8 (1995), pp.157-76.

³⁰⁵ In 1790s, a cow-keeper from Tothill Fields, accompanied by a teenage milkmaid, took some of her herd to the Green Park at six o'clock in the morning, milked them at the entrance to the park and then drove them back to pasture about nine o'clock in the evening; OBSP, *t17970920-12* (20/9/1797).

Plate 10: William Hogarth, *The Four Times of the Day: Evening* (Oil on canvas, 1736).



The pleasure gardens of suburban Islington and Marylebone may have achieved a more convincingly pastoral effect. On a pleasant August evening in 1767, Syllas Neville (1741–1840) – a respectable bachelor lodging in Bloomsbury – relaxed at Islington’s White Conduit House. At eight thirty, he ‘drank a pint of milk warm from the cow’ which, he later wrote, ‘I would do oftener, had I not so far to go over the stones to get at it’. After gulping down his milk, Neville looked out over the fields towards the city, and observed ‘What thick air we breathe in London! The smoke appears like an immense cloud over it, when seen from the country’.³⁰⁶ Here is another complex and intriguing statement. Inspired by the experience of drinking milk from a cow, Neville reflected on Islington’s rural appearance and London’s urban otherness. In doing so, he appeared to invoke the symbolic juxtaposition of milk and soot, discussed above.³⁰⁷ But we can perhaps draw stronger parallels between Neville’s perceptions and an earlier view of Islington by William Hogarth. *The Four Times of the Day: Evening*, painted in 1736 (Plate 10). This depicts a cow being milked on a patch of land dividing Sadler’s Wells theatre and the *Sir Hugh Middleton*, a busy tavern and popular place of resort. Traditionally, historians have read the cow in this image as underlining Islington’s ‘near-rural setting’³⁰⁸ but Hogarth was alert to the area’s urbanization. Bearing in mind Islington’s expanding role in London’s milk trade, Hogarth’s cow may, in fact, symbolise the area’s emerging urbanity more than its rural traditions. At the same time, this image emphasises that urbanisation promoted close contact with livestock. A family of well-dressed citizens take an evening stroll within a few metres of the milch cow. Hogarth takes comic advantage of this proximity – by careful placement of the animal’s horns, he identifies the patriarch as a cuckold. Meanwhile, the cow’s swollen udders mirror the condition of his heavily pregnant wife. Hogarth may even be likening the woman’s unborn child, a bastard, to the milch cow’s calf, a creature which farmers often considered an inconvenience. Read as such, this image emerges as a characteristically rich Hogarthian study of urbanisation and the entwined lives of men and beasts in the metropolis.

The above convincingly asserts Hanoverian London’s identity as a thriving agropolis, undermining the traditional assumption that Londoners became ‘agriculturally unproductive’ in this period.³⁰⁹ On the contrary, it shows that cow- and pig-keeping amounted to dynamic animal economies which played a significant role in the supply of animal products to metropolitan consumers. Moreover, it shows that interaction with livestock was not restricted to a narrow band of farmers, drovers and butchers. A spectrum of Londoners took part in metropolitan husbandry

³⁰⁶ Syllas Neville, *The Diary of Syllas Neville, 1767-1788* (ed.), B. Cozens-Hardy (London, 1950), p.22, ‘3/8/1767’.

³⁰⁷ Phythian-Adams, ‘Milk and soot’.

³⁰⁸ M. Hallett & C. Riding, *Hogarth* (London, 2006), p.135.

³⁰⁹ Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry*, p.18.

and an even more numerous and diverse group encountered cows and pigs due to the location of their homes and workplaces, or as a result of their recreational, criminal and sexual behaviour.

Chapter 2

Equine Industriousness & London's Industrial Revolution

In recent decades, some historians have begun to look beyond the contribution of coal and steam in the industrial revolution, which has tended to dominate orthodox approaches to the subject, and have drawn attention to new supplies of labour and the increasing intensity of work.³¹⁰ Jan de Vries proposed that the industrial revolution needed to be put in the context of an 'industrious revolution'. He argued that attention should be 'shifted from the site of new technologies to the site of new supplies of labour, of new aspirations, and of new forms of behaviour in which the special contribution of the industrial revolution inserted itself'.³¹¹ With respect to input, de Vries asserted that household labour was reallocated 'from goods and services for direct consumption to marketed goods', the 'market-orientated labour of women and children' became 'more extensive', and 'the pace or intensity of work' increased.³¹² For de Vries, the interaction of the household's changing functions as 'a unit of coresidence and reproduction, of production and labour power, of consumption and distribution among its members, and of transmission across generations' resulted in the emergence of an 'industrious revolution' between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries.³¹³

Supporting this model, Voth and Muldrew have shown that, contrary to earlier assumptions, the calories available to workers in eighteenth-century England did not restrict their contribution of labour.³¹⁴ Moreover, by examining the activities of more than 2,800 Old Bailey witnesses 'at the

³¹⁰ P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: An Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England* (1st edn. in English, 1928; revised edn., London, 1961); D. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge, 1969), p.41; M.C. Jacob, *Scientific Culture and the Making of the Industrial West* (Oxford, 1997); J. Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches. Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (New York & Oxford, 1990); K. Bruland, 'Industrialisation and technological change', in R. Floud & P. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Vol.1, Industrialisation, 1700-1860* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.117-46; R.C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2009); E. Griffin, *A Short History of the British Industrial Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2010); J.A. Goldstone, 'Efflorescences and economic growth in world history: rethinking the "rise of the West" and the industrial revolution', *Journal of World History*, 13 (2002), pp.323-89; N.F.R. Crafts, 'Steam as a general purpose technology: a growth accounting perspective', *Economic Journal*, 114 (2004), pp.338-51.

³¹¹ J. de Vries, 'The industrial revolution and the industrious revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 54 (1994), p.262.

³¹² De Vries, 'The industrial revolution', p.257.

³¹³ De Vries, 'The industrial revolution', p.256.

³¹⁴ H.J. Voth, 'Going short and working little? Labour intensity and energy availability in eighteenth-century England', *Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure Working Paper Series*, No.4 (1996) & *Time and Work in England 1750-1830* (Oxford, 2000); C. Muldrew, *Food Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2011); Voth and Muldrew question the findings of R.W. Fogel, 'New sources and new

time of the crime', Voth has plausibly suggested that 'annual labour input grew, between a fifth and a quarter' in England between 1760 and 1831, due to changes in the 'weekly and annual rhythm of work and rest'.³¹⁵

Several kinds of worker have received attention. While Muldrew focusses on agricultural labourers,³¹⁶ Samuel argues that human 'hand technology' and sweat were key in steelmaking, construction and many other trades.³¹⁷ Meantime, Berg has shown the importance of female and child workers in the textile industry before and after the arrival of steam-powered spinning.³¹⁸ Such studies have made an invaluable contribution by highlighting the existence of 'other' industrial revolutions in which human skill, sweat and muscle played a key role. Yet, Berg rightly demands that historians continue to 'seek out new frontiers of primary microeconomic research and new frameworks of analysis'.³¹⁹ One such frontier, which has received virtually no consideration to-date, is the role of animal, and most importantly equine, industriousness.³²⁰ But rather than thinking about this contribution in isolation, I assert the need for a more ecological approach to the industrial revolution and an unbounding of the social to recognise the contribution of human-animal units.³²¹

The core assumption that equine power became less important during the British industrial revolution has not been tested systematically. In part, this is because British animal studies have

techniques for the study of secular trends in nutritional status, health, mortality, and the process of aging', *Historical methods*, 26 (1993), pp.5-43 & 'The conquest of high mortality and hunger in Europe and America: timing and mechanisms' in P. Higonnet, D.S. Landes & H. Rosovsky (eds.), *Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth, and Economic Development Since the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1991), pp.33-71.

³¹⁵ Gregory Clark has reasonably questioned whether Voth's samples are large enough to convincingly support his central finding but acknowledges that his method is correct in principle; Voth, *Time and Work in England*, p.270; G. Clark, 'Book review: *Time and Work in England, 1750-1830*. By Hans-Joachim Voth', *Journal of Economic History*, 61 (2001), pp.1123-1124.

³¹⁶ Muldrew, *Food Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*.

³¹⁷ R. Samuel, 'Workshop of the world: steam power and hand technology in mid-Victorian Britain', first published in *History Workshop*, 3 (1977), pp.6-72, reproduced in J. Hoppit & E.A. Wrigley (eds.), *The Industrial Revolution in Britain: II* (Oxford & Cambridge, Mass., 1994), pp.197-250.

³¹⁸ M. Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain* (2nd edn., London & New York, 1994), p.2; see also J. Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010); P. Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650-1750* (London, 1994), ch.4 & 'The female labour market in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *EcHR*, 42 (1989), pp.328-53.

³¹⁹ Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p.4.

³²⁰ A rare exception is R.L. Hills, *Power in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1970), passim, which highlights the importance of horse-powered machines in the English textile industry in the final quarter of the eighteenth century; see also A. Pacey, *The Maze of Ingenuity: Ideas and Idealism in the Development of Technology* (1974; 2nd edn., Cambridge, Mass & London, 1992), pp.164-66; A.E. Musson, *The Growth of British Industry* (London, 1978), p.109.

³²¹ P. Joyce & T. Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon, 2010); B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social – An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford, 2005).

rarely engaged with economic history. But here too, despite extensive recent work on the industrial revolution – much of which highlights the need to look beyond a narrow band of technological innovations – equine labour continues to be sidelined by coal and steam.³²² Wrigley acknowledges the importance of ‘Animal muscle power’ in the eighteenth century but argues that this also symbolized the ‘constraints of an organic economy’ because ‘muscle energy depended on plant photosynthesis’. Coal, he suggests, provided the critical ‘escape route’: by 1700, half of English energy consumption was supplied by coal, up from a tenth in the mid-sixteenth century, when animal and human power remained dominant. By the end of the eighteenth century, the proportion ‘exceeded three-quarters, and by 1850 was over 90 per cent’. While Wrigley’s core assertion is convincing, such calculations leave remarkably little room for the kind of equine usefulness identified below. Yet, as Wrigley admits, energy consumption data does not do justice to equine utility. Indeed, he acknowledges that ‘the energy output derived from draught animals rose much more substantially’ than current data suggests.³²³ While coal demands recognition, this need not obscure the importance of equine power.³²⁴ As Roche asserts, the nineteenth-century’s ‘massive increase in energy requirements’ created ‘absolutely no need to shed at a stroke the calorific inputs of the good old horse’.³²⁵

In this section, I extend de Vries’ concept of the ‘industrious revolution’ to incorporate animals, and particularly horses, into London’s industrial revolution. In doing so, I emphasise the need for a ‘use-centred’ approach to the study of technological progress, to look beyond novelty and to assess established technologies which continued to function alongside new ones. As Edgerton stressed, even in the twentieth-century, horsepower was ‘not a left-over ... the gigantic horse-drawn metropolis of 1900 was new’.³²⁶ In this vein, I show that animals were at the forefront of dramatic economic and technological change in the Hanoverian period.³²⁷ The accelerating use

³²² Bruland, ‘Industrialisation and technological change’, pp.117-46; P.M. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1820* (Manchester & New York, 2008); J. Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700-1850* (New Haven & London, 2009).

³²³ E.A. Wrigley, *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution*, (Cambridge, 2010), pp.16, 84, 239, 38 & 98; P. Warde, *Energy Consumption in England & Wales, 1560-2000* (Naples, 2007), p.45, table 4.

³²⁴ E.A. Wrigley, *Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge, 1988), p.74, acknowledges that ‘horses were an important source’ of energy in the textile and other manufacturing industries ‘until the last decades of the [eighteenth] century and beyond’.

³²⁵ D. Roche, ‘Equestrian culture in France from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century’, *P&P*, 199 (2008), p.118 & *La Culture Équestre de l’Occident XVI-XIX Siècle: l’ombre du cheval, tom premier, le cheval moteur: essai sur l’utilité équestre* (Paris, 2008).

³²⁶ D. Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History Since 1900* (London, 2006), pp.9 & 33.

³²⁷ V. DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford & New York, 2004).

of the living ‘oat-fuelled’ machine into the industrial age emphasizes that this age-old technology complemented, and was promoted by, the radical new technology of steam.³²⁸

This study springs from work highlighting the importance of horses in urban North America.³²⁹ Moreover, it builds on Thompson’s assertion that Victorian England was ‘the horse drawn society’ – despite and often because of the expansion of the railways – by examining an earlier phase of the industrial revolution, in which the horse played a critical role. The eighteenth century was, as Roche asserts, ‘the hinge-period’ in the relationship between men and horses, in the sense that equine work became increasingly ‘structured ... into a function of the energy needs of town and countryside’. This process involved major changes in the production of horses – to achieve particular specifications in size, speed, strength and stamina – but also in the ‘technologies of control ... of horses; the daily linkage to human effort’. Contrary to Thomas, Roche rightly associates the eighteenth century with the strengthening of man’s bond with horses, through ‘the world of work’.³³⁰ This is particularly striking in London, where urbanization and industrialization greatly expanded opportunities for men and horses to work together. This chapter considers the two key applications of equine work in London’s industrial revolution: the use of horse-powered engines in manufacturing; and haulage.

I. Horse-Mills

The assertion that the introduction of steam power brought about mass-production in English industry remains a central economic orthodoxy. Yet, this unravels when it is considered that many industries underwent technological transformation and greatly expanded their production long before the adoption of steam. Mokyr has rightly opposed generalized accounts of technological change, including those fixated on steam engines, which ‘fail to do justice to the rich diversity of progress’ during the industrial revolution. ‘Improvements in the efficiency of waterpower’ were, he argues, among many developments which ‘share few common characteristics’.³³¹ Indeed, Hills and Reynolds have shown that the vertical watermill, an ancient technology, played a dynamic

³²⁸ C. McShane & J. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the 19th Century* (Baltimore, 2007), p.14; F.M.L. Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society* (Inaugural Lecture, Bedford College, University of London, 1970), pp.13 & 19, argues that the horse population only peaked in Britain in 1902 and that ‘without carriages and carts, the railways would have been like stranded whales’; Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old*, p.33, notes that in the US, horsepower only peaked in 1915.

³²⁹ McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*; A. Norton Green, *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America* (Harvard, 2008).

³³⁰ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth, 1984); Roche, ‘Equestrian culture in France’ & *La Culture Équestre*.

³³¹ Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches*, p.83.

economic role in the Hanoverian period.³³² By the early 1700s, there were between 10,000 and 20,000 watermills in Britain, and by the end of the century water was *the* dominant power source in one of Britain's biggest and most progressive economic sectors, the textile industry. Cotton production grew by an extraordinary 2,200 per cent between 1770 and 1815; a feat powered by water far more than by steam.³³³ To a much lesser degree, windmills also made a significant contribution in some regions. In addition to processing grain for flour and seeds for oil, windmills were, until the 1780s, occasionally used in the grinding of calcined flints and enamel pigments for the pottery business. Prior to purchasing his first steam engine, Josiah Wedgwood employed a windmill designed by Erasmus Darwin, with the aid of James Watt.³³⁴

This underscores Hudson's call for a 'regional perspective ... for studying the industrial revolution'.³³⁵ Systems which succeeded in one part of the country could stall and fail elsewhere. This is particularly clear in London. While in the first half of the eighteenth century, some parts of Britain were becoming over-crowded with water-wheels,³³⁶ hydraulic power played virtually no role in London's industrial life. One of the very few waterwheels in the metropolis was used to raise water for the London Bridge Water Works (LBWW), and represents the exception to prove the rule. London was largely unsuited to the exploitation of hydraulic energy because the Thames offered an insufficient fall to install overshot waterwheels and an excessive volume of water. The LBWW overcame this by installing an undershot wheel but this was half as efficient as the overshot system. Moreover, undershot wheels struggled to cope with changing water levels, a major handicap on a tidal river like the Thames. Suspended from the bridge, the LBWW wheel could be raised or lowered but this was virtually impossible in other metropolitan contexts.³³⁷ Thus, London sharply juxtaposed the textile centres of the Midlands which relied so heavily on waterwheels.

³³² T.S. Reynolds, *Stronger Than a Hundred Men: A History of the Vertical Water Wheel* (Baltimore & London, 1983); Hills, *Power in the Industrial Revolution*.

³³³ Griffin, *A Short History of the British Industrial Revolution*, p.114; Hills, *Power in the Industrial Revolution*, passim.

³³⁴ R.E. Schofield, *The Lunar Society of Birmingham: A Social History of Provincial Science and Industry in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford, 1963), pp.73-4; R.L. Hills, *Power From Wind: A History of Windmill Technology* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.172-79; See also R. Gregory, *The Contribution of the Windmill to the Industrial Revolution* (London, 2002) & *The Industrial Windmill in Britain* (Chichester, 2005).

³³⁵ P. Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution* (London, 1992), p.101 & (ed.), *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (Cambridge, 1989).

³³⁶ By the early 1700s, there were around 60 along just three miles of the Mersey below Manchester; Reynolds, *Stronger Than a Hundred Men*, p.123.

³³⁷ Reynolds, *Stronger Than a Hundred Men*, p.p.10-11, 132, 181-91 & 212; H. Beighton, 'A Description of the Water-Works at London-Bridge, explaining the Draught of Tab. I', *Philosophical Transactions*, 37 (1731-32), pp.5-12.

London was no more able to harness wind power. Low-lying and sheltered by surrounding hills, the city was, as a leading historian of windmills observes, ‘a poor area for wind’.³³⁸ Only a handful of windmills were erected in certain suburban districts – maps suggest that there were three windmills in Lambeth, Christ Church and Rotherhithe in the 1750s.³³⁹ But by then, the use of wind-power was already in decline. In the early 1700s, the new River Company constructed a six-sailed windmill to pump water to a new reservoir in Islington but was soon forced to replace it with a team of horses. Eighteenth-century urbanisation only exacerbated the impracticality of windmills in the metropolitan area. As George Dodd observed in 1856, ‘Our busy city cannot now spare room for windmills; and if there were such room, the wind could barely get at them’.³⁴⁰

At first, these handicaps appear to support the view that the industrial revolution was ‘a storm that passed over London and broke elsewhere’.³⁴¹ Some have argued that steam power was not widely embraced, that the city thus remained ‘traditional in technology’ and that trade and services rather than manufacturing defined its position in the wider economy.³⁴² Reed asserts that by 1805, mechanization had ‘scarcely begun, and in spite of short-term fluctuations there was to be little profound change in London’s manufacturing basis much before the 1860s, save that in some trades its national dominance had been eroded’.³⁴³ By contrast, others have suggested that Hanoverian London was ‘the greatest industrial centre in the country’³⁴⁴ and that the city ‘hardly lagged in technology and innovation’.³⁴⁵ These studies generally agree that key metropolitan industries, led by brewing, were swift rather than reticent to adopt steam engines and that coal-

³³⁸ Hills, *Power from the Wind*, p.234.

³³⁹ Southwark Local History Library (S.L.H.L), Map of the Parishes of Lambeth and Christ Church published 1755 for Stow’s Survey & Map of the Parish of St Mary Rotherhithe, the survey revised and corrected by John Pullen; John Rocque’s *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark* (1747).

³⁴⁰ George Dodd, *The Food of London* (1856), p.176.

³⁴¹ J. L. Hammond quoted in P. Johnson, ‘Economic development and industrial dynamism in Victorian London,’ *London Journal*, 21 (1996), p.27; see also M.D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (2nd edn., London, 1930).

³⁴² I.J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and his Times* (Folkestone, 1979); G.S. Jones, *Outcast London: A study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian society* (Oxford, 1971); T.S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830* (Oxford, 1948); L.D. Schwartz, *London in the Age of Industrialization: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1992).

³⁴³ M. Reed, ‘London and its hinterland 1600-1800: the view from the provinces’, in P. Clark & B. Lepetit (eds.), *Capital Cities and Their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), pp.55-6.

³⁴⁴ M.J. Daunton, ‘Industry in London: revisions and reflections’, *London Journal*, 21 (1996), p.1; D. Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution: A Revisionary History 1775-1825* (London, 1998), p.1, asserts that London was ‘the largest single business and industrial centre ... of the world’s first modern industrial economy’.

³⁴⁵ R. Porter, *London: A Social History* (London, 1994), p.187; Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.35; Bruland, ‘Industrialisation and technological change’, pp.130-32; M. J. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 1995), p.324; Hudson (ed.), *Regions and Industries*.

fuelled engines, a new power-source, secured London's place in the industrial revolution.³⁴⁶ This interpretation has much to recommend it. London was an industrial hub and, from the late eighteenth century, steam played an important role in this. As early as 1733, London already had seven steam engines for pumping and by 1780 a further twenty had been installed.³⁴⁷ Boulton & Watt sold their very first 'double-acting' engine to the East Smithfield brewer, Henry Goodwyn in 1784 and over the next twenty years, the capital was second only to Lancashire in the acquisition of the company's breakthrough 'Sun and Planet' type engine. It is clear, therefore, that once steam technology became double-acting and could be applied to diverse manufacturing work, London became a leading investor.³⁴⁸

However, both sides of the historiography underplay or overlook the crucial role played by human-equine cooperation in London's industrial life. Largely denied water- and wind-power, and unable to harness steam until the 1780s (and thereafter only in certain circumstances) London relied – perhaps more than any other part of Britain – on the entwined industriousness of men and horses to expand production.

Powering machinery often represented the final phase in a horse's working life and Donald has referred to the labour of the mill-horse as 'the most shaming instance of the mercenary callousness of the age'.³⁴⁹ This perspective echoes certain kinds of Georgian commentary – in 1785, 'The High Mettled Racer', a song performed on the London stage, lamented the decline of a used-up race horse. Still well-known in the 1830s, the song inspired an engraving after Robert Cruikshank, 1831 (Plate 11) which shows the animal 'Blind, old, lean, and feeble' tugging round a mill for a well-fed owner.³⁵⁰ Yet, other strands of Hanoverian discourse, including the literature of science and engineering, actively celebrated the contribution of equine labour, treating animals without sentiment, but as vital elements in sophisticated mechanical processes (see Plate 12). While acknowledging that working animals suffered enormously in this period, this study is concerned with the contribution of the animal-human-mechanical nexus to the metropolitan economy.

³⁴⁶ Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, pp.35-36.

³⁴⁷ Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.35.

³⁴⁸ The Boulton & Watt Archive and the Matthew Boulton Papers from the Birmingham Central Library (Adam Matthew Publications): Part 3: Engineering Drawings – Watt Engines of the Sun and Planet Type c.1775-1802; in descending order, the key areas to purchase were: Lancashire (59), London (36), Yorkshire (20), Staffordshire (19), Nottinghamshire (17), Shropshire (16) and Cheshire (14).

³⁴⁹ D. Donald, 'Beastly sights': the treatment of animals as a moral theme in representations of London c.1820-1850' in D. Arnold (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London* (Oxford, 1999), p.55.

³⁵⁰ D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750-1850* (New Haven & London), p.219; 'The High Mettled Racer'. By the late Charles Dibdin, 1831; 'Blind, old, lean, and feeble, he tugs round a mill.' Wood engraving by G.W. Bonner from a design by Robert Cruikshank. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

Plate 11: *The High Mettled Racer*. By the Late Charles Dibdin, 1831; 'Blind, old, lean, and feeble, he tugs round a mill'. Engraving by G. W. Bonner from a design by Robert Cruikshank.

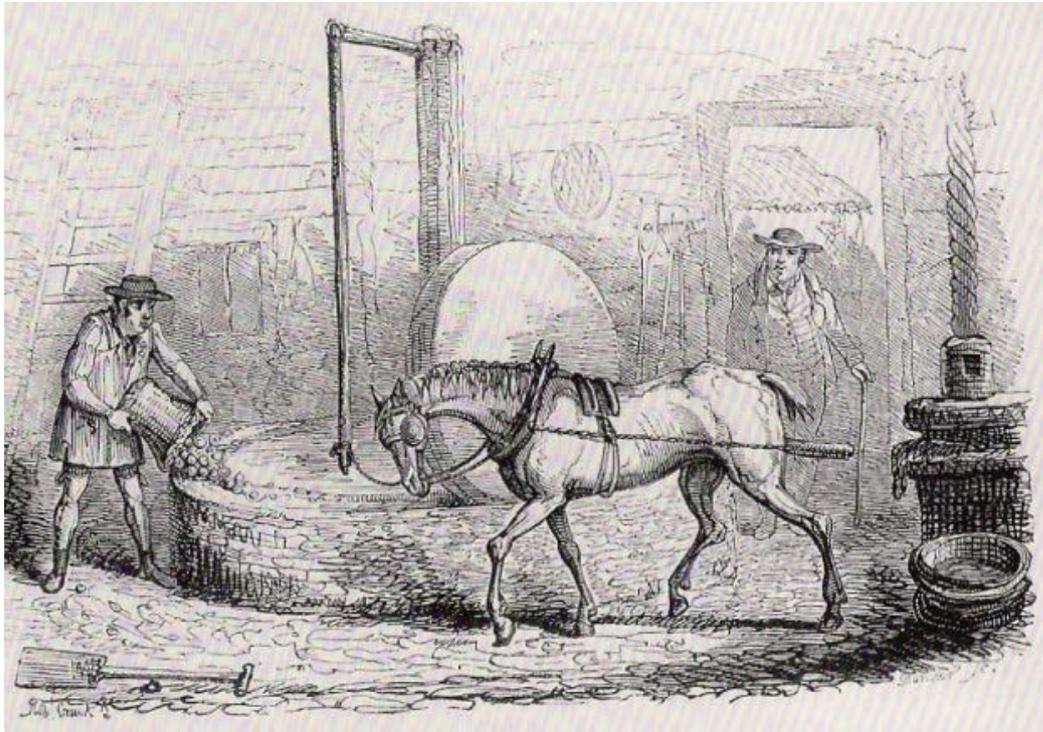
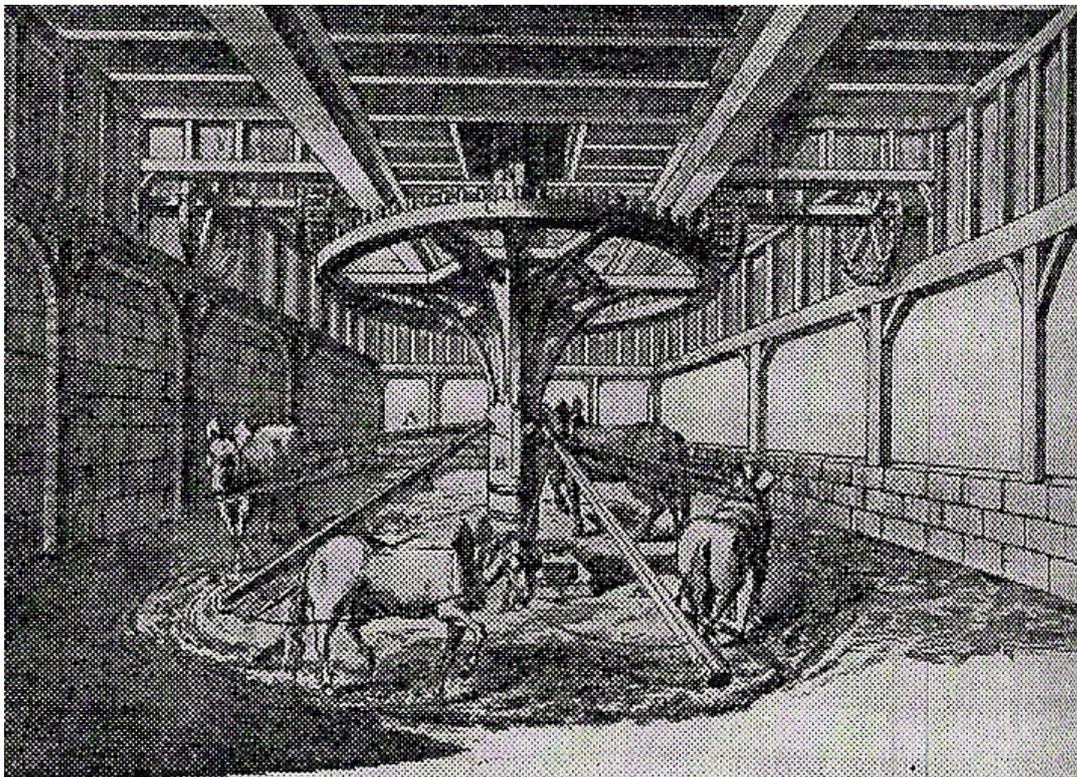


Plate 12: Anon, *The horse wheel of a brewery* (1763).³⁵¹

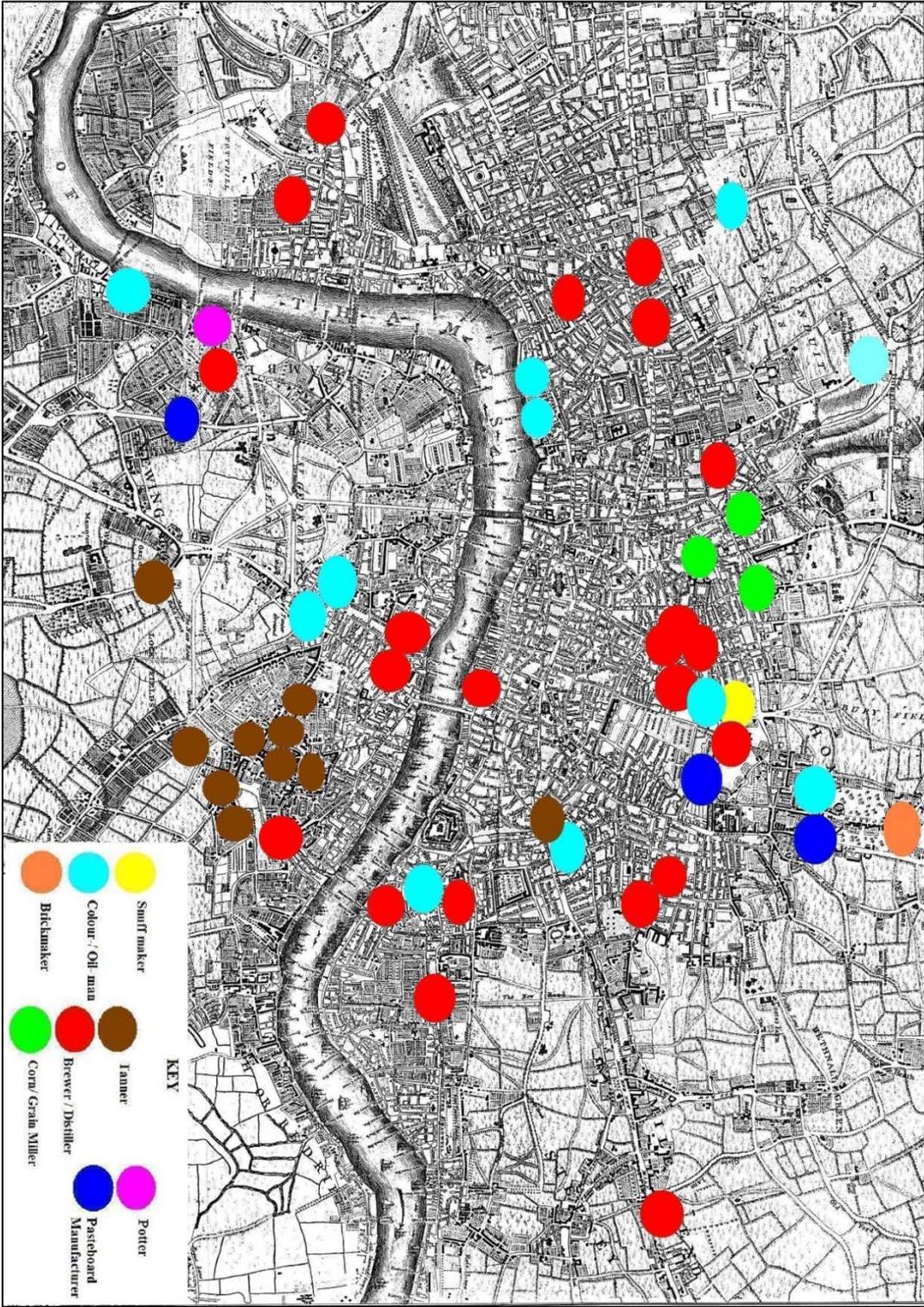


³⁵¹ Reproduced in B. Spiller, 'The Georgian brewery', *Architectural Review*, 122 (1957), p.314.

I begin by providing an overview of some of the industries in which horse-powered machinery played a key role, before turning to a more detailed analysis of London's premier industry, brewing. Drawing on various sources,³⁵² I have been able to plot the locations of 50 horse-mills, active in the metropolitan area in the period 1740–1815. This may only represent a fraction of total sites, which may have run into the hundreds, but provides valuable insight into their use. As shown in Map 10, horse-mills were concentrated in the city's principal manufacturing districts which included Old Street, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, East Smithfield, Southwark and Bermondsey. While this shows that mill-horses were geographically integrated, we need to consider how their work underpinned specific industrial processes.

³⁵² Sale-of-stock advertisements in metropolitan newspapers; Sun Fire insurance policy documents and Old Bailey depositions: 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers (Gale Digital Collections); LMA, MS/11936-7, Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers (1710-1863); OBSP (www.oldbaileyonline.org).

Map 10: Distribution of known horse mills in the metropolis, 1740–1815 (marked on John Rocque's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark, 1747*).



Grinding & mixing raw materials

The refining of raw materials was an area of particular importance. Horse-mills were employed by dye-makers to grind pigments, as well as by wool and silk dyers to power mangles and presses (calendar machines).³⁵³ They were also used by snuff-makers to grind tobacco; by druggists and perfumers to grind wood and minerals; by mustard manufacturers and corn-chandlers to grind seeds and grain; and by glass-makers and potters to grind flint.³⁵⁴ Moreover, mill-horses became instrumental in brick-making, a major metropolitan industry.

Until the mid to late eighteenth century, pugging – the process by which brick-earth was kneaded and mixed with water and town ash³⁵⁵ – was entirely performed by hands and feet, one of many examples of gruelling human labour on the brickfields. As Samuel notes, there was remarkably little ‘technical change’ in the building industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The only exception was ‘the pug-mill, a horse-ginned mixer’ which was adopted in all but the smallest yards in the late eighteenth century.³⁵⁶ As shown in Plate 13, an aquatint (1808) after William Henry Pyne; and Plate 14, G. Forster’s painting of *William Nash’s Brickfield at Edmonton* (1856), the brick-making process relied on a human-animal nexus of men, women, children and horses. Earth was dug out by human hand, carried by barrow to the pugging mill where the circular plodding of a horse turned the machinery. Men then collected the processed material and delivered it to a brick-moulding gang, following which ‘taking-off boys’ loaded the wet bricks onto barrows to be wheeled to the drying hacks.³⁵⁷ As shown below, this kind of interaction between human

³⁵³ Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (1747), pp.261-62, suggests that horse-mills played an important role in London’s substantial dyeing industry; Boulton & Watt drawings (late 1780s) of Chamberland Goodwin & Co’s dye-house in Park Street, Southwark shows an existing ‘Horse Wheel’ next to a ‘stable’; (Adam Matthew Publications, Reel 34: Portfolio 14); In 1774, Thomas Marshall, a ‘Blue-Maker’ in Hog Lane, Shoreditch insured a horse-mill for £100; LMA, MS11936/231, Sun Fire insurance policy: 340411, Thomas Marshall, blue-maker (1774); Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.89.

³⁵⁴ On snuff, see Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (1747), p.274; LMA, SC/GL/TCC/Farr, Trade card of George Farr, Grocer in Wood Street, near Cheapside (c.1760), which depicts a ‘Spanish Snuff Mill’; for an alternative depiction of an ‘edge runner’ snuff mill, see John Trusler, *The Progress of Man and Society* (1791), p.172; Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p.55; Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.49; on mustard manufacture, see *London Evening Post* (19-21/9/1752) & Boulton & Watt’s drawing (1799) of Sutton, Keen & Smith’s mustard manufactory on Garlick Hill, St James’ which shows the existing ‘Horse Wheel’ with its ‘present rotative line’ (Adam Matthew Publications, Reel 34: Portfolio 180); on corn chandlers, see *Morning Chronicle* (20/8/1794); on druggists and perfumers, see *World and Fashionable Advertiser* (23/7/1787); on glass-makers and pottery, see William Henry Pyne, *Horse mill; mill for grinding flints worked by horse, harnessed to beam that moves grinding stone* (Pen and ink and graphite, undated), British Museum Prints and Drawings.

³⁵⁵ A. Cox, ‘A vital component: stock bricks in Georgian London’, *Construction History*, 13 (1997), pp.57-66.

³⁵⁶ Samuel, ‘Workshop of the world’, pp.220-21; Musson, *The Growth of British Industry*, p.133.

³⁵⁷ D. Goodman & C. Chant (eds.), *European Cities & Technology: Industrial to Post-Industrial City* (Abingdon, 1999), p.88; brick-maker wills and insurance policies often refer to horses, carts, carriages and stables. Unfortunately, pugging mills tend to be shrouded by the term ‘implements of trade; see TNA, PROB, 11/581, Edmund Lydgold, Brick maker (and farmer) of St Leonard Shoreditch (2/9/1721); PROB,

and equine industriousness permeated the economic life of Hanoverian London. The effectiveness and dynamism of equine technology becomes clearer when we consider the manufacture of leather and paint.

Plate 13: ‘Brickfield: Horse-powered pug mill grinding clay. Woman with hack barrow for transporting green bricks to clamps to dry out before firing’, aquatint from William Henry Pyne, *Costume of Great Britain* (London, 1808).



111273, James Haygarth, Brickmaker of St Pancras (6/4/1796); LMA, MS 11936/390, Sun Fire insurance policy: 606250, Owen Clutton, brickmaker and farmer, Walworth (18/10/1792); on insurance, see R. Pearson, *Insuring the Industrial Revolution: Fire Insurance in Great Britain, 1700-1850* (Aldershot & Burlington, VT, 2004); on the building industry, see Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, ch.5; L. Clarke, *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment* (London, 1992); J. Ayres, *Building the Georgian City* (New Haven & London, 2003); L.M. Bowers Isaacson, ‘The building society: speculative building in the West End of London, 1660-1760’, PhD thesis, Princeton, 1992; P. E. Malcolmson, ‘Getting a living in the slums of Victorian Kensington’, *London Journal*, 1 (1975), pp.29-55.

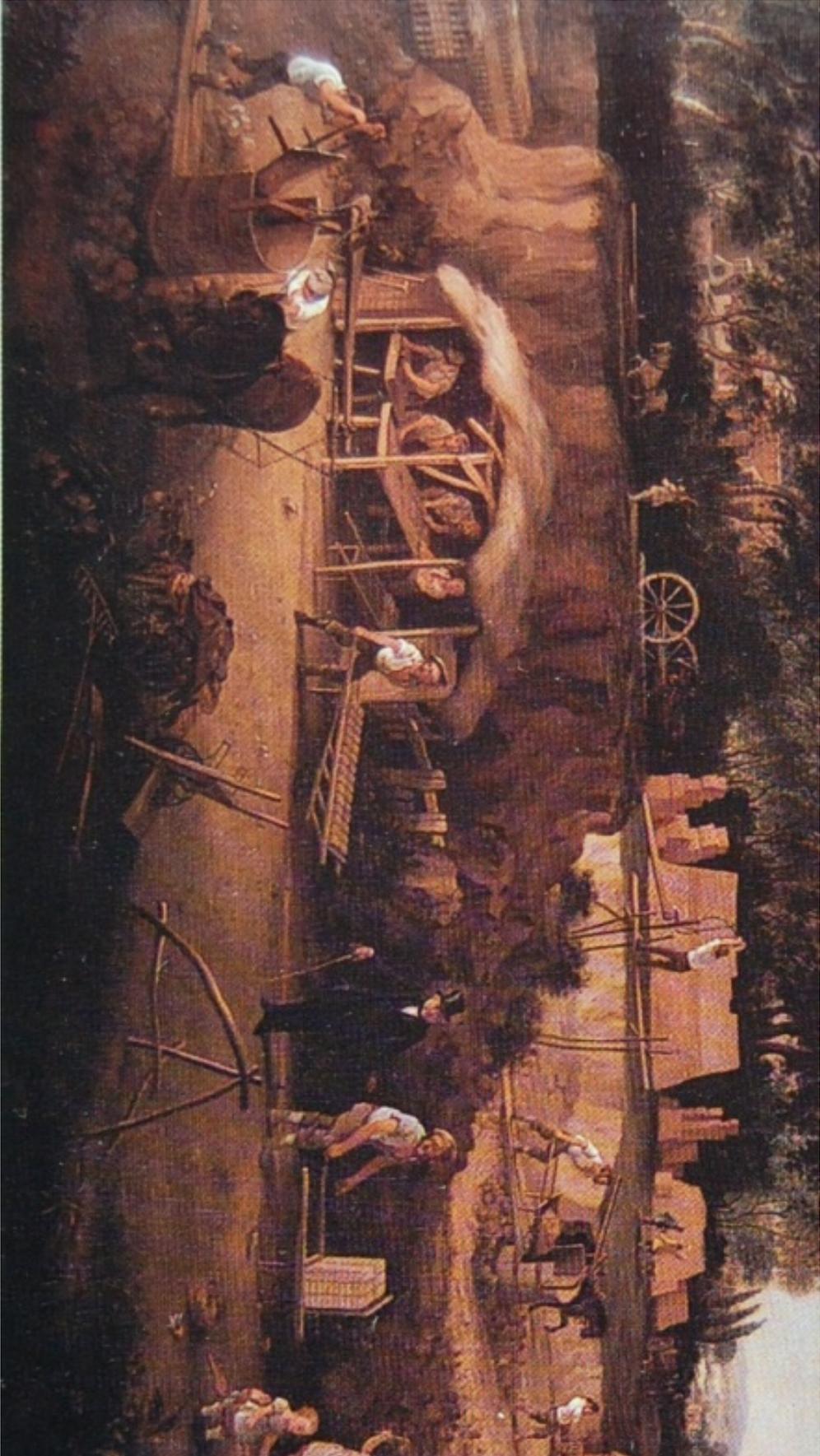


Plate 14: G. Forster, *William Nash's Brickfield at Edmonton* (1856) [Detail].

Leather production

Analysis of the London leather trade has tended to focus on the early modern period when the city dominated production in England and employed an estimated 10,000 workers by 1700.³⁵⁸ Thereafter the attraction of cheap rural labour led to a shift from the metropolis being ‘*the* national centre of production’ to just ‘*one* centre of production’.³⁵⁹ This was, however, a gradual process – not until the 1860s did tanning, like other London trades, suffer its ‘years of reckoning’.³⁶⁰ Throughout the Hanoverian period, tanners flourished in London, where they benefited from a ready supply of raw materials and a thriving market for their goods: the metropolitan livestock trade provided hides at a competitive price; the Thames as well as urban wells and waterworks supplied water, and London’s role as a shipping and carrier hub ensured the availability of their other key ingredient, bark.³⁶¹ Metropolitan tanners also enjoyed access to an unparalleled nexus of leather-finishing trades which included curriers, leather-cutters, dressers, dyers; saddlers, harness- and collar-makers; glovers, hatters, cordwainers and boot-makers. As noted by Barnett, these accounted for ‘nearly a thousand firms in 1826–27, seven per cent of all manufacturing businesses’ in the metropolis, and ‘insured capital valued at almost £1.4 million, 8 per cent of the total in the 1820s’.³⁶² London remained a major leather producer throughout the Hanoverian period, and while the cost of human labour began to pose a threat, equine technology provided an important means of overcoming this.

As in the brick-making trade, tanning required relatively little in terms of plant and machinery, relying heavily on the ‘manual dexterity and strength’ of men.³⁶³ There was, however, one piece of machinery which played a vital role: the horse-powered bark mill. A key ingredient in the tanning process,³⁶⁴ bark was sent to London in strips. To release the tannin, it was first necessary to grind the bark into small chips and dust. When combined with water, this produced a tannin

³⁵⁸ L.A. Clarkson, ‘The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England’, *AgHR*, 14 (1960), pp.25-39 & ‘The organization of the English leather industry in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’, *EcHR*, 13 (1960), pp.245-53; A.L. Beier, ‘Engine of manufacture: the trades of London’, in A.L. Beier & R. Finlay (eds.), *London: The Making of the Metropolis* (London & New York, 1986), p.148, Table 13; F.J. Fisher, *London and the English Economy 1500-1700*, (ed.) P.J. Corfield & N.B. Harte (London, 1990), p.197.

³⁵⁹ L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialization: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.32-35; M. Palmer & P. Neaverson, *Industry in the landscape, 1700-1900* (London, 1994), p.113; P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1989), p.22.

³⁶⁰ Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialization*, p.34. *The Universal British Directory* (1790), which was far from comprehensive, names twenty-seven tanneries in London.

³⁶¹ Fisher, *London and the English Economy 1500-1700*, p.197; M. Palmer & P. Neaverson, *Industry in the Landscape, 1700-1900* (London, 1994), p.113; Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialization*, p.32; A.E. Musson, *The Growth of British Industry*, p.50.

³⁶² Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.67.

³⁶³ Samuel, ‘Workshop of the world’, p.225.

³⁶⁴ Benjamin Martin, *The General Magazines of Arts and Sciences, philosophical, mathematical, and mechanical* (1765), vol.14, p.37.

solution or ‘ooze’, which gradually transformed the hides into leather.³⁶⁵ The extant source material makes it difficult to establish a precise chronology of technological change in the tanning industry, whether all metropolitan tanners ground their own bark, or the proportion of bark-grinding mills which were powered by horses. I have found no evidence of pre-ground bark being transported to London and the problem of containing a powder in ships or waggons over considerable distances suggests that this was not common practice. Hand-powered mills were probably used by some metropolitan tanneries in the eighteenth century, but the gradual capitalisation of the trade was clearly entwined with the increased use of equine power. This parallels developments in urban husbandry, discussed in Chapter 1, showing that animals were at the forefront of significant economic change.

An image published in Benjamin Martin’s *The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences* in 1765 (Plate 15) indicates that horse-powered bark mills were by then familiar in London, as well as in other parts of England. Indeed, their use in the capital may date back to the early modern period, when the rotary grinding mill or ‘edge runner’ – which had existed in parts of Europe since ancient times – was being applied to an increasing range of tasks.³⁶⁶ The horse depicted in 1765 is harnessed to a pair of horizontal axles attached to a rotating vertical drive shaft. As the animal gives traction, it causes a vertically-placed mill-stone to roll around the bark pit in a circular path, crushing and grinding the bark before it (see also Plate 16).³⁶⁷ A servant assists by raking the bark, evincing the close interaction of human and equine workers in the manufacturing process. At the same time, this image highlights the labour-saving benefits of horse-mills: men are freed from the burden of grinding bark to go about other duties in the tannery. These representations suggest that men and horses were engaged in a nexus of work which promoted industriousness as well as heightened efficiency and scales of production. As well as providing power, mill-horses created more work for the tanner’s men, both by helping to increase production and through their demand for care, discussed in Chapter 5. This system also promoted task specialization, an important feature of the industrial revolution³⁶⁸ – horses took over the most monotonous, heavy work of the tannery which allowed the human workforce to focus on more complex manual tasks, such as scraping the hides, preparing vats and administration.

³⁶⁵ L.F. Ellsworth, *Craft to National Industry in the Nineteenth Century: A case Study of the Transformation of the New York State Tanning Industry* (New York, 1975).

³⁶⁶ Reynolds, *Stronger Than a Hundred Men*, pp.71-75; Zadock Pratt, an American leather manufacturer (1858) quoted George A. Rich, ‘Leather-Making’, *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York, 1892), p. 354.

³⁶⁷ Similar machines were in use in Holland, but powered by windmills; Hills, *Power from the Wind*, p.172.

³⁶⁸ P. Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution* (1965; 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1979), pp.15-17 & 157; Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus*; Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy*, pp.347-48; Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*, p.208.

Plate 15: 'A tanning mill' in Benjamin Martin, *The general magazine of Arts and Sciences...* (1765), vol.14, p.52.

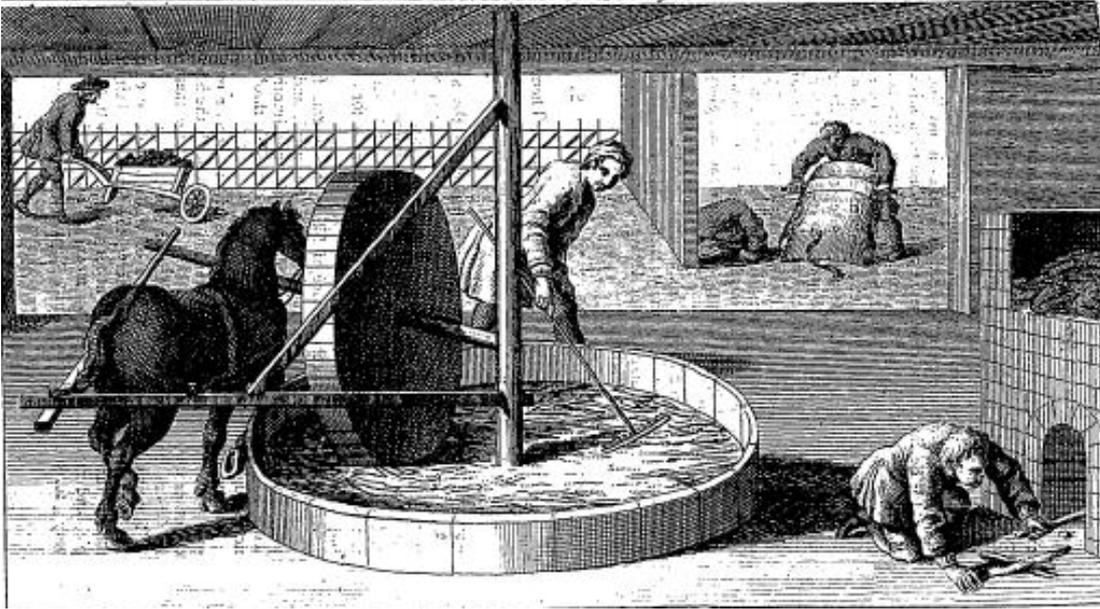
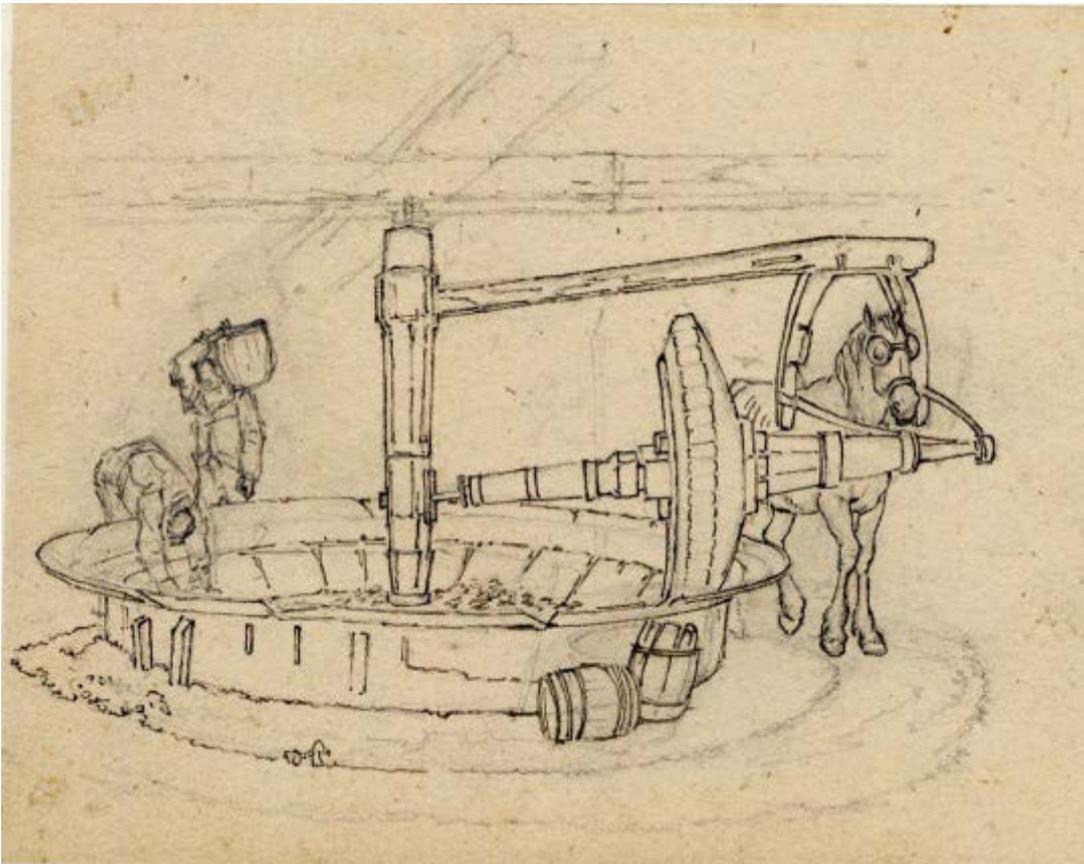


Plate 16: William Henry Pyne (1769–1843), *Tanner's mill* (drawing, undated, pre-1803).



Insurance records show that by the 1790s, many of Southwark's tanners were insuring mill-houses and stables on their premises (see Map 10).³⁶⁹ While I have only found one policy referring directly to a 'horse-mill',³⁷⁰ we can be confident that horses were powering these machines. Few if any of London's tanneries could harness the power of the Thames and extant policies do not refer to steam engines, which were routinely recorded as fire hazards at industrial sites. Moreover, the prevalence of stables undermines the possibility that hand-mills were being used.

Patent records and scientific literature reveal that tanners benefited from important improvements to bark-grinding machinery while continuing to use equine power. This not only emphasises that horses were employed in a modernising industry but also that their traditional power remained effective throughout. 'Edge runner' grinding technology began to be replaced in the late eighteenth century, following a flurry of inventions designed to increase efficiency. Five patents for improved bark mills were issued in the years 1797–1805, each approving the application of equine power.³⁷¹ The first, and most innovative was that patented by James Weldon of Litchfield in 1797 (see Table 5). As shown in Plate 17, this consisted of 'a cylindrical wooden case' fitted with a 'cast iron cone' which

by common mill machinery, is made to turn rapidly round in its case. The side of the cone is to be armed with long triangular cutting teeth, applied lengthwise ... between these longer teeth, at the base of the cone, is to be fixed ... a very close row of shorter ones. The bark, or other substance to be ground, being then thrown lightly into the cylinder, is coarsely broken down by the longer teeth, and afterwards reduced to finer powder by the shorter ones.³⁷²

This was followed, in 1801, by James Whitby's 'improved mill' which relied on 'a number of cutting wheels, that are fixed upon axles, and chop the bark to pieces; which then fall through an eye, and pass between two large cast iron-plates, with grooves or furrows'.³⁷³ Four years later, Thomas Chapman, a 'skinner of Bermondsey' appeared to combine the best of Weldon's and Whitby's innovations, when he patented a new mechanism (Plate 18) to be 'Powered by a

³⁶⁹ For a sample of such insurance policies, see: LMA, MS11936/379, policy: 585820, Joseph King, Long Lane, Southwark. (13/7/1791); MS11936/377, policy: 582958, John Leachman, Grange Road, Southwark (29/4/1791); MS11936/377, policy: 582278, William Halstone, Long Lane, Southwark (13/4/1791).

³⁷⁰ LMA, MS11936/423, policy: 727667, Thomas Crowley, 35 Camomile Street, currier, leather presser and tanner (28/1/1802).

³⁷¹ Four of the patents also referred directly to the possibility of using of wind, water and steam power; one suggested the potential to use manual labour.

³⁷² *The Monthly Magazine and British Register Part 1: 1798*, vol. 5 (1798), p.374; *The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures* (1799), vol.10, pp.77-80.

³⁷³ *The Domestic Enclopaedia; Or, A Dictionary of Facts, And Useful Knowledge*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1803), vol.1, p.177.

horsewheel'. This featured metal 'rag-wheels' and a revolving barrel.³⁷⁴ While it is difficult to evaluate the extent to which these inventions improved efficiency, a study of comparable developments in New York State asserts that 'toothed drum' machines operated three times faster than the older edge-runners.³⁷⁵ These developments undermine the common misconception that the leather industry 'experienced little technological innovation before the 1830s', when new forms of steam-powered machinery became available.³⁷⁶ Technological innovation preceded the adoption of steam engines and did so, supported by tried and trusted equine labour. This underlines the impression that horses were part of a dynamic human-animal-mechanical hybrid.³⁷⁷

The use of horse-mills was intimately connected to the trade's capitalisation which accelerated dramatically between the 1770s and 1820s.³⁷⁸ In this period, a growing proportion of tanners insured commercial property for more than £1,000, comprising an increasingly sophisticated infrastructure of dye- and mill-houses, bark barns, warehouses, workshops, stables and sheds, plus utensils and stock. By the turn of the nineteenth century, some firms had surpassed this figure by some margin. A striking but not exceptional example is George Choumert (1746–1831), a Bermondsey tanner and 'Spanish leather dresser', who insured his assets in 1777 for £900; by 1798, this had increased to more than £11,000; and by 1821 to nearly £27,000.³⁷⁹ This is not to say that there were no small-scale operators in the early nineteenth century – in 1817, William Smyth insured his tannery – complete with bark barn, mill, stables, warehouses and sheds – on the Camberwell Road for just £500. However, by the early nineteenth century, such concerns accounted for a relatively small proportion of total leather production in the metropolis.³⁸⁰ Livestock, mills, stables and horse-related utensils (shovels, harnesses, horse shoes, and farriery equipment) were important markers of the capitalisation of London's tanning industry.³⁸¹

³⁷⁴ *The Repertory of Arts, Manufactures, And Agriculture* (1805), vol.7, p.407; Chapman used the term 'barrel-gudgeon'; a gudgeon is a pivot or spindle on which an object is able to rotate.

³⁷⁵ Ellsworth, *Craft to National Industry*, p.150; the first patent for such a grinder, also known as 'a coffee-grinder bark mill', was granted to Cornelius Tobey of Hudson, New York.

³⁷⁶ Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p.52.

³⁷⁷ *The Transactions of the Society, Instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce*, vols.1-45 (1783-1843) attest to the invention of numerous machines during the industrial revolution, for which horses were to provide power.

³⁷⁸ Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.67.

³⁷⁹ Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, pp.67-68. LMA, MS 11936/409, policy: 675107, William Smart, tanner, The King's Head, Long Lane (1798); MS11936/423, policy: 725260, Samuel Brooks, tanner, Grange Road (1801); MS11936: 257, policy: 384352 & 409, policy: 673702 & 485, policy: 976966/7, George Choumert, tanner, Bermondsey (1777; 1798; 1821).

³⁸⁰ Barnett found that in the 1770s, 60% of firms had been insured for £500 or less, but by the 1820s this had fallen to 35%, while half of tanneries were insured for more than £1000, and nearly a fifth at £3000 or more; LMA, MS11936/473, policy: 929094, William Smyth, tanner, Bethell Place, Camberwell Road (10/3/1817); Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.67.

³⁸¹ In 1817, Choumert's 'Stable and loft over' were valued at £100, and his 'Stock and Utensils live Stock included therein' at £150; LMA, MS 11936/473, policy: 929629 (14/4/1817).

Moreover, the invention of the ‘double-acting’ steam engine did not sweep away the need for horses. While four of the five patentees discussed above indicated that their machines could be powered by steam, uptake of coal-fuelled engines was initially very limited in the tanning industry. As late as 1805, there were only two in operation in London, with a total horse-power of just eight.³⁸² This suggests that only a small proportion of tanners reached a scale of production at which it was economically advantageous to invest in and to maintain a steam engine. The few insurance policies which specifically value a tanner’s horses suggest that even sizeable firms like Thomas Crowley’s and Samuel Brooks’ – each insured for between £1,000–2,000 in the early 1800s – kept fewer than five mill-horses each.³⁸³ This underlines the view that beyond a handful of industries operating on a very large scale – such as the mining, cotton and brewing industries – the adoption of steam engines was limited in Hanoverian Britain.³⁸⁴ Yet, the continued use of horses also emphasises their aptness for specific industrial tasks. For the majority of London’s tanners in the early nineteenth century, the horse remained a reliable, adaptable and highly effective power source. As Rowlands asserts, despite the major inroads made by steam power in the West Midlands, many of the region’s manufacturers

had no use for such a large measure of power which could not easily be turned on and off. For the majority of processes and in many works the traditional power of wind, water, man and animals continued to be used not only because they were cheaper but also because they were more appropriate and efficient in the particular context.³⁸⁵

Far from being a mark of backwardness, mill-horses symbolized tanning’s dynamism and success in the Hanoverian period. Comparable developments can be seen in the manufacture of pigment and paint, an industry which London dominated in eighteenth-century England. The trade included artists’ colourmen but more substantially, suppliers to the house-painting trade, and it was in the latter sector that horses played a key role.³⁸⁶

³⁸² John Farey, *A Treatise on the Steam Engine, historical, practical and descriptive* (1827), p.654; this may have included the huge Tottenham tannery sold by John Abraham in 1798; this sprawling suburban site boasted 370 tan pits, ‘a fire-engine by Hadley’ ‘for grinding Corn and Bark’, a three-storey mill-house, and 30,000 square feet of stone pavement; *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (21/3/1798) & (18/7/1798).

³⁸³ In each case, these animals were valued at £50; I have assumed an average value of £10 for each mill-horse in the early 1800s; LMA, MS11936/423, policy: 727667, Thomas Crowley (28/1/1802); MS11936/423, policy: 72560, Samuel Brooks (17/11/1801).

³⁸⁴ Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution*, pp.126-27; Griffin, *A Short History of the British Industrial Revolution*, p.98; see also Musson, *The Growth of British Industry*, pp.112-13.

³⁸⁵ M. Rowlands, *The West Midlands from AD 1000* (Harlow, 1987), p.236.

³⁸⁶ Another important paint manufacturing centre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was Hull, where it developed in tandem with the grinding of rapeseed, the oil from which was a key constituent of paint; G. Jackson, ‘Economic development of Hull in the 18th century’ (PhD thesis, Hull University, 1959), pp.188-89; J. Tickell, *History of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull* (Hull, 1796), pp.850; T. & P. Berg (trans), *RR. Angerstein’s Illustrated Travel Diary, 1753-1755: Industry in England and Wales From a Swedish Perspective*, (London 2001), p.226.

Table 5: Timeline of horse-driven grinding machines, patented 1695–1805.

Year	Description	Inventor / Patentee	Patent No.	Source
1695	Engine for cutting & rasping logwood and other dyewoods, to be worked by water or by hand or horse labour	Abel Cottey	345	<i>Patents of Invention, Chronological Index, 1617-1823</i> (1854), p.65
1733	Machine moved by weight & draught, for grinding, stamping, or other work where mechanical power may be applied	Walter Churchman	539	<i>Patents of Invention, Chronological Index, 1617-1823</i> (1854), p.99
1764	Mill for grinding and polishing plate glass ... to work with one Horse	Jeremiah Burrows (of White-cross Street, Southwark)	-	Royal Society of Arts, PR/GE/110/17/58, 'Letter from Jeremiah Burrows to the Committee for Mechanics of the Society of Arts' (30/11/1764).
1787	Machine for working and mashing of malt in mash tuns ... which may be accomplished by one horse to greater perfection than by eight people	James Walker	1611	<i>Patents of Invention, Chronological Index, 1617-1823</i> (1854), p.296
1797/8	'Machine for breaking, grinding, and pulverizing patched or chopped bark for tanning, and different kinds of wood and other hard substances' ... 'may be worked by a horse or horses, water-mill or wind-mills, steam engines, or by any other proper power'	James Weldon (of Litchfield)	2205	<i>The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures</i> , Vol. x (London, 1799), (pp.77-80)
1801	Improvement on Weldon's 1797/8 invention (see above): introduction of moveable teeth... 'may be worked either as hand-mills or horse-mills, or by any other power [including steam] that can be applied to them.'	James Weldon (of Litchfield)	2475	<i>The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures</i> , Vol.15 (London, 1801), pp.90-92
1801	Machine to chop, grind, riddle, and pound bark ... 'may be worked by water, wind, steam, or any other power.'	Thomas Bagnall (of Worsley, Eccles, County of Lancaster)	2505	Olinthus Gregory, <i>The Treatise of Mechanics, Theoretical, Practical, and Descriptive</i> (3 rd edn, 1815), 2, p.113 <i>Repertory of Arts and Manufactures</i> , vol.15 (1801), pp.145-49.

Table 5 (continued)

Year	Description	Inventor / Patentee	Patent No.	Source
1801	Mill for grinding bark...when moved by a horse, grinds 3 cwt. of bark, in one hour	James Whitby (of Collupton, Devonshire); Goerge Bodley (of Exeter, Iron-Founder); John Davis (of Collupton, Iron Founder)	2537	<i>The Domestic Encyclopaedia; Or, A Dictionary of Facts, And Useful Knowledge, 5 vols (Philadelphia, 1803), I, p.177 (in section on 'Bark'</i>
1805	Mill for tearing, crushing, and preparing oak bark for the use of tanners ...may be worked by steam, wind, water, or by one or more horses	Thomas Chapman	2871	<i>(The Repertory of Arts, Manufactures, And Agriculture, Vol. 7 (London, 1805) p407)</i>

Plate 17: James Weldon's bark mill (patented 1797) in *The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures*, vol. 10 (London, 1799), p80.

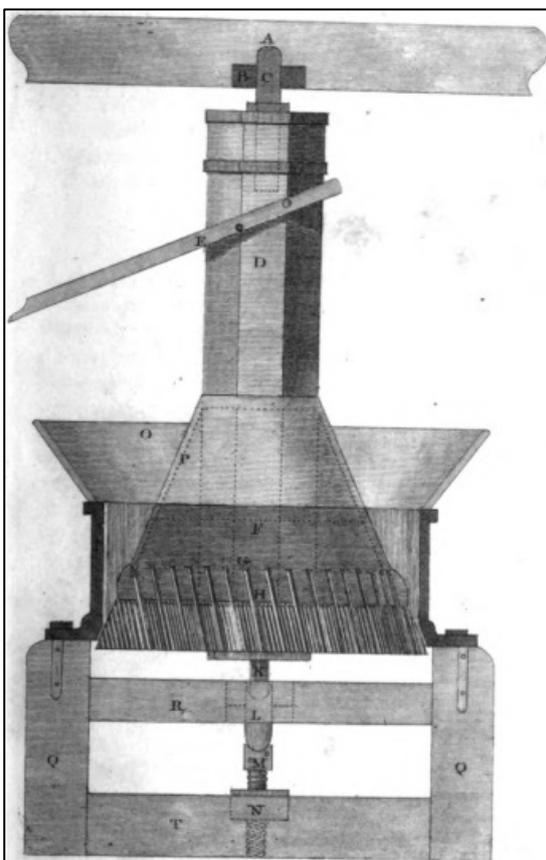
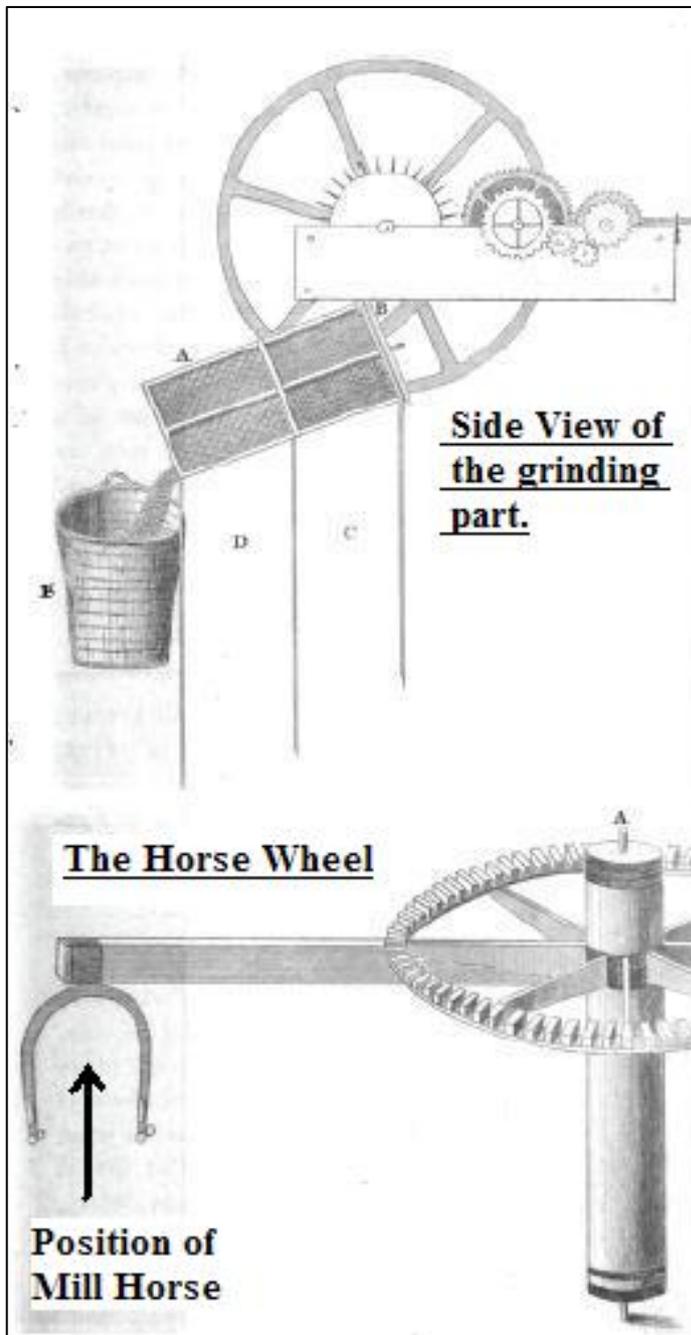


Plate 18: Thomas Chapman's bark mill (patented 1805) in *The Repertory of Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture*, (1805), vol.7, Plate XIX.



Paint Production

Demand for paint expanded dramatically in eighteenth-century England. Several new pigments became available at a price amenable to the house-painting trade, notably Prussian blue (c.1710), Patent Yellow (c.1770), Scheele's Green (1775) and Copper Chloride Green (by 1795). By 1750, it was common for the plaster walls of elite and middling houses to be painted but Palladian interiors, characteristic of the period 1715–55, tended to feature monotone walls within a fairly limited palette. From the 1750s, colour spread to ceilings but this was only the precursor for an even more impressive explosion of colour. From the 1760s, the complexity of colour schemes used in interior design increased dramatically. This was principally a response to the neo-classical style conceived and marketed by the Adam brothers between 1765 and 1792. The pair unleashed an astonishingly enlivened palette on the interiors of wealthy London homes. Perhaps the gaudiest example was the drawing room of Northumberland House, Charing Cross, completed in the 1770s. As shown in Plate 19, the ceiling featured a verdigris ground with elaborate details picked out in pinks, red, Prussian blue and black, as well as extensive gilding. Although this was a particularly ambitious project, Adam offered remarkably complex colour schemes to all of his metropolitan clients (see Plates 20 and 21). Ceilings, walls, fireplaces and even window-shutters were treated with vibrant paints ranging from Indian yellow and Cerulean blue to olive green and violet.

These developments increased demand for paint and promoted a more diverse palette across England, and especially in London. These were important factors in the rise of the paint-making industry, but construction cycles were equally influential. 1775–85, the most impressive period of house building in the eighteenth century, witnessed the erection of hundreds of terrace houses in the West End, notably on the Cavendish-Harley, Portman and Bedford estates. The creation of so many fashionable town houses provided a giant blank canvas for interior designers and generated unprecedented demand for all building and decorative materials. By the 1820s, there were over 100 retailers of paints in the metropolis.³⁸⁷ Purchased by the expanding bourgeoisie as well as the nobility, paint played a significant role in the consumer revolution but this was only possible because of major advances in production, central to which was the application of equine power.

³⁸⁷ Pigot & Co, *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1826-27* (1827); Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.168.

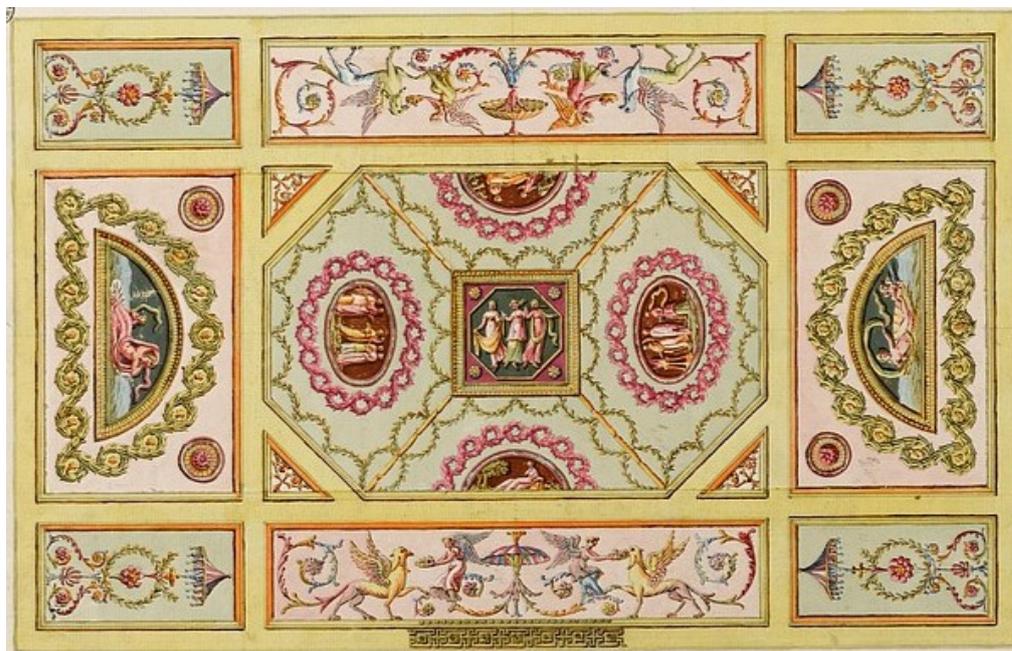
Plate 19: Design for the drawing room at Northumberland Street, early 1770s. Adam Albums, Vol.11, No.33.



Plate 20: Design for a Ceiling for the Front Drawing Room, House of Robert Child Esq, Berkley Square, 1769. Adam Albums, Vol.11, No.213.



Plate 21: Ceiling of the back parlour at Sir George Colebrooke's in Abingdon Street, 1771. Adam Albums, Vol.12, No.78.



The consumption and appreciation of paint, along with other forms of interior decoration has received considerable attention in recent years.³⁸⁸ But a remarkable trade card issued by Joseph Emerton (d. 1745), one of London's leading paint manufacturers, highlights the need to look beyond the shop front and into the manufactory beyond (Plate 22).³⁸⁹ In one half of the design, a well-dressed lady sits for her portrait, facing an artist at his easel. At first, this appears to be a conventional depiction of polite consumption and recreation. Yet given equal prominence within the same rococo frame, we see a horse driving a mill. The integration of 'back-yard' horse-work into an advertisement for a semi-luxury product may seem peculiar but the eighteenth-century consumer would have interpreted this imagery quite differently. While certain expressions of taste and industry could be perceived as incongruous in the eighteenth century, Celina Fox convincingly argues that the 'arts of industry ... taken to refer principally to the skills involved in

³⁸⁸ D. Cruikshank & N. Burton, *Life in the Georgian City* (London & New York, 1990), pp.181-83; I.C. Bristow, *Interior House-Painting Colours and Technology, 1615-1840* (New Haven, 1996) & *Architectural Colour in British Interiors, 1615-1840* (New Haven & London, 1996); H. Greig & G. Riello, 'Eighteenth-century interiors – redesigning the Georgian: introduction', *Journal of Design History*, 20 (2007), pp.273-89; J. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition, 1500-1850* (New Haven & London, 2003); C. Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London, 1993); on wallpaper, see A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven & London, 2009), ch.6; T. Rosoman, *London Wallpapers: Their Manufacture and Use, 1690-1840* (London, 1992); G. Saunders, *Wallpaper in Interior Decoration* (London, 2002).

³⁸⁹ www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/s.php (accessed 1/7/2012); see M. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005).

the processes of industry' were widely celebrated in England during the Enlightenment, in drawings and paintings; model-making; clubs and societies; specialised treatises and general encyclopaedias; trade cards and industrial tourism.³⁹⁰ Within this rich culture, equine work became emblematic of certain sophisticated technologies and industrial processes as well as innovative, high-quality manufactures.

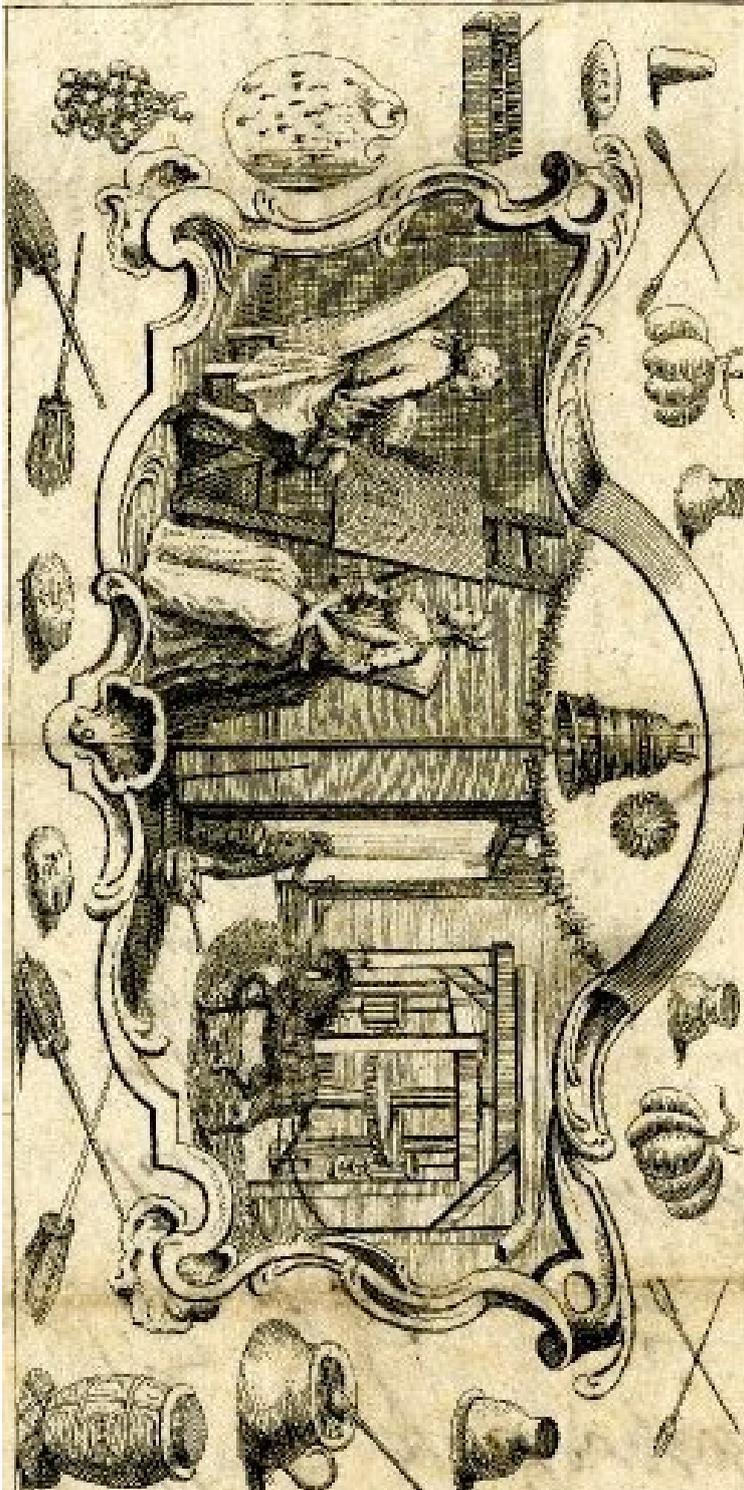


Plate 22: Anon, Trade card of Joseph Emerton, Colour Man (etching & engraving, c. 1744).

³⁹⁰ C. Fox, *The Arts of Industry in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven & London, 2009), p.1.

In the 1790s, an even more impressive depiction of an equine colour mill was published by the metropolitan colourmen, Emerton & Manby (1796–1804), successors to Alexander Emerton & Co. (rival to Joseph Emerton). As shown in Plate 23, this trade card celebrates the company's sophisticated mechanical operations with even greater éclat. A horse can be seen turning a large central spur gear, meshed with at least two smaller gears, which activate four grinding mills. Moreover, this may only be one half of a machine comprising eight mills arranged in a square frame. In either case, this was a substantial mechanical operation, of which the company was clearly proud. Unlike Joseph Emerton's trade card of 1744, the equine colour-mill no longer complements a portrait sitting. Instead, an elegant frame and royal crest confirm the polite credentials of this horse-powered industrial operation. Colourmen were not the only manufacturers of semi-luxuries to feature equine work in their marketing material. Around 1760, the Cheapside grocer George Farr incorporated a horse-powered 'Spanish Snuff Mill' into an elegant trade card advertising his teas, coffee, snuffs, rum and brandy (Plate 24).³⁹¹ These businessmen must have viewed their horse-mills as marketing assets because trade cards 'unequivocally drew attention to any special qualities or distinctive features, novelty or variety, that merited patronage'.³⁹² While horse-mill technology conveyed modern production techniques, horses were in themselves attractive to an elite obsessed with equestrianism, meaning that even images of working horses could transcend their potentially pejorative associations with noxious industry. When considered alongside other kinds of animal portraiture, discussed below, these images suggest that horses played an accepted role in the representation of work, as well as in the broader visual culture of commerce in eighteenth-century London.

³⁹¹ See also the trade card of R. Brunsten, Tea Dealer, Grocer and Oilman, St James' Street (undated), which depicts a horse-mill grinding cocoa nibs to produce chocolate powder (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Heal Collection; reproduced and described in Fox, *The Arts of Industry*, p.240.

³⁹² Fox, *The Arts of Industry*, p.239.

Plate 23: Anon, Trade card of Emerton & Manby, oil & colourmen (etching & engraving, marked 1792).

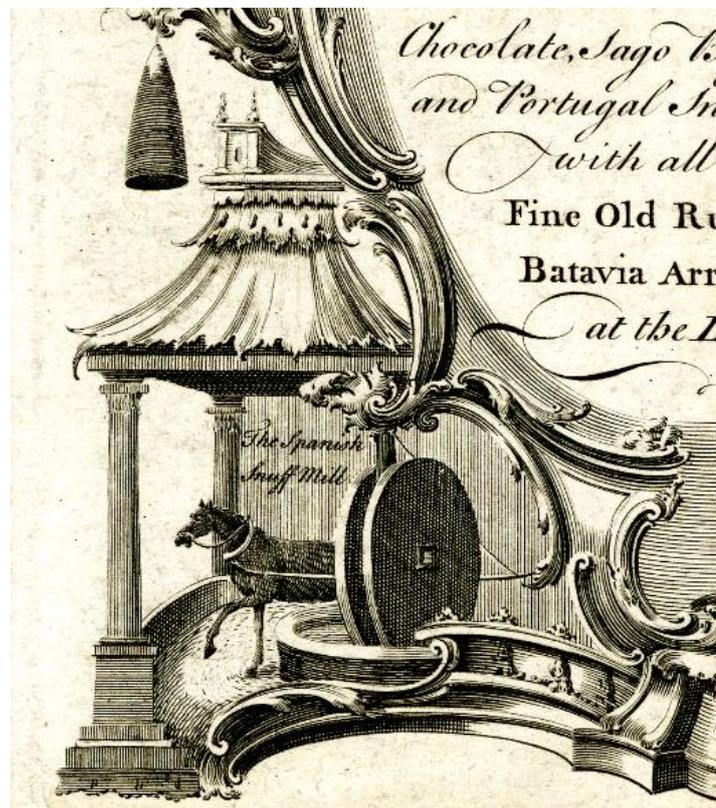
EMERTON AND MANBY,
(COLOURMEN)
N. 270 Strand, London.

*Sell all sorts of Colours ready prepared, that
 Gentlemen with the assistance of a printer's direction,
 may set their Labourers to paint any kind of Work,
 and gain a Saving of 30% Cent.*

*Composition to imitate Stone, on Wood, Brick,
 &c. By His Majesty's Royal Letter's Patent.
 the best and Cheapest material to preserve
 Successor's Works Clean, & render them durable.*

D. 2. 1535 *1792*

Plate 24: Anon, Trade card for George Farr, grocer, at the Bee-hive and Three Sugar Loaves in Wood Street near Cheapside, London (etching & engraving, 1750s) & detail.



Mill-horses played a vital role in the manufacture of paint, a process which began by crushing and grinding minerals, plants, shells and bone to extract pigments, and mixing them with oil. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, grinding was usually done by hand, either with a pestle or a manually-driven mill. While these techniques continued in the production of artists' pigments,³⁹³ house paint involved much larger-scale production, necessitating a more powerful and cost-effective mechanical process. In London, the prime mover in this shift to mass-production was the horse-driven colour-mill.

One of the earliest of these machines was pioneered in the late 1720s by Alexander Emerton (1703–37) at his manufactory/shop on the Strand. While Emerton did not mention his horse-mill in newspaper advertisements, his wife Elizabeth and brother Joseph did so repeatedly as part of a bitter commercial feud which followed his death. In 1742, Joseph notified the public that Elizabeth was an 'ignorant Pretender' to his late brother's business and advised them to prefer his nearby Norfolk Street manufactory. Central to Joseph's campaign was his claim to have made 'additional Improvements ... to his late Brother's Horse-Mill, that no Person in England can exceed, if equal, him in the Perfection or Cheapness of his Colours'.³⁹⁴ But a few days later, his rival proclaimed that

as her Colours are ground in HORSE-MILLS, of which there are not the like in England, they are prepared in much greater Perfection, and Sold considerable Cheaper than by any of the Trade that have not such Conveniences, but grind their Colours in Hand-Mills, or upon a Stone, with great Expencc and Labour.³⁹⁵

In this exchange, we can see London's leading colour-makers invoking equine technology to prevail in a highly competitive market. In referring to the 'Perfection' of their grinding processes, both parties alluded to the fact that horse-powered mills ground minerals and other matter more finely than hand tools could achieve, a quality which customers desiring a smooth finish would have appreciated. At the same time, they promised 'Cheapness' by passing on the substantial saving made by substituting equine for expensive human labour, and by selling mass-produced pigments which the customer could mix themselves rather than paying professional house-painters a premium to make and apply their own paint. In 1728, Alexander Emerton had boasted that 'Five pounds worth of Colours will paint as much Work as a House Painter will do for Twenty

³⁹³ The manufacture of artist's paint often involved grinding and mixing valuable materials, such as lapis lazuli, which required particular control; manual grinding was well-suited to this but carried a premium; see John Pass after H. Mutlow & Russell, *Pigments: a mill for grinding colours, and an indigo grinding mill*, 1824 (Wellcome Library, London).

³⁹⁴ *Common Sense or The Englishman's Journal* (13/3/1742).

³⁹⁵ *Common Sense or the Englishman's Journal* (27/3/1742).

Pounds'. Moreover, he insisted that gentlemen and builders could do away with house painters and 'set their servants or labourers to paint their Houses, only by the Help of a Printed Direction', which Emerton handed out with his paints.³⁹⁶

These developments, which were intimately connected to the use of equine power, had dramatic implications for house-painters. In 1747, Robert Campbell wrote that their business was at 'a very low Ebb', because

some Colour-shops ... have set up Horse-Mills to grind the colours, and sell them to Noblemen and Gentlemen ready mixed at a low Price, and by the Help of a few printed Directions, a House may be painted by a common Labourer at one Third the Expence it would have cost before.³⁹⁷

The horse-mill broke the bond between the business of colour-making and house-painting, emphasising that animals were at the forefront of significant social and economic change. As Campbell suggests, some tradesmen were driven out of business entirely, while others survived by offering other, specialised decorative services, including gilding, varnishing, japanning and marbling.³⁹⁸

The extant evidence makes it difficult to ascertain how many house-paint manufacturers were active in the metropolis, or what proportion of these used horse-mills. By surveying sale-of-stock advertisements for the trade in the London press,³⁹⁹ I have been able to identify and locate fourteen firms operating in the period 1725–1825. This only scratches the surface – the *Universal British Directory* of 1790 identifies fourteen firms active in that year alone and this survey was far from comprehensive.⁴⁰⁰ Pigot's *Directory* (1827) lists 42 colour manufacturers, which seems a more proximate figure.⁴⁰¹ Sale-of-stock advertisements do, however, emphasise the extent to which the manufacture of house paint relied on horse-power. Of the fourteen advertisements, eleven referred to horse-mills being part of the proprietor's stock-in-trade.⁴⁰² These sites are shown in Table 6

³⁹⁶ *Country Journal or The Craftsman* (13/6/1730) & (14/12/1728).

³⁹⁷ Robert Campbell, *The London tradesman* (1747), p.103.

³⁹⁸ Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, p.127 & *Building the Georgian city*, p.212.

³⁹⁹ 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers (Gale Digital Collections).

⁴⁰⁰ *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790).

⁴⁰¹ Pigot, *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1826-27* (1827); Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.89.

⁴⁰² The sale-of-stock advertisements which do not refer to horse mills were for the following three firms: William Everall, Chymist and Colour Maker, on the Hackney Road (*Daily Advertiser*, 22/2/1773); Thomas Fowler's Blue Manufactory, near Blackfriars Bridge (*Morning Post & Daily Advertiser*, 17/6/1789); the colour manufactory and shop of an unknown proprietor at No.93 Shoreditch (*Times*, 20/11/1797).

and Map 10, along with two others, details of which appear in the Old Bailey Proceedings and a Sun Fire insurance policy. Map 10 demonstrates that paint production was quite widely distributed across the metropolis but was concentrated in London's principal manufacturing zones, notably in Southwark, Whitechapel and Old Street. This is confirmed by *The London Tradesman* (1747), which also noted that 'the work is performed by Engines, Horses and Labourers', evincing the hybridised industriousness at the heart of metropolitan economic life.⁴⁰³ This geographical distribution reflects the fact that paint production was a noisy and noxious activity but also highlights its symbiotic relationship with other industries. Colourmen required a wide range of ingredients, including metals, oils and vinegar, many of which could be sourced from neighbouring warehouses and yards.

The presence of the two Emerton sites near the Strand highlights the area's diversity, as polite shops fronted backstreet manufactories, where men and horses were employed in various industrial processes.⁴⁰⁴ At the same time, proximity to the West End gave the Emertons privileged access to the city's wealthy consumers. It seems likely that visitors to some colour shops would have seen or at least heard their horse-mills in operation. Not all colour-makers kept their manufactories and shops on the same site – in the early 1790s, Thomas Francis kept a shop on Long Acre, while his manufactory and stables were located at Battle-Bridge, half a mile away.⁴⁰⁵ But, in 1796, one of William Manby's servants told the Old Bailey that the firm's horse-mill was positioned 'in a back place' behind the shop.⁴⁰⁶ Although the mill may not have been visible to customers, the sound of clopping hooves, and the din of intersecting gears and grinding mill-stones almost certainly carried into the shop. Moreover, considering the company's trade card, some customers may have asked to see the horse-mill, or been invited to do so. As discussed below, industrial tourism became increasingly popular in the second half of the eighteenth century and the sight of exotic pigments being ground may have intrigued some shoppers.

⁴⁰³ Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (1747), pp.106-7.

⁴⁰⁴ Not far from these sites was the blacking factory at Hungerford Stairs which employed the twelve-year-old Charles Dickens in 1824; blacking and whiting manufactories, of which Pigot listed 54 in 1826-27, also made use of horse mills, the former to grind chalk for whitewashing, and the latter to grind charred bones to produce shoe polish; M. Allen, *Charles Dickens and the Blacking Factory* (St Leonards, 2011); Pigot, *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1826-27* (1827); on whiting, see Luke Hebert, *The Engineer's and Mechanic's Encyclopaedia* (1836), vol.2, p.91; in 1825, the whiting manufacturers, Joseph and William Cooper, insured a horse-mill among other utensils and stock at their premises in Millbank, and valued their horses – probably an assortment of mill and draught horses – at £400; Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.93; LMA, MS11936/ 509, policy: 1039165, Joseph & William Cooper, whiting manufacturers, Millbank (1825).

⁴⁰⁵ OBSP, t17921215-40 (15/12/1792); Thomas Francis later entered into partnership with William Manby.

⁴⁰⁶ OBSP, t17960511-24 (11/5/1796).

Sale-of-stock advertisements also reveal the impressive scale of equine mills in some London colour manufactories. In the 1770s, a firm near St George's Fields used a 'Horse-Wheel' to operate 'two Pair of Stones'⁴⁰⁷ while Abraham Judah of Chiswell Street achieved double this,⁴⁰⁸ suggesting that there was variation in power requirements and equine employment across the trade. The size of horse-wheels also varied but probably increased in the final quarter of the century. In 1771, a 'fifteen feet diameter' horse-mill, advertised for sale by John Vaughan of Hoxton, was described as 'large' but by the late 1790s Luke Alder was operating a '21 feet horse wheel' at his imposing premises in Whitechapel.⁴⁰⁹ Such arrangements were similar in scale to those used by London's leading brewers immediately before they acquired steam engines.⁴¹⁰ This underlines the impression that some metropolitan colour-makers had become major manufacturers by c1800, aided to a large degree by equine power. At the same time, unlike the brewers discussed below, colour-makers maintained relatively low energy requirements, rarely needing more than one or two horses to power their mills.⁴¹¹ This helps to explain why so few substituted steam for horses. By 1805, only three had done so, and the horse-power of these engines averaged less than ten (see Table 7). However, as in the tanning industry, the resilience of equine power into the steam age also emphasises its effectiveness during a century (1725–1825) in which the production of paint expanded dramatically.

The majority of London's mill-horses would have been engaged in the kind of grinding work discussed above, but their power was applied to other mechanical devices and industrial processes. Among these, the pipe-boring machines used by waterworks were particularly important and demand further consideration.

⁴⁰⁷ *Daily Advertiser* (19/4/1775).

⁴⁰⁸ *Daily Advertiser* (10/9/1773).

⁴⁰⁹ *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (10/7/1771); *Oracle & Daily Advertiser* (8/7/1799).

⁴¹⁰ Boulton & Watt Archive, Engineering Drawings, Watt Engines of the Sun and Planet Type, (Reel 33: Portfolio 5), an undated drawing of Felix Calvert's brewery notes that the horse-wheel was 20 feet 10 inches in diameter. Arkwright's second textile mill in Nottingham employed a 27-foot horse-wheel; Hills, *Power in the Industrial Revolution*, p.90.

⁴¹¹ *Daily Advertiser* (10/9/1773); *Times* (17/7/1799); I have only found one reference to a two-horse colour mill, but this is not to say that they were uncommon; in 1799, the colourman, Mr Passingham, advertised for sale 'a 2 horse colour mill with 3 pair of stones' *Times* (17/7/1799).

Table 6: Horse-driven colour mills in London, 1725–1815.

Trade	Location of Manufactory (& Shop)	Proprietor	Date of known activity	Evidence of Horse Mill	Source
Colourman	No.270 The Strand (3 rd door from St Clement Church, against Arundel St	Alexander Emerton	1725-1737	(See Joseph Emerton)	<i>Common Sense or The Craftsman</i> (14/12/1728); NPG ⁴¹²
		Elizabeth Emerton	1737-46 (or later)	'Colours ground in HORSE MILLS'	<i>Common Sense or The Englishman's Journal</i> (27/3/1742); NPG
		Alexander Emerton & Co	1746, 1759-1794	-	NPG
		William Mamby & Thomas Francis	1796-1804	'into a back place [at No.270, in the Strand] where the mill stands'	OBSP, t17960511-24 (11/5/1796); NPG
Colourman	Faces Norfolk St in the Strand	Joseph Emerton	1738-1745	'a new invented Machine, or Horse Mill'	<i>Common Sense or The Englishman's Journal</i> (13/3/1742); NPG
		Thomas Etteridge	1745-53 (or later)		<i>Old England</i> (23/11/1745); Heal. Coll.89.57-59; NPG
Colour-maker	Hoxton	John Vaughan	1771	'large horse mill, fifteen feet diameter'	<i>Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser</i> (10/7/1771)
Colour-maker	No.77 Chiswell St	Abraham Judah	1773	'a large Horse-Mill which works four Pair of Stones, two Horses...'	<i>Daily Advertiser</i> (10/9/1773)
Archile [orchil] & Colour maker	George St, near the New Bridewell, Southwark	-	1775	'a compleat Horse-Wheel with two Pair of Stones' [Orchil = a red or violet dye obtained from lichen]	<i>Daily Advertiser</i> (19/4/1775)
Oil & Colourman	Butcher Row, East Smithfield	Thomas Harris	1783	'a very good horsemill for grinding colours, and a good mare'	<i>Gazetteer & New Daily Ad</i> (1/7/1783)
Oil & Colourman	Fore St [Lambeth?]	Samuel Meriton	1784	'a horse colour-mill'	<i>Gazetteer & New Daily Ad</i> (15/5/1784)
Colourman	Manufactory at Battle Bridge / shop on Long Acre	Thomas Francis	1792	'the horses in my mill'	OBSP, t17921215-40 (15/12/1792)

⁴¹² www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/s.php.

Table 6 (continued)

Colour-maker	Stones End, Southwark (possibly same as George St site above)	Mr. Passingham	1799	'a 2 horse colour mill with 3 pair of stones ... 2 mill horses'	<i>Times</i> (17/7/1799)
Colourman	Goulston Sq, Whitechapel	Luke Alder	1799	21 feet horse wheel in Mill house + stabling	<i>Oracle & Daily Ad</i> (8/7/1799)
Colourman	98 Tottenham Court Rd	Samuel Batt	1812	Horse Mill insured	LMA, Insurance policy

Waterworks

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed major advances in the supply of water to the metropolis, marking an impressive response to the demands of a growing urban population and industrial hub.⁴¹³ A crucial early development was the construction of the New River from 1606-1613 – one of the greatest engineering projects of the early modern period – which brought water along a 38 mile artificial channel from the River Lea in Hertfordshire to the New River Head reservoir at Islington.⁴¹⁴ As Jenner notes, this and other achievements amounted to the emergence of ‘the first network technologies, binding thousands of households into a common system’.⁴¹⁵ Incremental change continued throughout the Hanoverian period, including the introduction of steam power, a major expansion of the pipe network, and the maturation of a sophisticated commercial administration.

As shown below, the role played by horses in this dynamic sector changed considerably in this period, but remained crucial throughout. As early as the 1590s, the Broken Wharf Water Company had begun to employ horses to power water-raising pumps to supply the City of London.⁴¹⁶ The firm ran for more than a century, by which time several competitors were using horses for raising water. Detailed accounts for the Clink Waterworks in Southwark suggest that at least five animals, including mill-horses, were employed there in the early 1700s.⁴¹⁷ As noted above, in the 1720s, the New River Company (NRC) replaced an ineffective windmill with horses and as late as the 1750s, the Bank-End Waterworks in Southwark were using a ‘Horse-Machine for raising Thames Water’.⁴¹⁸ Yet, this relationship came to an end in the second half of the eighteenth century, when steam engines substituted horses for pumping water. In 1767, the NRC – then the leading supplier of water to the metropolis – replaced its horses for raising water with a steam engine. By that time, the Company was serving well over 30,000 houses, with rapid growth continuing thereafter.⁴¹⁹ Far from diminishing the firm’s need for horses, however, the adoption of steam power greatly increased their workload in another key area of the business: the production of wooden water pipes.

⁴¹³ M.S.R. Jenner, ‘From conduit community to commercial network? Water in London, 1500-1725’, in P. Griffiths & M.S.R. Jenner (eds.), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester, 2000), ch.12.

⁴¹⁴ R. Ward, *London’s New River* (London, 2003).

⁴¹⁵ Jenner, ‘From conduit community to commercial network?’, p.264.

⁴¹⁶ Jenner, ‘From conduit community to commercial network?’, p.257.

⁴¹⁷ TNA C5/240/16, ‘Foxley et al v. John Read et al.’ Detailed accounts for the Clink Waterworks in Southwark suggest that five animals, including mill-horses, were employed in the early eighteenth century. The high frequency of visits made by a farrier, often several per month, to treat harness wounds reveal the heavy and intensive labour provided by these horses.

⁴¹⁸ William Maitland, *The History of London* (1739 edn.), p.622 & (1756 edn.), vol.2, p.1264.

⁴¹⁹ William Maitland, *The History of London* (1756), vol.2, pp.1269-1270.

For two centuries, the necessary expansion of London's water-pipe network depended on the use of elm or alder, a relatively cheap material, from which pipes could be mass produced. Wooden pipes were probably trialled by the NRC in the early 1600s and continued to be used into the early 1800s.⁴²⁰ In the 1770s and 1780s, the Company was laying an astonishing 3,300 yards of wooden pipes on average, every year.⁴²¹ And by 1800, when the Company was the largest supplier of water to a population which had grown to around 900,000, it had laid several hundred miles. This network stretched from Marylebone in the West to Whitechapel in the East, and from Islington in the North to the Strand in the South.⁴²² Yet, in addition to its scale, the longevity of London's wooden pipe system was remarkable – cast-iron iron pipes only appeared after about 1810 and initially only spread gradually.⁴²³ As late as 1842, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* could observe that 'some wooden pipes are still used for conveying water in London'.⁴²⁴ That the NRC more than doubled its household provision between c1750 and 1828 to 66,000 houses⁴²⁵ was predominantly achieved with wooden pipes. Moreover, London's expansion and prosperity in the Hanoverian period was heavily reliant on this infrastructure. Not only did it help to quench the thirst of an expanding populace, it also supplied a key raw material to some of the city's most important industries, including brewing and distilling, soap boiling and dyeing.⁴²⁶ As Jenner notes, water was "the blood of London", and water pipes its veins'.⁴²⁷

While pipes could be carved out by hand-powered augers, mass-production required a much more powerful mechanical system. By the 1750s, the NRC was reliant on horses to power pipe-boring

⁴²⁰ Elm and alder were valued for water pipes because they were durable when exposed to water and when buried underground, as well as having a relatively low density; they were not, however, leak-proof; Jenner, 'From conduit community to commercial network?', p.257; J.W. Gough, *Sir Hugh Middleton: Entrepreneur and Engineer* (Oxford, 1964), ch.3; G.C. Berry, 'Sir Hugh Myddleton and the New River' in D. Smith (ed.), *Water Supply and Public Health Engineering* (Aldershot, 1999), pp.46-78; William Ellis, *The Second Part of the Timber-Tree Improved* (1742), pp.67 & 182-83; the durability of these wooden pipes was demonstrated when, in 1941, a German bomb exposed a well-preserved example in Piccadilly; C.E.N. Bromehead, 'The early history of water-supply', *The Geographical Journal*, 99 (1942), p.192.

⁴²¹ Based on data for 1770, 1775, 1780 and 1785; the New River Company's weekly minute books record the length and diameter of pipes ordered to be laid in the metropolis; LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/1 (1769-1778) & ACC/2558/NR1/2 (1778-1786).

⁴²² LMA, ACC/2558/NR1.

⁴²³ It was not until 1807 that The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, founded in 1754, first offered a prize for the invention of 'a substitute for the elm pipes now in common use for the conveyance of water'; *The Transactions of the Society ...* (1806), vol.24, p.13.

⁴²⁴ William Matthews, *Hydraulica, an historical and descriptive account of the water works of London* (1835), p.68; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1842).

⁴²⁵ John Williams, *An Historical Account of Sub-ways in the British Metropolis, for the flow of pure water and gas into the houses of the inhabitants, without disturbing the pavements including the projects in 1824 and 1825* (1828), p.354.

⁴²⁶ LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/1.

⁴²⁷ Jenner, 'From conduit community to commercial network?', pp.250 & 263.

machines, technology which may have been in use for fifty years or more.⁴²⁸ The use of horses is described in several encyclopaedia entries on the subject. The process began with a trunk being hoisted onto a frame – which ran on wheels to and from the ‘borer’ – to which it was secured with iron bars and chains. A horse-powered engine turned the borer so as to carve out a cylindrical hollow through the trunk.⁴²⁹ Completed pipes were then connected by inserting the narrower end of one trunk into the broader opening of another.⁴³⁰

Evidence of this system can be found in the NRC’s minute books. A ‘Horse boring Engine’ was kept at the Company’s Bridewell site, west of Blackfriars Bridge. As minutes from 1619–1769 were among the records destroyed by a fire in 1769, it is unclear how long these machines had been in use.⁴³¹ Maitland’s 1739 *History of London* refers to a boring machine but does not state whether it was horse-powered. However, the 1756 edition states that ‘Horse Engines’ were employed alongside twenty human ‘Borers’.⁴³² The continuation of manual labour at this time suggests that horse-powered machines may have been introduced relatively recently, and that this was a period of transition. Yet, by the final quarter of the century, horse-powered machines had taken over most of the company’s heavy boring work, with men largely becoming machine operators and supervisors. Thus, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the supply of power shifted decisively to horses, while simultaneously creating new opportunities for human-equine industriousness.⁴³³

⁴²⁸ Ayres, *Building the Georgian city*, p.186, acknowledges the use of water-powered augers to bore water-pipes in England, but I have found no evidence of these being used in London; see also J. Graham-Leigh, *London’s Water Wars; The Competition for London’s Water supply in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 2000), p.15; after 1775, horse-powered boring machines were also used to produce guns at the Royal Arsenal in Woolwich, before the introduction of steam in around 1845; A. Saint & P. Guillery (eds.), *Survey of London, Vol.48: Woolwich* (New Haven & London, 2012), ch.3.

⁴²⁹ George Gregory, *New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1819), vol.1, ‘Boring of water pipes’ & vol.3 ‘Pipe-Boring’; *The London Encyclopaedia or universal dictionary of science, art, literature and practical mechanics*, 22 vols. (1829), vol.17, p.421; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1842), vol. 5, ‘Boring of Wooden Pipes’.

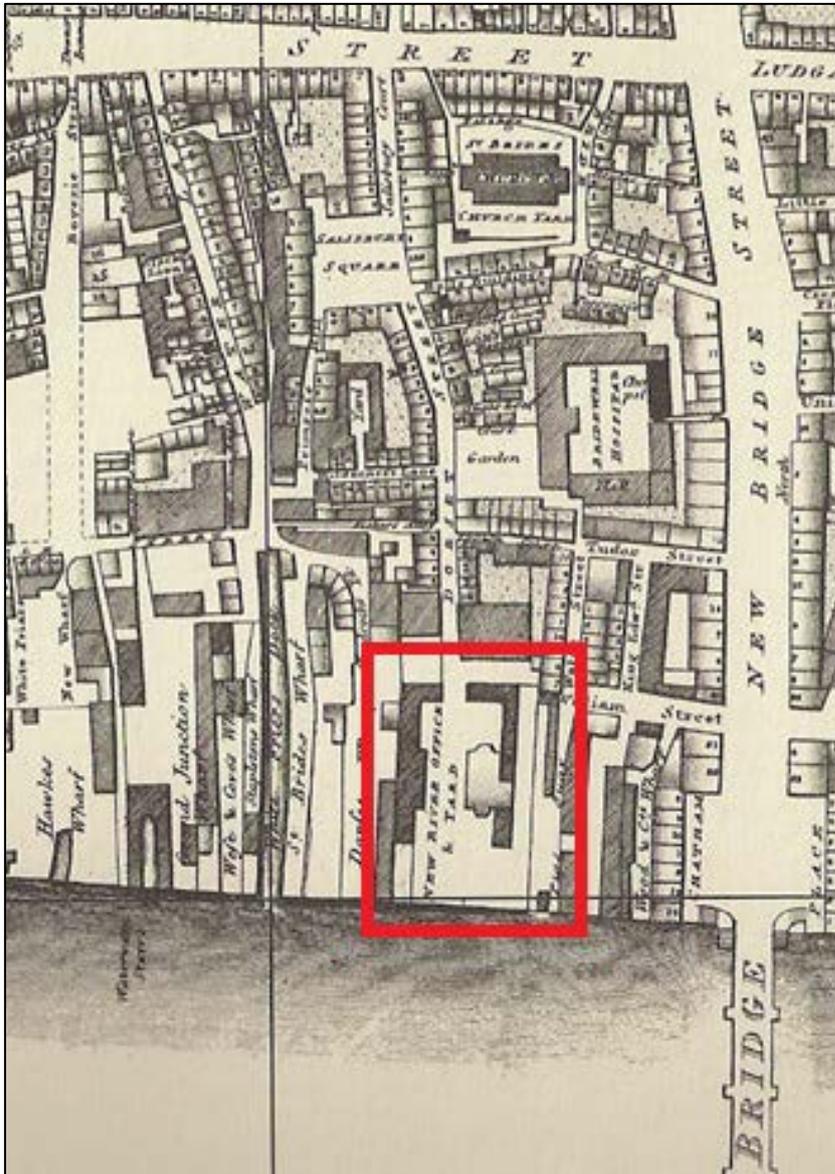
⁴³⁰ Bromehead, ‘The early history of water-supply’, pp.192; Graham-Leigh, *London’s Water Wars*, p.15.

⁴³¹ For a report compiled in c.1951 on the charred remains of these minute books, see LMA, ACC/2558/NR13/1/1.

⁴³² William Maitland, *The History of London* (1739 edn.), p.395 & (1756 edn.), vol.2, p.1269.

⁴³³ George Gregory, *New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1819), vol.3, ‘Pipe-Boring’.

Map 11: Location of the New River Company office & yard as shown in Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining showing every house* (3rd edn., 1813).



The importance of this equine technology is emphasised by the NRC's actions in the summer of 1770, in the aftermath of its fire. In May, the directors decided to move operations to nearby Dorset Yard (see Map 11) and immediately ordered the 'Horse Work and Pipeborers Sheds' to be transferred to the new site. Three months later, they instructed Robert Milne, the firm's new surveyor, to erect two 'Horse boring engine works'.⁴³⁴ This investment in additional equine power was partly a response to the metropolitan building boom which began in the 1760s and continued

⁴³⁴ LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/1, 17/5/1770 & 21/8/1770; together with sheds and stables, this boring machine was valued for insurance at £500.

into the 1790s, and which greatly increased demand for pipe-laying, particularly in the West End.⁴³⁵ At the same time, the Company was responding to the rise of metropolitan industry, in particular brewing and distilling. In 1770, the firm laid 120 yards to supply Mr Bradley's distillery in Drury Lane, and in 1785, Gordon's Distillery and Meux's Brewery joined the company's list of rate-payers.⁴³⁶ Moreover, demand for pipes was not driven by the expansion of the network alone. The average life expectancy of a wooden pipe was fourteen years, and in some soils, this dropped to just four. Thus, waterworks were in continual need of new replacements.⁴³⁷

A striking feature of this sector's development is that equine work not only survived the introduction of steam power, but expanded in parallel with it. In 1785, the NRC ordered a new Boulton & Watt engine to raise water to its principal reservoir, the High Pond in Islington.⁴³⁸ While the number of horses employed by the firm is unclear, its minutes refer to the construction and extension of stables next to the boring sheds in the final quarter of the century, suggesting that its horse stock increased in this period.⁴³⁹ The intensity of the work performed by the Company's mill-horses is emphasised by reference in the minute books to repairs being made to the boring machines and their horse-walks. In 1777, the Board ordered that 'the wall and kirb round the Horse Track of the Boring Mills ... be rebuilt as they are much out of Order'.⁴⁴⁰ In 1782 and 1783, the Company was forced to construct new sliding frames for the boring mills as the old ones had been 'worn out'. And in 1806, both boring machines were 'very much out of repair and require new Cogs to nearly all the wheels' despite running repairs over the past five years.⁴⁴¹ Of even greater significance, the Company's surveyor notified the directors that five of the company's horses were 'affected with the disorder now prevalent' in the city. These animals were having 'every attention ... paid to them by the Farrier' and 'men attending them' in the stables. This was, he advised, an opportune moment to call in a millwright to repair the machinery. The Company's directors saw the situation differently – without healthy horses, production would stall and their stock pile of pipes would soon run out, posing a serious threat to business. With this in mind, they immediately ordered their surveyor to hire replacement animals. While it is unclear whether time was granted for repairs, the exchange emphasises the company's reliance

⁴³⁵ LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/1; for instance, on 1 November 1770, the Company's Directors ordered that 740 yards of pipe be laid down Gray's Inn Road to supply 66 houses; and on 27 April 1775, 250 yards were ordered for the Berkeley Square area.

⁴³⁶ LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/1, 9/8/1770; ACC/2558/NR1/2, 12/5/1785 & 7/7/1785.

⁴³⁷ Graham-Leigh, *London's Water Wars*, p.17.

⁴³⁸ LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/2, 24/2/1785.

⁴³⁹ The standings of the 'large stable in the Pipe yard' were ordered to be enlarged in November 1784 and a month later, a second 'two Stall Stable' was to be built: LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/2, 4/11/1784 & 23/12/1784.

⁴⁴⁰ LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/1, 31/7/1777.

⁴⁴¹ LMA, ACC/2558/NR1/2, 17/10/1782 & 26/6/1783.

on keeping its horse-wheels turning, and the value which it placed on its equine workforce.⁴⁴² As well as highlighting the degree to which horses and machinery were linked in industrial decision-making, this case emphasises the importance of equine industriousness to London's industrial revolution.

As suggested, mill-horses powered machinery in a spectrum of manufacturing trades in eighteenth-century London. Moreover, in the half century which followed the invention of the rotative steam engine, many metropolitan businesses did not substitute steam for equine power. In 1799, there were approximately 36 steam engines in the capital, rising to 87 in 1805.⁴⁴³ As shown in Table 8, by the later date, steam engines were to be found in 24 different manufacturing trades but three-quarters of these employed fewer than five engines in total. Moreover, half of London's steam engines were concentrated in just four industries: brewing, distilling, dyeing and metalworking. While undermining the notion that London was backward in adopting steam power, this data also highlights a striking disparity in its use across the city's diverse manufacturing operations. Crucially, it indicates that in the sectors which eventually employed steam engines, only a fraction of businesses had made the transition by 1805. As shown in Table 8, in several industries, the number of steam engines in use barely increased in the years 1799–1805.⁴⁴⁴ In tanning and colour-making, it would appear, the vast majority (probably more than 80%) of firms were using horses rather than steam engines in 1805. While there is no comparable survey of horse-mills in 1805, or at any other date, they almost certainly outnumbered steam engines in 1805 and probably continued to do so into the 1830s.⁴⁴⁵ Moreover, in those industries which had particularly high energy requirements and eventually invested in steam technology, mill-horses had already played a transformative role. This is particularly clear in the case of brewing, one of London's leading industries and its foremost employer of horses.

⁴⁴² LMA, ACC/2558/MW/C/15/341/010, Letter from Richard Cheffins to the Board of Directors, 3/4/1806.

⁴⁴³ Farey also identified an additional 25 engines for pumping water, employed by public waterworks, docks for shipping, temporary public works and public baths; these took the total to 112; John Farey, *A Treatise on the Steam Engine, historical, practical, and descriptive* (1827), p.654.

⁴⁴⁴ The biggest increases in uptake were seen in dyeing and foundries, see Table 8.

⁴⁴⁵ Insurance policies from the 1820s show that while some snuff-makers and whiting manufactories had acquired steam engines, others were still using horses. Barnett, *London, hub of the industrial revolution*, pp.49 & 93.

Table 7: Boulton & Watt Steam Engines Planned for London Trades, 1784–1799 (36 engines in total).⁴⁴⁶

Earliest drawing	Trade	Company	Engine Type / purpose	Horse power	Source
1780s					
Mar 1784	Flour Mill	Albion	-	-	Reel 34: Portfolio 152
Feb 1787					
May 1784	Brewer	Henry Goodwyn	Double Acting / Mashing & Pumping	4	Reel 33: Portfolio 2
June 1784	Brewer	Samuel Whitbread	Double Acting / Mashing & Pumping	10 (enlarged to 20 in 1814)	Reel 33: Portfolio 4
Oct 1784	Starch Manufactory	Stonard & Curtis	Double Acting	6	Reel 34: Portfolio 3
Feb 1790	Iron Works	King & Queen Foundry	-	36	Reel 34: Portfolio 55
Oct 1785	Brewer	Felix Calvert	Single Acting / Pumping	10	Reel 33: Portfolio 5
April 1786	Dye House	Chamberlain Goodwin & Co	Double Acting	12	Reel 34: Portfolio 14
March 1786	Snuff Manufactory	Fish & Yates	Double Acting / Grinding	8	Reel 33: Portfolio 12
March 1786	Malt Distiller	Samuel Davey Liptrap & Co	Double Acting / Grinding & pumping	10	Reel 33: Portfolio 11
May 1786	Brewer	Barclay Perkins	Single Acting / Pumping	10	Reel 34: Portfolio 10
Sept 1786	Distillery	Bell, Gasse & Benwell	-	- Replaced in 1793 with 20 HP engine	Reel 34: Portfolio 15
April 1787	Wholesale Druggist	John Towill Rutt	Single Acting	4	Reel 33: Portfolio 24
March 1788	Brewer	John Calvert & Co	Single Acting / Pumping	10	Reel 33: Portfolio 22
April 1789	Brewer	John Stephenson (later Blackburn Birley & Co & then H. Meux & Co)	Double Acting / Mashing & pumping	8	Reel 33: Portfolio 43
Aug 1789	Corn Mill	John Dunkin	Double Acting / Grinding	10	Reel 34: Portfolio 49

⁴⁴⁶ Boulton & Watt Archive & Matthew Boulton Papers (Adam Matthew Publications): Part 3: Engineering Drawings – Watt Engines of the Sun and Planet Type c.1775-1802.

Table 7 (continued)

1790s					
Jan 1790	Cotton Mill	Thomas Paty	Double Acting / Spinning	6	Reel 33: Portfolio 51
Feb 1792	Cotton Mill	Richard Bowen & James Sutton	Double Acting / Spinning	12	Reel 33: Portfolio 83
March 1792	Brewer	Gideon Combrune	Double Acting / Mashing & pumping	4	Reel 33: Portfolio 85
1792	Tanner	John Abraham	Double Acting / Grinding	6	Reel 33: Portfolio 99
Sept 1792	Colour Manufactory	Brandram, Templeman & Jacques	Double Acting / Grinding	20	Reel 34: Portfolio 95
June 1793	Brewer	Cox, King, Curtis & Payne	Double Acting / Mashing & pumping	12	Reel 33: Portfolio 100
Jan 1794	Distillery	William Tate	Double Acting / Grinding & pumping	52	Reel 33: Portfolio 106
April 1794	Sugar Manufactory	Benjamin Severn	Double Acting / Mashing & pumping	10	Reel 33: Portfolio 108
June 1794	Cotton Mill	Edward Leech	Double Acting / Spinning	6	Reel 33: Portfolio 109
Oct 1794	Starch Manufactory	Suter & Randall	Double Acting / Mashing & stirring	10	Reel 34: Portfolio 111
Nov 1794	Colour Manufactory	Yallop, Grace & Johnson	Double Acting / Grinding	8	Reel 33: Portfolio 112
April 1796	Brewery	Charles Clowes & Co	Double Acting / Mashing & pumping	10	Reel 34: Portfolio 137
Nov 1796	Sugar Manufactory	Sir John Eamer & Co	Double Acting / Mashing & stirring	20	Reel 34: Portfolio 145
Aug 1797	Brewer	John Charrington & Co	Double Acting / Mashing & pumping	8	Reel 34: Portfolio 148
Aug 1797	Calenderers & Glazers	Wilkinson & Fisher	Double Acting	12	Reel 34: Portfolio 155
Nov 1797	Chemist's Laboratory	J. Maud	Double Acting Grinding	12	Reel 34: Portfolio 153
May 1798	Sugar Manufactory	William Caslett	Double Acting / Mashing & stirring	8	Reel 34: Portfolio 166
Nov 1798	Colour Manufactory	Pryor, Tilt & Gibson	Double Acting / Grinding	10	Reel 34: Portfolio 175
Jan 1799	Patent Shot Manufactory	Maltby Walkers & Co	Double Acting	4	Reel 34: Portfolio 178
Feb 1799	Mustard Manufactory	Sutton, Keen & Smith	Double Acting / Grinding	8	Reel 34: Portfolio 180
Dec 1799	Sugar Manufactory	Craven & Bowman	Double Acting / Mashing & stirring	20	Reel 34: Portfolio 198

Table 8: Steam engines at work in London in 1799 and 1805.⁴⁴⁷

Industry	No. of engines		% of total engines		Horse-power of engines	
	(1799)	(1805)	(1799)	(1805)	(1799)	(1805)
Total	36	87			422	859
Breweries	10	17	27.8	19.5	96	250
Iron forges, foundries & machine makers	1	11	2.8	12.6	36	82
Distilleries	3	8	8.3	9.2	82	114
Dyehouses	1	8	2.8	9.2	12	80
Corn mills	2	6	5.6	6.9	10	52
Calico printers	-	4	-	4.6	-	20
Vinegar Makers	-	3	-	3.4	-	20
Roperies	-	3	-	3.4	-	24
Drug mills	1	3	2.8	3.4	4	28
Colour makers	3	3	8.3	3.4	34	26
Oil mills	-	3	-	3.4	-	20
Tanneries	1	2	2.8	2.3	6	8
Cotton mills	3	2	8.3	2.3	24	12
Calenders and packers	1	2	2.8	2.3	12	22
Mustard mills	1	2	2.8	2.3	8	12
Paper mills	-	2	-	2.3	-	20
Cutlers	-	2	-	2.3	-	3
Sail-cloth weaving	-	1	-	1.1	-	14
Woollen cloth dresser	-	1	-	1.1	-	24
Starch maker	2	1	5.6	1.1	16	10
Glass cutter	-	1	-	1.1	-	6
Diamond cutter	-	1	-	1.1	-	4
Silversmiths	-	1	-	1.1	-	8
Chemists	1	-	2.8	-	12	-
Sugar Manufactories	4	-	11.1	-	62	-
Tobacco & Snuff Manufactories	1	-	2.8	-	8	-

⁴⁴⁷ Boulton & Watt Archives (Adam Matthew Publications), Part 3: Engineering Drawings, Watt Engines of the Sun & Planet Type, c.1775-1802; John Farey, *A Treatise on the Steam Engine, historical, practical, and descriptive* (1827), p.654.

Brewing

Brewing was ‘the largest scale’ operation in London’s food and drink manufacturing sector, itself a crucial element of the metropolitan industrial economy.⁴⁴⁸ The scale and sophistication of the trade increased dramatically in the second half of the eighteenth century and as Mathias asserts, it was not until the nineteenth century that the great London breweries were ‘eclipsed in size and capital’ by other industrial concerns in Britain. This astonishing growth reflected both an expanding metropolitan market for beer and major advances in large-scale brewing methods ‘with its attendant developments in marketing and distribution’ and impressive ‘mechanical innovation’.⁴⁴⁹ Between the 1720s and 1790s, the total number of breweries in London fluctuated between 140 and 180, declining from the 1750s as the biggest operations began to dominate the market.⁴⁵⁰ In 1748, William and Felix Calvert each brewed 50,000 barrels for the first time, prompting a dramatic increase in production among an elite circle of brewers. Samuel Whitbread was among the first to achieve 100,000 barrels in 1776 and doubled this figure in just twenty years, only to be overtaken by Barclay Perkins. In 1815, production at their Southwark site surmounted 300,000 barrels.⁴⁵¹

Historians have generally accredited the emergence of mass-production in the brewing industry to the adoption of the steam engine. A recent architectural study asserted that the transformation from the small-scale brewhouse to the industrial brewery ‘was powered by two factors: the availability of a mass market for beer ... and by power itself in the form of the steam engine’.⁴⁵² London’s breweries were indeed swift to adopt new steam technology but the story of their development was more complex than this. No steam engines were installed before 1784 and two of the city’s largest firms, Truman and Meux-Read, continued to rely on horse-mills for a further quarter of a century. Prior to 1784, the mechanical components of all large-scale metropolitan breweries were powered by mill-horses. Indeed, the remarkable transformation of the brewing industry seen in the eighteenth century relied on the horse long before the adoption of steam. Nor was steam’s eventual triumph over the mill-horse an immediate process. As late as 1807, five major brewers were still reliant on horse-engines. It was only in 1820, when J. Elliot’s Pimlico-based brewery converted, that the trade truly committed to steam (Table 9).

⁴⁴⁸ Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.41.

⁴⁴⁹ P. Mathias, *The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830* (Cambridge, 1959), p.27; see also Musson, *The Growth of British Industry*, pp.41 & 135.

⁴⁵⁰ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.23; by 1748, the twelve largest firms accounted for 42 per cent of London’s production; this rose to 55 per cent by 1776, to 78 per cent by 1815 and to 85 per cent by 1830; Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.42.

⁴⁵¹ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, pp.25 & 551.

⁴⁵² L. Pearson, *British Breweries: An Architectural History* (London, 1999), p.27.

Table 9: Orders placed for steam engines by London's breweries, 1784–1819.⁴⁵³

Date Ordered	Name	Brewery Location	Engine's horse power
May 1784	H. Goodwyn	St Katherine's	4
Jun 1784	S. Whitbread	Chiswell St	10 (enlarged in 1814 to 20)
Oct 1785	F. Calvert	Thames St	10
May 1786	Thrale (Barclay Perkins)	Southwark	10
Mar 1787	J. Calvert	Whitecross St	10 (destroyed in 1789)
Apr 1787	Gyfford	Long Acre	10 (enlarged in 1798 to 20 & in 1817 to 26)
Apr 1789	Stephenson	Bainbridge St, St Giles	8
Mar 1792	G. Combrune	Golden Lane	4
Jun 1793	Cox, King	City Road	12
Apr 1796	Clowes	Stoney Lane, Southwark	10
Aug 1797	Charrington	Mile End	8
Nov 1805	Brown & Parry	Golden Lane	36
Dec 1807	Truman	Spitalfields	14 (enlarged in 1824 to 30)
Jul 1809	Meux-Reid	Liquorpond St	32
Jul 1810	H. Meux	St. Giles	20
Mar 1815	J. Taylor	Limehouse	14
Dec 1819	J. Elliot	Pimlico	20

⁴⁵³ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.85.

Despite its remarkable contribution, the mill-horse has been almost entirely omitted from the history of brewing, offering little glamour to compete with the fanfare of steam. Mill-horses were ‘old broken creatures capable only of infinite plodding’. Often blind, they were seldom purchased for more than £5, marking a sharp contrast with their dray counterparts, which fetched ten times this amount. In 1766, Truman valued his entire set of five mill-horses at only £7 10s.⁴⁵⁴ These workers were almost permanently hidden from public view: the mill-house was enclosed and removed from the glistening vats which attracted visitors, despite the fact that these animals drove *the* major transformation in large-scale brewing in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1744, the brewer William Ellis described two major innovations in pumping systems, both of which relied on the power of the mill-horse. ‘Formerly’, he wrote

water-pumps ... were work’d [by men] ... But the present Contrivance works both these Pumps with more Expedition by a single Horse put into the Malt-mill ... which saves great Part of a Man’s Wages ... the Wort-pump ... is now likewise supplied by the Horse-mill ... and will with great Expedition throw up the Worts ... into the Copper.⁴⁵⁵

It has largely been forgotten that nearly fifty years before the arrival of steam engines, London’s major breweries were already highly mechanized.⁴⁵⁶ Crucially, the introduction of the rotative engine had satisfied the brewer’s need for ‘steady milling and pumping over long periods at reasonable speeds’. Yet, this innovative technology would have been nothing without an ‘eminently suited’ power source, and for half a century this remained the circular plodding of horses.⁴⁵⁷ Indeed, by increasing efficiency and cutting human labour costs, the mill-horse played a crucial role in the dramatic expansion of production in this period, upon which all further developments were founded.

In technological terms, the brewer’s mill-horse became a victim of its own success. In the second half of the eighteenth century, their employment increased substantially, so that by 1780, a large concern needed at least twenty, with teams of four ‘working together in shifts’.⁴⁵⁸ While far less expensive than their dray-horse counterparts, discussed below, mill-horses were costly to maintain. While they served the mechanical needs of the brewery more than adequately, they

⁴⁵⁴ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, pp.82 & 79.

⁴⁵⁵ William Ellis, *The London and Country Brewer* (5th edn., 1744), 180-1; The wort-pump performed the crucial role of extracting liquid wort from the mash ton into the copper, to be boiled with hops; G. Watkins, *The Complete English Brewer* (2nd edn., 1770), p.100.

⁴⁵⁶ These developments predated the start of the period generally associated with accelerated technological advance, 1760-1830; Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830*, pp.57 & 90-92 & Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches*, pp.82-3.

⁴⁵⁷ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.80.

⁴⁵⁸ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.80.

imposed 'the inconveniencies of short-shift working, fatigue, early death and replacement'.⁴⁵⁹ Thus, further expansion, requiring financial as well as mechanical efficiency, prompted moves to replace mill-horses with a less costly alternative. As suggested, this transition began much sooner and was effected more swiftly in the brewing industry than was the case in less energy-intensive trades, such as tanning and colour-making, in which the mill-horse remained the most appropriate power-source.

Yet, despite the problems which mill-horses posed, steam technology was unable to take over their work until the mid-1780s, during which time, it must be emphasised, the brewing industry continued to expand at an impressive rate. The Boulton & Watt engine was of no use to brewers before 1782, when its original pumping capability was adapted for the turning of machinery. Until that point, brewers had no alternative to the horse-wheel. So long as they needed horses to grind malt, a steam engine for pumping alone was neither practical nor cost effective. Once the new engine was available, several London brewers placed early orders and while ease of installation varied between sites, the transition appears to have been remarkably smooth. As shown by some of Boulton & Watt's plans, engines could often be 'put to' the wheel of the old horse-mill.⁴⁶⁰ In 1786, one of Whitbread's assistants, Joseph Delafield, wrote to his brother, describing the financial benefits of steam less than a year after installation

Our wheel ... required 6 horses to turn it, but we ordered our engine the power of ten, and the work it does we think is equal to fourteen horses, for we grind with all four mills about 40 quarters an hour ... We put aside by it full 24 horses, which to keep up and feed did not cost less per annum than £40 a head. The expense of erection was about £1,000. It consumes only a bushel of coals an hour.⁴⁶¹

Knowing now that steam revolutionized the brewing industry, we should nevertheless not assume that brewers found the decision to exchange their mill-horses an easy one.⁴⁶² Indeed, brewery correspondence suggests an anxious awareness of the risks involved. Barclay Perkins was the first to enquire about the Boulton & Watt engine but the firm hesitated before placing an order. As a result, they were overtaken by Goodwyn, Whitbread and Felix Calvert who were 'more easily

⁴⁵⁹ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.82.

⁴⁶⁰ Boulton & Watt Archive & Matthew Boulton Papers (Adam Matthew Publications): undated drawing of Samuel Whitbread's brewery (Reel 33: Portfolio 4); 'Reverse Copy of the Plan of the Boiler & Cylinder tops &c' for Barclay Perkins brewery, dated 2 June 1786 (Reel 34: Portfolio 10); two drawings, 1787, of John Calvert's brewery (Reel 33: Portfolio 22); see also Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, pp.81-2 & Fox, *The Arts of Industry*, pp.104-9.

⁴⁶¹ J. Delafield, 6 June 1787, cited in Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.93.

⁴⁶² McShane and Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.165.

convinced' by its promised advantages.⁴⁶³ Yet, even Goodwyn, the first to install, retained some of his mill-horses, perhaps fearing that the new technology might let him down. In July 1784, he wrote to Boulton & Watt

I have parted from one half of my Mill Horses already, & in hopes that you my Engineer, will render them all needless ... I am deliberating on the sale of the remainder but shall probably keep two or three until we are perfect masters of the conduct of our new works.⁴⁶⁴

Moreover, despite being London's fifth largest brewery in 1790, Truman's Black Eagle delayed placing an order until December 1807. Rest books covering this transition period suggest that, even after installation, the company was reluctant to dispense with its animals altogether. As shown in Table 10 and Figure 2, Truman's mill-horse stock reached its peak of 24 in 1801 – the company's steam engine was ordered six years later and, like Goodwyn, Truman anticipated its success by scaling down from ten to five animals. The engine was presumably installed by the time of the 1808 summer rest, by which time all but three mill-horses had been sold. However, by the rest of 1810, the company had acquired new mill-horses, returning to a total of seven. Only in 1811, three years after installation, did the brewery depend wholly on steam. This was the situation for London's largest and most progressive breweries. Few even considered installing an engine until they had reached 20,000 barrels. Yet they only represented around a quarter of the 100–120 companies operating in the early 1800s.⁴⁶⁵ In 1799, only around ten per cent of the city's breweries owned steam engines, rising to fifteen per cent in 1805.⁴⁶⁶ At the turn of the nineteenth century, therefore, close to a hundred breweries continued to rely on mill-horses.

Furthermore, the ultimate triumph of steam over the mill-horse by no means marked the end of equine employment in this sector. As shown below, as steam boosted production, brewers needed to expand distribution operations at an unprecedented rate, generating unprecedented workloads for London's giant dray-horses.

⁴⁶³ Spiller, 'The Georgian brewery', p.321.

⁴⁶⁴ Cited in Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.81.

⁴⁶⁵ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, pp.22 & 81; Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 35-6, 49 & 93.

⁴⁶⁶ Around ten breweries were operating a steam engine by the end of 1799, according to The Boulton & Watt Archive & Matthew Boulton Papers (Adam Matthew Publications): Part 3: Engineering Drawings – Watt Engines of the Sun & Planet Type c.1775-1802; John Farey, *A Treatise on the Steam Engine, historical, practical, and descriptive* (1827), p.654, noted that seventeen breweries were operating engines in 1805.

The above demonstrates that mill-horses played a vital role in the economic life of Hanoverian London. Unable to harness the energy of wind or water to any significant degree, and under pressure to transfer expensive human labour away from unskilled drudgery,⁴⁶⁷ many metropolitan industries took advantage of the city's rich supply of horse muscle to power increasingly sophisticated machinery. As well as helping to expand production and reduce costs, these animals delivered a versatile power source which, through the horse-wheel, could be put to activities as diverse as pugging clay; grinding cereals, snuff, pigments, chalk and flint; pumping water and boring pipes. The continued use of equine mechanical power in the steam age should no longer be viewed as evidence of technological backwardness or commercial decline. Rather, it emphasises the need to appreciate the effectiveness of equine power in particular industrial contexts.

Having highlighted the contribution made by horses in some of London's key manufacturing activities, questions have been raised concerning the distribution of goods and the challenges posed by distance. As discussed below, the city's ability to transport huge quantities of raw materials and finished goods played a key role in securing its place at the heart of the industrial revolution. Moreover, even as steam engines gradually replaced mill-horses, they simultaneously expanded the need for horse-drawn transportation, thus ensuring that London remained an equine economy.

⁴⁶⁷ Mokyř, *The Enlightened Economy*, pp.267-69.

Table 10: Truman brewery dray- and mill-horse stock, 1762–1780; 1790–1835.⁴⁶⁸

Year	Dray- Horses	Mill- Horses	Total Horse Stock	Year (cont.)	Dray- (cont.)	Mill- (cont.)	Total (cont.)
1762	-	-	75	1803	58	20	78
1763	-	-	-	1804	52	20	72
1764	-	-	80	1805	62	14	76
1765	-	-	81	1806	56	10	66
1766	85	5	90	1807	60	5	65
1767	86	4	90	1808	55	3	58
1768	-	-	-	1809	60	2	62
1769	-	-	77	1810	57	7	64
1770	-	-	78	1811	70	0	70
1771	-	-	78	1812	67	0	67
1772	-	-	79	1813	63	0	63
1773	-	-	76	1814	65	0	65
1774	-	-	-	1815	75	0	75
1775	60	18	78	1816	80	0	80
1776	59	21	80	1817	84	0	84
1777	58	17	75	1818	83	0	83
1778	60	18	78	1819	84	0	84
1779	55	17	72	1820	84	0	84
1780	50	17	67	1821	89	0	89
				1822	89	0	89
1790	56	19	75	1823	93	0	93
1791	52	17	69	1824	91	0	91
1792	54	17	71	1825	86	0	86
1793	59	19	78	1826	89	0	89
1794	54	17	71	1827	84	0	84
1795	60	18	78	1828	80	0	80
1796	58	18	76	1829	76	0	76
1797	57	22	79	1830	76	0	76
1798	58	21	79	1831	82	0	82
1799	60	15	75	1832	86	0	86
1800	59	19	78	1833	93	0	93
1801	57	24	81	1834	95	0	95
1802	57	21	78	1835	103	0	103

⁴⁶⁸ LMA, B/THB/B/3-25/A, Truman brewery rest books, 1759-1780 & 1790-1836.

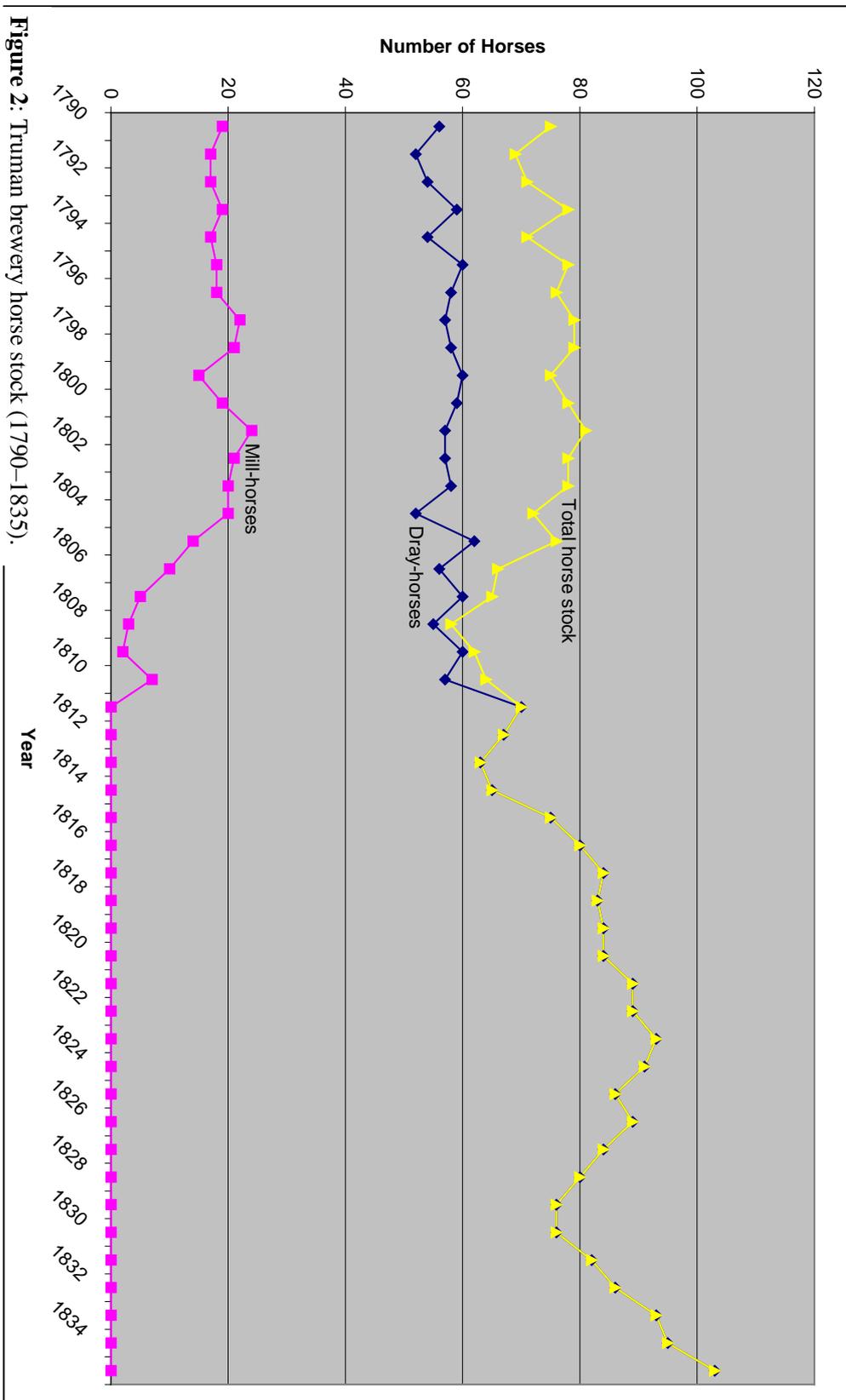


Figure 2: Truman brewery horse stock (1790–1835).

II. Equine Haulage

Since the 1980s, several historians have reasserted the importance of Britain's roads prior to the railway age and acknowledged that the movement of freight and passengers played a crucial role in Britain's industrial revolution. Moreover, for good reason, these studies have emphasised London's role as a transport hub.⁴⁶⁹ By the 1770s, intra-urban travel was served by around 1,000 hackney coaches⁴⁷⁰ in addition to the thousands of private carriages used by the elite (see Chapter 4). London was also the focal point of England's stage-coach system, which steadily expanded from the mid-eighteenth century. By 1825, there were '600 short-stages making about 1,800 journeys a day to and from the City and West End'.⁴⁷¹ The expansion of long-stage services was equally impressive and by the mid-1770s, around fifty London inns were directly involved.⁴⁷² As early as 1637, a national network of waggon carrying services was converging on the capital, the scale of these operations trebling between 1681 and 1838.⁴⁷³ By the latter date, about a thousand waggons were traversing the metropolis every week.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁹ D. Gerhold, *Road Transport Before the Railways: Russell's London Flying Waggons* (Cambridge, 1993), p.1; J.A. Chartres, 'Road Carrying in England in the seventeenth century: myth and reality', *EcHR*, 30 (1977), pp.73-94; Chartres & G. Turnbull, 'Road Transport', in D.H. Aldcroft & M.J. Freeman (eds.), *Transport in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1983), pp.64-99; T. Barker & D. Gerhold, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport, 1700-1990* (Cambridge, 1995); C. Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship 1603-1763* (London, 1965); W.G. Hoskins, *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter 1688-1800* (Manchester, 1935); H. J. Dyos & D. H. Aldcroft, *British Transport: An Economic Survey from the Seventeenth Century to Twentieth* (Harmondsworth, 1974); J.A. Chartres, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Inn: A Transient 'Golden Age?', in B. Kumin & B Ann Tlusty (eds.) *The World of the Tavern* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 205-26; Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy*, pp.198-219; Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.183.

⁴⁷⁰ T. May, *Gondolas and Growlers: The History of the London Horse Cab* (Stroud, 1995); until 1833, hackney coach proprietors enjoyed a legal monopoly over short-distance traffic within the Bills of Mortality. The two-wheeled cabriolet, introduced to London in 1823, was drawn by a single horse; M.S.R. Jenner, 'Circulation and disorder: London streets and hackney coaches, c.1640-c.1740' in T. Hitchcock and H. Stone (eds.), *The Streets of London from the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London, 2003), pp.40-58.

⁴⁷¹ This represented about one fifth of all the stage coaches in England at the time; Barker & Gerhold, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport*, p.59; T.C. Barker & M. Robbins, *A History of London Transport, vol.1* (London, 1963), p.4.

⁴⁷² Aldcroft & Freeman, *Transport in the Industrial Revolution*, p.54; Barker & Gerhold, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport*, p.58; *The London Directory* (1776); see also, A. Everitt (ed.), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London, 1973), p.101.

⁴⁷³ Dorian Gerhold's assessment that there was a 'three-fold' expansion in this period contrasts sharply with Chartres and Turnbull's earlier suggestion of a 10-fold increase. Both sets of figures were based on studies of Directory lists of carriers, 'an extremely treacherous source'; Gerhold has convincingly shown that Chartres and Turnbull failed to discount 'double or multiple entries' while developing a far more reliable methodology. Gerhold's 'three-fold' increase appears to represent a reliable assessment; D. Gerhold, 'The Growth of the London Carrying trade, 1681-1838', *EcHR*, 41 (1988), pp.392-410; Chartres, 'Road Carrying in England', pp.73-94; Chartres & Turnbull, 'Road Transport' in Aldcroft & Freeman (eds.), *Transport in the Industrial Revolution*, pp.64-99.

⁴⁷⁴ Gerhold, *Road Transport Before the Railways*, pp.1-3.

Analysis of these developments has made a major contribution, but there has been a tendency to prioritise roads, vehicles, infrastructure and human transport workers over horses. While previous studies may not have taken the horse for granted, they have certainly not examined its contribution in detail. Yet, Britain's transport revolution involved unprecedented developments in the organisation of equine labour, particularly in London. In 1815, it was estimated that about 31,000 horses were employed in the metropolitan area,⁴⁷⁵ a large proportion of which would have been involved in haulage and passenger transport. While it is difficult to corroborate such estimates, there is a wealth of evidence of the prevalence of draught-horses in the city's streets, as well as their economic importance. Yet, despite this, British animal studies have tended to view the work of draught-horses, like that of mill-horses, in terms of exploitation and abuse. Donald asserts that 'It was the increasingly ferocious competition between commercial proprietors which led to the overworking of draught horses; it was the scale of London's building and engineering projects which taxed their strength'.⁴⁷⁶ Similarly, Kean notes that 'horses were regularly flogged in the interests of increased profits'.⁴⁷⁷ This approach appears to treat equine work, and suffering, as a rarefied category. By contrast, this study asserts the need to integrate beasts of burden into social and economic historiographies.⁴⁷⁸

This chapter focusses on haulage, an aspect of London's industrial economy which has been sidelined by metropolitan finance and overseas trade.⁴⁷⁹ Yet, as Gerhold asserts, Britain's major commercial carriers primarily 'served London and its port'; they assisted in the feeding of the city, in strengthening its wholesaling function, in enlarging the hinterland of its port, in supplying its industries with raw materials, in 'providing it with manufactures cheaper than could have been produced in the city itself', in 'distributing the produce of London's own industries' and in

⁴⁷⁵ J. Nightingale, *London and Middlesex* (1815), vol.3, p.476

⁴⁷⁶ Donald, "Beastly sights", p.50.

⁴⁷⁷ H. Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London, 1998), pp.50-51.

⁴⁷⁸ As studies of North America have done: McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*; Norton Green, *Horses at Work*.

⁴⁷⁹ T.S. Ashton, *An Economic History of England: The Eighteenth Century* (London, 1955); P.J. Cain & A.G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly capitalism and British expansion overseas I. The old colonial system, 1688-1850', *ECHR*, 39 (1986), p.519; S.L. Engerman, 'Mercantilism and overseas trade, 1700-1800', in R. Floud & D. McCloskey (eds.), *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700, Vol.1: 1700-1860* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1994), pp.182-204; D. Hancock, *Citizens of the World. London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-85* (Cambridge, 1995); A. Saunders (ed.), *The Royal Exchange* (London, 1991); R.C. Nash, 'The organization of trade and finance in the British Atlantic economy, 1600-1830' in P.A. Coclanis (ed.), *The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organisation, Operation, Practice, and Personnel* (Columbia, 2005), pp.95-151; H. Roseveare, 'Property versus commerce in the mid-eighteenth-century port of London' in J.J. McCusker & K. Morgan, *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, 2000), ch.3; C.J. French 'Crowded with traders and great commerce': London's domination of English overseas trade, 1700-1775', *The London Journal*, 17 (1992), pp.27-35 & 'London's overseas trade with Europe 1700-1775', *Journal of European Economic History*, 23 (1994), pp.475-501; W.D. Rubinstein, *Men of property: The Very Wealthy in Britain Since the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1981), pp.109-10.

‘maintaining London’s role as a financial centre’.⁴⁸⁰ While some of these waggon firms were based in London, many were headquartered in provincial towns and when required to rest their horses, often used stables outside the city to reduce costs.⁴⁸¹ For this reason, their presence in London was fleeting and their character only partially metropolitan. A huge amount of intra-urban haulage work was, however, performed by cart horses employed and stabled within the city. Analysis of this activity emphasises that the entwined industriousness of horses, men and machinery played a crucial role in London’s industrial revolution, reasserting the need to unbound the social.⁴⁸²

London’s draught-horses

The study of waggon services has posed major challenges for historians, both due to the frustrating scarcity of evidence and the pitfalls associated with using certain kinds of extant sources such as the Directory lists of carriers.⁴⁸³ Intra-urban haulage throws up its own challenges. While insurers often valued London’s stables, the horses which occupied them were either excluded from cover or subsumed within the broad category of ‘stock and livestock’. Certain kinds of regulatory information can be found in the archives of the Worshipful Company of Carmen, but this reveals little about horse-human labour.⁴⁸⁴ To glean this kind of detail, I have been heavily dependent on the Old Bailey Proceedings, as well as on sale-of-stock advertisements and traffic accident reports published in the London press. I have also found supporting detail in contemporary legislation dealing with street improvement and traffic regulation, as well as in visual sources. This evidence reveals that a spectrum of trades relied on horse-drawn carts in the Hanoverian metropolis but detail about this work, of the kind we might expect to find in business

⁴⁸⁰ Gerhold, *Road Transport Before the Railways*, p.125 & p.223; in addition to road carrying, from the early nineteenth century, horses began to power thriving ‘fly-boat’ services on newly-built canals connecting London to the rest of the country. Regent’s Canal opened on 1st August 1820 and horse-drawn cargoes continued to use it until 1956, www.canalmuseum.org.uk/history; in the 1820s, the major carrying firm, Pickfords, was employing 4,000 horses to transport goods along canals between London and Birmingham; Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society*, p.13.

⁴⁸¹ For instance, Russell & Co. which carried goods between the West Country and London were based in Exeter and stabled its ‘London District’ horses at Blackwater; Gerhold, *Road Transport Before the Railways*, pp.33, 58, 73 & 137.

⁴⁸² Joyce & Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers*; Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.

⁴⁸³ On the scarcity of evidence, see Gerhold, *Road Transport Before the Railways*; on the use of directory lists, see Gerhold, ‘The growth of the London carrying trade, 1681-1838’, pp.392-410; Chartres, ‘Road carrying in England’, pp.73-94; Chartres & Turnbull, ‘Road transport’, pp.64-99.

⁴⁸⁴ Guildhall Library: CLC/210/E/006/MS22546, Papers relating to the regulation of carmen in the City of London (1690s-1790s); CLC/210/E/002/MS12830, volume of memoranda of carrooms (1664-1759); CLC/210/E/003/MS12831, Carmen’s affairs committee book, recording chiefly fines and receipts (1699-1757); CLC/210/E/004/MS12832/001 & 002, Carrooms receipt books (1665-1716) & (1751-1837); CLC/210/E/005/MS12833/001-015, Carroom licence books (1665-1837); see also LMA, COL/SJ/06/041-69, Transport: records relating to the Fellowship of Carmen, carmen and carts (1600s-1800s).

records, is very rare. Brewing offers by far the best insight into an industry's equine haulage operations and, therefore, forms a major part of this study.

The importance of London's draught horses is highlighted by an emphatic plea attributed to 'the CITIZEN' published in the *Lloyd's Evening Post* in 1758. Highlighting the threat posed by the engrossing of hay, it asserted that

To any man who knows anything of the manner in which Trade is now carried on, it is self-evident that, to a great number of Tradesmen, an Horse is as absolutely necessary as a shop or warehouse. There are also 800 Hackney Coachmen ... 420 free Carmen ... [and] an innumerable number of Higlrs, &c who cannot carry on their business without Horses. Now to all these honest industrious poor People, the raising the Price of Hay is equally oppressive with the raising the Price of Bread⁴⁸⁵

Smaller and more manoeuvrable than waggons, the horse-drawn cart was used to transfer myriad goods between London's wharves, warehouses, markets, shops, houses, waste pits and construction sites. When a load exceeded the capabilities of a porter, wheelbarrow or an ass; a two- or four-wheeled cart was called upon. Varying in design and size, these vehicles were pulled by anything from one to four horses. Two-wheeled carts were legally entitled to carry loads of up to one ton, rising to 25 hundredweights in 1757, but heavier loads were carried, both illegally and by four-wheeled carts.⁴⁸⁶ There were three main categories of cart: those licensed for hire in the City, those privately employed by tradesmen, and suburban errand carts.

The history of licensed carts in London goes back to the early sixteenth century, when forty 'cars' were officially allowed to ply for hire. This figure gradually increased until an Act of Common Council in 1654 established a limit of 420, which remained in place throughout the eighteenth century.⁴⁸⁷ In theory, licensed carmen enjoyed the 'exclusive privilege of acting for hire in the City'. Much of their business came from the Port of London wharves, picking up freight and delivering it to warehouses. When trade was buoyant, carts overwhelmed the area around Thames Street, prompting repeated complaints from residents.⁴⁸⁸

In addition to the licensed trade, many merchants and tradesmen kept their own carts and horses. By 1772, this practice had become so widespread that the city's licenced Carmen began to

⁴⁸⁵ *Lloyd's Evening Post* (17-20/3/1758).

⁴⁸⁶ E. Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen of London* (1952; London, 1982), p.106; Public Act, 30 Geo II, c.22.

⁴⁸⁷ Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, pp.18 & 50.

⁴⁸⁸ Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, pp.98-103.

obstruct private carts from collecting their property from the riverside.⁴⁸⁹ A group of incensed merchants and traders met twice in February and appointed a committee which threatened to prosecute carmen who persisted in causing trouble. These plans were communicated to the *Gazetteer* newspaper and published. In a spirited reponse, printed immediately below this report, the Fellowship of Carmen proclaimed that ‘a few cheesemongers of this city and suburbs who keep carts’ would not ‘intimidate them’. But the Carmen were already on the back-foot.⁴⁹⁰ Long before the 1770s, London’s demand for equine haulage had far out-stretched the capabilities of the licenced carmen. Unable to increase their numbers since 1654, they watched as private carts devoured much of the new distribution work generated by metropolitan trade and industry. A major department of London’s economy which relied heavily on equine haulage was construction.⁴⁹¹

Construction

London’s physical expansion and improvement in this period involved the distribution of enormous quantities of timber, bricks, stone, slate, gravel, lime and other materials. One of the most important sectors in the city’s construction industry was the timber trade, and the need to transport this bulky material generated extensive work for horses. The *Universal British Directory* of 1790 lists more than a hundred timber merchants in London and Horwood’s early nineteenth-century map shows no fewer than forty timber yards, half of which were located in Lambeth, Southwark and Bermondsey.⁴⁹² From here, large four-wheeled timber carriages, drawn by three or more horses, as well as smaller carts supplied building sites across the metropolis.⁴⁹³ William Parrot’s lithograph of 1841 (Plate 25), which depicts a timber carriage traversing Milbank, attests to the impressive loads which a team of four horses could haul. To profit from increasing demand, timber merchants acquired more horses to maximise their distribution capabilities. A stock of ‘six excellent draught horses, two carts, [and] two timber carriages’, advertised for sale in the *Oracle* newspaper in 1800, was probably typical of a middle-sized operation at the time.⁴⁹⁴ In addition to timber merchants, newspaper advertisements reveal that many carpenters also kept horses and carts. In 1778, the *Gazetteer* advertised ‘All the Stock in Trade’ of Richard Dixon of Pimlico, to

⁴⁸⁹ On the recalcitrance of carmen, see Conclusion.

⁴⁹⁰ *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (27/2/1772).

⁴⁹¹ Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*, ch.3; Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, ch.5.

⁴⁹² *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790); almost a quarter (9) of timber yards featured in Horwood’s map were located in East Smithfield, Ratcliffe, Limehouse and Rotherhithe; Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining showing every house* (3rd edn., 1813) in London Topographical Society, *The A-Z of Regency London* (London, 1985).

⁴⁹³ OBSP, t17860719-83 (19/7/1786).

⁴⁹⁴ *Oracle & Daily Advertiser* (24/7/1800).

include ‘a shod-wheel cart, a truck, and a cart gelding’ while in 1795, another carpenter’s stock featured ‘two good cart horses’.⁴⁹⁵



Plate 25: William Parrott, *Lambeth & Westminster from Millbank* (lithograph, 1841).

⁴⁹⁵ *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (16/1/1778); *Morning Post & Fashionable World* (24/4/1795).

Brick-carts were kept equally busy on the streets of London, travelling to and from suburban production sites particularly around Islington, Hackney and Mile End. Old Bailey depositions and reports in the metropolitan press highlight the prevalence and vigorous industry of these horse-human-mechanical units. While production clustered as close as possible to building sites, largely to reduce haulage costs, brick carts completed multiple daily deliveries.⁴⁹⁶ In 1809, the brick-maker William Green ordered his carter to take 500 bricks (a full load) from his yard in Whitechapel to nearby Wentworth Street, before making two further rounds to pick up 1000 bricks for the Swan tavern in Bethnal Green. The combined weight of these bricks probably exceeded four tons, and only represented half a day's work.⁴⁹⁷ Moreover, regular reports of carters speeding when their brick-carts were empty or overloading their vehicles suggest that men and horses were working against the clock to meet ambitious delivery targets (see Conclusion).⁴⁹⁸ This appears to suggest that the intensity of work performed by draught horses increased during the industrial revolution, a possibility which I examine further below.

Increasing demand for stone, particularly in the West End, generated further haulage work for draught-horses, as did the improvement and maintenance of London's expanding network of paved streets.⁴⁹⁹ Plate 26, an illustration from Thomas Malton's *Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London & Westminster* (1792) depicts a three-horse cart about to be loaded at a stone wharf in Lambeth. In the background, workmen can be seen using a crane to land a stone block from a barge. The carter keeps his animals in order, standing harness-in-hand as the law directed.⁵⁰⁰ As shown by the records of the City's Commissioners of Sewers and Pavements, London's paviours were paid to remove, cart away and dispose of broken stones as well as to collect huge quantities of new material from the stone wharves on the Thames. In February 1767 alone, the Commissioners contracted with one firm to deliver 50 tons of 'square Guernsey Pebbles for paving the Carriage Ways' and advertised for another firm to take up and newly pave 25,000 yards of carriageway and 10,000 yards of 'Purbec paving in the Footways'.⁵⁰¹ What is so striking about this kind of equine labour is the fact that it was so self-generating. As the number of horse-drawn vehicles traversing the metropolis increased, so did the haulage work needed to maintain

⁴⁹⁶ Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*, p.111; Cox, 'A vital component: stock bricks in Georgian London', p.62.

⁴⁹⁷ OBSP, t18090920-159 (20/9/1809); see also t18070218-67 (18/2/1807).

⁴⁹⁸ *General Advertiser* (5/2/1752); *London Evening Post* (10-12/9/1776); by 1764, the legal limit for the number of bricks in a load had been set at 750; *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (10/11/1764); in 1777, the stock of William Nichols, bricklayer, included 'a strong draught gelding, a cart and harness'; *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (16/5/1777).

⁴⁹⁹ On paviours, see Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*, pp.94-100.

⁵⁰⁰ See Chapter 5 & Conclusion.

⁵⁰¹ LMA, CLA/006/AD/04/004, Minutes of the Commissioners of Sewers and Pavements of the City of London, 3/2/1767; on the transportation of stone from quarries, see B. Tyson, 'Transportation and the supply of construction materials: an aspect of traditional building management', *Vernacular Architecture*, 29 (1998), pp.63-81.

and expand London's road network, thereby magnifying the influence of equine industriousness on the metropolitan economy. The horse was clearly at the forefront of the construction industry's growing importance in London but it also helped to facilitate many other aspects of the consumer revolution, enabling tradesmen to distribute a spectrum of goods across the city.



Plate 26: Anon, 'Westminster Bridge', illustration to Thomas Malton's *Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London & Westminster* (1792), vol.1.

Town carts & errand carts

Sale-of-stock advertisements and Old Bailey testimonies reveal that brewers, grocers, tea-dealers, butchers, dyers, flour millers, bakers, stationers, tallow-chandlers, stove-grate makers, fellmongers, shoe-makers, gardeners and undertakers kept a town-cart, with one or two draught horses to draw it.⁵⁰² Moreover, topographical prints almost invariably feature horse-drawn carts in the streets of London, except in the West End, where artists preferred to depict polite carriages despite the fact that commercial vehicles remained common there.

Striking evidence of the prevalence of horse-drawn carts appears in Rowlandson's *A Bird Eye View of Covent Garden Market* (1811) (see Plate 27), which depicts an orderly rank of carts stretching almost the entire length of the south-side of the market. Meanwhile, the street swarms with grocers' carts going about their business. The image resounds with clattering hooves, impatient neighing and rattling wheels, as well as the hubbub of human interaction. Many of the vehicles depicted here would have been collecting stock to be carried to shops. But some metropolitan grocers and chandlers also freed their customers from carrying heavy items such as soap, candles, sugar and vegetables through the streets, by offering a home delivery service. In 1795, for instance, a tallow-chandler in Marylebone Lane recalled that he had been 'out with my horse and cart, carrying some soap about the City ... and in the Borough'.⁵⁰³ Thus, equine haulage enabled tradesmen to extend their reach over the expanding metropolis but also acted as a powerful mobile marketing tool, as firms branded the side-panels of their vehicles.⁵⁰⁴

Moreover, in a seasonal and uncertain commercial environment, access to equine haulage offered much-needed flexibility in the daily struggle to make a living. The Old Bailey Proceedings show that horse-drawn carts were commonly used for different purposes during the year. In 1765, Thomas Ibetts, a green grocer, was said to keep 'a horse and cart, and goes to Covent-garden market for greens, and at spare times, digs and carries gravel for people'.⁵⁰⁵ In 1795, Thomas Pragnall 'went about ... with a horse and cart ... selling greens and garden stuff' in the summer

⁵⁰² Stove-grate maker: *Oracle & Daily Advertiser* (10/4/1799); Tallow-chandler: *World* (22/3/1787); Grocers: *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (16/10/1775) & *World*, 13 April 1790; OBSP, t18090215-76 (15/2/1809) & t18090920-6 (20/9/1809); Fellmongers: *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (26/11/1800); Stationers: *World* (2/2/1789); Flour miller: OBSP, t18090626-68 (26/6/1809); Baker: OBSP, t18140420-20 (20/4/1814); Butchers: t17830604-3 (4/6/1783); t17880625-12 (25/6/1788) & t18100919-43 (19/9/1810); Silk dyer: OBSP, t17960113-41 (13/1/1796); Gardeners: OBSP, t17860531-2 (31/5/1786) & *Public Advertiser* (2/7/1755); Undertakers: *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (4/12/1784) & *Oracle & Daily Advertiser* (17/7/1799).

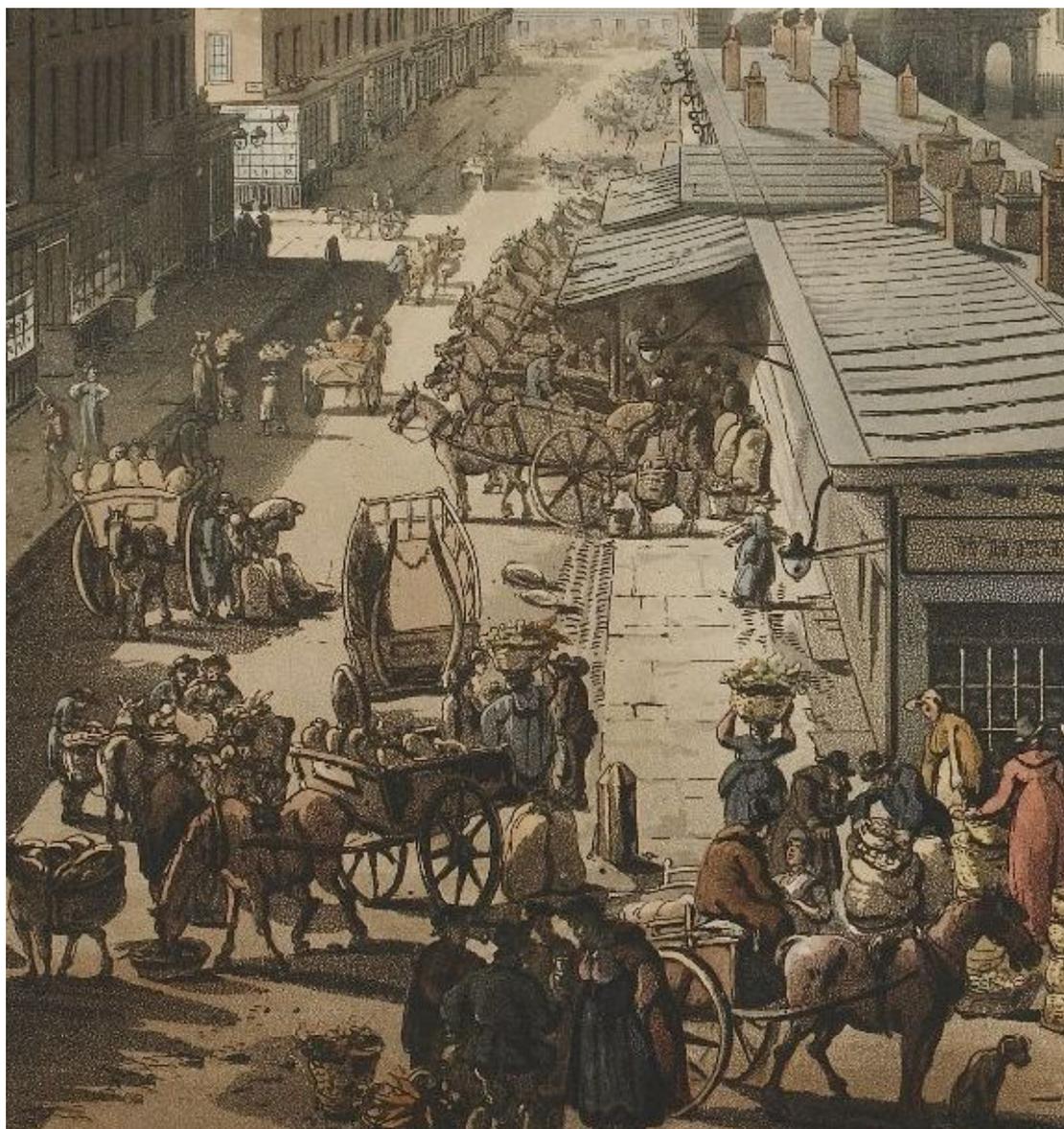
⁵⁰³ OBSP, t17950916-98 (16/9/1795).

⁵⁰⁴ On the processes through which groceries were sold in the provinces, see J. Stobart, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford, 2012).

⁵⁰⁵ OBSP, t17651016-15 (16/10/1765).

and ‘in the winter time went a dusting’.⁵⁰⁶ And in 1769, William Whitley described himself as ‘a shoemaker by trade’, working in Wapping, but said he had gone to Smithfield to buy a horse because ‘I keep a little cart ... to do jobs’.⁵⁰⁷ Similarly, in 1799, John Dayson described himself as ‘a green-grocer and carman, in Tottenham Court Road’.⁵⁰⁸

Plate 27: Thomas Rowlandson, *A Bird Eye View of Covent Garden Market* (Hand-coloured aquatint, 1811) [detail].



⁵⁰⁶ OBSP, t17950916-57 (16/9/1795).

⁵⁰⁷ OBSP, t17690906-107 (6/9/1769).

⁵⁰⁸ OBSP, t17991030-67 (30/10/1799).

In addition to serving retailers, cart horses were also engaged in the crucial and profitable activity of waste collection and disposal. Nightmen emptied cesspools, chimney-sweepers dealt with soot, and rubbish-carters and scavengers collected an array of urban detritus including dung, cinders, rubble and food waste. Larger operators were able to perform more than one of these tasks. In another example of horses enabling entrepreneurial flexibility, the tallow-chandler William Lewis doubled as a rubbish carter and nightman. His trade card, dated 1754, stated that he ‘Keepeth Carts and Horses for Carriages of Sand, Gravel, Slop, Rubbish, &c’ as well as ‘Night-Carts and Men for emptying of Bogg-Houses’.⁵⁰⁹ Similar cards (see Plates 28 & 29) printed for the ‘nightman and rubbish carter’ Robert Stone depict a single-horse vehicle for removing sewerage and a barrel-loaded cart with three in the harness.⁵¹⁰ A large part of the work performed by these trades involved carting waste to pits on the outskirts of the city.⁵¹¹ However, materials deemed useful by other trades were transported to their respective customers around the metropolis – this included dung, which was sold to market gardeners; and cinders, which were used in brick-making. Moreover, when employed to remove rubbish from building sites, scavengers often made return trips loaded with gravel, screed, clay and sand.⁵¹² By the end of the eighteenth century, a decent living could be made from waste removal and some master dustmen and nightmen were able to invest in several horses and vehicles.⁵¹³ In the 1780s, Mr Hands of Old Street kept seven horses and carts and employed the same number of men to ‘collect dust about the metropolis’, some of which he sold to a builder at Hoxton.⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁹ Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection, cited in E. Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise & Stench in England 1600-1770* (New Haven & London, 2007), p.185.

⁵¹⁰ See also LMA, tradecards: SC/GL/TCC/Bates (1771); SC/GL/TCC/Robins & Harper (1787); SC/GL/TCC/Foulger (1783); SC/GL/TCC/Gibbens (1779); SC/GL/TCC/Rickards (c.1820).

⁵¹¹ See LL, CW/IC/652370782, City of Westminster coroners’ inquests into suspicious deaths (29/12/1797).

⁵¹² Soane Museum, London, Price book, contract of scavenger (1770s) cited in Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*, p.42.

⁵¹³ B. Maidment, *Dusty Bob: A Cultural History of Dustmen, 1780-1870* (Manchester, 2007), p.23.

⁵¹⁴ OBSP, t17870523-21 (23/5/1787); Thomas Legg, *Low Life* (1764), p.99, observed that between ten and eleven o’clock on a Sunday night, ‘The Slaves who do Business for Nightmen, [were] preparing their Teams of Horses, to come into the City, and follow their Occupation’.

Plate 28: Trade Card for Robert Stone, Nightman and Rubbish Carter (1745) [detail].



Plate 29: Trade Card for Robert Stone, Nightman and Rubbish Carter (c.1750) [detail].



While eminently useful, cart-horses were a considerable investment for small tradesmen or shopkeepers. In the mid-eighteenth century, a decent cart gelding could cost as much as £12, with the costs of feed and care, plus vehicle repairs mounting up thereafter.⁵¹⁵ Many businesses would have been unable to maintain their own town carts, and relied instead on hired errand-carts to make deliveries to customers in London and its suburbs. While it is unclear precisely when these services first came into use, the chronology of their expanding use is revealing. The earliest reference which I have found appears in a newspaper advertisement from May 1774, which lists daily stage-coach and errand-cart services among the benefits of a ‘neat small cottage’ to be let in Eastham, Essex, six miles from Whitechapel.⁵¹⁶ The earliest reference to errand carts in the Old Bailey Proceedings appears in January 1780, when items of clothing were stolen from Richardson’s Tottenham errand cart.⁵¹⁷ Carrying services of this kind may have been available earlier in the century but they become much more prevalent in both the London press and the Old Bailey depositions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This would suggest that the trade grew and was formalized in this period, a chronology which ties in with important economic developments which had a particular impact on equine haulage. During the years 1794–1796 and 1799–1801, which saw famine conditions prevailing in England,⁵¹⁸ poor harvests and scarcity crises forced up the price of hay, corn and straw to unprecedented heights in the metropolis. It became more expensive than ever before to maintain a horse in London, a development which must have led many shopkeepers and tradesmen to give up their equipages and turn to hired services.

By the early 1800s, an impressive fleet of ‘errand carts’ was ferrying hundreds of parcels and trunks between London and its suburbs every day. Between 1780 and 1820, the Old Bailey Proceedings record services for seventeen districts including Hampstead and Tottenham in the North; Blackwall and Poplar in the East; Chelsea and Dulwich in the south; and Hammersmith and Richmond in the West.⁵¹⁹ Based outside the City boundaries, these for-hire operations were free from the rules and quotas governing the licenced cart trade. Grocers, cheesemongers,

⁵¹⁵ OBSP, t17540911-36 (11/9/1754); less desirable cart geldings could be bought for £3-5; OBSP, t17380628-10 (28/6/1738); t17581025-25 (25/10/1758); t17630706-30 (6/7/1763).

⁵¹⁶ *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (14/5/1774).

⁵¹⁷ OBSP, t17800112-16 (12/1/1780).

⁵¹⁸ R. Wells, *Wretched Faces: Famine in Wartime England, 1793-1801* (Gloucester, 1988); S.E. Brown, “‘A just and profitable commerce’: moral economy and the middle classes in eighteenth-century London”, *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), pp.305-32.

⁵¹⁹ The Old Bailey Proceedings also make reference to errand carts for Islington, Peckham, Ponders End, Peckham, Woolwich, Lambeth & Vauxhall, Clapham, Bow, Holloway, Highgate, and Stanmore; OBSP, t17800112-16 (12/1/1780); t17820410-39 (10/4/1782); t17850914-114 (14/7/1785); t17861213-59 (13/12/1786); t18000219-78 (19/2/1800); t18000917-63 (17/9/1800); t18001203-66 (3/12/1800); t18030216-38 (16/2/1803); t18061203-55 (3/12/1806); t18080113-45 (13/1/1808); t18080601-25 (1/6/1808); t18080601-76 (1/6/1808); t18100221-63 (21/2/1810); t18110529-29 (29/5/1811); t18130113-35 (13/1/1813); t18160918-70 (18/9/1816); t18171203-96 (3/12/1817); t18190113-82 (13/1/1819); t18190113-131 (13/1/1819).

tobacconists, linen-drapers and glass merchants were just some of the businesses to use these services, and they dispatched goods of every size and value.⁵²⁰ In 1800, a tobacconist in Bishopsgate used the Woolwich errand cart to deliver a small parcel of tobacco, valued at just 15s to a customer at the King's Head in Woolwich.⁵²¹ By contrast, in 1808, Messrs Coles despatched two boxes of indigo, valued at £20, from their City warehouse on St Dunstan's Hill with Mr Read, the Vauxhall errand carter, for delivery at No.10 Paradise Row in Lambeth.⁵²² In the same year, Mr Shut, a glass merchant in the New Road entrusted the Hampstead errand cart with 55 'squares of glass' valued at £3 10s. Despite the carrier's professed efforts to secure the goods with rope, a plucky thief managed to cut them loose en route.⁵²³ Together with crime reports in the London press, the Old Bailey Proceedings suggest that theft from errand carts was common.⁵²⁴ Slow-moving and stopping for multiple pick-ups and deliveries, errand carts were vulnerable to thieves but the apparent frequency of thefts also highlights their ubiquitous presence on London's streets and the tempting array of goods which they, and other carts, carried.⁵²⁵ In this regard, draught-horses were as much servants of the consumer revolution as the industrial revolution. Yet, the degree to which metropolitan growth and prosperity relied on equine haulage becomes even clearer when we consider the coal trade and the brewing industry.

The coal trade

By the 1640s, around 150,000 tons of coal were landed at London's riverside wharves.⁵²⁶ By 1775, this had increased more than five-fold to 850,000, and by 1800 it had reached 1.2 million tons.⁵²⁷ This equated to approximately 12 million sacks of coal or 400,000 waggon-loads in 1800

⁵²⁰ Linen-draper: OBSP, t18000917-63 (17/9/1800); grocer & cheesemonger t18100221-63 (21/2/1810).

⁵²¹ OBSP, t18001203-66 (3/12/1800).

⁵²² OBSP, t18080133-45 (13/1/1808).

⁵²³ OBSP, t18080601-76 (1/6/1808).

⁵²⁴ I have found nearly thirty references to theft from 'errand carts' in the Old Bailey Proceedings in the period 1780-1820; see also *Public Advertiser* (5/12/1780) & (16/10/1782); *London Chronicle* (11-13/10/1785).

⁵²⁵ Errand carts were also used to transfer trunks containing personal belongings between domestic properties: in 1808, Rachael Blackburn sent a box containing her clothes from Cheapside, where she lived as a servant, to Islington in a vehicle marked 'Islington errand cart wrote in large letters'; such services may have been particularly useful to middling sorts who owned villas in the suburbs as well as houses in London. Moreover, some individuals hired errand carts to deliver their dirty laundry to washerwomen; OBSP, t17850914-114 (14/7/1785); *Daily Advertiser* (22/2/1796); some laundries maintained their own horse-drawn carts to pick-up and deliver laundry, see OBSP, t18080113-50 (13/1808) & P.E. Malcolmson, *English Laundresses: A Social History, 1850-1930* (Urbana, 1996), pp.20-22.

⁵²⁶ Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, p.39.

⁵²⁷ Great Britain Coal Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Several Matters Relating to Coal in the United Kingdom, vol.1: general report and twenty-two sub-reports* (London, 1871), appendix 15.

alone.⁵²⁸ The coal trade was one of the fastest growing sectors of the metropolitan industrial economy in terms of equine haulage. London's voracious consumption of coal generated copious work for horses, requiring them to convey cargoes from the wharves to warehouses and on to customers across the metropolitan area. Increasingly, this work was fulfilled not by licensed carmen but by horse teams owned by individual coal merchants whose impressive capitalist operations included large stables, a fleet of vehicles and servants to drive them. By 1790, the *Universal British Directory* listed 203 coal merchants in London, suggesting that hundreds, if not thousands of horses were involved in the trade.⁵²⁹

Sale-of-stock advertisements in the London press demonstrate that by the final quarter of the eighteenth century, the city's coal merchants owned substantial numbers of horses. In 1772, the stock of Rowland de Paiba, a coal merchant of Upper Thames Street included 'nine Coal-Carts, one Waggon, [and] 24 Horses' as well as '17 Barges and Lighters'. A few years later, another firm based near the Three Cranes Wharf below Cheapside boasted 'ten young stout cart-horses, [and] four shod-wheel carts'. For these operations, extensive stabling was as important as a 'spacious' and 'convenient wharf' on the Thames.⁵³⁰ The scale of horse-ownership varied across the trade, reflecting its pyramidal structure, at the top of which were fewer than thirty 'first-buyers' from whom business filtered down to lesser merchants and dealers. The smallest of these operators 'met the needs of householders for domestic fuel' and, therefore, generally employed one- or two-horse carts which were more easily manoeuvred through the narrow streets of the metropolis than the heavy waggons used by the leading firms, which were drawn by three or more horses.⁵³¹

In addition to providing a crucial service for Londoners and helping to facilitate the consumer revolution,⁵³² coal horses played a crucial role in the capital's industrial life. Coal fuelled the furnaces of numerous heat-dependent metropolitan industries in the eighteenth century, including brewing, soap-making, sugar-refining and glass-making.⁵³³ In 1805, the coal merchants John Briant and James Back were making regular waggon deliveries from their wharf at Wapping to

⁵²⁸ Ten sacks of coal weighed approximately 1 ton, and thirty sacks were considered a waggon-load. OBSP, t18050918-121 (18/9/1805) & t18490226-819 926/2/1849). On the coal trade in London, see T. S. Ashton & J. Sykes, *The Coal Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929), esp. pp. 202-10.

⁵²⁹ *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790).

⁵³⁰ *Daily Advertiser* (9/12/1772); *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (21/2/1780).

⁵³¹ Ashton & Sykes, *The Coal Industry in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 204. Even one-horse carts could cause problems in narrow streets and yards: in 1774, a man was killed in the yard of Henry Savory & Hannah Hubert, 'Dealers in Coals' in Little Abingdon St, Westminster, when one of their carts 'drawn by one Horse' turned and crushed him against a wall; LL, CW/IC/65214033, City of Westminster Coroner's Inquests, case of Samuel Golding (4/7/1774).

⁵³² Cruikshank & Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*, pp. 82-3.

⁵³³ Musson, *The Growth of British Industry*, p. 97.

Truman & Hanbury's brewery in Spitalfields, around 2 km (1.3 miles) away.⁵³⁴ Two years later, the brewery installed its first steam engine, an event which dramatically increased its demand for coal. From the mid-1780s, horses supplied the fuel required by the increasing number of businesses installing steam engines. This emphasises that the innovation associated with steam complemented and promoted traditional equine technologies, in this case horse-drawn waggons and carts.

As well as responding to growing demand, coal merchants confronted an expanding distribution area. In 1771, the coal dealer Thomas Cranage sent three carts 'loaded with Coals' from his wharf on the Thames to the suburban village of Kentish Town, an order requiring a round trip of at least 13 km (8 miles).⁵³⁵ In the 1790s, J. Williams Junior, a coal merchant at St George's East and Bush Wharf in Southwark, informed the public that he delivered 'to any part of the Town' at 4d per Chaldron and to the 'Country at 1 Shilling per mile extra off the Stones'.⁵³⁶ According to W.J. Gordon, by the late nineteenth century, an average coal horse distributed thirty tons of coal a day, working eighty hours over a six-day week. To withstand this level of work, coal merchants required strong and sturdy horses of the kind used by brewers. As discussed below, this involved significant improvement in the breeding, training, nourishment and care of working horses, attesting to the dynamic role played by these animals in London's industrial economy.⁵³⁷

Coal merchants were closely and proudly associated with their cart horses, just as mill-horses were emblematic of the paint trade, discussed above. In 1750, Philip Fruchard commissioned a remarkably fine engraving as the focal point for his trade card. As shown in Plate 30, it depicts his two-horse cart being loaded with coal from a shallow barge, or lighter, on the Thames. The horses obediently await their instructions as the lightermen shovel coal into sacks and carry them across the water, evincing the entwined tasks of men and horses. In the background, one of the ships responsible for bringing coal from Newcastle has just arrived. Thus, Fruchard foregrounds his horses as an integral element of one of Britain's most important economic activities.⁵³⁸ This kind of iconography is far from unusual – the horse-drawn cart was the most common feature of coal merchants' trade cards in the second half of the eighteenth century. Several examples from the Banks collection depict two- and four-wheeled vehicles being hauled from the riverside by two or three horses (see Plates 31 & 32). This approbation continued long into the nineteenth

⁵³⁴ OBSP, t18050918-121 (18/9/1805).

⁵³⁵ LL, CW/IC/652110315, Westminster Coroner's Inquests (16/7/1771).

⁵³⁶ Trade card of J. Williams Junior, Coal Merchant (1790). British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, Trade cards Banks 44.25.

⁵³⁷ W.J. Gordon, *The Horse World of London* (1893; Gloucester, 2009), pp.80-1.

⁵³⁸ Horse-drawn coal carts also feature in Thomas Legg, *Low life* (1764), p.50.

century, culminating in a glowing chapter in W.J. Gordon's *The Horse-World of London* (1893), which emphasised the dramatic intensification of their work.⁵³⁹

Population growth, industrial expansion and London's emergence as a railway hub from the 1840s increased the city's annual consumption of coal from 1.25 million tons in 1810 to six million tons in the 1860s and eight million tons in the 1890s.⁵⁴⁰ According to Gordon's estimates, 8,000 horses were needed to distribute this fuel. Of these, he wished only to focus on the finest 1,500 animals which belonged 'to the leading London coal merchants'. The rest, he unfairly described as being 'run down to a very decided fag end of greengrocers' drudges and cab-yard screws'.⁵⁴¹ The above complicates the view that coal substituted equine power by showing that its increasing use relied on and promoted the labour of strong horses. Since the early twentieth century, the shire-type horse has become an iconic symbol of a bye-gone rustic age. Yet, throughout the Hanoverian period, these animals were recognisably urban animals, familiar features of London's bustling urban environment and closely associated with London's prosperity.

Having provided this overview of the diverse and remarkably impressive work performed by draught horses in Hanoverian London, three questions demand further scrutiny: first, how did particular equine attributes enable the metropolis to overcome the challenges of distance as trade and industry expanded? Second, did the industrial revolution lead to an intensification of the work performed by London's draught horses? And finally, what impact did the steam age have on equine haulage work in the metropolis? To answer these questions, we must return to the brewing industry to consider the contribution made by dray-horses.

⁵³⁹ W.J. Gordon, *The Horse World of London*, ch.10; see also John Buddle's 'Representation of a COAL WAGGON' in Benjamin Martin, *The general magazine of arts and sciences, philosophical, mathematical, and mechanical*, 14 vols. (1765), vol.14.

⁵⁴⁰ A. Velkar, *Markets and Measurements in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 2012), p.100; W.J. Gordon, *The Horse World of London*, p.79; Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society*, p.13.

⁵⁴¹ W.J. Gordon, *The Horse World of London*, p.79.

Plate 30: Trade card of Philip Fruchard, Coal Merchant, an etching (c.1750).



Plate 31: Trade card of Benjamin Levy, coal merchant (engraving, undated).

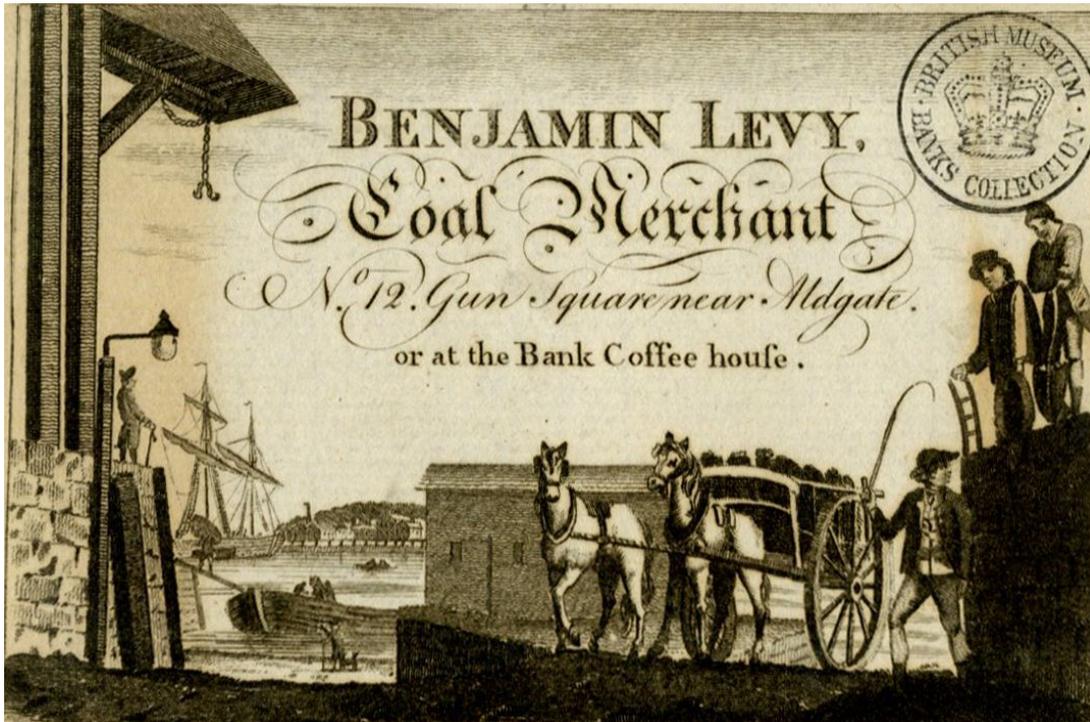
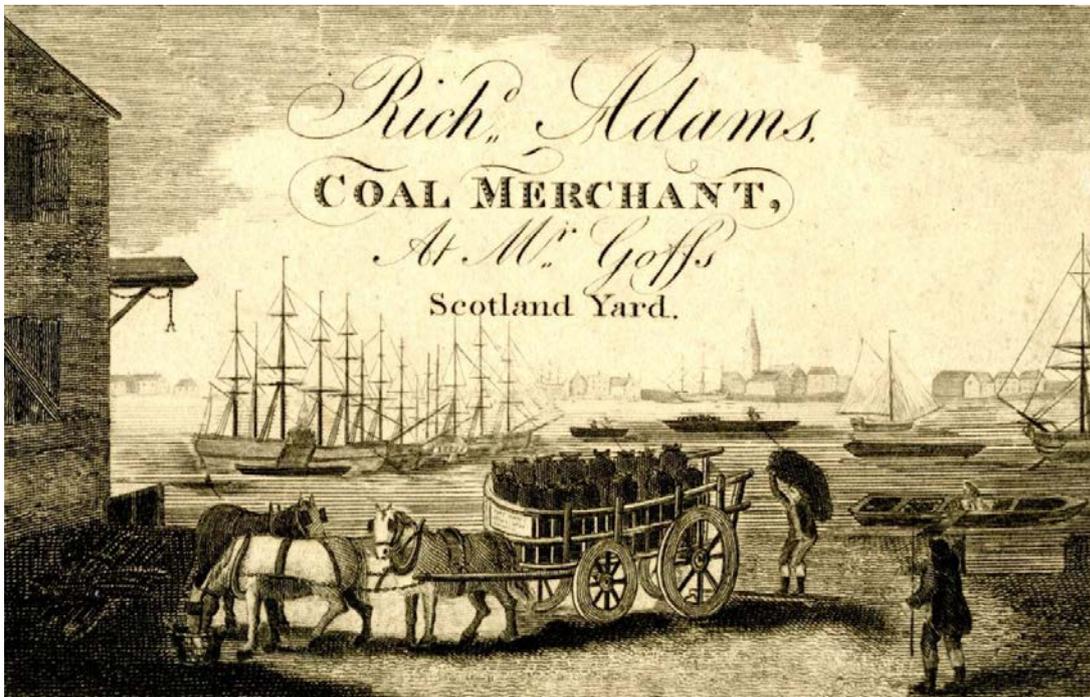


Plate 32: Trade card of Richard Adams, coal merchant (engraving, undated).



Dray-horses

Extant sources offer a patchy indication of the number of horses employed by London's breweries, from which it is impossible to make precise industry-wide calculations. However, the industry was almost certainly the single biggest investor in equine haulage in Hanoverian London. The Truman brewery rest books (1741–1837) provide the most complete record, consistently detailing the number of dray- and mill-horses in the firm's service after 1775 (see Table 10 and Figure 2).⁵⁴² Unfortunately no such record survives for Truman's competitors.⁵⁴³ Using annual production data, Mathias proposed a series of convincing ratios for the number of dray-horses required for different levels of distribution capability. He calculated that a trade of between 60–100 thousand barrels would require 50–60 horses, rising to 80–90 for 200 thousand barrels and 150 for 300 thousand barrels. Using the higher figure in each case, I have calculated the approximate number of dray-horses employed by the eight largest breweries at five year intervals from 1780–1825 (see Table 11).⁵⁴⁴ These companies would have needed approximately 332 animals in 1780. By 1825, this figure had doubled to 669. Considering that the total number of brewers in the Bills of Mortality fluctuated between 140 and 160 in this period – most of whom ran much smaller operations than the leading eight – as many as a thousand dray-horses were conceivably employed in total.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴² LMA, B/THB/B/3-26, Financial Records of Truman Hanbury Buxton and Co Ltd. rest books, 1759-1780 & 1790-1837; prior to 1775, the brewery only recorded the combined value of its dray and mill horses.

⁵⁴³ A rare surviving stable book for Barclay Perkins provides a weekly stock-take of the company's dray-horses from Sept. 1827 – Apr. 1839, but this time-scale makes extrapolation difficult; LMA, ACC/2305/1/1300, Barclay-Perkins stable book, 1827-39.

⁵⁴⁴ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.79 & Table 43; Mathias used data from brewery and parliamentary records to ascertain annual barrelage.

⁵⁴⁵ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.22.

Table 11: Annual barrelage & number of dray-horses employed by eight largest London breweries, 1780–1825 (Source: Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.79 & Table 43).

(A) Anchor, Deadman's Place, Southwark; (B) White Hart, Chiswell Street; (C) Black Eagle, Spitalfields; (D) Hour Glass, Upper Thames Street; (E) Peacock, Whitecross Street; (F) Griffin, Liquorpond Street; (G) Woodyard, Castle Street, Long Acre; (H) Red Lion, St Katherine's, East Smithfield.

Year	1000 Barrels (B)	Dray-Horses (D) (est.)	Whitbread (B)	Truman (C)	Sir W. Calvert / Felix Calvert (D)	John Calvert. Felix Calvert after 1807 (E)	Meux-Ried (F)	Hammond-Gyfford Shunn-Combe-Delafield (G)	Parsons-Goodwyn-Hoare (H)	Total Barrelage (1,000 barrels)	Total Dray-Horses (est.)							
80	65.5	39	96.6	58	80.7	48	79.1	47	92.0	55	20.4	12	80.2	48	41.8	25	556.3	332
85	100.7	60	137.8	83	111.2	67	100.7	60	134.8	81	57.3	34	101.4	61	62.0	37	805.9	483
90	126.7	76	175.0	105	93.7	56	57.9	35	144.0	86	48.7	29	100.2	60	60.5	36	806.7	483
95	122.3	73	159.0	95	99.1	59	56.6	34	83.5	50	121.5	73	101.8	61	70.5	42	814.3	487
00	105.9	64	137.0	82	101.6	61	44.4	27	82.5	50	134.5	81	110.6	66	70.7	42	787.2	473
05	152.5	92	103.6	62	126.4	76	46.2	28	46.2	28	136.7	82	85.7	51	46.2	28	743.5	447
10	235.1	106	110.9	67	145.0	87	133.5	80	-	-	211.0	95	85.3	51	74.2	45	995.0	531
15	337.6	169	161.6	97	172.2	103	119.3	72	-	-	182.1	10	105.1	63	72.1	43	1150.0	656
20	275.2	124	180.6	108	190.1	114	93.8	56	-	-	159.4	96	122.2	73	60.1	36	1081.4	607
25	357.4	179	203.8	92	207.9	94	105.2	63	-	-	190.3	11	146.7	88	64.2	39	1275.5	669

In the 1790s, George Garrard (1760–1826), an artist best known for his livestock portraiture, completed a dramatic depiction of London’s most important brewery, Whitbread’s White Hart on Chiswell Street. Samuel Whitbread I (1720–96) and II (1758–1815) were Garrard’s greatest patrons and although they did not commission this particular work, it clearly reflects their tastes and interests. The original painting is now lost but the image was reproduced as an aquatint engraving, through which it gained much wider appeal (see Plate 33).⁵⁴⁶ The brewery is shown as a hive of industrious activity: a series of large chimneys belch black smoke while in the yard, several workers go about their business, one rolling a hogshead, another fetching a timber frame. Yet, the painting is not dominated by men or machinery, but a gigantic horse which occupies much of the foreground. From every angle, this is an impressive beast, appearing to combine great strength with an intelligent understanding of its role. One is struck by the animal’s self-control when backing into the shafts of its dray, underlined by the relaxed confidence of its attendant. Its coat gleams with good health like a Stubbsian thoroughbred, and its white legs brilliantly contrast their sooty industrial surroundings. This is an animal of prestige, valued by its owner just as the aristocracy esteemed their champion racers. Yet, Deuchar also observes that Garrard’s choice of pose emulated ‘Stubbs’ *Horse Frightened by a Lion*’, with the important difference that his ‘solid English horse’ appears without the same ‘sense of drama and suggestion of fear’.⁵⁴⁷ Deuchar convincingly suggests that this animal was thus emblematic of ‘London’s calm and orderly atmosphere’, and that the painting juxtaposes the chaos then unfolding in revolutionary France. The Whitbreads would certainly have approved of such a celebration of English industriousness and order, themes which permeate the family’s painting collection at Southill, including other works by Garrard. That artist and brewer shared a keen interest in dray-horses is underlined by Samuel Whitbread II’s acquisition of a plaster model of a Clydesdale in 1796, one of Garrard’s earliest animal sculptures and a precursor to his better-known livestock series.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ S. Deuchar, *Paintings, Politics & Porter: Samuel Whitbread and British Art* (Exhibition Catalogue, Museum of London, 1984); part of Garrard’s painting, notably that dominated by the dray-horse, was also incorporated into James Northcote’s posthumous full-length portrait, *Samuel Whitbread II* (Oil on canvas, 1816, private collection).

⁵⁴⁷ Deuchar, *Paintings, Politics and Porter*, p.47.

⁵⁴⁸ Deuchar, *Paintings, Politics and Porter*, pp.46-7 & 77; in particular, see Garrard’s *Mr Whitbread’s Wharf* (Oil on copper, 1796) and *The Building of Southill* (Oil on canvas, 1803), both at Southill.



Plate 33: W. Ward after George Garrard, *View of the East End of Whitbread's Brewery in Chiswell St* (Aquatint, 1792).

Several other grand paintings of the brewing industry celebrate dray-horses. In Dean Wolstenholme's *Hour Glass Brewery* (1821), a giant white horse belonging to Felix Calvert takes centre stage. Yet these striking depictions have been largely overlooked in animal studies which tend to juxtapose horses of 'prosperity' with those of 'adversity'; the magnificence of Stubbs versus the horror of Cruickshank's *The Knacker's Yard* (1830–31).⁵⁴⁹ Clearly, Garrard's image fits neither category. It represents a distinctive and alternative strand in the visual culture of the eighteenth-century horse. As a recent study of farm animal portraiture argued, 'British heavy horses were the most desirable in the world' and were bred with great enthusiasm.⁵⁵⁰ In addition to their leading presence in brewery landscapes, individual dray-horses inspired admiring portraits by artists better known for their depictions of racehorses and aristocratic hunting scenes. In 1798, the celebrated animal painter, John Nost Sartorius painted a veteran dray-horse known to its owners as *Old Brown*. Despite being aged thirty-five, this animal displays considerable strength, elegance and pride. The horse appears unharnessed, free from the trappings of working life, but its achievements are symbolized by the barrels in the background, a tranquil corner of the brewer's yard. Another painting by, and print after (1818) John Christian Zeitter (see Plate 34), captures the power and prestige of a pair of more youthful animals at work.⁵⁵¹ Owned by Reid's Griffin brewhouse, the heroically named 'Pirate' and 'Outlaw' are shown with tails swishing and muscles bulging as they prepare to haul barrels from the depths of a cellar. One of the horses boldly turns its head to meet our gaze, underscoring its remarkable self-confidence.

The immense power and bulk conveyed by these images was not the result of artistic flattery. London's brewers invested huge sums to secure the finest Clydesdales. Most of these horses were bred in the Midlands and were first sold to country dealers. Between the ages of two and five, they were generally worked on farms, often in Wiltshire, Berkshire and Hampshire. Brewers from the metropolis sought out the best of these animals either through dealers or by visiting home-county horse fairs, including those at Barnet, St Albans and Harlow.⁵⁵² Their value increased from approximately £16 in the middle of the century to £40 after 1800, exceeding that of many carriage horses.⁵⁵³ Indeed, the qualities looked for in a dray-horse were no less specific than in a race horse. William Youatt said they 'should have a broad breast, and thick and upright shoulders ... deep and round barrel, loins broad and high, ample quarters, thick fore-arms and thighs', and

⁵⁴⁹ Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, pp.199-232; images of working horses are also largely absent from C. Fox, *The Arts of Industry in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven & London, 2009).

⁵⁵⁰ E. Moncrieff, S. Joseph & I. Joseph, *Farm Animal Portraits* (Woodbridge, 1996), p.253.

⁵⁵¹ W. Gilbey, *Animal Painters of England from the Year 1650: A Brief History of Their Lives and Works* (London, 1900-11), vol.3, p.313.

⁵⁵² John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (London, 1798), p.360; Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.79.

⁵⁵³ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.79; a standard saddle horse might fetch £8-10; and in 1789, a hackney coachman valued his animals at £20 each; OBSP, t17290827-43 (27/8/1729) & t17890114-49 (14/1/1789).

much else besides.⁵⁵⁴ The agricultural writer, John Middleton, observed that ‘as to strength and figure’ these animals were ‘scarcely to be equalled’.⁵⁵⁵ They were ‘the strong dray-horses’ whose size and skill ‘amazed visitors to London’ long into the nineteenth century. Not only were they ‘the best symbol of large-scale brewing ... apart from the giant vat’, but dray-horses also represented the strength and ambition of metropolitan industry and commerce itself. For this reason, dray-horses doubled as effective mobile marketing tools.⁵⁵⁶

Plate 34: J. Egan after J.C. Zeitter, *Pirate and Outlaw* (engraving, c.1818).



⁵⁵⁴ William Youatt, *The Horse* (1831), p.101.

⁵⁵⁵ John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex*, p.360.

⁵⁵⁶ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, pp.78-9.

The striking physical attributes of the dray-horse reflected the heavy demands of the industry's distribution process. Whether working alone or in pairs, these horses were responsible for hauling a vehicle loaded with three 108 gallon butts of beer, collectively weighing 1.5 tons, between the brewery and its customers for twelve hours a day and sometimes longer.⁵⁵⁷ The intensity of the work, the unforgiving nature of the vehicle and challenging metropolitan conditions demanded a special kind of strength and durability. Youatt noted that 'over the badly-paved streets of the metropolis, and with the immense loads ... great bulk and weight are necessary to stand the inevitable battering and shaking. Weight must be opposed by weight, or the horse would sometimes be quite thrown off his legs'.⁵⁵⁸ Once outside a customer's premises, one horse would be removed from the dray to help lower the butts into the cellar and to raise up empties by ropes fixed to its harness. It should be noted that simply standing still in a busy urban environment required considerable skill and resilience from these large and sensitive animals (see Chapter 5). Moreover, the procedure for raising and lowering butts demanded an intelligent application of brute strength. In 1868, an observer proclaimed

the greatest [wonder] I ever saw was in London. I saw a brewers team lowering some butts of beer. The horse that performed this office, without any signal, raised the butts, and returned and lowered the rope: not a word or sign escaped the man at the top of the hole, who only waited to perform his part as methodically as his four footed mate did his. The cellaring finished, the horse took his place by the team ... The man ... then walked away; the team followed. Not one word passed, not even a motion of the whip.⁵⁵⁹

George Scharf the elder's illustrations of the butt-raising process, c1820-30, emphasize the extent to which efficiency relied on equine attributes.⁵⁶⁰ The artist's necessarily rapid sketches show that well-trained horses freed draymen to arrange their hooks, ropes and ramps; to speak to the victualler and to prepare to move on. This underlines Norton Green's observation that 'In addition to being amenable to human direction and training, the horse has an excellent memory for patterns, and can memorize a work routine and perform it with little or no supervision'.⁵⁶¹ But more than this, brewing's distribution process strongly asserts the need to unbound the social to recognise the hybridised quality of human, animal and mechanical work.

⁵⁵⁷ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.78; this system was replaced in the 1850s by drays carrying either twelve or twenty barrels, the latter load weighing approximately 4 tons when full; T.R. Gourvish & R.G. Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980* (Cambridge, 1994), p.142.

⁵⁵⁸ William Youatt, *The Horse* (1831), p.100.

⁵⁵⁹ Quoted in K. Chivers, *The Shire Horse: A History of the Breed, the Society and the Men* (London, 1976), p.92.

⁵⁶⁰ George Scharf the elder (1788-1860), *Draymen and horse* (drawing, c.1820-30). Private collection.

⁵⁶¹ Norton Green, *Horses at Work*, p.22.

While the persistent usefulness of the dray-horse is very much part of a general transportation narrative, it is also rooted in specific developments in the metropolitan brewing industry, which placed increasing demands on equine sagacity and skill. The haulage operations of London's breweries increased dramatically in the eighteenth century. In 1760, the *Gentleman's Magazine* noted that in the 1690s beer had been 'mostly fetched from the brewhouse by the customers themselves ... so that the brewer entertained but few servants [and] few horses'.⁵⁶² By the 1750s, the situation had been transformed with publicans scattered across a radius of a few miles receiving monthly deliveries in a highly sophisticated supply system.⁵⁶³ This transition was closely linked to the rise of the tied trade which saw brewers taking over the leases of a growing number of public houses and thereby centralizing the business of production, distribution and retail.⁵⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the challenge of distance posed by urban sprawl continued to intensify. The Whitbread records reveal that horses setting out from the brewery in Chiswell Street in 1800 delivered to almost 400 victuallers peppering the metropolis from Paddington in the West (6.5 km away) to Woolwich in the East (12 km), and from Finchley in the North (13 km) to Peckham in the South (5.5 km).⁵⁶⁵ Two-thirds of customers were located more than 1.5 km away. As Barnett asserts, the fact that London's 'outermost districts' remained just 'within the daily reach of a dray' was an important advantage for the industry.⁵⁶⁶ Nevertheless, mass distribution meant tough shifts for dray teams. As early as 1764, a brewer in Hackney told the Old Bailey that his stables were never locked up 'because we are fetching the horses out almost all hours of the night'.⁵⁶⁷ Fifty years later, Louis Simond wrote that a major brewery's horses were 'often sixteen hours in harness out of the twenty-four'.⁵⁶⁸ By this time, a London dray-horse could haul a remarkable 2,000 barrels a year, weighing 1,000 tons.⁵⁶⁹

This leads us to our second question: did the intensity of work performed by dray-horses increase during the industrial revolution or did brewers simply purchase more horses? The extant evidence makes statistical assessment difficult but the Truman records provide a useful starting point. Using the company's annual barrelage and dray-horse stock data, I have calculated the approximate number of barrels which each horse distributed per year, from 1776–1829.

⁵⁶² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 30 (1760), pp.527-9.

⁵⁶³ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.105.

⁵⁶⁴ Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, pp.117-23.

⁵⁶⁵ LMA/4453/B/12/002, Whitbread and Company Ltd, rest book, 1800.

⁵⁶⁶ Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.42.

⁵⁶⁷ OBSP, t17640607-49 (7 Jun. 1764); see also, C.Y. Sturge (ed.), *Leaves from the Past: The Diary of John Allen Sometime Brewer of Wapping 1757-1808* (London, 1905), pp. 63-4 & 78; deputising for his father in June 1777, John Allen was required to 'Set the drays off' in the morning and sometimes counted them back in at nine o'clock at night.

⁵⁶⁸ Louis Simond, *Journal of a tour and residence in Great Britain, during the years 1810 and 1811*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1817), vol.1, pp.182-84.

⁵⁶⁹ Gourvish & Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry*, p.142.

Unfortunately, the available evidence makes it impossible to begin this analysis any earlier and data is missing for the years 1781–1789. Nevertheless, as shown in Table 12 and Figure 3, the Truman records convincingly suggest that dray-horse labour intensified significantly during the industrial revolution. This change was somewhat irregular from year-to-year but followed a clear upward trend. In the five years, 1776–1780, the average number of barrels distributed per horse was 1,433. But by the years 1825–1829, this had risen by a remarkable 82% to 2,605. This finding is even more striking when we compare it to the level of labour intensification possibly experienced by London's human workforce. Voth estimated that the annual hours worked by Londoners increased from 2,288 in the 1750s to 3,366 in the 1830s, a rise of 47%.⁵⁷⁰ The cross-referencing of data based on hours worked and tasks completed may preclude a precise comparison of labour intensity, but this data suggests that the industrial revolution had an even greater impact on London's draught-horses than it did on the city's human workforce.

Historians of animal cruelty would hardly be surprised by such a finding, but it does not necessarily provide evidence of worsening treatment. Selective breeding altered the physical characteristics of dray-horses considerably during the industrial revolution, including improvements in their strength and stamina. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the average London dray-horse was born capable of more, and heavier work in the 1820s than it had been sixty years earlier. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 5, these capabilities were greatly enhanced by improved stable regimes and nutrition. London's dray-horses were better bred, fed and cared for as the industrial revolution progressed but we should not romanticise their treatment. Breweries extracted as much work from their animals for as many years as they could physically deliver. The intensity of work was such that a dray-horse entering a brewer's service at five year-old, was generally worn out by the time it was eleven or twelve.⁵⁷¹ Exploitation and superior care went hand-in-hand. To some extent, this mirrored developments in the human workforce in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries where, in some instances, harder work was accompanied by higher pay and improved standards of living.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷⁰ Voth, *Time and Work in England 1750-1830*, p.122.

⁵⁷¹ Gordon, *The Horse World of London*, p.51; a correspondent published in John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), p.367, assumed that 'The average longevity' of a horse in London, was 'from sixteen to eighteen' years as opposed to 20-25 for a horse in the country'.

⁵⁷² The industrial revolution's impact on wages and standards of living is widely contested; see J.H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain: The Early Railway Age, 1820-1850* (Cambridge, 1926); E.J. Hobsbawm, 'The British standard of living, 1790-1850', *EcHR*, 10 (1957), pp.46-68; R.M. Hartwell, 'The rising standard of living in England, 1800-1850', *EcHR*, 13 (1961), pp.397-416; E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963); Hobsbawm, 'The standard of living during the industrial revolution: a discussion', *EcHR*, 16 (1963), pp.119-34; Hartwell, 'The standard of living. An answer to the pessimists', *EcHR*, 16 (1963), pp.135-46; Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution*, pp.261-65; P.H. Lindert & J.G. Williamson, 'English workers' living standards during the industrial revolution: a new look', *EcHR*, 36 (1983), pp.1-25; F.W. Botham & E.H. Hunt, 'Wages in Britain during the industrial revolution', *EcHR*, 40 (1987), pp.380-99; N.F.R. Crafts, 'English workers' real wages during the industrial revolution: some remaining problems', *Journal of Economic History*, 45

Table 12: Intensity of work performed by Truman's dray horses: approximate number of barrels distributed per horse annually, 1776–1829.

Date	Annual barrelage	Dray-horses	Barrels distributed per horse per year
1776	83000	59	1407
1777	80900	58	1395
1778	81500	60	1358
1779	76400	55	1389
1780	80700	50	1614
1790	93700	56	1673
1791	89300	52	1717
1792	97500	54	1806
1793	96300	59	1632
1794	93600	54	1733
1795	99100	60	1652
1796	109200	58	1883
1797	117200	57	2056
1798	109700	58	1891
1799	116800	60	1947
1800	101600	59	1722
1801	125200	57	2196
1802	131900	57	2314
1803	130700	58	2253
1804	110300	52	2121
1805	126400	62	2039
1806	125800	56	2246
1807	136000	60	2267
1808	117600	55	2138
1809	130800	60	2180
1810	145000	57	2544
1811	142200	70	2031
1812	150200	67	2242
1813	140100	63	2224
1814	145100	65	2232
1815	172200	75	2296
1816	185000	80	2313
1817	168800	84	2010
1818	185400	83	2234

(1985), pp.139-44; S. Horrell & J. Humphries, 'Old questions, new data, and alternative perspectives: families' living standards in the industrial revolution, *Journal of Economic History*, 52 (1992), pp.849-80; C.H. Feinstein, 'Pessimism perpetuated: real wages and the standard of living in Britain during and after the industrial revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 58 (1998), pp.625-58; Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialization*; Voht, *Time and Work in England 1750-1830*; de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*.

Table 12 (continued)

1819	211000	84	2512
1820	190100	84	2263
1821	201300	89	2262
1822	207900	89	2336
1823	219100	93	2356
1824	201300	91	2212
1825	207900	86	2417
1826	219100	89	2462
1827	215300	84	2563
1828	223800	80	2798
1829	211500	76	2783

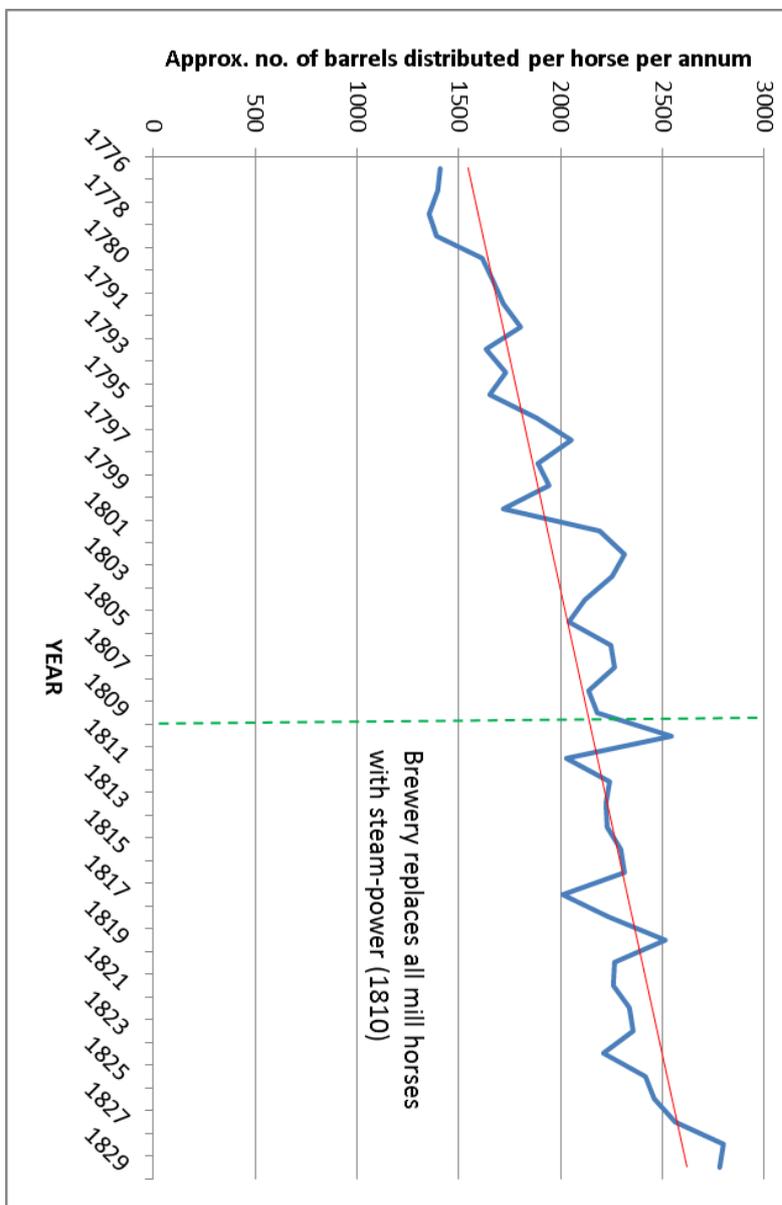


Figure 3: Intensity of work performed by Truman's dray horses: approximate number of barrels distributed by each horse per year, 1776–1829.

As suggested, the introduction of steam technology in the mid-1780s increased demand for equine haulage in the brewing industry. Dray-horse numbers grew substantially over the following four decades: the Truman rest books show that between 1810, when the brewery sold its final mill-horses, and 1835, the company's stock of dray-horses almost doubled, from 57 to 103 (see Table 10 and Figure 2).⁵⁷³ It is important to note that the intensity of equine labour continued to rise in the period 1810–1829, and at a similar rate as it had done in 1790–1809 (see Figure 3). This indicates that the acquisition of horses kept largely in-step with rising distribution levels and that the introduction of steam engines did not significantly intensify the work performed by horses in the short term. However, a relatively steep and protracted rise in labour intensity in the years 1825–1829 suggests that this may have been beginning to change in the late Hanoverian period. But further analysis of the mid to late nineteenth century would be needed to confirm this.

The Truman brewery's decision to invest in more dray-horses in the early years of steam was not unusual. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Barclay Perkins became the largest brewery in London. The company installed its first engine in 1786, followed by another, three-times its power in 1832. The Barclay Perkins stable book indicates that this second engine dramatically increased distribution requirements. In the five years prior to installation, the company's average dray-horse stock was 113. In the subsequent five years, this figure rose by more than a quarter to 143 followed, a few months later, by a sudden and much bigger influx. Between January and April 1839, an additional thirty dray-horses arrived, an increase of more than a fifth in less than four months. Either production had suddenly overtaken distribution levels or, more likely, the proprietors were planning ahead for future ambitious growth.⁵⁷⁴

It is clear, therefore, that the expansion of London's breweries following the adoption of steam power remained heavily reliant on dray-horses. As noted by Gourvish and Wilson, London's brewers were 'unable to use the railways for their town deliveries' – the persistent core of their business – so 'the number of draught horses went on increasing ... as barrelages grew'.⁵⁷⁵ Contemporary prints and photographs emphasize that well into the steam age these major industrialists were as dependant on horses as they had been in the mid-eighteenth century.⁵⁷⁶ These images also highlight the remarkable extent to which dray-horses dominated the visual spectacle and cultural awareness of brewing throughout the industrial revolution. Far from

⁵⁷³ LMA/B/THB/B/12 & 25/A, Truman brewery rest books, 1809-13 & 1835-36.

⁵⁷⁴ LMA/ACC/2305/1/1300, Barclay-Perkins stable book, 1827-39.

⁵⁷⁵ Gourvish & Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry*, pp.141 & 144; only the larger brewers ran 'country' trades and these remained comparatively small; moreover, the extra-London trade did not grow in the railway age and in some instances shrank.

⁵⁷⁶ Photograph of Young's Brewery Yard (1896) reproduced in H. Osborn, *Britain's Oldest Brewery: The Story Behind Young's of Wandsworth* (Guildford, 1999), p.148.

symbolizing a romantic bye-gone age, these animals advertized a flourishing modernity. This role even extended to a form of ‘industrial tourism’⁵⁷⁷ as metropolitan breweries became must-see curiosities in the late eighteenth century. As guides, brewers presented their stables and engine rooms with equal pride and as the following accounts show, visitors were keen to share in this celebration of the equine. In May 1787, *The London Chronicle* reported that George III had visited Whitbread’s brewery. Half an hour was spent examining the steam engine which, it was noted

has saved much animal labour. But there remains much labour that cannot be saved. This particularly impressed the King; for he saw ... 80 horses all in their places ... [and] accurately guessed the height of [one] ... which was really remarkable, no less than 17 hands three inches.⁵⁷⁸

At the turn of the century, a visit to the Meux brewery inspired the Frenchman Marc-August Pictet to write ‘I am still amazed by the things I saw there ... a steam-engine, of the power of 28 horses ... and fifty-eight magnificent horses, each worth £50, are employed to carry the beer throughout London and her environs’.⁵⁷⁹ Likewise, on 4 June 1831, Truman hosted a group of politicians led by the Prime Minister, Lord Grey. After seeing the engine and taking dinner, they went ‘to the stables to see the horses’ where the lord chancellor ‘selected one of the best of them, and pointed out his merits’.⁵⁸⁰

While orthodox accounts of the industrial revolution continue to place great emphasis on the importance of coal and steam, the above emphasises that growth in the metropolitan economy relied on equine haulage long before this technological innovation and that the age-old work of the draught-horse was vigorously promoted by its increasing use.⁵⁸¹ These findings have important implications for animal studies, showing that equine labour should be integrated into social and economic historiographies rather than be treated as a rarefied category.⁵⁸² But the work performed by metropolitan mill- and draught-horses, discussed above, also provides valuable insights into aspects of London’s often underestimated role as ‘the largest single business and industrial centre ... of the world’s first modern industrial economy’.⁵⁸³ At the same time, it

⁵⁷⁷ On this subject, see Fox, *The Arts of Industry*, pp.389-406.

⁵⁷⁸ *London Chronicle* (26/5/1787).

⁵⁷⁹ Marc-Auguste Pictet, *Voyage de trois mois, en Angleterre, en Écosse et en Irlande* (Geneva, 1802), pp.305-6, author’s translation.

⁵⁸⁰ Hanbury, Buxton & Company Limited, *Trumans the Brewers 1666-1966* (London, 1966), p.35.

⁵⁸¹ Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old*.

⁵⁸² Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society*; McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*; DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*; Norton Green, *Horses at Work*.

⁵⁸³ Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p.1.

emphasises the remarkable extent to which London's industrial revolution relied on the horse-human-mechanical nexus.

Chapter 3

The Animal Mart

Consumption, as well as production, played a critical role in Britain's industrial revolution and historians have often underlined the importance of metropolitan consumer behaviour. London provided the principal shop window for an expanding range of commodities but historians have generally focussed on manufactured goods or exotic imports.⁵⁸⁴ Recent work on food has countered this trend but metropolitan consumption continues to be associated with inanimate objects.⁵⁸⁵ Animals have rarely been examined as live commodities.⁵⁸⁶ While London's remarkable demand for livestock and other agricultural produce has been acknowledged, it has generally been studied from the perspective of the English countryside. In particular, historians have considered the capital's role in 'the development of more market-orientated agriculture'; enclosure and rural depopulation; changes in provincial market culture; and popular protest in rural areas.⁵⁸⁷ At the same time, statistical analysis has tended to diminish the social and cultural

⁵⁸⁴ J. de Vries, 'The industrial revolution and the industrious revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 54 (1994), pp.249-70; N. McKendrick, J. Brewer & J.H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, 1982); J. Brewer & R. Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); M. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005); M. Berg & H. Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester, 1999); C. Walsh, 'Shop design and the display of goods in eighteenth-century London', *Journal of Design History*, 8 (1995), pp.157-75; M. Berg, 'From imitation to invention: creating commodities in eighteenth-century Britain', *EcHR* 55 (2002), pp.1-30; L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London, 1988); J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997); J.H. Plumb, 'The new world of children in eighteenth-century England' in *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, pp.308-13; A. Vickery & J. Styles, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven & London, 2006); S. Richards, *Eighteenth Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester, 1999); F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012).

⁵⁸⁵ S. Pennell, 'The Material Culture of Food in Early Modern England, c.1650-1750', in S. Tarlow & S. West, *Familiar Pasts? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain 1650-1860* (London, 1999), pp.37-39; See Berg, 'From imitation to invention', pp.1-30.

⁵⁸⁶ A recent exception being C. Plumb, 'Exotic animals in eighteenth-century Britain' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2010) which examines London's exotic animal dealers.

⁵⁸⁷ J.A. Chartres, 'City and towns, farmers and economic change in the eighteenth century', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), pp.138-55 & 'Food consumption and internal trade' in A.L. Beier & R. Finlay (eds.), *London, 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986), pp.168-96; M. Reed, 'London and its hinterland 1600-1800: the view from the provinces', in P. Clark & B. Lepetit (eds.), *Capital Cities and Their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), pp.65-6; W. Thwaites, 'Oxford food riots: a community and its markets', in A. Randall & A. Charlesworth (eds.), *Markets, Market Culture and Popular Protest in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool, 1996); G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 6: 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989); S. Hipkin, 'The structure, development, and politics of the Kent grain trade, 1552-1647', *EcHR*, 61 (2008), pp.99-139; J. Bohstedt, *The Politics of Provisions: Food Riots, Moral Economy, and Market Transition in England, c.1550-1850* (Farnham & Burlington, VT, 2010).

significance of the animals being sold.⁵⁸⁸ Both approaches overshadow the ways in which animal marketing impacted on metropolitan life.

Chapter 1 challenged the assumption that Londoners were agriculturally unproductive and suggested that the city was, in fact, a thriving agropolis.⁵⁸⁹ This becomes even clearer when we consider London's gigantic trades in horses and meat on the hoof. These activities were not just key manifestations of the British agropolis but dynamic sectors of the metropolitan economy in their own right. As such, they exerted a major influence on London life, bringing a spectrum of Londoners into direct contact with four-legged animals and encouraging pervasive knowledge economies to develop. Recognition of this challenges Thomas' assumption that by 1800, only a narrow group of urbanites 'directly involved in working with animals' staved off the kind of alienation which fostered sentimental attitudes.⁵⁹⁰

(I) Meat on the Hoof

In his study of Chicago, William Cronon described the opening of the New Unified Stockyard in 1865 as being a crucial turning-point in the populace's detachment from nature. 'In a world of ranches, packing plants, and refrigerator cars', he argued, most of 'the constant reminders of the relationships that sustained one's own life ... vanished from easy view'. Once meat was being transported into Chicago by rail from hundreds and thousands of miles away, meat seemed 'less a product of first nature and more a product of human artifice'.⁵⁹¹ As Cronon makes clear, the systems by which livestock are distributed, marketed and killed are crucial to understanding the relationship between those animals and the populations which consume them. In the Hanoverian period, the systems which supplied meat to London were distinctively urban, and as the trade expanded Londoners became ever more familiar with the sights, sounds and smells of cattle, sheep and pigs.

⁵⁸⁸ Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.6, pp.150-59 & pp.243-257; E.L. Jones, 'Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1660-1750: Agricultural Change', *Journal of Economic History*, 25 (1965), pp.1-18; M.E. Turner, 'Agricultural productivity in England in the eighteenth century: evidence from crop yields', *EcHR*, 34 (1982), pp.489-510; R.C. Allen, 'Agriculture during the industrial revolution, 1700-1850' in R. Floud & P. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, vol.1 (Cambridge, 2004), pp.57-95.

⁵⁸⁹ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth, 1984), p.182.

⁵⁹⁰ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.182.

⁵⁹¹ W. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York & London, 1991), pp.255-56.

In 1772, the poet Charles Jenner lamented the transformation of London from the bucolic city which had inspired poets such as Pope (1688–1744) and Gay (1685–1732), to the gigantic metropolis of his own day. ‘In vain, alas’, he wrote

shall city bards resort,
 For past’ral images, to *Tottenham-court*;
 Fat droves of sheep, consign’d from *Lincoln fens*,
 That swearing drovers beat to *Smithfield* pennis,
 Give faint ideas of *Arcadian* plains,
 With bleating lambkins, and with piping swains ...
 But droves of oxen through yon clouds appear,
 With noisy dogs and butchers in their rear,
 To give poetic fancy small relief,
 And tempt the hungry bard, with thoughts of beef.⁵⁹²

Although satirical, this poem captures one of the most salient features of eighteenth-century London: its role as a livestock market. Jenner’s London greedily consumes beasts from the countryside; its streets swarm with sheep and cattle being driven to market; and its residents are made acutely aware of their presence. Evidence of this activity appears in dozens of topographical views of London and a spectrum of other material. Yet, recent studies have largely overlooked this important aspect of metropolitan life.⁵⁹³

As discussed in Chapter 1, urban production played an important role in supplying pork and milk to the city, but could not satisfy London’s fast-growing demand for beef, mutton and other animal foods. The expansion of London’s hinterland was crucial to feeding its population.⁵⁹⁴ In a period pre-dating refrigeration and the railways, London relied on most of its meat arriving in living droves, travelling on foot.⁵⁹⁵ Colin Smith asserts that London’s markets were ‘some of the most prominent and colourful points of interface between city and country’ in the Hanoverian period.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹² Charles Jenner, *Town eclogues* (1772), ‘Eclogue IV: The Poet’, pp.26-27.

⁵⁹³ The briefest of references to Smithfield livestock market appear in R. Porter, *London: A Social History* (1994, London, 2000), pp. 171, 207 & 234; J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London, 2012), p.193; P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. II, 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.53, 55 & 307.

⁵⁹⁴ J. Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo World, 1783-1939* (Oxford, 2009), pp.339-40.

⁵⁹⁵ G. Dodd, *The Food of London* (1856), pp.249-50, notes that in summer, beef or mutton could not be transported more than 25 miles by road without spoilage setting in.

⁵⁹⁶ C. Smith, ‘The wholesale and retail markets of London, 1660-1840’, *EcHR*, 55 (2002), p.31; I. Mitchell, ‘The development of urban retailing, 1700-1815,’ in P. Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800* (1984), pp.259-83; F.J. Fisher, ‘The development of the London food market,’ *EcHR*, 5 (1935), pp.46-64.

Yet, this interface was most evident in Smithfield because – in contrast to the marketing of fruit, vegetables, hay and straw – the goods being sold were alive. As I will show, this trade ensured that livestock encroached on the lives of not just London’s husbandmen, drovers, salesmen and butchers, but of all Londoners.

That Smithfield was one of the most successful centres of commerce in the Hanoverian age appears to have been overshadowed by scholarly interest in London’s royal exchange, banks and insurance companies on the one hand; and polite shops on the other, which dominate conceptions of the modern metropolitan mart.⁵⁹⁷ Yet, as Smith has argued, ‘provisioning the metropolitan masses’ could not, and should not, be taken for granted.⁵⁹⁸ Polite consumers were just as reliant on markets – many of which were strategically constructed in their neighbourhoods – as they were upon refined shops. Beef, lamb and to a lesser extent pork were commodities devoured in huge quantities by the elite but also by London’s middling sorts and lower orders in cultures of both routinized and conspicuous consumption.⁵⁹⁹ Furthermore, while livestock were bred and reared in the countryside, the urban transit, marketing and slaughter of these animals meant that lamb chops and beef steaks became, and were perceived to be, metropolitan as well as rural products. As discussed below, the livestock trade was closely associated with urban nuisance in the Hanoverian period, but this was part of a much broader profile in metropolitan culture.

From the late sixteenth century, fascination with metropolitan meat consumption inspired numerous attempts to calculate its scale and progress. In 1694, John Houghton estimated that Londoners consumed 100,000 cattle annually, based on the assumption that each family ‘shall in a year eat one beef’ but admitted that this was ‘conjecture’.⁶⁰⁰ Two months later, he published a revised estimate based on an ‘ingenious’ butcher’s assertion that around 1,700 cattle entered London each week, or 88,400 per year.⁶⁰¹ These figures probably exaggerated by a few thousand and anticipated levels first reached in the 1720s or 1730s. Later studies attempted to calculate the weight of meat consumed per capita and across the metropolis. One 1815 study put the collective

⁵⁹⁷ A. Saunders (ed.), *The Royal Exchange* (London, 1997); D. Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-85* (Cambridge, 1995); A. Murphy, *The Origins of the English Financial Markets: Investment and Speculation Before the South Sea Bubble* (Cambridge, 2009); J. Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: Britain and the Industrial Revolution 1700-1850* (London & New York, 2009), ch.11; D.M. Joslin, ‘London private bankers, 1720-1785’, *EcHR*, 7 (1954), pp.167-86; H-C. & L.H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal, 1989); Walsh, ‘Shop design and the display of goods’, pp.157-75.

⁵⁹⁸ C. Smith, ‘The wholesale and retail markets of London’, p.31; see also R. Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770-1870* (eds.), W.A. Armstrong & P. Scola (Manchester & New York, 1992), which highlights the importance of food marketing in supporting urban growth.

⁵⁹⁹ S. Pennell, ‘Consumption and consumerism in Early Modern England’, *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), p.561.

⁶⁰⁰ No.112 (21/9/1694) in John Houghton, *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (1st published, 1692-1703; 1727-28), pp.300-1.

⁶⁰¹ No.118 (2/11/1694) in John Houghton, *A Collection for the Improvement* (1727-28), p.314.

figure at 25 million stone a year or 245 pounds per Londoner.⁶⁰² In 1856, consumption was said to have increased from 70 pounds per capita in 1750 to over 122 pounds by 1850.⁶⁰³ These figures were probably overstated but they reflect a dramatic increase in London's meat consumption and an equally impressive expansion in the Smithfield trade.

Expansion of the livestock trade

In 1725, a total of 76,531 cattle (bulls, oxen and cows) were sold in Smithfield. By 1786, the annual average had risen by 41 per cent to 108,075.⁶⁰⁴ As much as any other growth commodity, meat epitomised the unique intensity of metropolitan consumption. As Perren has argued, 'it would be hard to over-stress the importance of the urban market' in the 'demand for farm output'. Yet, unlike other British cities, London's demands far out-weighed the scale of its population.⁶⁰⁵ As the focal point of Britain's political, financial, legal and entertainment activity, the metropolis housed 'a larger proportion of wealthy consumers than any other city'. This generated a ready demand for high-quality agricultural produce on an unparalleled scale. Not only did Londoners consume greater quantities of beef than people in other parts of the country, they also paid higher prices for better cuts from 'more highly finished cattle'.⁶⁰⁶ As well as serving Londoners, Smithfield supplied the navy, which demanded huge quantities of meat in times of war. In October 1746, the Naval Victualling Board ordered contractors to supply its main processing centre at Deptford with 1,600 cattle within a month.⁶⁰⁷ And in 1828, an experienced 'grazier and salesman' recalled that 'a great buyer' had in wartime driven '5 or 600 Lincolnshire Cattle ... through the City' every week for the Navy.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰² J. Nightingale, *London and Middlesex* (1815), vol. 3, p.476; when weighing beef, 8 pounds made a stone. The suggested population size of 818,129 in 1811 represents a somewhat conservative estimate. Wrigley and Schofield suggest a population of 1,009,546 in 1811, in which case per capita consumption of meat would have been 198 pounds.

⁶⁰³ George Dodd, *The Food of London* (1856), pp.249-50.

⁶⁰⁴ 'The Clerk of the Market's Account for the Year 1725' in William Maitland, *The History and Survey of London from its Foundation to the Present Time*, vol. 2 (1760), p.756; J.C. Curwen, *Hints on Agricultural Subjects and on the Best Means of Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes* (2nd edn., 1809), p.131.

⁶⁰⁵ R. Perren, 'Markets and marketing' in Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England & Wales*, vol.6, p.192.

⁶⁰⁶ Perren, 'Markets and marketing', p.193.

⁶⁰⁷ Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History*, vol.6, pp.245-6.

⁶⁰⁸ This dropped considerably in peacetime and in 1828, fewer than fifty droves were being sent per week. LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second Report from the Select Committee on the State of Smithfield Market' (1828), pp.95-7. See also N.A.M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London, 1996), pp.70-86.

By the mid-eighteenth century, Smithfield's agricultural activities extended over much of the week, with specialised market days for different livestock and arable produce. The sale of bullocks, sheep, lambs, calves and hogs took place on Mondays and Fridays.⁶⁰⁹ Sheep, of which there were generally seven times more than cattle, were by far the most numerous while lambs, calves and hogs were sold in much smaller but still considerable numbers.⁶¹⁰ In parallel with this trade, thousands of turkeys and geese were moved on foot, as well as in carts from East Anglia to be sold at Leadenhall, Newgate and other metropolitan markets.⁶¹¹

This chapter focusses on cattle and sheep, as these were Smithfield's most prevalent and valuable commodities. Table 13 shows that the number of animals brought to market increased considerably over the eighteenth century, despite disruptions caused by cattle plague (rinderpest) which 'ravaged the country's herds between 1745 and 1768'.⁶¹² Between 1732–40 and 1786–94, the average annual number of sheep rose by a quarter and cattle by a fifth.⁶¹³ In 1803, the sixth Duke of Bedford informed parliament that average annual sales of sheep and cattle had increased by 200,000 and 30,000 respectively since the early 1790s, suggesting a doubling of growth in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries.⁶¹⁴ These figures served Bedford's campaign to expand Smithfield Market,⁶¹⁵ but this should not overshadow the remarkable growth achieved in this period, which far outstripped that in any other Western European city.

⁶⁰⁹ John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), p.409.

⁶¹⁰ James Bell, *A System of Geography* (1832), vol.3, p.102, reported that 20,020 pigs and 24,609 calves were sold at Smithfield in 1822 compared to 149,885 beasts and 1,507,096 sheep.

⁶¹¹ P. Rogers (ed.), Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-26; Harmondsworth, 1986), pp.83-84; Defoe calculated that 150,000 Norfolk turkeys were driven in 300 droves down the Ipswich Road, and over Stratford Bridge, to London each season in the 1720s; George Gregory, *A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1819), vol.2; *The London Encyclopaedia or, Universal Dictionary of Science, Art, Literature, and Practical Mechanics* (1839), vol.14, p.262; Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, 4 vols. (1831), vol.3, p.387; K. Bonser, *The Drovers* (London & Basingstoke, 1970), p.55; George Dodd, *The Food of London* (1856), pp.326-27.

⁶¹² Over half a million head of cattle is estimated to have been lost to the disease in the years 1745-58; Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England & Wales*, vol.6, p.943; J. Broad, 'Cattle plague in eighteenth-century England', *AHR*, 32 (1983), pp.114; L. Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease: An Introduction to the History of Comparative Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.35-65.

⁶¹³ Table 13 compares two data sets published by John Middleton and Stephen Theodore Janssen, the most widely repeated by Hanoverian studies of the trade. Janssen's, compiled in the early 1770s, runs from 1731-70 and Middleton's, compiled in the late 1790s, from 1732-94. Janssen's figures are higher than Middleton's, but they reflect similar fluctuations. The two men were surveying the trade almost thirty years apart and are likely to have used different sources. It is possible that Janssen had access to more reliable figures for the earlier period than Middleton. Their backgrounds may have contributed to their differing interpretations. Middleton was a land surveyor, agricultural writer and a 'Corresponding Member of the Board of Agriculture'. He divided his time between his farm in Merton and house in Lambeth and had considerable access to agricultural records as well as the opinions of farmers and Smithfield salesmen. Janssen had been a Director of the East India Company and a Lord Mayor of London; John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), pp.409-11; Guildhall, Closed Access Broadside 30.74, S.T Janssen, 'A Table Shewing the Number of Sheep and Black Cattle brought to Smithfield Market for the last 40 years' (undated); for more on Janssen see J. Innes, *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2009), p.161.

⁶¹⁴ When compared to Middleton's figures for the period between 1768-76 and 1789-94; see Table 13.

⁶¹⁵ *The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Times*, vol. 26 (1812), p.399.

Table 13: Sheep and black cattle brought for sale to Smithfield market, 1732–1794.⁶¹⁶

	Sheep				Cattle			
	Middleton	% increase/ decrease	Janssen	% increase/ decrease	Middleton	% increase/ decrease	Janssen	% increase/ decrease
1732-40	564,650		595,069		83,906		96,412	
1741-49	559,891	-0.8	583,622	-1.9	74,194	-11.6	83,779	-13.1
1750-58	623,091	11.3	689,209	18.1	75,351	1.6	83,073	-0.8
1759-1767	615,328	-1.2	677,098	-1.8	83,432	10.7	91,302	10.0%
Difference between 1732-40 & 1759-67	50,678	9.0	82,029	13.8	-474	-0.6	-5110	-5.3
1768-1776	627,805	2.0			89,362	7.1		
1777-1785	687,588	9.5			99,285	11.1		
1786 – 1794	707,456	2.9			101,075	1.8		
Difference between 1768-76 & 1786-94	79,651	12.7			11,713	13.1		
Difference between 1732-40 & 1786-94	142,806	25.3			17,169	20.5		

By 1790, London's consumption of livestock was at least three times greater than that of Paris, Europe's second largest city, which consumed 150–200,000 head of livestock.⁶¹⁷ By 1809, the number of sheep and lambs annually slaughtered in the capital surpassed one million.⁶¹⁸ In 1822, Smithfield was processing an astonishing 1.7 million animals a year, each transported on the hoof through the city.⁶¹⁹ The number of livestock brought annually to market then exceeded the city's population by hundreds of thousands. Table 14 and Figure 4 compare the combined total of sheep and cattle brought annually to Smithfield market with London's population between 1700 and

⁶¹⁶ John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798) pp.409-11; S.T Janssen, 'A Table Shewing the Number of Sheep and Black Cattle brought to Smithfield Market for the last 40 years', *Guildhall Closed Access Broadside* 30.74.

⁶¹⁷ This included 50-60,000 head of cattle; R. Horowitz, J.M. Pilcher & S. Watts, 'Meat for the multitudes: market culture in Paris, New York City, and Mexico City over the long nineteenth century,' *American Historical Review*, 109 (2004), pp.1060-61; M. Lachiver, 'L'approvisionnement de Paris en viande au XVIIIe siècle', in *La France d'Ancien Regime: Etudes Reunites en l'honneur de Pierre Goubert. 2 vols.* (Paris, 1984), i, pp.345-54; B. Garnier, 'Des boeufs pour Paris: commercialisation et élevage en Basse-Normandie (1700-1900)', *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 106 (1999), pp.101-20.

⁶¹⁸ David Hughson, *London; being an accurate history and description of the British metropolis*, vol. 6 (1809).

⁶¹⁹ 1,507,096 sheep; 149,885 cattle; 24,609 calves and 20,020 pigs; James Bell, *A System of Geography* (1832), vol.3, p.102.

1831. They clearly show that the convergence of livestock increased with urbanisation, rather than declining as Thomas suggests. In the 1730s, the number of animals per head of population was approximately 1.02. By 1809–11, this ratio had increased to 1.11 and by 1821–22, to 1.33. Thomas' identification of 'an industrial order in which animals became increasingly marginal to the processes of production' completely overlooks the ways in which food production and supply brought animals into the heart of London.⁶²⁰

Table 14: Smithfield livestock per head of population, 1700–1831.

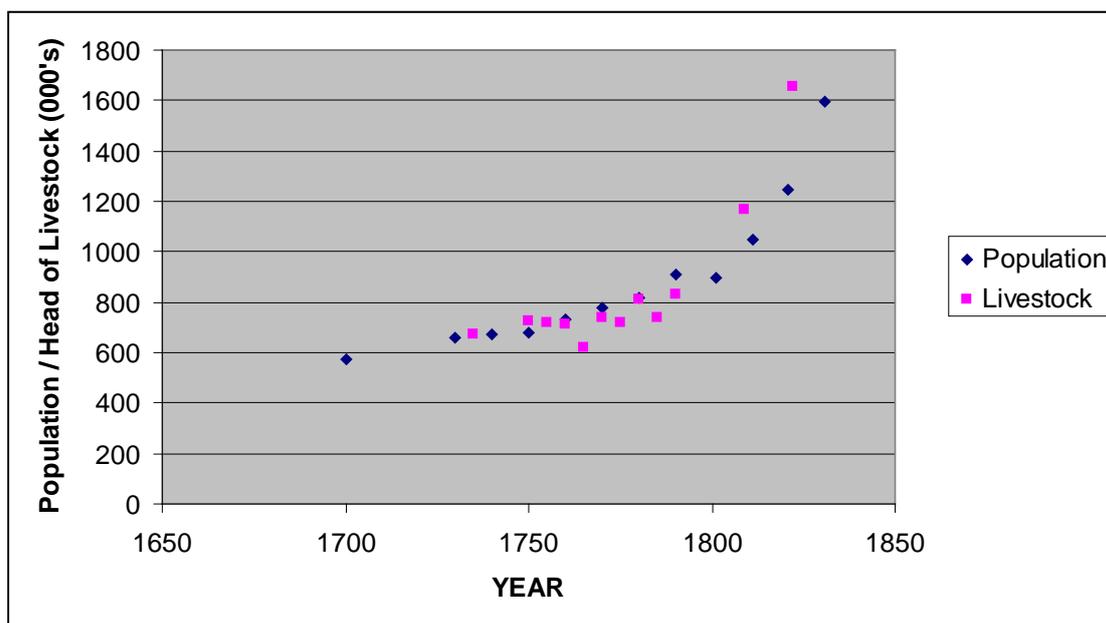
	Head of Livestock (Cattle & Sheep)⁶²¹	Population of London⁶²²	Livestock per head of population
1700	—	575,000	
1730s	674,864 (1735)	660,000	1.02
1740s		670,000	
1750s	727,105 (1750) 721,390 (1755)	680,000	1.07 1.06
1760s	710,804 (1760) 618,630 (1765)	730,000	0.97 0.85
1770s	735,980 (1770) 717,531 (1775)	780,000	0.94 0.92
1780s	809,233 (1780) 740,527 (1785)	820,000	0.99 0.90
1790s	833,368 (1790)	910,000	0.92
1801	—	900,000	
1809-11	1,170,463 (1809)	1,050,000 (1811)	1.11
1821-22	1,656,981 (1822)	1,247,000 (1821)	1.33
1831	—	1,595,000 (1831)	

⁶²⁰ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.181.

⁶²¹ Livestock data for 1735-1790 from John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), pp.409-411; 1809 data from David Hughson, *London*, (1809), vol. 6; 1822 data from James Bell, *A System of Geography*, (1832), vol.3, p.102.

⁶²² Population data: 1700: E.A. Wrigley, 'A simple model of London's importance in changing English society and economy', *P&P*, 37 (1967), p.44; 1730s – 1790s: J. Landers, *Death and the Metropolis: Studies in the Demographic History of London, 1670-1830* (Cambridge, 2006), p.179; 1801, 1821, 1831: L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.125-8.

Figure 4: Population of London / head of livestock brought to Smithfield market, 1700–1831.



It is important to note that cattle sales at Smithfield only reached their peak of 277,000 in 1853, just two years before the market closed.⁶²³ Up to that final market day, held on 11 June 1855, London's trade in meat on the hoof far exceeded that of Chicago, the giant city of thirteen railroads and 'the gateway of the American West'. One nineteenth-century visitor to Chicago's inner-city stockyards celebrated their 'astounding dimensions' and in 1861, 177,000 head of cattle were driven through the city's streets.⁶²⁴ That London handled a hundred thousand more emphasises the exceptional economic significance and impact of the Smithfield trade.

Moreover, sales figures for the Hanoverian period underestimate the true scale of London's livestock trade, as they omit an unknown, but significant number of sheep and cattle which entered the metropolis through illegal 'forestalling'. Some carcass butchers purchased live beasts on their approach to the metropolis, retained them until demand increased, and then sold their carcasses at an inflated price to retail butchers. As a result of this practice, consumers paid for an 'artificial scarcity'.⁶²⁵ The earliest complaints against forestalling were aired in the London press in the

⁶²³ I. Maclachlan, 'A bloody offal nuisance: the persistence of private slaughterhouses in nineteenth-century London', *Urban History*, 34 (2007), p.228 & p.234; George Dodd, *The Food of London* (1856), pp.249-50, suggests that cattle throughput increased by 34 per cent between 1828 and 1844.

⁶²⁴ Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, pp.207-11.

⁶²⁵ Anon, *Monopoly. The cutting butchers appeal to the legislature upon the high price of meat: in which many of the base practices of Smithfield market are exposed* (1795), p.7; see also R.S. Metcalfe, *Meat, Commerce and the City: The London Food Market, 1800-1855* (London, 2012), p.21.

1760s, but intensified in the late 1780s and 1790s.⁶²⁶ In 1793, the *St James's Chronicle* complained that 'The traffick of forestalling was never carried to so scandalous and open a defiance of all law as it is at present'.⁶²⁷ And in May 1795, the *Sun* claimed that

out of a drove of 75 oxen, from Norfolk and Suffolk, intended for Smithfield Market, no less than 30 were sold on Wednesday last at Ingateston, in Essex, to a carcass-butcher near Cow Cross [West Smithfield]. It is also a fact, that double that number were sold on Thursday, between Brentford and Hyde Park Corner, to different London butchers.⁶²⁸

Such reports were fuelled by broader concerns over food scarcity and soaring prices in the 1790s, and do not provide a reliable indication of the extent of the problem.⁶²⁹ But by the late eighteenth century, illicit suburban dealings were probably adding thousands of animals to the metropolitan livestock trade.⁶³⁰ Forestalling promised considerable rewards and offenders faced few obstacles, particularly after 1772, when a sixteenth-century statute against forestalling was partially repealed, and a perception took hold that the offence was no longer recognised by the law.⁶³¹ Meanwhile, noninterventionist government policies restricted the Corporation of London's regulatory efforts. While it managed to punish some offenders in 1800, fines of £20 and three months in prison were unlikely to suppress such a lucrative trade.⁶³² Forestalling continued and in 1854, it was reported that offenders attended 'the arrival of cattle trains ... where they bought up the cattle from the graziers'.⁶³³

⁶²⁶ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (3-5/4/1764); *Lloyd's Evening Post* (26-29/10/1764); see also, Anon, *Museum rusticum et commercial: or, select papers on agriculture, commerce, arts, and manufactures*, 6 vols. (1764-66), vol.2, pp.283-85.

⁶²⁷ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (17-19/9/1793).

⁶²⁸ *Sun* (13/5/1795).

⁶²⁹ S.E. Brown, "A just and profitable commerce': moral economy and the middle classes in eighteenth-century London", *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), pp.305-32 & 'Politics commerce and social policy in the City of London 1782-1802', Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Oxford, 1992); see also D. Hay, 'The state and the market in 1800: Lord Kenyon and Mr Waddington', *P&P*, 162 (1999), pp.101-62.

⁶³⁰ The perceived threat posed by forestalling was sufficient to prompt the lord mayor, Thomas Skinner, to conduct an investigation in 1795 and to write to the home secretary, with recommendations for stricter regulation of the cattle market; these proposals were rejected; Brown, "A just and profitable commerce", p.314.

⁶³¹ Public Act, 5 & 6 Edward VI, c.12 (1552); Public Act, 12 Geo III, c. 71 (1772). *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (14/7/1800).

⁶³² Brown, "A just and profitable commerce", p.319; LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/011, 'Substance of Cutting Butcher's Petition & allegations offered to the Right Honourable Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council for an alteration of Smithfield Market from Friday to Thursday' (20/12/1796); 'Report on the Petition of the Butchers respecting Jobbing of, or Forestalling of Cattle' (29/4/1796), *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol.51: 1795-96, p.636; *Oracle & Public Advertiser* (5/5/1796). *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (14/7/1800) & (25/9/1800).

⁶³³ *The Essex Standard, and General Advertiser for the Eastern Counties* (23/8/1854).

The financial significance of the metropolitan livestock trade was extraordinary. By 1809, it was thought to be worth £5,000,000, by which time a single market day could generate £100,000 of sales.⁶³⁴ By 1815, its annual value had risen to £6,680,000, with growth continuing apace over the next four decades.⁶³⁵ The value of the metropolitan meat trade dwarfed that of many other “boom” markets which have been emphasised by historians, including tea and sugar, among other exotic imports.⁶³⁶ The total annual value of imports to Britain in the mid-1780s was calculated at £16,279,419. At this time, the value of meat sold in the capital was double that of England’s total sugar consumption (£2 ½ million). The relatively new markets for chinaware, cotton, rum, tea, coffee and cocoa were no match for London’s ancient trade in meat on the hoof.⁶³⁷

By the mid-eighteenth century, London had developed a highly sophisticated carcass economy which used and promoted advanced commercial practices. In 1813, it was observed that the ‘Landed and Grazing Interest expect their remittances to be forwarded by Post the same Day the Stock is sold’. Such swift money transfers were made possible by a ‘system of credits and promissory notes’ which connected ‘farmers, graziers, drovers and salesmen in the country to the City’.⁶³⁸ This system relied on Smithfield’s proximity to bankers in the City and to the postal carriers operating out of Bishopsgate, Aldersgate and Holborn. Dodd estimated that by the early nineteenth century, seven or eight ‘banking houses’ bordered the market, and served around 600 Smithfield salesmen.⁶³⁹ These developments were closely linked to the growth of country banks after 1750 which, as Mokyr notes, ‘maintained an agent or correspondent bank in London, which helped it handle and discount bills of exchange’. By lubricating the wheels of the economy with short-term credit, this system underpinned the success of medium and long distance trade. Thus, the metropolitan meat trade can be seen to have promoted and benefited from important advances in financial services in this period.⁶⁴⁰ At the same time, the efficacy of this commercial relationship goes some way to explain why, for almost a century, defenders of Smithfield were able to deflect calls to remove the trade to a suburban location. In 1828, Joseph Pocklington, a

⁶³⁴ *The Universal Magazine*, vol.11 (1809), p.75; David Hughson, *London*, vol.4 (1809), p.597; LMA, CLA/016/AD/01/003 ‘Substance of Smithfield Market Bill now before Parliament ... for enlarging and improving Market-Place...’ (1813).

⁶³⁵ Rev. J. Nightingale, *London and Middlesex* (1815), vol.3, p.476; James Bell, *A System of Geography*, (1832), vol.3, p.102; by 1832, the value of the meat trade had risen to £8,500,000.

⁶³⁶ J. Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800* (New York, 1997); S.W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985); de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*.

⁶³⁷ Adam Anderson, *An Historical & Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, (1787), vol.4, p.604; Sir John Sinclair, *The History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire, Part 3* (1790), p. 187.

⁶³⁸ Metcalfe, *Meat, Commerce and the City*, p.30.

⁶³⁹ George Dodd, *The Food of London* (1856), p.237.

⁶⁴⁰ Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy*, pp.222-24; see also L. Brunt, ‘Rediscovering risk: country banks as venture capitalist firms in the first industrial revolution’, *Journal of Economic History*, 66 (2006), pp.74-102.

‘Money-taker and banker at Smithfield’ told the committee into the state of Smithfield market that its removal

two miles out of London ... must be inconvenient because of the distance I should then be from my bank; the great danger I should have ... in conveying my money ... we have great intercourse all the day with the Bank and the City bankers, and have demands upon our house all the day ... the hour of the payment is the hour of the market.⁶⁴¹

Equally important was the pressure exerted by powerful local businessmen, not least the several innkeepers who kept ‘the large accommodation necessary for the people who attend the market’ and relied on the trade’s continuation.⁶⁴² The above emphasises the degree to which the business of meat on the hoof was integrated into the wider metropolitan economy. Yet, for all its sophistication and success, the livestock trade posed serious challenges for metropolitan infrastructures and impacted heavily on daily life. Its continuation and expansion involved a mounting, unresolved tension with enlightened urbanity and improvement. At the same time, the marketing of meat on the hoof promoted close interaction with livestock in the streets of the metropolis.

Impact on metropolitan life

In the mid-eighteenth century, approximately 1,500 cattle and 11,500 sheep were brought to market each week (shared across the two market days), rising to an astonishing 3,000 and 28,500 respectively, by the late 1820s.⁶⁴³ In a fond but critical farewell to the Hanoverian trade, George Dodd (1808–81) observed in 1856 that it had been ‘a continued struggle against difficulties, almost against impossibilities; a continued protest against the dictates of good sense’ as well as ‘a continued display of the meat-buying powers of the London public; and ... a sort of perennial

⁶⁴¹ Metcalfe, *Meat, Commerce and the City*, p.59; LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, ‘Second report’ (1828), p.206; LMA, CLA/016/AD/01/003, ‘Substance of Smithfield Market Bill now before Parliament... for enlarging and improving Market-Place...’ (1813).

⁶⁴² LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, ‘Second report’ (1828), Introduction & pp.71 & 146; although the Corporation of London also profited from the trade, through tolls and market dues, this remained a relatively modest revenue stream. As Metcalf asserts, this does not explain the Corporation’s opposition to proposals to remove the market. LMA, CLA/016/FN/01/007, ‘Rough Weekly Account: tolls collected’, 2 Sept 1727- 28 Sept 1728; LMA, CLA/016/FN/01/04, ‘Dues Collected at Smithfield Market’, 1777-1817; Metcalfe, *Meat, Commerce and the City*, pp.3 & 59.

⁶⁴³ The festive period drew several thousand more animals to what came to be known as ‘the great market’; moreover, as discussed below, Monday markets attracted significantly more animals than Fridays; LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, ‘Second Report’ (1828), appendix & p.62; James Bell, *A System of Geography*, (1832), vol. 3, p.102; John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), pp.409-11; Peter Cunningham, *Hand Book of London* (1849), p.167

Map 13: Wenceslas Hollar & others, *Map of London* (after 1688), indicating situation of Smithfield market.



Livestock were prominent features of many urban areas in Western Europe and North America in the eighteenth century.⁶⁴⁷ Yet, counter-intuitively, they were far more deeply ingrained in London's infrastructures and daily life than they were in smaller, less urban cities and towns.⁶⁴⁸ Historians have shown far greater interest in the campaign to shut Smithfield down than in the trade's long continuation.⁶⁴⁹ But the fact that London retained its inner-city livestock market

⁶⁴⁷ An important exception was Paris, which had no tradition of inner-city livestock marketing; by the early thirteenth century, the law directed that the city be solely supplied by markets at Sceaux, located six miles to the south of Paris, and Poissy, fifteen miles to the West. Moreover, after 1416, the driving of livestock through the streets of Paris was completely prohibited. Charles VI also ordered the construction of four suburban slaughterhouses, setting a precedent which continued into the nineteenth century; Horowitz, Pilcher & Watts, 'Meat for the Multitudes', p.1061; G. B. Whittaker, *The History of Paris from the earliest period to the present day* (1827), pp.23-5; S. Watts, 'Boucherie et hygiène a Paris au XVIII^e siècle,' *Révue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 51 (2004); S. Watts, *Meat Matters: Butchers, Politics, and Market Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Rochester, 2006); D. Brantz, 'Slaughter in the City: The Establishment of Public Abattoirs in Paris and Berlin, 1780-1914,' (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2003), pp.1055-1083.

⁶⁴⁸ In 1800, the population of London was around 950,000, that of Paris 550,000, Berlin 170,000, Liverpool, 80,000, New York, 60,000, and Norwich, 42,000; P. Bairoch, J. Batou & P. Chevre, *The Population of European Cities from 800-1850* (Geneva, 1988), p.283; C. Berry, *A Concise History and Directory of the City of Norwich for 1811* (Norwich, 1811), v; E.G. Burrows & M. Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999), p.347.

⁶⁴⁹ Metcalfe, *Meat, Commerce and the City* & 'The death of Smithfield market: urbanization and the meat markets of 19th-century London', *Appetite*, 47 (2006); Maclachlan, 'A bloody offal nuisance'; D. Donald, "Beastly sights": the treatment of animals as a moral theme in representations of London c.1820-1850' in D. Arnold (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London* (Oxford, 1999); C. Philo, 'Animals, geography, and the city: notes on inclusions and exclusions' in J. Wolch & J. Emel (eds.), *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (London & New York, 1998), pp.61-71; P. Joyce, 'Maps, blood and the city: the governance of the social in nineteenth-century Britain' in Joyce (ed.), *The Social in Question: New Bearings in History and the Social Sciences* (London, 2002).

decades after many less urbanised cities had submitted⁶⁵⁰ is indicative of the trade's deep-rooted influence. Efforts to force livestock out of cities were common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as they had been in the early modern period.⁶⁵¹ Such attempts were often met with strong resistance but nowhere more so than in London. The history of livestock marketing emphasises that the effects of urbanization, modernization and improvement were very far from homogenous.⁶⁵² The distinctive geography, population size, government and culture of cities fostered remarkably different conditions for the sale and distribution of animal food. In London, this environment maximised the population's interaction with livestock and rooted the business of meat on the hoof in the wider economy in exceptional ways.

The night preceding market day, cattle and sheep were collected from suburban pens which encircled the metropolis. From outposts at Islington in the North; Holloway and Mile End in the East; Knightsbridge and Paddington in the West and Newington in the South, droves began to converge on the heart of the city until they became a dense swarm.⁶⁵³ Map 14 shows the principal routes taken by drovers. The most common route from the West – passing along Oxford Street and through Holborn – bisected some of the busiest parts of the capital. The opening of the Paddington to Islington 'New Road' in 1756, discussed in Chapter 5, redirected some of this traffic to the northern fringes of the city but some drovers declined to use it, perhaps because it added half a mile to their journey (see Map 15).⁶⁵⁴

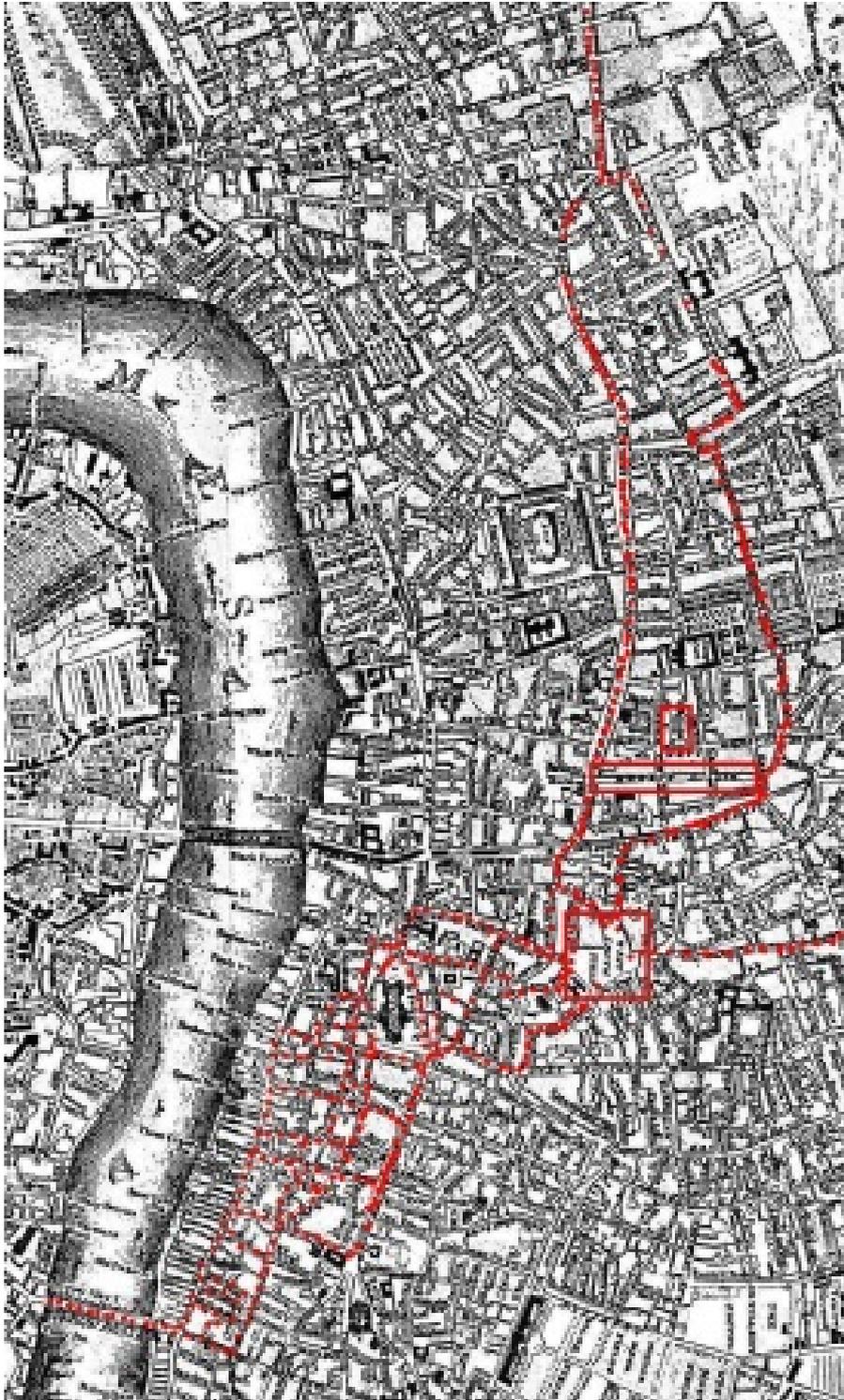
⁶⁵⁰ Between 1780 and 1837, Manchester's cattle market moved from the heart of the city to its fringe and on to Salford, a satellite town three miles away. Meanwhile, Liverpool's first substantial cattle market was established on the outskirts of the city in the 1780s but soon relocated to Kirkdale, a township three miles to the north of the city. In 1830, this market was moved to the village of Old Swan, located three miles to the east of Liverpool; Scola, *Feeding the Victorian city*, pp.150, 156 & 46; Richard Brooke, *Liverpool as it was During the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century, 1775 to 1800* (1853), p.117; a 'moderate' market in Liverpool and Manchester involved 5,000-6,000 cattle, sheep and lambs, whereas London processed more than 30,000 each week; *Preston Chronicle* (11/6/1831) & (2/7/1831); LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second Report' (1828), Appendix, evidence provided by the Chamberlain's Office; see also C. Otter, 'Civilising slaughter: the development of the British public abattoir, 1850-1910' in P.Y. Lee (ed.), *Meat, Modernity, and the Rise of the Slaughterhouse* (Lebanon, NH, 2008), pp. 89-106.

⁶⁵¹ In 1488, an Act (4 Hen. VII, c.3) prevented the killing of beasts within the walls of London but following petitioning by the butchers, this was repealed in 1532 (4 & 5 Henry VII, c.3); P.E. Jones, *The Butchers of London: A History of the Worshipful Company of Butchers of the City of London* (London, 1976), pp.81-2.

⁶⁵² New York's livestock markets and slaughterhouses were forced from urbanised Manhattan in the early nineteenth century, and transplanted to the suburbs and wider hinterland, as was the case in other American cities. In 1828, an English visitor to the city told a select committee examining the state of Smithfield market that 'slaughterhouses have been all banished out of the City of New York. This city is now supplied from the State of New Jersey, Long Island, and the rivers above and below New York'; this claim may have been premature but reflected major changes; LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second Report' (1828), p.85, evidence of Charles Whitlaw, agriculturalist and botanist; see also J.L. Pate, *Livestock hotels: America's historical stockyards* (Fort Worth, 2005), p.17; Horowitz, Pilcher & Watts, 'Meat for the Multitudes', p.1062; Burrows & Wallace, *Gotham*, pp.355, 475 & 658; Eisenstadt (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of New York State* (New York, 2005), p.966; on Chicago, see Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*.

⁶⁵³ Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p.103; David Hughson, *London*, (1809), vol.6, p.598.

⁶⁵⁴ The line marked 'AD' on Map 15 represents the location of the New Road as it was originally intended, running in a straight line from Paddington to Islington: this plan was vetoed by the Duke of



Map 14: John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747), indicating the main drovers' routes into Smithfield market.

Drovers from the north came via Highgate and Angel, before heading into the City along St John's Street. By the early 1700s Highgate and Islington had become important staging posts for drovers and developed distinctive bovine cultures as a result.⁶⁵⁵ Some of Islington's cow-keepers took in cattle and sheep before market days⁶⁵⁶ – by the 1820s, Laycock could accommodate 2,000 beasts, affording an income of around £7,000.⁶⁵⁷ These developments show that the trade in meat on the hoof was entwined with urban husbandry in a sophisticated local livestock economy upon which the agropolis was built.

Approaching from the South, drovers amassed on the Old Kent Road, where taverns were named in their honour.⁶⁵⁸ Prior to the Lambeth Enclosure Act of 1806, a patchwork of commons and waste lands provided a final resting place for livestock, before they were driven across London Bridge and steered through the City's narrow streets.⁶⁵⁹ As these immense droves converged on the narrow approach roads to Smithfield, the area became a swirling sea of animal life. In 1828, a resident of Finsbury Square testified that 'from eleven till four o'clock in the morning there is one uninterrupted scene of noise and confusion' and that by midnight, the area was 'in an uproar with Drovers'.⁶⁶⁰

On arrival at Smithfield, sheep were guided into pens principally in the centre and north western corner of the market, said to contain about 2,000 animals by the 1820s. A large number of cattle, over a thousand by the end of the eighteenth century, were fastened to 600 yards of rails, opposite St Bartholomew's Hospital.⁶⁶¹ A similar number were allowed to 'stand off', untied but closely packed together. These 'off-droves' were principally found in the area nearest to Smithfield Barrs.⁶⁶² Once sold, drovers led some animals directly to Smithfield's slaughter-house district, comprising an array of compact facilities 'located behind or beneath a retail meat shop', and run by independent butchers.⁶⁶³

⁶⁵⁵ Some inns in Highgate and Islington were given names such as the 'Pied Bull' or displayed bullock horns; S. Roberts, *The Story of Islington* (London, 1975), p.55.

⁶⁵⁶ Roberts, *The Story of Islington*, p.175; P.J. Atkins, 'The milk trade of London c.1790-1914' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1977), p.28.

⁶⁵⁷ Based on a 4d charge per head of cattle standing from Saturday night until midnight on Sunday, plus 1s for hay; LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second Report' (1828), p.235.

⁶⁵⁸ Edward Walford, *Old and New London* (1878), vol.6, pp.248-55.

⁶⁵⁹ 'Petition against Lambeth Enclosure Bill' (21/4/1806), *Journals of the House of Commons, vol.61: 1805-1806*, p.230.

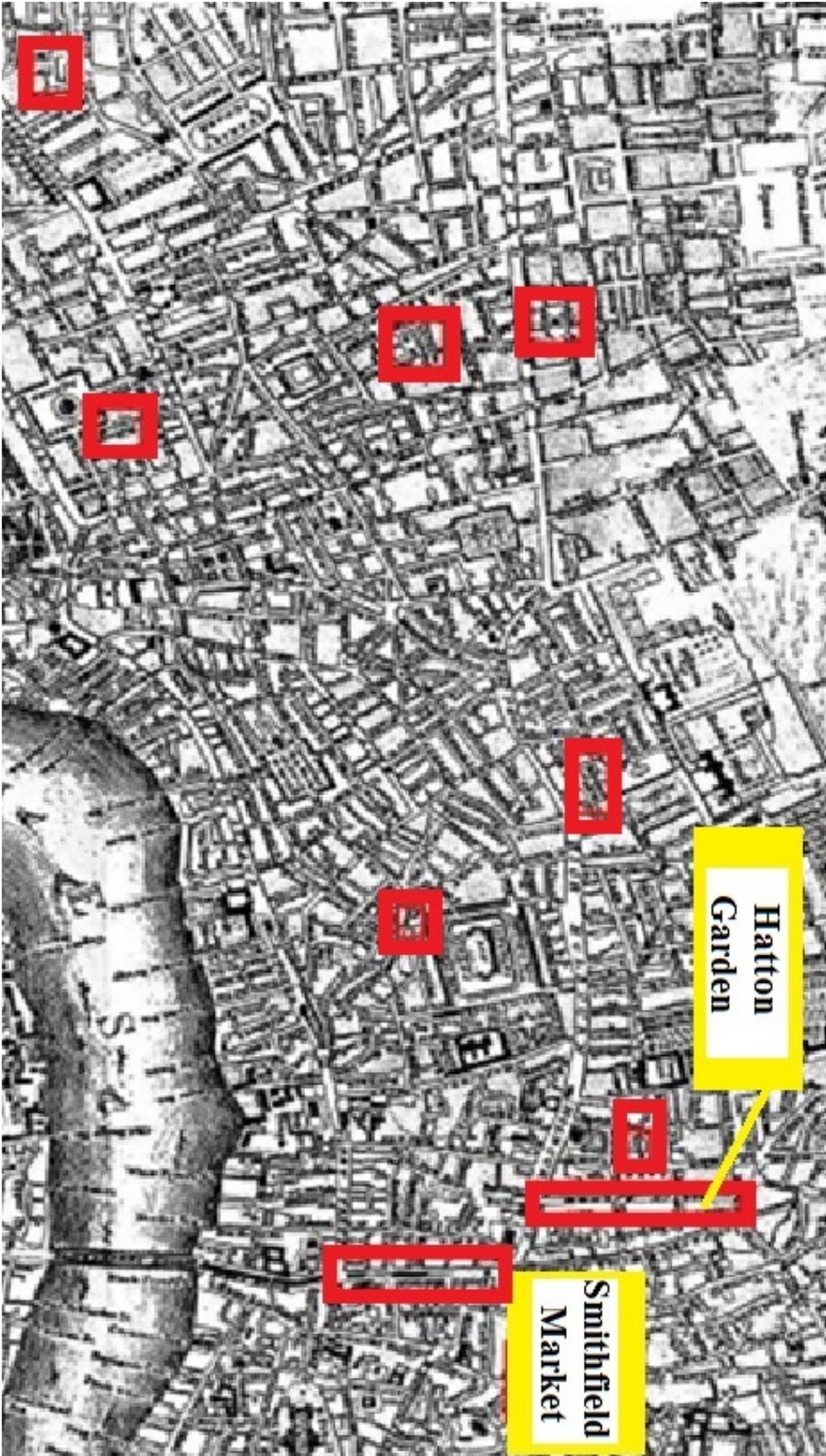
⁶⁶⁰ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second Report' (1828), p.155.

⁶⁶¹ John Nightingale, *London and Middlesex*, vol.3 (1815), p.479; in the eighteenth century, Smithfield market covered four and a half acres, growing to six and a quarter acres in 1834.

⁶⁶² Dr Andrew Wynter, 'The London Commissariat', *The Quarterly Review* (1854), p. 95; LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second Report' (1828), p.46 & p.138.

⁶⁶³ Maclachlan, 'A bloody offal nuisance', p.227.

Map 16: John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747) showing Smithfield market, Hatton Garden and the principle metropolitan markets to which livestock were driven.



Many other beasts were, however, driven across the city to local retail markets and slaughter houses. For these animals, the first transit point was Hatton Garden, a wide street where cattle were divided up for the final leg of their long journey.⁶⁶⁴ As shown in Map 16, Brook's and Fleet markets were nearby but six others were one to two miles away, separated by a dense network of streets.⁶⁶⁵ Beasts intended for the Grosvenor, St James's and Shepherd's markets, in the far South-West of the capital, were driven furthest, and encountered much of the diversity of London's streetscape.⁶⁶⁶ As discussed in Chapter 5, this system tested the nerves of both livestock and drovers, but also exposed a spectrum of Londoners to thousands of tired, confused and irritable livestock. Accidents and injuries were common, a situation which fuelled opposition to the market in the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thus, historians have described the trade as being one of the greatest nuisances, and sources of barbarity, in the Hanoverian metropolis.⁶⁶⁷ Yet, while there is considerable evidence to support this impression, Smithfield also deserves to be recognised as one of the city's greatest achievements: after all, no other urban area had ever slaughtered so many livestock 'at such a broadly dispersed spatial scale'.⁶⁶⁸

The impact which livestock droves exerted in London was increased by certain kinds of consumer behaviour and marketing strategy. Consumers encouraged butchers to keep sheep and cattle alive for at least four days. Throughout the period, Saturday appears to have been the busiest day for the sale of meat in London, partly because families purchased beef or lamb for Sunday lunch.⁶⁶⁹ The 'inconvenience of purchasing Cattle on Friday to kill immediately for Saturday's Sale' meant that butchers preferred to buy on Mondays and keep their purchases alive until Thursday or Friday morning, giving them enough time to cut the meat whilst retaining its freshness. While commercially astute, this practice resulted in a 'great disproportion' in the size of the weekly markets, a factor which intensified the disruption caused by livestock both in Smithfield and the wider metropolis.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁴ David Hughson, *London* (1809), vol. 6, p.598, improbably claims that this street was also 'quiet'.

⁶⁶⁵ These began with Clare and Bloomsbury markets, followed by Newport and Carnaby markets in Soho; see Map 16.

⁶⁶⁶ David Hughson, *London* (1809), vol.6, p.599.

⁶⁶⁷ Diana Donald identifies Smithfield as a clear example of the way in which the 'painful proximity' of Londoners to 'sites of cruelty', not 'philosophical distance' as Keith Thomas suggested, prompted their growing compassion for animals; Donald, "Beastly Sights", p.50; see also J. White, *London in the 19th Century* (London, 2008), pp.188-89; H. Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social change in Britain Since 1800* (London, 1998), pp.58-64; Philo, 'Animals, geography, and the city', pp.60-7; Maclachlan, 'A bloody offal nuisance', p.231; Metcalf, *Meat, Commerce and the City*.

⁶⁶⁸ Maclachlan, 'A bloody offal nuisance', p.229.

⁶⁶⁹ George Dodd, *The Food of London*, p.234.

⁶⁷⁰ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/011, 'Substance of the Cutting Butchers Petition ... for an alteration of Smithfield Market from Friday to Thursday' (20/12/1796).

In the short term, animals could be incarcerated in sheds or slaughterhouse basements. In the 1820s, William Collingwood stored up to 400 sheep in a shed in Red Lion Alley.⁶⁷¹ But from the late seventeenth century, wholesale butchers were also hiring grazing grounds on the outskirts of the metropolis to accommodate increasingly large bulk purchases.⁶⁷² Butchers commonly retained livestock for several weeks in an effort to restore body mass after their exhausting journeys to London, and thereby sell their carcasses at a higher price.⁶⁷³ In the early nineteenth century, Valentine Rutter took sheep purchased at Smithfield to a shed in Goswell Street, before transferring them to a field in the Artillery Ground.⁶⁷⁴ These cases highlight the capitalization and consolidation of the livestock trade by graziers and wholesale butchers in ways which parallel the achievements of the city's pig-keeping distillers, discussed in Chapter 1.

At the same time, the strategies pursued by wholesale butchers extended the urban life-spans of many cattle and sheep for several days. Not only did these animals live in the city for longer, they also spent more time on its streets, being driven between suburban holding pens and grazing grounds, Smithfield market, butchers' sheds, and urban slaughterhouses. It becomes clear, therefore, that the scale, geography and organisation of the Smithfield trade made livestock prominent features of Hanoverian London, but to what extent and in what ways did they permeate metropolitan culture?

Cultural visibility

The process of driving large and unruly animals through the largest city in Europe exposed an unresolved and growing tension between the operations of a crucial economic sector and the values of urban improvement. As discussed in Chapter 5, Smithfield attained a 'level of notoriety' far greater than any other British cattle market 'deplored in the nineteenth century'.⁶⁷⁵ But these responses were entwined with a much broader awareness of the livestock trade's economic significance. By the early nineteenth century, caricaturists could assume that their metropolitan audience was highly knowledgeable about the livestock trade. In *Peter Plumb's Diary* (1810) (Plate 35), Rowlandson depicts the sitting room of a wealthy citizen in which a large 'Plan of the New Improvement of the Cattle Market in Smithfield' can be seen hanging. Yet, rather than

⁶⁷¹ CLA/016/02/006, 'Second report' (1828), p.176.

⁶⁷² When Richard Hodgkins, a former Master of the Company Butchers died in 1680, he held leases on large areas of pasture in Barking, West Ham, Plaistow and Woolwich; Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p.101.

⁶⁷³ Collingwood sent some of his sheep to graze in 'a small field' near Battle Bridge; CLA/016/02/006, 'Second report' (1828), p.176.

⁶⁷⁴ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second Report'(1828), pp.171-2.

⁶⁷⁵ Maclachlan, 'A bloody offal nuisance', pp.229 & 231; Metcalf, *Meat, Commerce and the City*.

While livestock generated a great deal of negative visibility in the Hanoverian period, historians have too often viewed Smithfield as a site of archaic activity rooted in medieval precedent.⁶⁷⁷ This is an innovation-centric misrepresentation. The suggestion that modernity arrived with the ascendancy of dead-meat transported by rail in the second half of the nineteenth century overlooks a long history of expansion, commercialization and increasing sophistication in the supply of meat to the metropolis, which was widely celebrated in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁶⁷⁸ As Ogborn has argued, there are ‘many ways in which modernity’s spaces are produced’ and eighteenth-century London displayed a ‘variegated topography of modernity’ which included ‘ambiguous’ spaces.⁶⁷⁹ Thus, while the trade exemplified nuisance and cruelty on the one hand, Smithfield market and the livestock sold there were also totemic symbols of the nation’s agricultural improvement and the capital’s commercial success. As late as the 1830s, Smithfield was proudly referred to as the ‘greatest’ livestock market in Europe.⁶⁸⁰

It has often been observed that meat, and particularly beef became potent symbols of English patriotism in the eighteenth century, and that London played a key role in promoting this cult.⁶⁸¹ But to what extent were livestock themselves culturally visible in the metropolis? Previously, historians have highlighted forms of livestock spectacle which were rooted in rural settings, such as agricultural shows and livestock portraiture.⁶⁸² Yet, in many respects London led the celebration of England’s agricultural achievements. Ben Rogers rightly asserts that beef and mutton were regarded as the foods of the urban artisan and trader, as well as of the yeoman farmer.⁶⁸³ But this culture went far beyond the consumption of meat.

Smithfield market was one of the great curiosities of Hanoverian London. In the 1790s, John Middleton said that ‘any person, possessing ... any desire of looking at a great variety of live

⁶⁷⁷ E. Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England 1600-1770* (New Haven & London, 2007), pp.169 & 214; Donald, “Beastly sights”, pp. 64-68.

⁶⁷⁸ Maclachlan, ‘A bloody offal nuisance’; this approach is criticised in D. Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History Since 1900* (London, 2006).

⁶⁷⁹ M. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London’s Geographies, 1680-1780* (Guildford, 1998), pp.21 & 236.

⁶⁸⁰ Zachariah Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts... Or the Practical Tourist*, (1833), vol. 2, p.297.

⁶⁸¹ B. Rogers, *Beef and Liberty: Roast Beef, John Bull and the English Patriots* (London, 2003); H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), p.390; often cited sources include Henry Fielding’s ballad, “The Roast Beef of England” and William Hogarth’s painting, *The Gate of Calais or O, the Roast Beef of Old England* (1748); O. Baldwin & T. Wilson, ‘250 Years of Roast Beef’, *The Musical Times* (April 1985), pp.203-7; ‘The Roast Beef of Old England. A Cantata. Taken from the Celebrated Print of the Ingenious Mr Hogarth’ in *The Bull-Finch. Being a choice collection of the newest and most favourite English songs ... sung at the public theatres and gardens* (1760), pp.99-103.

⁶⁸² Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, p.47; R. Broglio, “The Best Machine for Converting Herbage into Money”: Romantic Cattle Culture’, in T.S. Wagner & N. Hassan, *Consuming Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century: Narratives of Consumption, 1700-1900* (Lanham, MD, 2007), pp. 35-48; E. Moncrieff, S. Joseph & I. Joseph, *Farm Animal Portraits* (Woodbridge, 1996).

⁶⁸³ Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, p.15.

stock, cannot perhaps spend a few hours more satisfactorily, than in examining the market at Smithfield'.⁶⁸⁴ And in 1833, Zachariah Allen wrote that 'Among the curiosities of London, Smithfield Market, when crowded with cattle on a market-day, is worthy of a short walk'.⁶⁸⁵ Smithfield remained, however, a problematic visitor attraction. I have found no anecdotal evidence in diaries or letters to suggest that many polite West End residents ventured there on market day.⁶⁸⁶ Hilda Kean links this to an aversion to witnessing cruelty to livestock, but the threat of being dirtied, trampled or gored by animals, and potentially harassed by the lower orders of society were probably more dissuasive (see Conclusion).⁶⁸⁷ But polite society's interest in the market and simultaneous desire to stay away from it undoubtedly reflected the site's conflicted identity as a commercial powerhouse and urban nuisance.

One response to this was the production of topographical prints and descriptions of the market, particularly from the 1790s, which described a 'refined market' to a refined audience.⁶⁸⁸ In *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts ... Or the Practical Tourist* (1833), Zachariah Allen observed

Here you behold collected in a little square of about two acres in extent, the beef which is required for the supply of a numerous population. So closely are the droves wedged together, side by side, that their red backs and white horns appear like the surface of an agitated pond, ever undulating and in motion; and a person apparently might walk over their backs as over a pavement. You may suppose with truth that you have before you an area of an acre of solid beef.⁶⁸⁹

The 'calculus of cattle' conveyed here evinces the increasing scale and sophistication of the metropolitan trade but also the cultural commodification of livestock in the Hanoverian period.⁶⁹⁰ This impression is supported by *A Bird's Eye View of Smithfield Market taken from the Bear and Ragged Staff* (1811), an aquatint engraving by Pugin and Rowlandson (see Plate 36), which appeared in Ackermann's *Views of London* (1811-22). It depicts a bustling but orderly

⁶⁸⁴ John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), p.413.

⁶⁸⁵ Zachariah Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts ... Or the Practical Tourist* (1833), vol. 2, p.297.

⁶⁸⁶ This complicates Colin Smith's observation that 'visitors who sought an impression of the extent of London's demand for, and supply of food, naturally gravitated to its great markets'; Smith, 'The wholesale and retail markets of London', p.33.

⁶⁸⁷ Kean, *Animal Rights*, p.58.

⁶⁸⁸ George Culley, *Observations on Live Stock* (1794), p.226.

⁶⁸⁹ Zachariah Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts* (1833), vol.2, p.297.

⁶⁹⁰ K. Raber, 'From sheep to meat, from pets to people: animal domestication 1600-1800' in M. Senior (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals, vol.4: In the Age of Enlightenment* (Oxford & New York, 2007), p.99.

commercial scene brimming with meat on the hoof. As far as the eye can see, a grid of white backs signal the presence of thousands of penned sheep, while cattle of every hue fill the surrounding rails.



Plate 36: Augustus Pugin and Thomas Rowlandson, *A Bird's Eye View of Smithfield Market taken from the Bear and Ragged Staff* (hand-coloured aquatint, 1811), from Ackermann's *Views of London* (1811-22).

Smithfield provided a striking visual representation of the scale of metropolitan meat consumption, a phenomenon which increasingly fascinated commentators in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶⁹¹ Economic and agricultural writers observed that metropolitan demand for meat and other foods far exceeded the size of its population. In 1784, Arthur Young wrote

At first sight, it may seem that the same people dispersed would carry with them their markets and their demands: but this is not the case. It is the union to a spot, the concentration of wealth that is alone powerful to give that impulsive motion that is felt at the very extremities. Such a city as Bristol can form communications by road or navigation to a distance of a few miles: It is a vast capital only that can extend them to the extremity of a kingdom.⁶⁹²

Smithfield provided dramatic evidence of London's astonishing reach over national resources. Here could be seen sheep and cattle from every corner of the British Isles, from Cornwall and Kent to Wales and even the Highlands of Scotland. In the 1790s, an agricultural survey of Britain observed that the fattened cattle of Galloway were driven 'to supply the amazing consumption of the capital'.⁶⁹³ Moreover, the exhibition of new breeds, bigger and more fat-laden than ever seen before, attested to the nation's ingenuity. As well as being a major commercial hub, Smithfield was a show-case of modernity, a living gallery of agricultural improvement. Following the experiments of the Leicestershire farmer Robert Bakewell in the 1760s, new methods of irrigation, fertilisation, crop-rotation and stockbreeding helped to transform the animals being driven into Smithfield. While improved livestock have been cited as achievements of the agricultural revolution,⁶⁹⁴ their meat was also an important example of product innovation, a key feature of the metropolitan economy in the Hanoverian period.⁶⁹⁵ While these advances did not necessarily improve the quality of meat consumed by Londoners, the ability to rear and fatten animals faster and more extensively than ever before, made it more affordable.⁶⁹⁶ In 1760, it was observed that

⁶⁹¹ Innes, *Inferior Politics*, pp.109-79.

⁶⁹² Arthur Young, *Annals of Agriculture*, vol.2 (1784), pp.420-1.

⁶⁹³ George Culley, *Observations on Live Stock* (1794), p.61.

⁶⁹⁴ Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.6; R.A.C. Parker, *Coke of Norfolk: A Financial and Agricultural Study, 1707-1842* (Oxford, 1975); Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry*; G.E. Fussell, 'Science and practice in eighteenth-century British agriculture', *Agricultural History*, 43 (1969), pp.7-18; D.L. Wykes, 'Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) of Dishley: Farmer and Livestock Improver', *AHR*, 52 (2004), pp.38-55; D.J. Rowe, 'The Culleys, Northumberland Farmers, 1767-1813', *AHR*, 19 (1971), pp.156-74.

⁶⁹⁵ Eighteenth-century product innovation has received considerable attention in recent years but the historiography has focussed largely on manufactured goods; J. Styles, 'Product innovation in Early Modern London', *P&P*, 168 (2000), pp.124-69; M. Berg, 'From imitation to invention: creating commodities in eighteenth-century Britain', *EcHR*, 55 (2002), pp.1-30.

⁶⁹⁶ Bakewell's success soon gained the attention of landowners and farmers who gradually introduced his techniques and developed new breeds across the country. The primary purpose of Bakewell's approach was to create animals that would 'produce the most flesh on the least fodder in the shortest possible time.'

‘if the large dimensions’ of the cattle and sheep sold in Smithfield ‘were examined into, their carcasses would be found to weigh above a third more than those of the same species in most other countries’.⁶⁹⁷

While the improvement of livestock took place in the countryside, Britain’s agropolis played a crucial role in promoting, judging and even directing its progress. Breeds which failed to impress at Smithfield were soon ousted by those producing meat ‘more acceptable to the London market’.⁶⁹⁸ Above all, livestock were judged on their desirability in the metropolis. In 1764, a popular magazine commented

It is well known, that this metropolis is the great mart of the British empire; whatever is good, whatever is rare, is brought here as to a certain and good market. The best oxen which our grazing counties produce, are always reserved for the consumption of London ... such is the inclination of the country people to send their goods up to London for sale.⁶⁹⁹

In 1794, a description of herds from the south-west of Scotland asserted that ‘few or no cattle sell so high [in Smithfield], they being such nice cutters-up’.⁷⁰⁰ Smithfield’s butchers and salesmen were considered Britain’s premier judges of livestock quality. Thus, in 1795, the Bath and West of England Society refrained from judging the value and quality of different carcasses because, it conceded, ‘the most satisfactory intelligence on these heads may be obtained in Smithfield market’.⁷⁰¹ The reputation of provincial suppliers relied to a remarkable extent on the approbation of the metropolis, often hundreds of miles away. Daniel Defoe noted that the black cattle of South Devon were ‘fattened fit for Smithfield’ and sold to ‘the Londoners, who have not so good Beef from any other Part of the Kingdom’.⁷⁰² This authority was widely celebrated throughout the eighteenth century but as suggested in Chapter 1, it aroused growing criticism in the early nineteenth century from defenders of rural workers, such as William Cobbett.⁷⁰³

As critics sometimes complained, the fat content of the ‘improved meat’ was extremely high; Moncrief et al., *Farm Animal Portraits*, p.168.

⁶⁹⁷ W. Maitland, *The History and Survey of London* (1760), vol. 2, p.757; B.A. Holderness, ‘Prices, productivity and output’, in Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England & Wales*, vol. 6, p.154; there is much conflicting evidence surrounding carcass weights; Holderness has convincingly argued that an ‘increase of about one-fifth’ is a reasonable assumption for the period 1750-1800.

⁶⁹⁸ Moncrief et al., *Farm Animal Portraits*, p.184.

⁶⁹⁹ *The Beauties of all the Magazines Selected, For the Year 1764*, vol.3 (1764), p.358.

⁷⁰⁰ George Culley, *Observations on Live Stock* (1794), pp.61-2.

⁷⁰¹ *Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting &c. selecting from the Correspondence of the Bath and West of England Society*, vol.7 (1795), p.226.

⁷⁰² Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro’ The Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-26; 1986), p.255.

⁷⁰³ William Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (ed.), Dyck (1830; Harmondsworth, 2001).

London's role as a livestock mart and agropolis gave rise to a remarkably pervasive knowledge economy. This was reflected in and promoted by the metropolitan press, which produced an increasing volume of information about the scale of business at the market and fluctuations in prices.⁷⁰⁴ In May 1775, the *Morning Chronicle* recorded that 'At Smithfield market for cattle yesterday, beef fell in price 4d. per stone; veal 4d. but sheep and lambs (of which last there were a great number) fetched a higher [price] than on Monday, though several of them were left unsold'.⁷⁰⁵ And from the late 1780s, newspapers including the *Whitehall Evening Post*, *St. James's Chronicle* and the *Sun* were compiling tables of Smithfield data as part of detailed summaries of market activity in the capital (see Plate 37).⁷⁰⁶ Moreover, data charting longer-term changes in the trade featured in both guides to London and in agricultural surveys.⁷⁰⁷ In 1798, John Middleton commented on his figures, which surveyed six decades of the trade

It may be seen, that the supply has been advancing with some degree of regularity ... [and] it is a matter of general notoriety, that the cattle and sheep of England have also been ... progressively increasing in their individual weight owing partly to the attention paid of late years to the improvement of the breed, and partly to their being much better fed.⁷⁰⁸

This kind of commentary suggests that Londoners valued and demanded information about the livestock trade and the fruits of agricultural improvement. In 1794, the *Whitehall Evening Post* noted that

Smithfield has been well supplied with fat stock through the winter. The Leicestershire and Buckinghamshire grass Oxen never came off better; and the Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk turniped beasts never died in higher condition; in consequence, prime Beef has been more reasonable than is generally the case at this time of the year.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁴ *London Evening Post* (7-10/12/1734); *Lloyd's Evening Post* (2/1/1765); *Public Advertiser* (12/1/1765); *Lloyd's Evening Post* (14-17/6/1765); *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* (30/5/1775) & (6/6/1775); *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (3/11/1778); *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer* (6/4/1779).

⁷⁰⁵ *Morning Chronicle* (20/5/1775); see also *General Remark on Trade* (11-13/8/1707).

⁷⁰⁶ *Whitehall Evening Post* (21-24/6/1788); *Sun* (28/1/1794).

⁷⁰⁷ William Maitland, *The History and Survey of London*, (1760), vol.2, pp.755-7; John Feltham, *The Picture of London for 1812* (1813), p.73; David Hughson, *London*, (1809), vol. 6, p.399; John Nightingale, *London and Middlesex*, (1815), vol.3, p.469; James Bell, *A System of Geography*, (1832), vol.3, p.102; William Youatt, *Cattle; their breeds, management, and diseases* (1834), pp.256-7.

⁷⁰⁸ John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), p.412.

⁷⁰⁹ *Whitehall Evening Post* (11-13/2/1794).

This challenges the dominant impression that the stock market was the only commercial institution to draw London's attention.

Plate 37: 'Markets' column from *St. James's Chronicle* (14-16/1/1794).

M A R K E T S.	
BEAR-QUAY.—Monday, Jan. 13.	
C O R N per Quarter.	
Wheat 45s. to 47s. 6d.	H. Beans 36s. to 38s. 6d.
Rye 30s. to 33s. od.	Tares 32s. to 35s. od.
Oats 20s. to 25s. od.	S E E D S.
Polands 19s. to 26s. 6d.	R. Clo. 29s. to 70s. per cwt.
Barley 26s. to 30s. od.	W. dit. 44s. to 80s. ditto.
Pale Malt 42s. to 45s. od.	Trefoil 10s. to 26s. ditto.
Am. ditto 43s. to 46s. 6d.	B. Muf. 12s. to 14s. per bu.
Hog Peas 36s. to 38s. od.	W. ditto 7s. to 12s. ditto.
White dit. 36s. to 42s. od.	Rape 30l. to 33l. per L.
Fine boiling 48s. to 51s. od.	Rye Gr. 20s. to 30s. per qr.
Total 3490 qrs. of Wheat, average, 46s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$.—cs. od. $\frac{1}{2}$ below last Week.	
F L O U R.	
Fine Flour 37s. to 38s. od.	Fine Pollard 22s. to 25s. od.
Seconds 34s. to 35s. od.	Coarse ditto 13s. to 15s. od.
Thirds 26s. to 31s. od.	Horfe ditto 11s. to 11s. 6d.
Middlings 37s. to 49s. od.	Bran 9s. to 10s. 6d. per lb.
The Average Price of Grain, throughout England, Jan. 13. was, Wheat, 49s. 8d.—Rye, 36s. 5d.—Barley, 33s. 4d.—Oats, 22s. 1d.—Beans, 40s. 1cd.—Pease, 41s. 4d.—Oatmeal, 38s. 9d.	
The Average Price of Sugar, computed from the returns made in the Week ending the 8th of January, is 51s. 5d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per cwt. exclusive of the Duty of Customs.	
SMITHFIELD.—Monday, Jan. 13.	
To sink the Offal—per stone of 8lb.	
Ox Beef 2s. 4d. to 3s. 4d.	Veal 3s. od. to 4s. od.
We. Mutton 3s. od. to 3s. 6d.	Pork, 3s. od. to 3s. 6d.
Lamb 2s. 8d. to 3s. 4d.	
Head of Cattle sold this Day—Beasts, about 1700. Sheep, 16,000.	
HOPS in Pockets in the Borough.	
Kent 8l. 00s. to 10l. 10s.	Worcef. 7l. 0s. to 9l. 9s.
Suffex 7l. 00s. to 9l. 00s.	Farnh. 7l. 0s. to 20l. 0s.
Bags.—Yearlings Kent 6l. to 8l. 8s.	
Pockets.—Ditto - 7l. to 9l. 0s.	

The rise of this knowledge economy mirrored the trade's expansion. From the 1760s, London's newspapers dedicated increasing space to debates concerning the regulation, improvement and potential relocation of Smithfield market to a more commodious site. In March 1765, the *London Chronicle* reported that 'Cattle [were] sold on Friday in Smithfield rather cheaper than they did on Monday, owing, it is supposed, in a great measure to the late prosecution of several forestallers, the good effects of which are already felt by all ranks of people'.⁷¹⁰ The following month, the *London Evening Post* claimed that 'cunning' farmers at the country fairs had refused to sell their animals to Smithfield's agents because 'they proposed coming' to the market in person to 'sell their cattle at a moderate price, and lay open the Jobbers villainy'.⁷¹¹ As well as showing that the

⁷¹⁰ *London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post* (9-12/3/1765).

⁷¹¹ *London Evening Post* (23-25/4/1765).

London press played a key role in spreading awareness, the above attests to its remarkable preoccupation with the trade's complex national operations.

Metropolitan interest in the livestock trade was not restricted to narrow social groups, as some historians have tended to assume. Indeed, the polite Bloomsbury spinster, Gertrude Savile (1697–1758) epitomised the kind of 'well-to-do' town-dweller which Thomas claimed was 'inclined to think of animals as pets rather than working livestock'.⁷¹² And yet Savile's journal entries for the 1740s and 1750s show that she was acutely aware of, and concerned by, the threat posed by cattle plague in this period. In March 1746, she lamented that 'The mortality amongst Cows [is] continuing. Any cows or cow calves are forbid to be kill'd (for eating), for 4 Years from Ladyday next'.⁷¹³ In February the following year, the *Westminster Journal* reported that

a great Number of Farmers from different Counties, who have been Sufferers by the Distemper among the Horned Cattle, attended at the Office in Hatton Garden, in order to receive the sum of 40s for each of them knock'd on the Head, to prevent the spreading of the said contagious Distemper.⁷¹⁴

This highlights London's significance in the distemper crises of the mid-eighteenth century – as well as having the most concentrated convergence of livestock in the country, it was from London that cattle plague spread 'to cover most of the country'⁷¹⁵ – and helps to explain Savile's persistent interest in unfolding events. In December 1750, she wrote, 'The distemper among the cattle still reigns violently, and is got again about London ... A new Order of Council ... forbid[s] the driving any Cows, or Calves above 2 miles after the 14th of next month'.⁷¹⁶ Gertrude's knowledge and anxiety about the situation suggests that Londoners were closely engaged in, not alienated from, the wider agricultural world.⁷¹⁷

It should, however, be noted that Savile never referred to the fact that hundreds of animals were driven past her Bloomsbury home every week. This reflects a broader pattern in polite journals and letters, which considering the ubiquity of livestock in London, is surprising. This could be

⁷¹² Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.182; Gertrude was the daughter of a rector and spent most of her life in London's West End; A. Savile (ed.), *Secret Comment, The Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-1759*, Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire Record Series, vol. 41 (Nottingham, 1997).

⁷¹³ Gertrude Savile, *Diaries*, p.258 & p.270.

⁷¹⁴ *Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany* (14/2/1747).

⁷¹⁵ This outbreak of cattle plague is thought to have begun in the coastal marshes of Essex but the region's long-established involvement in the Smithfield veal trade brought the infected animals to London; L. Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease: An Introduction to the History of Comparative Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992); Broad, 'Cattle Plague', p.105.

⁷¹⁶ Gertrude Savile, *Diaries*, p. 290.

⁷¹⁷ Broad, 'Cattle Plague', p.105.

read as evidence that cattle and sheep were ignored because they were so familiar, but this is not entirely convincing. These forms of communication prioritised certain kinds of information, and it may be that livestock were deemed inappropriate subject matter. Yet, there may have been other occasions when such discourse was accepted and even encouraged. The success of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks (1735–1870) and similar dining clubs;⁷¹⁸ the hugely popular exhibition of gigantic oxen in the late eighteenth century;⁷¹⁹ and the advent of the Smithfield Club and its annual livestock shows in 1798,⁷²⁰ each suggest that bovine spectacle was a significant talking point in metropolitan culture. We also know that Smithfield was a recurrent subject of debate in parliament and the Guildhall, discourse which probably filtered into coffee shops and other sites of sociability. Unfortunately, very little evidence of these conversations survives.

The above shows that livestock were the focus of a major commercial sector which impacted heavily on metropolitan life. Prior to 1855, the location, scale and organisation of the trade in meat on the hoof made it impossible to live in the agropolis without encountering its activities. The droves which passed through the city became effective agents for the dissemination of agricultural awareness, bringing the nation's farms to the capital's streets. Yet, the trade's expansion also involved a growing tension between commercial interests and the expectations of enlightened urbanity.

Smithfield ceased to be a livestock market on 11 June 1855. Two days later, the trade resumed at Islington's Copenhagen Fields, at which point it became a suburban operation for the first time in more than 200 years.⁷²¹ This reflected wider changes in the structure of London's meat supply. The arrival of rail in the 1830s began to erode the proportion of meat supplied on the hoof compared with the volume killed in the country so that by the early 1850s three-quarters of the meat sold at Newgate Market (the largest dead meat market in the metropolis) was killed outside

⁷¹⁸ Bro. Walter Arnold, *The Life and Death of the Sublime Society of Beef Steaks* (London, 1871); R.J. Allen, *The Clubs of Augustan London* (Harvard, 1933), pp.137-45.

⁷¹⁹ The Royal Lincolnshire Ox was purchased at Tattersall's in May 1790 for an astonishing 185 guineas. Thought to be 'the largest and fattest ever seen', it was exhibited at the Exeter Change menagerie in 1790-91, where visitors were charged 1s to see it. The beast was slaughtered on 20 April 1791; *World* (21/10/1790); R. Blake, *George Stubbs and the Wide Creation* (London, 2005), pp.252-53; the Durham Ox was exhibited in London in 1802. Said to have weighed 3,204 pounds and stood five feet six inches tall, the beast raised admission fees of £97 in a single day; Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, pp.45-46; Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, p.175.

⁷²⁰ The first five annual Smithfield Club shows were held at Wootton's Livery Stables in Dolphin Yard, Smithfield. The first of these raised an impressive 40 guineas in entrance fees. In 1805, the show was held at Dixon's Repository, Barbican but moved to the yard of Sadler's Wells in 1806, where it continued until 1838. E.J. Powell, *History of the Smithfield Club from 1798-1900* (London, 1902).

⁷²¹ On the removal of the market, see R.S. Metcalfe, *Meat, commerce and the City: the London food market, 1800-1855* (London, 2012) & 'Cash, commerce and the City: The Smithfield cattle market in 19th century London' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 2010).

of London.⁷²² Yet, it was Smithfield's closure, just two years after recording its highest ever annual sales, which marked the pivotal change in the city's relationship with the animals it consumed.⁷²³ Thomas assumed that Londoners had become 'remote from the agricultural process' well before 1800 but it was only after the trade's removal from inner-city London in 1855 that its most potent manifestations, livestock droves, began to fade from the metropolitan experience.⁷²⁴ Throughout the Hanoverian period, the trade in meat on the hoof reinforced the connection between the production and consumption of animal foods, discussed in Chapter 1. Indeed, this was a distinctive feature of London's identity as an agropolis.

Another dynamic metropolitan animal economy was the horse trade. Following major advances in horse breeding and marketing in England in the early modern period,⁷²⁵ developments accelerated in London in the eighteenth century. The capital satisfied fast-growing demand for all equine types, but excelled in the supply of superior riding, hunting and carriage horses. At the same time, the city developed increasing sophisticated modes of marketing horses, making it one of the most dynamic sectors of the metropolitan economy. Moreover, changes in the trade's structure and organisation dramatically enhanced its cultural influence, generating a knowledge economy even more pervasive than that discussed above.

⁷²² Maclachlan, 'A bloody offal nuisance', p.237.

⁷²³ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.182.

⁷²⁴ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.182.

⁷²⁵ J. Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, for pleasure, for Power* (The Stenton Lecture, 1977; Reading, 1978); P. Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1988).

(II) The Horse Trade

London, that vast menagerie of horses ... is a universal mart, to which recourse is had from the extremities of the kingdom, for both the purchase and sale of horses, of the highest and lowest description.

John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties and Uses* (1829).⁷²⁶

While historians have often acknowledged the desirability of horses in this period, the role played by the metropolitan horse trade in the consumer revolution has not been examined in depth. A possible explanation for this is the tendency for scholars of eighteenth-century consumption to focus on female consumers.⁷²⁷ Yet as Margot Finn asserts, ‘the Hanoverian consumer market included highly acquisitive men’.⁷²⁸ Some of the most alluring purchases for men concerned horses and while many women shared this interest,⁷²⁹ the equipage was principally a male obsession. Moreover, the stable was a household department in which men asserted particular control, giving rise to the legal maxim, ‘A wife cannot make bargain and sale of her husband’s horse’.⁷³⁰ Amanda Vickery recently described ‘the coach’ as ‘*the* most flamboyant masculine accoutrement’ and marvelled at the amount of time and money which men spent when shopping for ‘tackle for horses’.⁷³¹ Specialising in decorative items and clothing, Vickery draws attention to saddles, bridles and ornate coaches but the focal point of this consumer activity was always the horse.

⁷²⁶ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties and Uses; his breeding, rearing, and management, whether in labour or rest; with rules, occasionally interspersed, for his preservation from disease* (1829), pp.147-9.

⁷²⁷ N. McKendrick, ‘Home demand and economic growth: a new view of the role of women and children in the industrial revolution’, in McKendrick (ed.), *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J.H. Plumb* (Cambridge, 1974), p.152-210; B. Lemire, *Fashion’s Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1991) & *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade Before the Factory, 1660-1800* (Basingstoke, 1997); M. Berg, ‘Women’s consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth-century England’, *Journal of Social History*, 30 (1996), pp.415-34; A. Vickery, ‘Women and the world of goods: a Lancashire consumer and her possessions’ in J. Brewer & J. Styles (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1991), pp.274-301 & *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1998); M. Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800* (Oxford, 1997); V. de Grazia & E. Furlough (eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1996); E. Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997).

⁷²⁸ M. Finn, ‘Men’s things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution’, *Social History*, 25 (2000), pp.133-55.

⁷²⁹ S. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford & New York, 1990), pp.100-9.

⁷³⁰ John Lawrence, *The horse in all his varieties* (1829), p.159.

⁷³¹ A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven & London, 2009), pp.118 & 124.

In the Hanoverian period, the horse trade in England involved a sprawling network of stud farms and breeding grounds; provincial fairs and markets; race courses; stables and repositories.⁷³² Within this thriving national infrastructure, however, London was the principal mart for horses in Hanoverian England. In 1781, Lord Pembroke wrote to Lord Herbert advising him that London, rather than Yorkshire, was the best place to buy horses, as he would ‘find much greater & better choice ... at the dealers. Dimmock has a great many, Dawson too, & also a man in St Giles. The Borough too is generally well stocked’.⁷³³ The equestrian writer, John Lawrence (1753–1839) expressed a similar view in 1796, noting that the capital’s repositories offered a great choice and represented ‘the best markets in the world for brood mares, of all descriptions, except first-rate cart-mares’.⁷³⁴ 23 years later, he was even more emphatic, describing the metropolis as ‘a universal mart’ and ‘vast menagerie of horses, answering every possible description’.⁷³⁵

London: hub of equestrian consumption

The metropolis exerted a powerful draw on the nation’s horses, with dealers scouring the breeding grounds of Yorkshire, the North-East, the Midlands, and the Home Counties for the best animals.⁷³⁶ In newspaper advertisements, metropolitan dealers boasted that their stables were filled with horses ‘just come from’ or ‘Fresh from the Breeders in the North’.⁷³⁷ Moreover, the Old Bailey Proceedings suggest that the majority – perhaps three quarters – of stolen horses sold in London were taken from locations outside the metropolis. Thieves rode from as far afield as Leicestershire, Oxfordshire and Somerset to profit from their crimes.⁷³⁸

The capital offered an unparalleled array of outlets for buying horses, as well as coaches and saddlery, of which it was the leading producer.⁷³⁹ Polite consumption and recreation have often

⁷³² The horse fairs at Northampton, Barnet and Horncastle in Lincolnshire were among the largest in the country; R. Perren, ‘Markets and marketing’ in Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England & Wales*, vol.6, p.265; on Northampton’s horse market, see Philip Luckombe, *The beauties of England comprehended in a pocket volume* (1788), p.161; see also D. Roche, *La Culture Équestre de l’Occident XVI-XIX siècle: l’ombre du cheval, tom premier, le cheval moteur: essai sur l’utilité équestre* (Paris, 2008), p.244.

⁷³³ Lord Herbert (ed.), *Pembroke papers, 1780-1794: Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle* (London, 1950), pp.111-12.

⁷³⁴ John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses, and on the moral duties of man towards the brute creation*, 2 vols. (1796-98), vol.2, pp.167-8.

⁷³⁵ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), pp.147 & 149.

⁷³⁶ R. Perren, ‘Markets and marketing’, in *The Agrarian history of England & Wales*, vol. 6, p.261 & 264.

⁷³⁷ *World* (29/3/1788) & (22/10/1788).

⁷³⁸ For instance, OBSP, t17260711-49 (11/7/1726); t17280717-18 (17/7/1728); t17330912-72 (12/9/1733); t17581025-25 (25/10/1758).

⁷³⁹ By the 1770s, London boasted well over 100 coach-makers, rising to more than 550 firms by the 1820s; Barnett estimates that one in 14 of all London’s manufacturing firms were engaged in the coach-building industry’; www.londonlives.org, accessed 1/7/2012; D. Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial*

been associated with West End shops,⁷⁴⁰ but sites of equine marketing have been overlooked or viewed in juxtaposition to these urban cultures. Borsay and Stobart have argued that as Chester sought to improve its shopping streets, markets and fairs became less welcome in these areas and were ‘squeezed out’.⁷⁴¹ Recognition of London’s horse market, livery stables and repositories as major hubs of polite consumption complicates this historiography.

As with many other expensive consumer goods, the horse trade was highly sensitive to the fashions of the metropolitan elite. John Lawrence noted that a prevalent custom of ‘riding in the summer season only’ meant that repositories filled with horses between midsummer and early November, leading to a fall in prices. Thereafter, a new round of purchasing began in the lead-up to the summer, gradually forcing prices back up.⁷⁴² Moreover, horses were as subject to aesthetic considerations as any other strand of luxury consumption. In 1829, John Lawrence observed that

Many years ago, it was a very prevailing fashion to drive mares, and in consequence, there was then raised and selected a peculiar class of strong, short legged, bold and high crested ... mares, universally known as GIG MARES, which being generally sought after, commanded a good price ... They had their day; and it has since been decided by our knowing ones, that the gelding is to be preferred to the mare, for his superior steadiness in harness.⁷⁴³

Certain principles guided the consumer. In particular, it was felt that ‘Coach horses should match well in height, in form, and in colour; they should step and pull well together, and their trot should

Revolution: A Revisionary History 1775-1825 (London, 1998), pp.39 &84-88; Pigot & Co’s *London and provincial new commercial directory for 1826-27* (1827) named 567 coach-building firms; J.R.

McCulloch, *A statistical account of the British Empire*, 2 vols. (2nd edn., 1839), vol.1, p.732; sadlers advertising in the London press in the 1770s included firms located at Bank, Temple Bar, Westminster, Lincoln’s Inn Fields and Oxford Stree; *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (3/6/1776); *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (30/9/1775); *Daily Advertiser* (25/6/1776); *Morning Chronicle & London Advertiser* (23/2/1775); *Racing Calendar* (5/5/1779).

⁷⁴⁰ Mui & Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping*; Walsh, ‘Shop design’, pp.157-76; J. Stobart, ‘Shopping streets as social space’, *Urban History* 25 (1998), pp.3-21; E.S. Welch, ‘Sites of consumption in early modern Europe’ in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), pp.229-50; A. Hann & J. Stobart, ‘Sites of consumption: the display of goods in provincial shops in eighteenth-century England’, *Cultural and Social History*, 2 (2005), pp.165-88; J. Stobart, A. Hann & V. Morgan (eds.), *Spaces of Consumption and Leisure in the English town, 1680-1830* (London, 2007); T. Fawcett, ‘Bath’s Georgian warehouses’, *Costume*, 26 (1992), pp.32-9.

⁷⁴¹ P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989), p.172; Stobart, ‘Shopping streets’, pp.16-17.

⁷⁴² John Lawrence, *A philosophical and practical treatise on horses* (1796-98), vol.2, pp.169-70; in May 1787, it was reported that ‘Such is at times the absurd rage for buying that at the late sale of Dymock’s horses and carriages – a pair of coach-horses, whose ages taken together made 32 years, sold for 150 guineas.’ *World & Fashionable Advertiser* (24/5/1787).

⁷⁴³ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829) p.147.

be as equal as possible'.⁷⁴⁴ There was an assumption that 'matching colours ... conveyed compatibility'⁷⁴⁵ – to ride in a carriage drawn by identical or symmetrical horses not only conveyed good taste, but also an ability to maintain an orderly equipage and, by implication, to run a rational and harmonious household.

The metropolitan equestrian consumer became increasingly demanding in the eighteenth century, forcing sellers to provide detailed descriptions of their stock and to match compatible animals. As well as recording the colour of an animal's coat, advertisements commonly referred to their having a 'star' or 'blaze' on their foreheads or a 'snip' on their nose', long or cropped tails; and white feet, arranged in a fore or hind pair. Some buyers became overly fastidious, behaviour which forced the practically-minded Lawrence to complain 'The match of colour is surely of the least consequence, and a good pair of horses should not be rejected for a few shades of variation'.⁷⁴⁶ Thus, the metropolitan trade in horses blurred the boundary between animal marketing and the consumption of fashionable luxuries for which London was also celebrated.

The trade's scale and value is difficult to ascertain because it was fragmented and largely unregulated. However, fragments of information gleaned from newspaper advertisements and guides to the metropolis suggest that by 1800, around 25,500 horses were sold in the metropolis annually, in a trade worth approximately £255,000 (see Table 15).⁷⁴⁷ Even with a 30% margin of error, this would amount to a major economic activity. Although much smaller than the immense livestock trade, discussed above, metropolitan horse dealing dwarfed the trade in many luxury and semi-luxury commodities. In a twelve month period in the late 1780s, the value of goods sold by the East India Company (EIC) included chinaware worth £24,780; coffee and drugs valued at £70,120; saltpetre and redwood at £101,400; and Bengal raw silk at £221,890. Only the EIC's trade in 'Bengal piece goods' (£987,010), Chinese silk (£304,800) and tea (£2,202,520) were more valuable than London's trade in horses.⁷⁴⁸

Yet, the horse trade was not just a major sector of the metropolitan economy; it was also one of its most dynamic, undergoing major structural changes, promoting innovative commercial practices and fostering a pervasive equine knowledge economy. It is to these developments that we now turn.

⁷⁴⁴ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.146.

⁷⁴⁵ C. McShane & J. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the 19th Century* (Baltimore, 2007), p.20.

⁷⁴⁶ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.146.

⁷⁴⁷ In each calculation I have opted for conservative estimates.

⁷⁴⁸ Sir John Sinclair, *The History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire, part 3* (1790), p.251.

Table 15: Estimated scale and value of the metropolitan horse trade, c.1800.

Site / sector	Estimated no. of horses sold in 1800	Estimated value of horses sold, based on estimated average of £10 per horse
Smithfield	7,000 (out of c.13,000 offered for sale)	£70,000
Tattersalls	4,000.	£40,000 ⁷⁴⁹
4 substantial repositories each selling 2,000 horses annually (Aldridge's, Barbican, Rhedarium, Finsbury Repository)	8,000	£80,000
10 large livery stables, each selling 400 horses annually	4,000	£40,000
50 livery stables/dealers selling 50 horses each annually	2,500	£25,000
TOTAL	25,500	£255,000.

⁷⁴⁹ V. Orchard, *Tattersalls: Two Hundred Years of Sporting History* (London, 1953), p.140, suggests that, on average, 5,000 horses were brought for sale in the early nineteenth century but John Timbs asserts that the annual value of horses brought to Tattersall's in 1852 was £45,000; my estimate of £40,000 for c.1800 seeks to strike a compromise between these figures; John Timbs, *Curiosities of London: exhibiting the most rare and remarkable objects of interest in the metropolis* (1868), p.770.

Expansion & decentralization of the horse trade

At the start of the Hanoverian period, the metropolitan horse trade was dominated by Smithfield's Friday market for 'ordinary horses', a loose category comprising saddle, cart and carriages horses. This was held immediately after the departure of livestock and continued into the early evening.⁷⁵⁰ Smithfield had hosted horse dealing from at least the late twelfth century,⁷⁵¹ but its operations increased dramatically in the early modern period.⁷⁵² In the mid-1640s, Smithfield dealers became powerful contractors to the parliamentary armies, supplying thousands of horses each year.⁷⁵³ And in the early 1700s, Daniel Defoe described it as 'a great market ... where very great numbers of horses, and those of the highest price, are to be sold weekly'.⁷⁵⁴

Unfortunately no data for the scale or value of the market survives for the eighteenth century, but some estimates were made in the nineteenth century. In 1828, the Inspector of Police in Smithfield estimated that that 300–400 horses were generally brought to market each week – suggesting an annual total of 15,600–20,800. In 1848, it was reported that 12,867 horses were 'exposed for sale'.⁷⁵⁵ I have found no convincing evidence to suggest that the Smithfield trade declined in the 1830s and 40s, which may suggest that the Inspector's estimate was too high. Nevertheless, these figures suggest that Smithfield hosted a thriving horse market in the Hanoverian period, which played a significant role in the wider metropolitan economy. I make the conservative estimate that 7,000 horses changed hands each year, generating a trade worth approximately £70,000 (see Table 15).

⁷⁵⁰ John Feltham, *The Picture of London, Enlarged and Improved* (1825), p.352; Rev. J. Nightingale, *London and Middlesex* (1815), vol.3, p.479; LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second report' (1828), pp.218-19.

⁷⁵¹ Fitzstephen described it as 'a celebrated rendezvous of fine horses'; *Fitz-Stephen's Description of the City of London, newly translated from the Latin original; with a necessary commentary ... By an antiquary* (1772), pp.36-7; Fitzstephen's account is generally dated to c.1170-82.

⁷⁵² Writing in the 1590s, Shakespeare refers to the horse market in the second part of *Henry IV*, a play set in the fifteenth century; in Act I, Bardolph is said to have 'gone into Smithfield' to buy Falstaff a horse; William Shakespeare, *Henry IV Part II*, Act I; N. Russell, *Like Engendering Like: Heredity and Animal Breeding in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986); Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England*.

⁷⁵³ Gavin Robinson asserts that the Smithfield dealers stopped supplying horses to the London commissaries in August 1646, but were 'briefly recalled during Cromwell's Irish and Scottish campaigns, 1649-51'; G. Robinson, 'Horse supply in the English civil war, 1642-1646', (PhD thesis, University of Reading, 2001), pp.72, 111, 116-18 & 127 & *Horses, People and Parliament in the English Civil War: Extracting Resources and Constructing Allegiance* (Aldershot, 2012); P. Edwards, 'Supply of horses to the parliamentarian and royalist armies in the English Civil War', *Historical Research*, 68 (1995), pp.49-66;

⁷⁵⁴ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-26; 1986), p.313.

⁷⁵⁵ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second report' (1828), p.218; William Gaspey, *Tallis's Illustrated London* (1851), p.231; Charles Knight, *Knight's cyclopaedia of London* (1851), p.798; on the asses sold in Smithfield, see John Lawrence, *The horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.154.

Despite its scale, and in contrast with the livestock market, remarkably little was written about the horse market in the eighteenth century. The latter's reputation has rested largely on commentary from the late 1820s to the mid-1850s which was closely associated with the campaign to close and remove Smithfield market. In these years, some guides to the metropolis wrote disparagingly about the quality of horses on offer – in 1851, the market was said to be 'more noted for knackers than for high mettled racers',⁷⁵⁶ and a place where 'low jockeys attempt to display their broken-down animals to the best advantage'.⁷⁵⁷ These observations were not entirely new – the late eighteenth century produced caricatures such as *The bargain – a specimen of Smithfield eloquence* (1780) which features a dealer giving a long-winded panegyric on a decrepit horse (see Plate 38). Yet, while infused with equestrian snobbery, these depictions were generally light-hearted. From the 1820s, however, the market was condemned for cruelty, nuisance and crime. In 1828, Smithfield's Inspector of Police complained that the dealers were 'the most lawless set I ever saw', not least for running their horses up and down the streets, behaviour which gave the market its sobriquet, 'Smithfield Races'.⁷⁵⁸ Caricatures from the 1820s (see Plate 39) show the horse market to be dominated by swindling rogues; whip-wielding jockies; and emaciated, wild-eyed horses. And in 1829, Lawrence described the market as 'that epitome of hell' on account of the 'miserable objects destined for slaughter' on offer. Smithfield had the dishonour of being the best place 'to get rid of low priced horses, since the sales are unburdened with charges'.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁶ William Gaspey, *Tallis's Illustrated London* (1851), p.231.

⁷⁵⁷ Charles Knight, *Knight's cyclopaedia of London* (1851), p.798.

⁷⁵⁸ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second report' (1828), p.219.

⁷⁵⁹ John Lawrence, *The horse in all his varieties* (1829), p.155.

Plate 38: Anon, *The bargain – a specimen of Smithfield eloquence* (engraving, 1780) [detail].



Plate 39: Theodore Lane, "How to pick up a "RUM ONE to look at" and a "GOOD ONE to go" in Smithfield" (Etching, London, 1825).



These impressions cast the horse and livestock trades as twin enemies of enlightened urbanity but not all depictions from this period were negative. A painting completed in 1824 by the Swiss artist Jacques-Laurent Agasse provides a strikingly different impression. Active in London from 1800–c.1845, Agasse studied the horse trade in and around London for more than forty years. Visiting the artist in 1816, A-W. Töpffler wrote that ‘he is well in with all the grooms, horses dealers, horse fanciers and so on ... and all these people look upon him as a real expert’.⁷⁶⁰ In *Old Smithfield Market* (Plate 40), Agasse depicts a bustling scene featuring some well-dressed buyers inspecting impressive beasts. A brewer negotiates over a powerful dray-horse and a gentleman tries out a saddle-horse. The scene is not fashionable but neither is it plebeian or chaotic; instead, it represents bustling commerce, and the power of horses to bring different social groups together. While Agasse’s painting does not reveal the full picture – for instance, it excludes the trade in knackers – it complicates the orthodox view of the market.

⁷⁶⁰ Adam-Wolfgang Töpffler, quoted in R. Loche & C. Sanger, *Jacques-Laurent Agasse 1767-1849* (Exhibition catalogue, Tate, London, 1988), p.264.

Plate 40. Jacques-Laurent Agasse (1767–1849), *Old Smithfield Market* (Oil on canvas, 1824).



By the 1750s, Smithfield was beginning to lose its pre-eminence and, as shown in Map 17, the metropolitan horse trade became increasingly fragmented in the second half of the century. The golden age of horse dealing in London was conducted in a vast array of stables and repositories, as well as in Smithfield. By the early 1780s, livery stables and repositories were trading along an axis which bisected the metropolis from Barbican in the East to Hyde Park in the West, three miles from Smithfield. Social geography exerted a powerful influence on the trade's development. Three of London's repositories, and the vast majority of stables which advertised private sales in metropolitan newspapers, were in heavily populated parts of the city. The remaining three were situated on the edge of the West End, in London's most fashionable equestrian zone (see Chapter 4), and the site of thousands of private mews units (see Chapter 5).

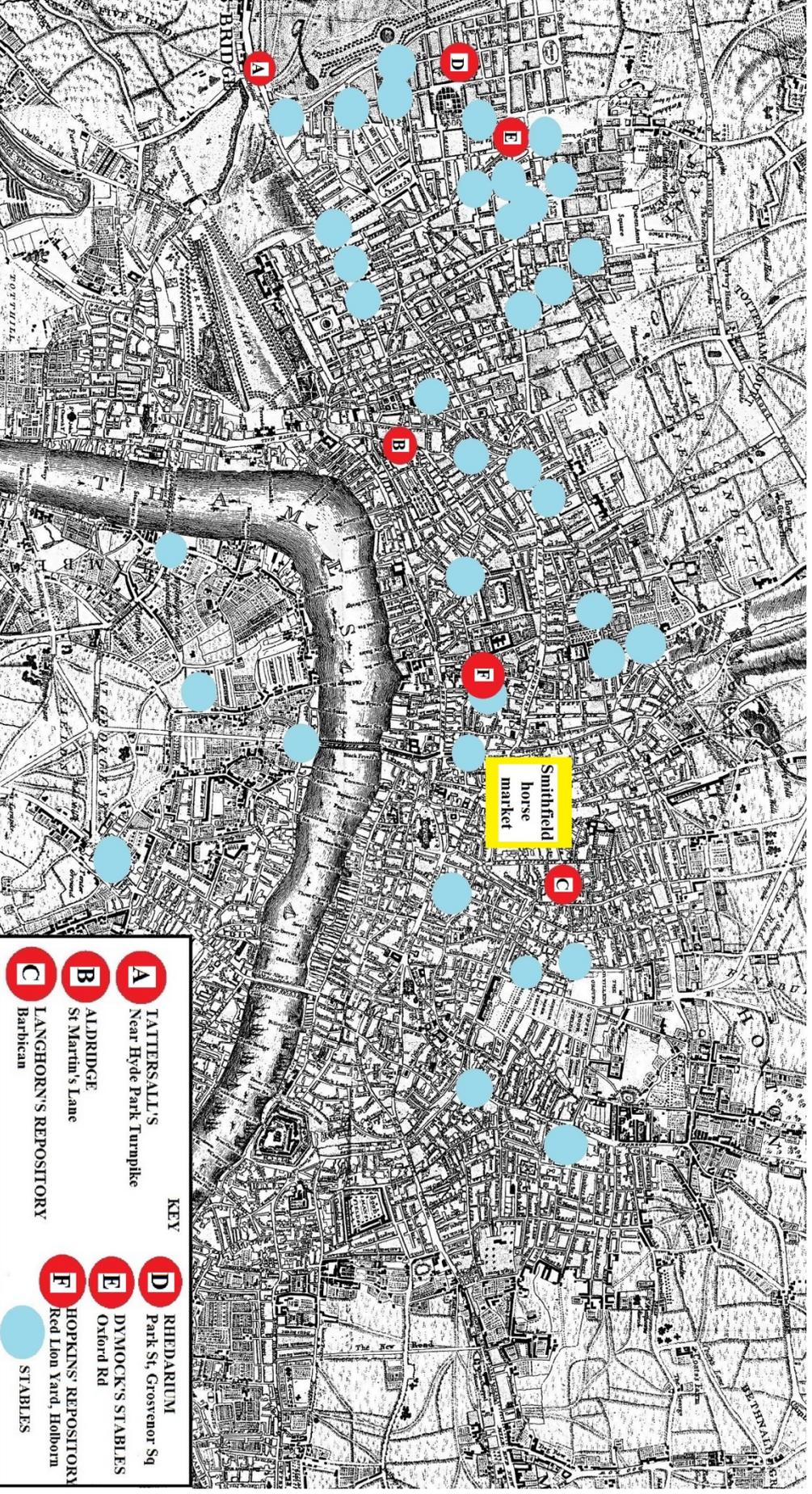
It is important to note that the absence of advertised sites in the East End and Bermondsey does not reflect a dearth of horse sales in these areas. The vast majority of horses advertised for sale were pleasure horses rather than beasts of burden. Because the latter were less valuable, they were more likely to be sold in the poorer districts of the metropolis.⁷⁶¹ The Old Bailey Proceedings show that some horse dealers kept stables in Whitechapel and that there was some door-to-door selling.⁷⁶² Moreover, it seems probable that Smithfield primarily served the east and south of the metropolis, while repositories and stables primarily served the upper end of the market. This is supported by visual depictions of Smithfield, in which tradesmen and artisans are prominent. The Proceedings also reveal that men including a dealer in earthenware, a butcher from Clerkenwell, an inn-keeper and a dustman from Lambeth used the market in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.⁷⁶³ This would also help to explain why the market attracted so much snobbery in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁷⁶¹ Roche, *La Culture Équestre*, p.266, asserts that in Paris beasts of burden only represented 3% of the horses advertised in public notices in 1760, falling to 2.5% in 1789 and 2.1% in 1810.

⁷⁶² OBSP, t18120701-56 (1/7/1812); t18190526-131 (26/5/1819); t17930626-35 (26/6/1793); t17951202-53 (2/12/1795); t18140420-20 (20/4/1814).

⁷⁶³ OBSP, t17880109-25 (9/1/1788); t18011028-18 (28/10/1801); t18030914-95 (14/9/1803); t18261207-55 (7/12/1826).

Map 17: Sites advertising 'horses for sale' in the London press, 1780–85.



The sale of horses in London's stables must have been common throughout the early modern period, but this kind of equine marketing was transformed in the eighteenth century. From the 1740s, London's inns provided auction rooms for the sale of various goods.⁷⁶⁴ Linked to this function but independent of it, and even more widespread, was the participation of livery stables in the horse trade. Both developments were entwined with the rise of newspaper advertising.⁷⁶⁵ A survey of the Burney collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century newspapers reveals that advertising horses for sale in the London press began around 1703.⁷⁶⁶ Such advertisements were initially infrequent: two a year between 1703 and 1709 rising to four a year between 1710 and 1719 (see Table 16). 45 sites advertised but only five did so more than once and none more than four times in eighteen years. Moreover, these early advertisements generally concerned one-off or small-scale sales. In the period 1703–19, nearly 60% of advertisements concerned a single horse, while less than 8% featured more than three horses. At the start of the century, the horse trade's use of advertising remained in its infancy but this situation was transformed over the next fifty years.

1752 marked the major turning point. In its first two months, 74 advertisements for horses were published. At this rate, 444 advertisements would have appeared that year but advertising activity reflected the seasonality of the horse trade. January and February marked the start of the main buying season. By contrast, only two advertisements were placed in September and October, the low point of the market.⁷⁶⁷ Nevertheless, this was the start of a dramatic rise in horse advertising. It should be noted that the number of newspaper titles, issues and pages published in London each year grew substantially in the eighteenth century. In the years 1703–19, the median number of titles published annually was just seven, all tri-weeklies or weeklies apart from the *Daily Courant* (1702–35), London's first daily. By 1750, provision had doubled and included two dailies, six tri-weeklies and three weeklies. By 1780, there were seventeen titles, of which seven were dailies and five tri-weeklies. Furthermore, the size and number of pages also increased in this period. In the 1710s, newspapers were generally printed on a single quarto sheet but by the 1770s, they often

⁷⁶⁴ J.A. Chartres, 'The capital's provincial eyes: London's inns in the early eighteenth century', *London Journal*, 3 (1977), p.27; 'The eighteenth-century English inn: a transient 'golden age?'' in B. Kumin & B. Ann Tlusty (eds.), *The World of the Tavern* (Aldershot, 2002), p.220 & 'The place of inns in the commercial life of London and Western England, 1660-1760' (unpublished D. Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1973).

⁷⁶⁵ J. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1987), pp.35-44.

⁷⁶⁶ 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers, Gale Digital Collections; the earliest surviving advertisement in the collection appears in the *Daily Courant* on 19th July, and concerns 'an extraordinary well condition'd Chaise Gelding ... to be dispos'd of' for £10 'at the Cosar's Head in the Old Palace Yard, Westminster'; *Daily Courant* (19/7/1703); on advertising in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see M. Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Cranbury, NJ, 1987); R.B. Walker, 'Advertising in London newspapers, 1650-1750', *Business History*, 15 (1973), pp.112-30.

⁷⁶⁷ *General Advertiser* (21/9/1752); *London Evening Post* (19-21/10/1752).

comprised eight to twelve folio pages. Thus the space available for advertisements in London's newspapers increased dramatically over the century.⁷⁶⁸

The horse trade also took advantage of changes in the arrangement of advertising space.⁷⁶⁹ On 17 January 1752, the *Daily Advertiser* published six advertisements for horses together in one column (see Plate 41). Over the next four weeks, a similar column was published in eight issues, each featuring between four and nine advertisements.⁷⁷⁰ This increased the trade's profile and gave these pages a distinctive equine flavour. As well as pioneering this practice, the *Daily Advertiser* was the dominant advertiser of horse sales until its closure in 1796,⁷⁷¹ but was emulated by other London titles in the final quarter of the century, including the *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (1773–92), and the *World* (1787–94).

The Burney collection data also reveals a major increase in the number of equine sites advertising in the first half of the century. In the first two months of 1752, sixty stables appeared, more than had done so between 1703 and 1719. Yet, while a growing number of stables used the press to advertise, sales remained small. This situation was transformed in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the emergence of larger livery stables and the innovative establishment of horse repositories. These were key features of the accelerating capitalization of the horse trade.

⁷⁶⁸ On the physical development of newspapers in the mid-eighteenth century, see S. Morison, *The English Newspaper: An Account of the Physical Development of Journals Printed in London 1622-1932* (1932; Cambridge, 2009), ch.9.

⁷⁶⁹ Morison, *The English Newspaper*, ch.9.

⁷⁷⁰ *Daily Advertiser* (17/1/1752); (20/1/1752); (21/1/1752); 23/1/1752); (4/2/1752); (11/2/1752); (15/2/1752); (21/2/1752); (24/2/1752).

⁷⁷¹ *Daily Advertiser* (15/12/1796).

Table 16: Advertising of horses for sale in the London press, 1703–1719; Jan–Feb 1752; Jan–Feb 1782.

	1703–1719	Jan–Feb 1750	Jan–Feb 1782
Total no. of titles	Annual median - 7	14	17
No. of daily titles	1	2	7
No. of horse adverts	53	74	51
No. of horses per advert:			
1 horse	58%	55%	10%
2 horses	25%	36%	14%
3 horses	9%	5%	4%
More than 3 horses	8%	3%	73%
No. of stables featured	45	60	12
% of stables appearing more than once	11%	13%	42%
Maximum appearances by one stable	4	4	21

Plate 41: An early example of multiple advertisements for 'horses for sale' in the *Daily Advertiser* (17/1/1752).

To be SOLD,

A Genteel Mare, rising six Years old, with or without Bridle and Saddle, lately come out of the Country, and perfectly found.
To be seen in Red Lion Yard, Red-Lion-Street, Clerkenwell.

To be SOLD,

A Genteel Chestnut Gelding, fourteen Hands high, five Years old, very sure-footed, and so gentle and sweet temper'd, that any Woman may ride him with the greatest Safety if she is ever so timorous. To prevent Trouble, the lowest Price is Six Guineas.
To be seen at the Mermaid Inn in Great Carter-Lane, Doctors-Commons.

To be SOLD,

A Strong bay Gelding, fifteen Hands and a half high, eight Years old, trots at a great Rate, walks five Miles an Hour, is fit for Coach or Chaise, and warranted sound. The Price is Fifteen Pounds. He came Yesterday out of the Country.
Enquire at the Black Horse Inn in Gray's Inn Lane.

To be Sold for Nine Pounds,

A Genteel strong useful bay Gelding, fourteen Hands and a half High, is a pleasant Horse to ride, draws exceeding well in a Chaise, and is to be sold for no other Reason than the Owner's having no farther Occasion for him.
Enquire of Mr. Moggeridge, at the Yorkshire-Grey in Blackman-Street, Southwark.

To be Sold a very great Pennyworth,

A Fine young black season'd Coach-Gelding, of a good Size and good Black, has gone thro' the Distemper, and is now perfectly healthful and found. Sold for no Fault but his Fellow being dead, and his Owner having a Mind to change his Colour. Also a strong Cart-Gelding, and a blind Gelding fit for a Mill.
Enquire at Spring-Gardens, Newington Green, near Blington.

To be Sold, or Exchanged

For a Horse about six Years old, that will draw in a Chaise, and carry twenty-three Stone, and trot twelve Miles an Hour,

A Strong found bay Gelding, fourteen Hands three Inches high, rising seven Years old, able to carry eighteen Stone on the Road or Field, leaps exceedingly well, walks five, trots fourteen, and has galloped twenty-one Miles in an Hour. He will be warranted found, and as good a Horse as any in England, and never was in any Dealer's Hands, and has not, to the Person's Knowledge, one Fault. He will not be sold under Twenty-four Pounds.
To be seen at the Dun Horse facing St. George's Church, Southwark.

In the first two months of 1780, 51 advertisements for horses were published in the London press, 31% fewer than in 1750. Yet, rather than representing a decline in the importance of advertising, this signals a new phase in its use. In 1782, a remarkable 73% of advertisements featured more than three horses, while only 10% described a single horse. Furthermore, the size of advertisements expanded from around six lines in the 1750s to nine in the 1780s (see Plates 41 & 42).⁷⁷² And by the 1790s, advertisements of more than fourteen lines were common (see Plate 43).

These changes reflect a major shift, both in the use of advertising to sell horses, and in the structure of the horse trade itself. The cost of advertising increased substantially after 1757, when the duty was doubled to two shillings on each advertisement.⁷⁷³ This made it less financially viable for stables to advertise small-scale and low-value sales. Between 1750 and 1780, the number of sites advertised dropped by 80%, from 60 to just 12. Yet, simultaneously, the proportion of sites appearing more than once increased from 13% to 42%, while the highest number of adverts taken out by a single site increased from four in two months to 21. This pattern signalled the gradual monopolisation of advertised horse sales by a few large repositories in the second half of the eighteenth century. While small-scale sales presumably continued in numerous stables across the metropolis, a growing proportion did so without the benefit of newspaper advertising. Meanwhile, the city's repositories sought to attract crowds of buyers by investing heavily in regular advertising space. In the 1770s, the *Daily Advertiser* was carrying adverts for Tattersall, Langhorne, Bever/Aldridge and Gallimore, the leading dealers of the day.⁷⁷⁴ These firms often published more than one advertisement in sequence to publicise multiple lots, a practice advanced most by Tattersall, who began to dominate columns by purchasing four or five slots.⁷⁷⁵

The first of London's horse repositories was established around 1740 in Little St Martins Lane by Mr Bever, who began to advertise in the London press in 1753. In 1781, his successor, Thomas Aldridge, sought to capitalize on this history by renaming the firm the 'Original Repository'. As shown in Table 17, this site was emulated by at least fifteen rival repositories in the eight decades up to 1835. The distinction between a large livery stable which dealt in horses and a repository

⁷⁷² Black, *The English Press*, p.44.

⁷⁷³ Black, *The English Press*, p.42.

⁷⁷⁴ *Daily Advertiser* (10/9/1772); (28/9/1774); (26/11/1777); (28/11/1777); Langhorn also used the *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (1764-96).

⁷⁷⁵ Tattersall's increasing dominance was advanced in 1783, when Richard acquired shares in the *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* newspaper, in which he had been advertising since September 1773. As noted by Vincent Orchard, this decision was motivated by a determination to 'secure a regular medium for inserting his advertisements'; *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (21/9/1773) & (29/1/1780); Orchard, *Tattersalls*, p.114.

was narrow and some sites switched between the two titles.⁷⁷⁶ Generally, while livery stables conducted private sales of individual horses, repositories hosted auctions in which 'larger numbers of lots were handled and where, in due course, regular weekly sales days were inaugurated'.⁷⁷⁷ By the early nineteenth century, the auction days of the leading repositories were fixed and well known, evincing the trade's dynamism and its high profile in metropolitan culture.⁷⁷⁸

Plate 42: Horses for sale advertisements in the *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (28/2/1780).

Sales by Auction.

By Mr. TATTERSALL,
Near Hyde-park Turnpike, This Day, at twelve o'clock,
FOUR seasoned black nagtail Coach Geldings,
a chestnut mare, used occasionally as a hunter, and on
the road; also a grey poney, a good hack, all late the pro-
perty of Colonel SKINNER, deceased.
To be viewed.

By Mr. TATTERSALL,
Near Hyde-park Turnpike, This Day, at twelve o'clock,
SEVERAL Bred Horses, some seasoned Hun-
ters, Hacks, &c. in all near 50 Lots.
To be viewed, and a trial had.
At the above place, Mr. Vernon's Arabian will cover at
Five Guineas a Mare, and Five Shillings the Groom.

By Mr. TATTERSALL,
This Day,
THREE well-known, seasoned, good Hunters,
the property of a Gentleman leaving off hunting.
To be viewed.

By Mr. TATTERSALL,
Near Hyde-park Turnpike, on Thursday next, at twelve
o'clock,
NEAR Thirty Carriages of different Sorts,
amongst which is a very good coach almost new,
some pairs of coach geldings of different colours; several
odd ditto; four seasoned hunters; a great many strong
boney geldings and mares fit for machines, post-chaises, &c.
also some good useful hacks.
To be viewed, and a reasonable trial had.
N. B. Amongst the above carriages are the following,
which will be sold without reserve, viz. a new post-chaise,
a second-hand ditto, a new one horse chaise, and a second
hand ditto.

By Mr. ALDRIDGE,
At the Original Repository St. Martin's-Lane, on Wednes-
day next, at Twelve,
NEAR Twenty Carriages of different Sorts;
several Pairs of seasoned Coach Geldings, and some
single ditto of different colours, a good Chaise Gelding,
master of 18 stone, three seasoned Hunters, a number of
good road Geldings and Mares come off long journies; post
chaise, machine, cart geldings, &c. In all near 120 Lots.
To be viewed, and reasonable trial had.

By Mrs ALDRIDGE,
At the Original Repository, on Wednesday next,
THREE seasoned Hunters, in perfect good
condition, having been constantly hunted this season;
a remarkable handsome dun gelding, which has been used
to carry a Lady, and a good road mare, a very fast trotter,
all the property of a Gentleman, and will be sold without
any reserve whatever.
They will be in town on Tuesday morning, from which
time they may be viewed, till the sale.

⁷⁷⁶ In 1787, Dymock's *Stables* on Oxford Street was renamed Dymock's *Repository* before becoming Vernon's *Livery Stables* in 1791; *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (22/4/1785); *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (22-27/11/1787); *World* (20/7/1791).

⁷⁷⁷ Orchard, *Tattersalls*, p.86.

⁷⁷⁸ Mondays belonged to Tattersall and Wednesdays to Aldridge; while Tuesdays and Fridays were shared by Dixon of Barbican and Sadlers of Goswell Street; John Feltham, *The Picture of London for 1818* (1818), p.417-18.

Plate 43: Horses for sale advertisements in the *Morning Post and Fashionable World* (16/9/1795).

By Mr. ALDRIDGE,

At his Repository, in St. Martin's-lane, THIS DAY,
at Twelve o'clock,

SOME Pairs of seasoned COACH GELDINGS, and single ditto, different colours, some of which match well. Several capital well-bred Hunters, masters of great weight. A number of clever well known Hacks in excellent condition, very fast goers, and fit for road or field. A variety of Horses suitable for single Harness and ride occasionally. A great many strong boney Geldings and Mares, calculated for Mail Coach, Post Chaise, Machine, &c. Also several handsome Gallowsays, Poneys, and Carriages, of different descriptions, Harness, &c. in the whole upwards of 150 Lots. To be viewed, and reasonable trials allowed.

By Mr. ALDRIDGE,

At his Repository, THIS DAY,

THIRTEEN HORSES, late the Property of a Gentleman, deceased.

Amongst which are several capital Hunters, Hacknies, and Chaise Horses, most of them young, well-bred, good Figures, and in fine condition.

May be viewed till the Sale.

MACHINE HORSES.

By Mr. ALDRIDGE,

At his Repository in St. Martin's lane, on Wednesday the
23^d Instant,

THIRTY capital well-known seasoned MACHINE HORSES, taken off the Marlborough Coach, on the Bath Road; the principal part are young Horses, well calculated for the above purpose, Chariot, Phaeton, or Curriclc, being very fast goers, good figures, and in excellent condition.

The whole may be viewed two days prior to the sale, and every lot will be sold to the best bidder.

TO be Sold, Three very capital Bay seasoned COACH HORSES, sixteen hands, perfectly sound, and the Property of a Gentleman.

Enquire of Mr. Precious, Farrier, Chiswell-street.

HORSES NOW ON SALE,

At the White Horse Livery Stables, Gray's Inn-lane Road,
Holborn,

A Very handsome BROWN GELDING, 15 hands one inch, shews a deal of blood, rides steady and remarkable well, and leaps incomparably well; a very handsome Bay Gelding, master of great weight, walks fast, and can trot 12 or 13 miles in an hour, gallops well, and likely to make a good hunter; a clever Grey Gelding, goes well and steady in a Chaise; a Pair of very handsome Black Geldings for a Curriclc or Chariot, they are fast trotters and steady in harness; a handsome Bay Gelding, rides well, and goes in harness; a Chesnut Mare, rides well, and is a good hunter; a Chesnut Mare, fourteen hands three inches, a fast walker and trotter, able to carry 20 stone; several other fresh Horses, fit for different purposes, as hacks, post chaise, &c. they are all warranted sound, and trials allowed.

Table 17: London horse repositories, established 1754–1835.

Repository & Proprietor	Location	First advert	Last advert	Longevity (approx.)
Mr Bever's Repository until 12/1/1778 By 1781, it is known as 'Aldridge's Original Repository' (6/2/1781) (Joseph Aldridge sold horses at Bever's in the 1770s and then took over)	St Martin's Lane	10/10/1753	27/5/1826	79 yrs
Mr. Henson's Repository (Nevile Henson)	Four Swans Inn, Bishop's Gate St	27/4/1754	8/2/1755	10 months
Henson's Repository at the Angel	Angel Inn, Holbourne Bridge	8-10/5/1760	17-20 / 5/1760	2 wks
Mr. Tattersall (& Son) Richard Tattersall (1724–1795) Edmund Tattersall (1758–1810) Richard Tattersall (1812–1870)	Hyde Park turnpike; moves to Knightsbridge in 1865	(founded 1766) 1 st advert (6/7/1774)	Final sale took place in in Sept 1939	173 yrs
Gallimore's Repository (Christopher Gallimore, d.1783) (* Site has stabling for 52 horses)	Blackman St, Southwark	26/12/1772	16/6/1783	11 yrs
The Repository at the Bell Inn, Cheapside (Mr Henson followed by Herring and Forrester from Jan 1773)	Bell Inn, Wood St, Cheapside	26/12/1772	26/12/1772	Only 1 ref
Mr. Langhorn(e) / City Repository By 1805, Richard Dixon has taken over	Barbican	13/10/1773	-	Closes in the 1920s.
Repository at Bull & Gate Mr Hopkins (12/3/1777 - 12/6/1778) Mr Gregson (24/1/1791 - 29/7/1796?)	Bull & Gate Inn-Yard, Holborn	12/3/1777	19/7/1796	19 yrs
Tottenham Court Repository (J. Burrows)	New Road	12/1/1778	Only 1 ref	Only 1 ref
New Repository (1 ref), thereafter Richard's Stables (2/5/1787 -5/5/1795) (Mess. Richards & Peate)	Golden Horse, near Stratford Place, Oxford St	30/4/1779	1 ref	1 ref as a repository once but survives as a livery stable which sells horses)
Mr. Hopkins Repository	Red Lion Yard, Holborn	24/5/1783	22/4/1793	10 yrs
Rhedarium Mackenzie & J. Jenkinson quits (1793) Mackenzie, Weston & Co	Park St, Grosvenor Sq	8/1/1784	<i>Morning Post</i> (27/2/1807)	23 yrs (sells carriages & horses)
Messrs. Turner's & Co. New Repository	Oxford St. near Duke St, Manchester Sq	1/1/1787	24/2/1791	4 yrs

Table 17 (continued)

Repository & Proprietor	Location	First advert	Last advert	Longevity (approx.)
Dymock's Stables in 1785, thereafter Dymock's Repository. Later, Vernon's livery stables.	No. 224, upper end of Oxford St	22/11/1787	25/8/1789	2 yrs
Finsbury Repository (Mr Hull)	Chiswell Street	<i>Morning Post</i> (4/5/1803)	<i>Daily News</i> (29/10/1846)	43 yrs
Sadler's Horse Repository	Goswell Street	7/10/1826	<i>Champion & Weekly Herald</i> (11/12/1836)	10 yrs
Horse Bazaar (George Young)	King Street Barracks, Portman Square	Est. 1822 <i>Morning Post</i> (20/4/1822)	<i>Essex Standard</i> (8/12/1843)	21 yrs
London Repository William Bromley Esq	Intersection of Gray's Inn Lane Road and the New Road	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> (24/4/1828)	Re-launched in 1829 as Royal London Bazaar, but initially continues to sell horses. ⁷⁷⁹	1–2 yrs (approx.).

By the late eighteenth century, repositories and large livery stables had come to dominate the trade in high-quality saddle and coach horses. Writing in the 1820s, Lawrence asserted that 'Repositories are, beyond a doubt, the best adapted to the disposal of horses of high qualification, and for which great prices are expected'.⁷⁸⁰ Yet despite this focus on the upper end of the market, these sites continued to stock a wide range of horses, paralleling the consolidation of urban husbandry by large operators (see Chapter 1). Tattersall's handled the most valuable bloodstock – regularly selling famous race horses, the finest Arabian stallions and the highest-bred hunters⁷⁸¹ (see Plate 44) – but also appreciated the need to cater for the lesser gentry and the expanding bourgeoisie. Modest hunters, coach horses and hacks formed a considerable part of the firm's business well into the nineteenth century.⁷⁸² Tattersall's generally drew the line at working horses, but other repositories did sell beasts of burden. 'Cart Geldings' were available at the Original

⁷⁷⁹ See D. Hayes, "'Without parallel in the known world': the chequered past of 277 Gray's Inn Road", *Camden History Review*, 25 (2001).

⁷⁸⁰ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.152.

⁷⁸¹ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.152.

⁷⁸² Orchard, *Tattersalls*, p.140.

Repository, St Martin's Lane⁷⁸³ while at the Barbican, Langhorn and Dixon offered 'useful boney Geldings', ideal for 'heavy Draft work' and mares 'for different purposes'.⁷⁸⁴ Lawrence described this site as 'the chief market for horses out of coach work from the roads' and noted that country buyers could find 'many valuable bargains' there.⁷⁸⁵

Plate 44: Tattersall advertisement in *Morning Post and Fashionable World* (28/10/1795).

By Mr. TATTERSALL, on MONDAY next,
THE following are the PROPERTY of
A GENTLEMAN:

Lot 1. A Brown Mare, aged, got by Snap, her dam by Blank, her grand dam by Old Cade, her great grand dam by Old Partner, her gt gt grand dam by Bay Bolton (which Mare was the dam of the Duke of Bolton's Merry Andrew, and full sister to Lord Godolphin's Whitefoot and Wryfoot) her gt gt gt grand dam by Darley's Arabian (Sire of the Devonshire Childers), gt gt gt gt grand dam by the Byerly Turk, gt gt gt gt gt grand dam by Place's White Turk, gt gt gt gt gt grand dam by the Tripoli Barb, out of a natural Barb mare.

2. A Chestnut Mare, aged, got by Avarne's Herod, dam by Conductor.

3. A Bay Mare, rising five years old, got by Herod out of Lot 1.

4. A Bay Filley, three years old, got by Herod out of a famous Trotting Mare.

5. A Red Roan Filly, got by Juniper, out of a capital Hunting Mare.

6. A Chestnut Colt, one year old, got by King Fergus, out of Lot 2.

7. A Grey Colt, one year old, got by a Son of Herod, out of a Hackney, which has trotted 15 miles within the hour.

8. A Chestnut Colt Foal, got by Herod, out of Lot 2.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the metropolitan horse trade provided unprecedented financial opportunities for entrepreneurial dealers. By 1789, their profitability had attracted the attention of the government which levied an annual licence fee of £10 for those within the bills of mortality, and £5 in the rest of the country.⁷⁸⁶ By the early nineteenth century, the trade involved hundreds of full-time and occasional dealers, and had led to the creation of a handful of major firms. The remarkable prosperity and longevity of the Original Repository at St Martin's Lane (1753–1826); the Barbican Repository (1773–1920s); and above all, Tattersall's at Hyde

⁷⁸³ *Daily Advertiser* (3/3/1778); *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (7/3/1785).

⁷⁸⁴ *Morning Post and Fashionable World* (28/8/1795).

⁷⁸⁵ Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.152.

⁷⁸⁶ Public Act, 29 Geo. III, c.49; George Kearsley, *Kearsley's annual eight-penny tax tables, for the year 1795* (1795), p.88.

Park Corner and later Knightsbridge (1766–1939), emphasises that a golden age of metropolitan horse dealing commenced and matured in the Hanoverian period. By the early 1800s, an average of 5,000 horses passed through Tattersall's every year.⁷⁸⁷ By then, it was a must-see curiosity and appeared in numerous caricatures, topographical prints, songs, plays and novels.⁷⁸⁸

Horse repositories and large livery stables provide striking evidence of the kind of integration which Chapter 1 identified in urban husbandry, and which historians associate with the emergence of Britain's modern consumer society. Leading horse dealers boasted commodious sites in some of the best parts of town, fitted out with superior facilities for both horses and buyers. By the 1820s, Tattersall's, Aldridge's and the London Horse & Carriage Repository appeared in topographical prints which highlighted their commercial success, respectability and architectural taste (see Plates 45 – 47). The new London Repository on Gray's Inn Lane Road was celebrated both for its 'noble structure' and its equine facilities (Plate 47). James Elmes noted that it offered 'lofty, light, [and] airy ... accommodation for about two hundred horses, and galleries for more double that number of carriages'.⁷⁸⁹ In the 1780s, Dymock's stable and repository on Oxford Street was said to be 'judiciously and substantially erected' with 'capital STALL STABLING for Ninety-three HORSES, Twelve COACH-HOUSES, extra Standing for near Thirty Carriages', plus 'an excellent Covered EXERCISING GROUND, [and] a large YARD and FARRIERS SHOP'.⁷⁹⁰ In 1792, Joseph Aldridge insured eight stable blocks, and their contents for £2,310 while Edmund Tattersall's stables and coach houses were valued at £3,100 excluding their contents.⁷⁹¹ These premises continued to grow in the early nineteenth century. By the 1820s, one of Tattersall's main rivals, George Young's Horse Bazaar in Portman Square, occupied two acres and boasted extensive stabling, attended by an on-site veterinary surgeon.⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁷ Orchard, *Tattersalls*, p.140.

⁷⁸⁸ One of the earliest depictions of Tattersall's appears in a caricature by R. Dighton, entitled *Two Impures of the Ton driving to the Gigg Shop, Hammersmith* (London, 1782); Tattersall's is represented in the background by a statue of a prancing horse on a plinth marked 'Tattersall'; in the theatre, Tattersall's appears in Thomas Holcroft's *The road to ruin: a comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden. The sixth edition* (1792), p.31 & J.G. Holman, *Abroad and at home. A comic opera, in three acts. Now performing at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden* (1796), p.28; see also George Parker, *A view of society and manners in high and low life* (1781), p.48.

⁷⁸⁹ James Elmes, *Metropolitan improvements: or, London in the nineteenth century, displayed in a series of engravings of the new buildings, improvements, &c* (1829), pp.142-43; see also Samuel Leigh, *Leigh's new picture of London* (1830), p.336.

⁷⁹⁰ *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (25/1/1788).

⁷⁹¹ LMA, MS 11936/373, Sun Fire insurance policy: 584787, Joseph Aldridge (1792) & MS 11936/389, policy: 609420, Edmund Tattersall (1792); by the 1820s, some repositories, including the New Repository at Gray's Inn Road did not insure the horses brought there for sale: according to Lawrence, 'All risk of fire attaches to the owners of the property, of whatever kind, sent for sale'; John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.154.

⁷⁹² Orchard, *Tattersalls*, p.168.

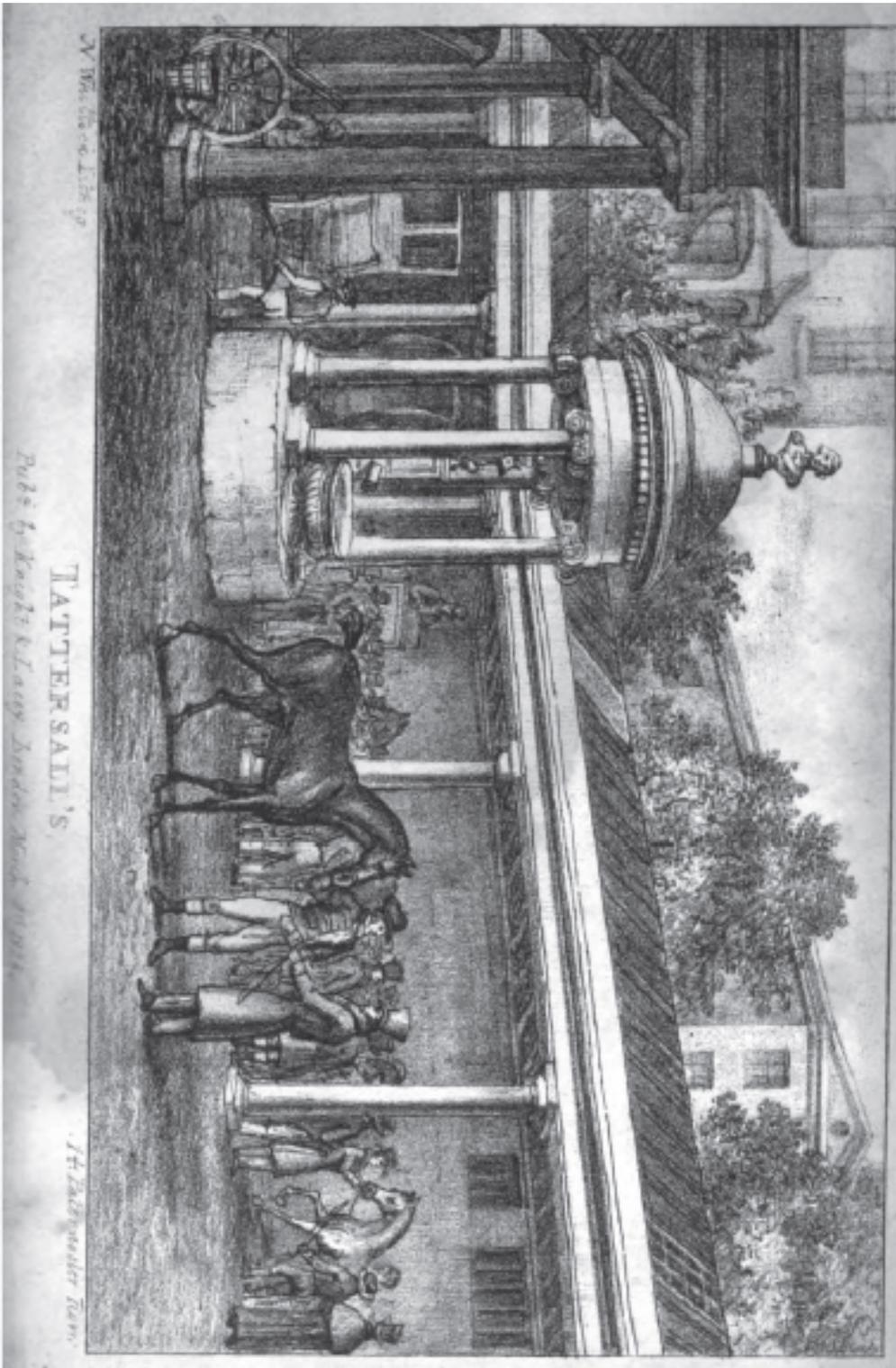


Plate 45: 'Tattersall's', engraving published in *The Farrier and Naturalist*, vol. 1 (1828).

Plate 46: Anon, *Interior view of the auction rooms at Aldridge's horse repository* (lithograph published by J. Watson & J. Beckensall, London, 1824).





Plate 47: Thomas H. Shepherd, 'North West View of the London Horse and Carriage Repository, Gray's Inn Road' in James Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements* (London, 1829).

The presence of farriers and later veterinary surgeons in some repositories shows that the commercialization of equestrian recreation was entwined with that of equine care (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, it suggests a close relationship between horse repositories and infirmaries, substantial operations offering on-site treatment and horse medicines, which also emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century (see Chapter 5).⁷⁹³ London was the leading hub for specialised farriery because it housed the greatest convergence of elite horses and the richest horse-owners.⁷⁹⁴ The simultaneous rise of these institutions attests to the economic integration and capital intensification of businesses serving metropolitan equestrian culture (discussed further in Chapter 4) in the Hanoverian period.

Yet, horse repositories also shared broader parallels with the large grocery, drapery and haberdashery shops which emerged in London in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, and which have received considerably more attention from historians. These ‘warehouses’ or ‘monster shops’, as they came to be known in the early nineteenth century, occupied large premises and sold stock worth thousands of pounds annually.⁷⁹⁵ The physical scale of London’s leading repositories and the wealth which flowed through them were similarly impressive, emphasising that animals were at the forefront of dynamic urban economic activities in this period. By 1852, the value of horses exposed for sale at Tattersall’s alone was estimated at a remarkable £45,000.⁷⁹⁶ Like other shops in this period, horse repositories responded to pressure to provide a pleasurable shopping experience.⁷⁹⁷ With large crowds attending sales, the provision of adequate space from which to view the horses became crucial to a repository’s success. Thus, the auction rooms of Aldridge’s and the Horse Bazaar were both flanked by seated galleries. As shown in Plate 46, this not only provided an unimpeded view, but also a more refined location for polite conversation, elevated from the hubbub of the sales floor. As discussed below, similar galleries were also erected in several fashionable West End riding schools in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁹⁸

Such measures led John Lawrence to remark that ‘Repositories are most useful and accommodating places of meeting to buyers and sellers’. Like other commentators, Lawrence reserved particular praise for Tattersall’s, which he described as ‘an opulent and respectable

⁷⁹³ M. Mackay, ‘The rise of a medical specialty: the medicalization of elite equine care c1680-c1800’, (Phd thesis, University of York, 2009), p.178-80.

⁷⁹⁴ Mackay, ‘The rise of a medical specialty’, p.133.

⁷⁹⁵ Mui & Mui, *Shops & Shopkeeping*, p.239; J.G. Carrier, *Gifts & Commodities: Exchange & Western Capitalism Since 1700* (London, 1995), p.81; in this respect, London’s horse repositories are also comparable with the city’s china and earthenware dealers, which Maxine Berg asserts ‘frequently had stocks valued at £2,000-3,000’; Berg, ‘Luxury, the luxury trades, and industrial growth’, p.184.

⁷⁹⁶ John Timbs, *Curiosities of London* (1868), p.770.

⁷⁹⁷ Walsh, ‘Shop design’.

⁷⁹⁸ Orchard, *Tattersalls*, p.168.

house'.⁷⁹⁹ One reason for this was its provision, by 1780, of a subscription room. This venue played an important role in the business of horse racing,⁸⁰⁰ but it was also key to the repository's success. 'Always open on sale days',⁸⁰¹ it provided a comfortable and relatively exclusive – access cost one guinea a year in the 1820s – environment for wealthy buyers to discuss the merits of the horses about to go on sale and to celebrate successful purchases.

These developments principally concerned the upper end of the market and the finest horses in the metropolis. But significant change can also be found in the lowest and least attractive sector of the metropolitan horse trade – that concerned with horses sold for slaughter. While very much part of the wider horse trade, the business of equine processing shared some important parallels with the trade in meat on the hoof, discussed above. The extent of the trade in dead and worn-out horses increased substantially in the Hanoverian period, as the expansion of the metropolitan horse population ensured a growing source of supply. In death, horses became receptacles of valuable raw materials which were used in numerous metropolitan trades. A surviving 'register of licences to slaughter horses' shows that there were at least eleven horse slaughter-houses in the metropolis in 1786, the majority concentrated in Clerkenwell.⁸⁰² By the 1840s, there were around twenty sites and the trade had spread to other parts of the metropolis. Mayhew was aware of three or four yards in Whitechapel, two in Bermondsey and one in Wandsworth. By then, it was estimated that up to a thousand horses were 'boiled down every week'.⁸⁰³

Historians have largely overlooked these enterprises, except as case studies of animal cruelty. With reference to George Cruikshank's sickening characterisation of *The Knackers Yard or the Horses last Home!*, 1832-33 (Plate 48) – which shows emaciated horses being starved to death in a pestilent enclosed yard – Donald asserts that 'The business of the knacker was ... emblematic of the *invisibility* of the worst animal suffering in a civilised nation'.⁸⁰⁴ Yet, this focus should not obscure the genuine need for horse slaughterers in a city in which thousands of horses died, or became too diseased and lame to work, every year. The city's horse slaughterers and boilers responded to growing demand to remove dead or dying horses from the streets and stables of the metropolis. A late eighteenth-century inspection book for the parish of St John the Evangelist, Westminster suggests that the majority of animals processed by knackers were already dead on

⁷⁹⁹ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties*, pp.149-50.

⁸⁰⁰ R. Longrigg, *The English Squire and his Sport* (London, 1977), p.201; M. Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society 1790-1914: A Social and Economic History* (London, 2000), pp.22-22 & 57-59; W. Vamplew & J. Kay (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of British Horse Racing* (Abingdon & New York, 2005), p.304; Orchard, *Tattersalls*.

⁸⁰¹ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.152; N. Foulkes, *Gentlemen and Blackguards or Gambling Mania and the Plot to Steal the Derby of 1844* (London, 2010), ch.14.

⁸⁰² LMA, MR/L/SB/001, 'Registers of licences to slaughter horses' (Aug 1786 - Jan 1822).

⁸⁰³ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London poor* (1851), vol.1, pp.181 & 183.

⁸⁰⁴ D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750-1850* (New Haven & London, 2007), p.230.

arrival.⁸⁰⁵ Moreover, Cruikshank's image of a yard filled with starving horses is juxtaposed by Rowlandson's depiction of a knacker collecting a dead horse in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. As shown in Plate 49, the muscular-armed knacker has already loaded the animal into his cart and prepares to drive it to the boiling house. The family standing nearby, presumably the horse's owners, stare at its body with sombre expressions, emphasising the important role which it had played in their lives. The knacker's sunken face may resemble Rowlandson's characterisations of death, but the artist does not condemn him in the manner of Cruikshank. Instead, Rowlandson treats the scene as a curiosity of London life and a form of *memento mori*.

⁸⁰⁵ LMA, MR/LSB/5, Book kept by Richard Hubbard, inspector for slaughtering horses &c in St John the Evangelist, Westminster (8 July 1799-31 Oct 1801).

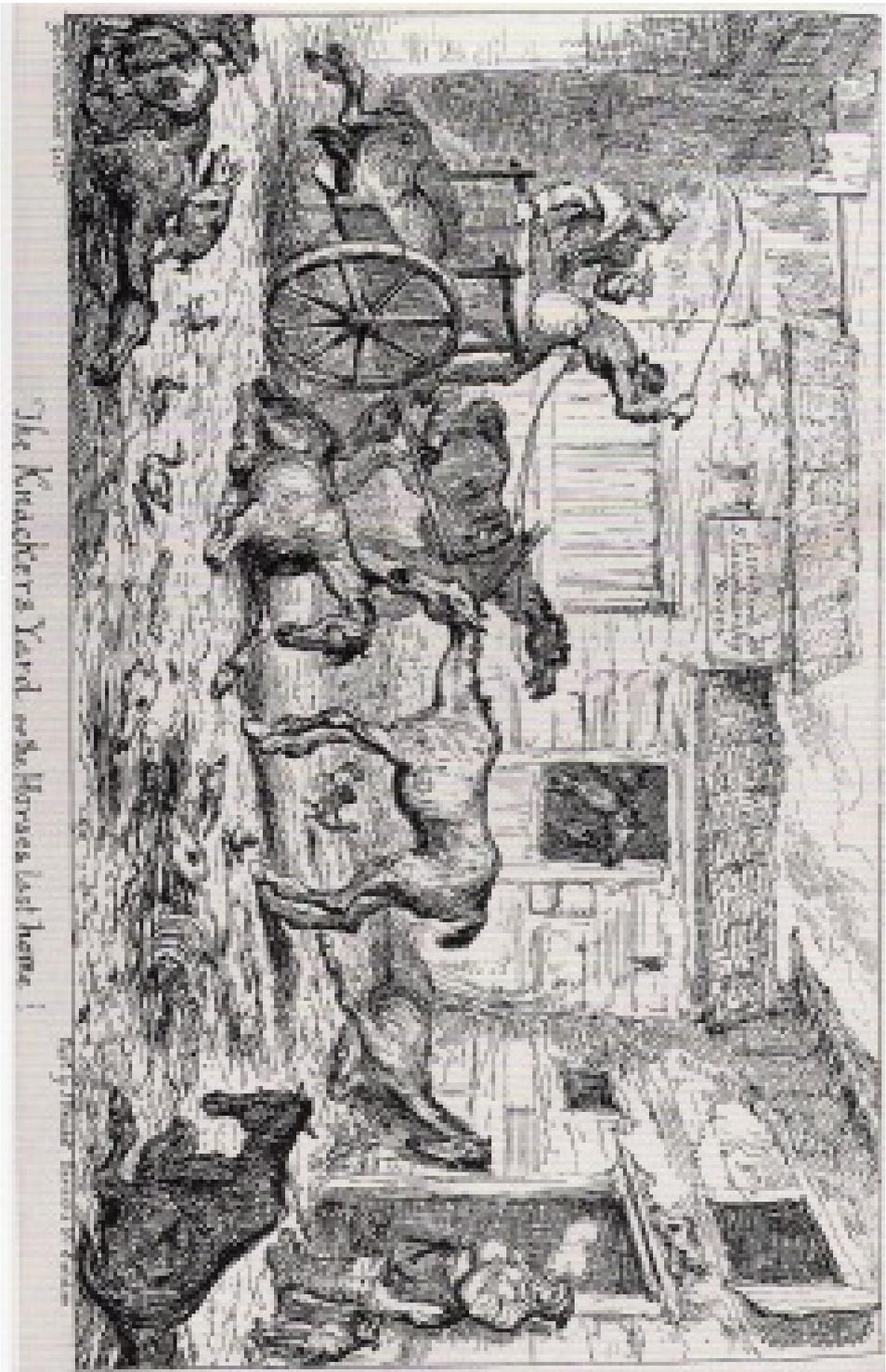


Plate 48: George Cruickshank, *The Knackers Yard or the Horses last home!* (Enching, second state, as reissued in 1832-3).

Plate 49: Thomas Rowlandson, *A Dead Horse on a Knacker's Cart* (watercolour with ink over graphite, undated).



In addition to collecting dead horses, slaughterers commonly purchased live animals from a spectrum of businesses once they became sick, lame or too old 'to justify the money spent in feeding and stabling them.'⁸⁰⁶ Having killed the animal, the slaughterer extracted and processed the marketable raw materials from the animal's carcass.⁸⁰⁷ Nothing went to waste – horsehair was used to stuff furniture and to bind lime for house-building; the animal's flesh was boiled to produce cat and dog food; its bones were processed to make fertilizer and grease; and its hooves were boiled down for the manufacture of glue.⁸⁰⁸ The commercialization of horse slaughtering in London is underlined by the growing number of worn-out horses being exposed for sale in Smithfield Market in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1784, a Clerkenwell horse-boiler and Old Bailey witness confirmed that 'Sometimes we buy them [horses] alive in Smithfield'.⁸⁰⁹ And in 1828, the Inspector of Police in Smithfield confirmed that 'A great many' knackers purchased horses there.⁸¹⁰ This aspect of the slaughtering trade is important because it suggests that demand exceeded intra-urban supply and relied on horses being brought into the metropolis for sale. Country-born horses were not only brought to the city to work, but also to provide raw materials in death.

The metropolitan horse trade experienced major growth in the Hanoverian period, a process which involved its gradual fragmentation as well as capital intensification and impressive innovation. Having provided an overview of these significant changes, let us consider how London's emergence as Britain's 'universal' horse mart impacted on metropolitan society and culture.

London's equine knowledge economy

The transformation of the horse trade is significant for three reasons: firstly, it increased awareness of equine commerce and fostered opportunities to take part; secondly, it helped to shape attitudes towards horses as commodities; and thirdly, it influenced the nature of social interactions involving horses. As suggested by the simultaneous rise of metropolitan farriery, the horse trade lay at the heart of a thriving equine knowledge economy in the metropolis, which was even more pervasive than that generated by the livestock trade.

⁸⁰⁶ McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.27; in the Westminster parish of St John the Evangelist, horse dealers delivered 7% of animals processed by horse slaughterers in a six month period between July 1799 and Jan 1800; LMA, MR/LSB/5; collar-makers, which represented 2.1% of suppliers, had a particular mode of dealing with horse slaughterers; according to the Clerkenwell horse-boiler, Minshall, 'we deal with collar makers, and give them so much each for the meat and they have the hide back again for their own use'; OBSP, t17841208-36 (8/12/1784).

⁸⁰⁷ McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, pp.27-29.

⁸⁰⁸ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851-62), vol.1, pp.181-2; vol. 2, pp.8-9.

⁸⁰⁹ OBSP, t17841208-36 (8/12/1784).

⁸¹⁰ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, 'Second Report' (1828), p.218.

In describing Tattersall's, Pierce Egan's character, Corinthian Tom observed, 'It is no matter who sells or who purchases at this repository'.⁸¹¹ Although satirical, this statement contained a kernel of truth and if this was the situation at Tattersall's, horse dealing in other parts of the metropolis was even more socially inclusive. The openness of London's horse-dealing culture is emphasised by a heated exchange between the barrister William Garrow and Francis Hall, a labourer from Winchmore Hill, who appeared as an Old Bailey witness in a horse theft case in 1784.

Hall: A month ago last Friday, I was going from London home, through Kingsland turnpike, and I saw the prisoner getting off a mare in the road. I asked him where he was going with her... he said to Smithfield; I asked him if she would draw, and he said yes; I asked him the price of the mare, and he said seven pounds. I said she is in a very bad condition to sell, I think you will not get that money for her...

Garrow: What made you enquire about this mare?

Hall: It is a natural case, when anybody is going to Smithfield, and one sees a horse in sweat and dirt [suggesting that it had been stolen and ridden away at speed]

Garrow: A natural case. What do you make it your business? ... And do you ask every man with a horse in a sweat and dirty, in Kingsland-road, where he is going with him?

Hall – I have asked several.

Hall acknowledged that he had been looking to buy a horse at the time but denied Garrow's suggestion that he purchased stolen horses and sold them to knackers.⁸¹² This case evinces growing awareness of and concern about the increasing involvement of men from the lower orders in the horse trade.

As noted by John Lawrence, a variegated hierarchy of horse dealers emerged during the eighteenth century, mirroring the complex classification of horses which were sold in the metropolis. 'The superiors' he wrote, sell 'chiefly first-hand horses fresh from the country, at prices high in proportion; the inferiors, divided into a variety of grades' deal 'in an inferior commodity, which they both purchase and sell at the repositories, at the fairs in the vicinity of the metropolis, and by advertisement at their own stables'.⁸¹³ At the heart of the trade were those who described themselves as horse dealers in wills, insurance policies and in court. A search using the

⁸¹¹ Pierce Egan, *Life in London: or, the day and night scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, esq. and his elegant friend Corinthian Tom, accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in their rambles and sprints through the metropolis* (1821), p.275.

⁸¹² OBSP, t17840114-65 (14/1/1784).

⁸¹³ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.149.

London Lives database suggests that there were around forty key players in the 1780s.⁸¹⁴ After 1789, these individuals required licenses. That 47 were granted in 1828 indicates that despite the trade's expansion, this group remained relatively stable.⁸¹⁵ These individuals were full-time dealers operating in Smithfield market, repositories and stables. The scale of their operations varied enormously: while the leading repositories boasted stabling for 100 horses and property worth £1000s, others could only accommodate five horses and insured property for £500 or less.⁸¹⁶ Yet, the trade also involved individuals who did not necessarily describe themselves as dealers and who avoided taking out a licence. This group was dominated by hostlers and other equine workers, whose knowledge and access to stables made occasional, informal dealing a convenient way of supplementing their wages.⁸¹⁷ However, interest in the horse trade was remarkably pervasive and many Londoners – including merchants, tradesmen and even labourers – acted as opportunistic, part-time dealers. In 1824, Cornelius Wood, of Hornsey Road, told the court that he worked as a bricklayer and labourer and ‘do not call myself a horse-dealer’ as he had only ‘bought four poneys within the last two years’.⁸¹⁸ In 1795, Leonard Tweed, a Whitechapel shoemaker, told the Old Bailey that he had exchanged a pony and ten guineas for a gelding. He added that he generally kept a horse in the summer but sold ‘it in the fall’.⁸¹⁹ That animals were sold as soon as they were no longer required or proved uneconomical to maintain suggests that many buyers developed a head for horses through regular forays into the trade.

Tweed's acquisition, it emerged, had been stolen. This highlights a thriving element of the metropolitan horse trade, which attracted men, boys and even some women from all kinds of backgrounds. In 1733, a button-maker from Westminster was condemned for stealing a brown gelding, which he offered for sale in Holborn.⁸²⁰ In 1775, a thirteen year old boy lay ‘all night until three o’Clock in the morning’ in a field in Hackney waiting for the right moment to steal a mare, which he subsequently offered for sale at the Greyhound Inn, Smithfield.⁸²¹ And in 1788, a seventy year old man stole a horse from Barnet Common and sold it to the turnpike keeper at Battle Bridge.⁸²²

⁸¹⁴ www.londonlives.org.

⁸¹⁵ Public Act, 29 Geo. III, c.49; George Kearsley, *Kearsley's annual eight-penny tax tables, for the year 1795* (1795), p.88; ‘An account of the number and amount of licenses granted to dealers in horses within the Cities and within the liberties of London and Westminster ... for the years 1828, 1829 and 1830’, *House of Commons Papers*, vol.14 (1830-31), p.176.

⁸¹⁶ OBSP, t18191201-19 (2/11/1819); LMA, MS 11936/373, Sun Fire insurance policy: 391797, James Green, near the Rein Deer, Bethnal Green, Horse dealer (1777).

⁸¹⁷ OBSP, t18160403-22 (3/4/1816); in 1816, George Steel, a livery stable keeper on Bedford Row told the Old Bailey that while not licenced to deal in horses, he had sent animals to Tattersall's for sale ‘when accidents have happened’.

⁸¹⁸ OBSP, t18241202-93 (2/12/1824).

⁸¹⁹ OBSP, t17951202-53 (2/12/1795).

⁸²⁰ OBSP, t17330912-72 (12/9/1733).

⁸²¹ OBSP, t17750531-24 (31/5/1775).

⁸²² OBSP, t17880507-26 (7/5/1788).

In a study which overlooks the metropolitan horse trade, Thomas polarized wealthy horse-owners and men who worked with horses but ‘did not own the animals themselves’.⁸²³ Yet, this model underestimates and over-simplifies London’s equine economy and equestrian culture. The horse trade was the business of very many men, emphasising that animal economies drew great social attention in the Hanoverian period.

As with other aspects of London’s equestrian culture, discussed in Chapter 4, the horse trade brought different social groups into close, and often problematic, contact. A striking example of this appears in a trial heard at the Court of King’s Bench in 1762 and recorded by Lord Mansfield. The victim, Stephen Gardner, told the court that he was a master shoemaker but also dealt in horses. In 1760, the accused – Joseph Hughes, a prosperous farmer from Walthamstow – asked Gardner if he could bring him a saddle horse for sale. Gardner duly borrowed a mare belonging to a coachman, with directions to sell the animal. A deal was struck but a fortnight later, Hughes complained that the horse had glanders and demanded that Gardner take it back. Gardner refused, arguing that the horse had not been warranted. The dispute escalated and Gardner was coerced into signing a promissory note to reimburse Hughes and subsequently imprisoned for non-payment. On his release, Gardner claimed that events had reduced him to a journeyman shoemaker. In search of damages, he brought a case to trial and Hughes was found guilty of conspiracy to extort money.⁸²⁴ Disputes of this kind were not restricted to the lower end of the market. In 1787, Lord Herbert wrote indignantly to Tattersall

As it is a fortnight since I purchased a horse got by Sypher for seventy five guineas at your auction, which horse turns out to be unsound, & it is nine days since you took him back, & that I have called twice at your house, & have not heard from you, you cannot reasonably expect me to wait longer. I have therefore given a draft upon you, payable to the bearer, for the purchase money. The idea of the horse not being unsound is too ridiculous & absurd.⁸²⁵

These cases help to explain why the horse trade promoted such a thriving knowledge economy in Hanoverian London. The financial stakes were high when buying a horse. At the same time, the passion which horses inspired in Hanoverian society meant that this was an emotional as well as

⁸²³ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.182.

⁸²⁴ J. Oldham, *The Mansfield Manuscripts and the Growth of English Law in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1992), vol. 2, pp.958-60.

⁸²⁵ ‘Lord Herbert to Messrs. Tattersall, Arlington Street’ (19/2/1787) in Herbert (ed.), *Pembroke Papers, 1780-1794*, pp.388-9.

financial investment. But perhaps most importantly, horses were complex and unstable commodities. ‘Biological individuality created individual animals, a fact that imposed some limits on commodification’ and exposed buyers to additional risk.⁸²⁶ Appearances could be deceptive and an animal’s value could change rapidly and irreversibly. Buyers received a degree of protection from the law which stated that ‘if a Man sells a Horse, and warrants him to be Sound of his Wind and Limbs, if he be not, an *Action upon the Case* lies’.⁸²⁷ After 1715, horses for sale were often advertised in the London press as ‘warranted sound and free from vice’, meaning that they were guaranteed not to be lame, and to be manageable.⁸²⁸ But the legal status of the warranty was complex and fluid in the eighteenth century.⁸²⁹

One strategy for sellers accused of breaking warranty was to claim that any lameness had occurred post-sale or that poor riding was responsible for the animal’s unruliness. By the 1820s, it was accepted that warranted horses had to be returned within two days of sale ‘on alleged failure of the warranty’ but this did not eradicate disputes, as lameness and other health problems could take longer than two days to emerge,⁸³⁰ while serious diseases such as glanders and problems with an animal’s eyesight were not consistently warranted against.⁸³¹ Even when buying valuable horses, the warranty system offered limited protection. While London’s elite repositories often gave warranties in the late eighteenth century, auctioneers commonly prefaced sales with the words, ‘I am instructed by the proprietor, to say this horse is sound, but to avoid trouble, he does not choose to warrant him’.⁸³² In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, judges tried to make the warranty system stricter but buyers and sellers steadily rejected its use.⁸³³

Warranting would have been even less common in Smithfield market and the city’s stables. When, in 1810, a vendor was asked to warrant a gelding sound, he refused, saying ‘he did not want to have further trouble with him’. Despite this, the customer, a hostler of Grosvenor Place ‘had the horse turned up and down the yard, to see if he was sound’ and agreed to pay fourteen guineas.⁸³⁴ Lawrence knew of another ‘manoeuvre’ in which sellers proclaimed, ‘‘At twenty pounds, I will warrant this horse sound; but if you will take him without warrant, you shall have him at

⁸²⁶ McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.19.

⁸²⁷ Matthew Bacon, *A new abridgment of the law by a gentleman of the Middle Temple*, 5 vols. (1736), vol.1, p.52.

⁸²⁸ *Post Man and Historical Account* (19-21/4/1715).

⁸²⁹ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), pp.155 & 159.

⁸³⁰ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.153.

⁸³¹ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.156.

⁸³² John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.156.

⁸³³ Anon, ‘Monday Morning; or a glance at Tattersall’s. By a looker-on’, *The Sportsman*, 2nd series, vol.5 (1841), p.221; Christopher Clearflight, esq., ‘Horse, law, and hammer’, *The Sporting Review* (1857), pp.142-44.

⁸³⁴ OBSP, t18100110-17 (10/1/1810).

fifteen”’.⁸³⁵ Thus, the principle of *caveat emptor*: (‘let the buyer beware’) continued to play an important role in the horse trade throughout the Hanoverian period, with many buyers failing to secure a reliable guarantee of health, character or quality.⁸³⁶

This feature of metropolitan equestrian culture inspired the publication, in 1835, of *The Adventures of a Gentleman in Search of a Horse by Caveat Emptor, Gent.* Written by Sir George Stephen (1794–1879), who described himself as ‘a lawyer by profession, and a jockey by taste’, the book comprises satirical passages, equestrian advice, a summary of relevant legal cases and a list of conditions of sale at the leading London repositories. It presents London as a magnificent but potentially bewildering *equopolis*.⁸³⁷ To successfully navigate the market, buyers and sellers required a head for horses. For a novice equestrian like the 28 year old Syllas Neville, buying a horse in the capital was a daunting and frustrating process. In the first half of April 1769, Neville tried out ‘a little bay stone-horse’, inspected ‘two small stone-horses’ at livery in Broad Street and considered a ‘bay gelding, much recommended by Bever for soundness, gentleness etc’. He was soon exasperated and conceded, ‘it is very difficult to find a good horse’. The first, he complained, ‘has not foot enough to carry me a hunting, was always vicious & is of late become more so’; the stone horses ‘have not full tails’; and Bever’s was the wrong colour.⁸³⁸

In addition to considering the appearance, strength and temperament of a horse, buyers had to look out for a catalogue of diseases and injuries. Many of these problems could be spotted with a trained eye but others were impossible to detect or could be camouflaged by the seller. A complex vocabulary developed by dealers, hostlers, grooms and farriers, which scrambled English, cant, French and Latin, further complicated the detection and communication of these disorders. Whether stepping into Smithfield, a livery stable or a repository, the prospective buyer entered a potentially disorientating equine world. As shown in Francis Grose’s, *The Vulgar Tongue* (1785) and James Caulfield’s *Blackguardiana* (1793), the horse-trade fostered a distinctive, and to the uninitiated, baffling language of its own. ‘Bone- setter’ meant a hard-trotting horse; ‘piper’ a broken-winded one; and ‘rip’ ‘a poor lean worn out horse’. By contrast, ‘rum prancer’ was the cant term for a fine horse.⁸³⁹

⁸³⁵ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.156.

⁸³⁶ McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.19.

⁸³⁷ Sir George Stephen, *The Adventures of a Gentleman in Search of a Horse, by Caveat Emptor* (1835), p.199.

⁸³⁸ Syllas Neville, *The Diary of Silas Neville, 1767-1788* (ed.) B. Cozens-Hardy (London, 1950), p.67-69.

⁸³⁹ Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785); James Caulfield, *Blackguardiana; or, a dictionary of rogues, bawds, pimps, whores, pickpockets, shoplifters* (1793); Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), pp.155-56.

Horse dealers were infamous for their puff and patter. In newspaper advertisements, they promised animals with ‘a great deal of blood’ or ‘nearly thoroughbreds’; ‘good goers’, ‘remarkably fast movers’ and horses fine ‘in all their paces’, as well as clever mares and hunters with ‘good Meat in their Belly’. Terms such as ‘nearly thoroughbred’ were highly ambiguous and could be used to dupe inexperienced buyers. This culture provided rich fodder for satirists such as William Bunbury and George Parker. Bunbury, himself highly literate in equine matters, quipped in 1787 that ‘As a purchaser, it is immaterial whether you go to Tattersall’s or Aldridge’s, to Meynell’s Hunt, or his Majesty’s, it is probable you will be taken in wherever you go. To define a perfect horse is nearly impossible, and to tell you where to buy one, completely so’.⁸⁴⁰

Yet, Bunbury was responding to a dramatic rise in instructional literature which sought to arm buyers against unscrupulous dealers. From the 1730s, ‘self-help’ books began to encourage ‘the gentleman horse owner’ to ‘gain knowledge about farriery’ to supervise the treatment of his own animals.⁸⁴¹ At the same time, descriptions of pathological symptoms and other anatomical information were invaluable to buyers. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, major advances in equine medicine updated and improved these guides, culminating in works by William Taplin in 1788 and 1796; and William Youatt’s *The Horse* in 1831.⁸⁴² Another important work from this period, also published in London, was *Ten minutes advice to every gentleman going to purchase a horse out of a dealer, jockey, or, groom’s stables* (1774).⁸⁴³ It begins

in the art of horsemanship, the most difficult part is that of giving proper directions for the purchasing a horse free of fault and blemish. The deceptions in this branch of traffic being looked on in a less fraudulent light than they seem to deserve, and of consequence are more frequently practised.⁸⁴⁴

⁸⁴⁰ Henry Bunbury, *An Academy for Grown Horsemen* (1787), pp.4-5; George Parker, *A View of Society and Manners in High and Low Life; being the adventures in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France & of Mr. G. Parker* (1781), pp.47-9.

⁸⁴¹ Mackay, ‘The rise of a medical specialty’, p.75; this trend began with William Burdon, *Capt. Burdon’s Gentleman’s Pocket Farrier* (1730). Later titles include Jean de Saunier, *A Guide to the Perfect Knowledge of Horses: Wherein Every thing necessary for the Choice, Management and Preservation of that Noble and Useful Animal are clearly laid down* (1769); Thomas Wallis, *The Farrier’s and Horseman’s Dictionary* (1767) & James Clark, *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases Incidental to Horses* (Edinburgh, 1788).

⁸⁴² William Taplin, *The Gentleman’s Stable Directory: or, modern system of farriery*, 2 vols. (1788) & *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery* (1796); William Youatt, *The Horse* (1831).

⁸⁴³ This was published posthumously in the name of the respected farrier, Henry Bracken (1697-1764) and remained in print until 1792.

⁸⁴⁴ Between 1790 and 1792, *Ten minute’s advice* was added as a prefix to Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improved; or a complete treatise on the art of farriery... To which is prefixed ten minutes advice to the purchasers of horses* (12th edn., 1792), p5.

Ten minutes advice included tips for spotting diseases such as Glanders, the Strangles and Morfoundering, as well as the signs of a ‘moon-eyed horse’. It also exposed the techniques used by unscrupulous dealers to disguise problems, including the rasping and blacking of hooves to hide ‘Circled feet’.⁸⁴⁵ Some horse-dealers mastered deceptive techniques which could temporarily enhance certain equine qualities, camouflage faults and disguise age. These included scorching limbs to remove blemishes, filing teeth to make a horse seem younger, or ‘burning the pincers, middle, and corner teeth with a small iron’ to restore the black spots found on a young horse’s teeth, a process known as ‘bishopsing’. ‘To feague a horse’, a phrase included in James Caulfield’s *Blackguardiana* (1793), involved inserting ‘ginger up a horse’s fundament, to make him lively and carry his tail well’.⁸⁴⁶ And in 1831, Youatt lamented that ‘some of the lower class of horse-dealers’ concealed sunken eyes, a tell-tale sign of old-age or illness, by puncturing the skin, and

with a tobacco pipe or small tube, blow into the orifice, until the depression is almost filled up. This operation is vulgarly called *puffing the glims*, and, with the aid of a bishopsed tooth, will give a false appearance of youth, that will remain during many hours, and may deceive the unwary, though the puffing may easily be detected by pressing on the part.⁸⁴⁷

These activities were well-known across England, as well as in France, but it is difficult to ascertain how commonly they were practised.⁸⁴⁸

Knowledge gained through reading helped to negotiate London’s horse market but diligence and self-control was needed in the sales yard. Many stables and repositories offered prospective buyers ‘a reasonable trial’ period allowing them to ride a horse for a few hours before making a decision.⁸⁴⁹ Lawrence viewed these opportunities as essential. ‘One great reason of the ill success of private purchasers at a repository’, he noted

is, that they seldom think to attend until the time of the sale, when their spirits being exalted, and their eagerness whetted by the eloquence of the orator, the flourish of the

⁸⁴⁵ Henry Bracken, *Farrery Improved* (1792), pp.5-6, 14, 20 & 22.

⁸⁴⁶ Roche, *La Culture Équestre*, p.251 (my translation from the original French); James Caulfield, *Blackguardiana* (1793). See also Anon., *How to Live in London* (1828), p.43 & George Parker, *A View of Society and Manners in High and Low Life* (1781), p.48.

⁸⁴⁷ William Youatt, *The Horse* (1831), p.67.

⁸⁴⁸ James Caulfield claimed, presumably satirically, that horse dealers punished servants ‘who shall show a horse without first feaguing him’; James Caulfield, *Blackguardiana* (1793); Roche, *La Culture Équestre*, p.251.

⁸⁴⁹ *Daily Advertiser* (3/3/1778); *World* (21/6/1787); *World* (23/5/1788); *Morning Post* (2/5/1794).

hammer, and the crack of the whip, they dash at an extempore bargain, to be repented afterwards, when the false fire shall have become extinct both in themselves and the horse. On the contrary, a man who expects success here, must attend at least some hours before the sale ... Great skill is requisite to determine whether a worked horse be in a recoverable state.⁸⁵⁰

Lawrence insisted that instead of ‘trusting to a mere show, and a common warrant’, buyers should make the horse ‘stand their own guarantee’ by riding ‘their intended purchase a sufficient number of miles upon the public road, and through the streets’.⁸⁵¹ In a more comic vein, the anonymous author of *How to live in London* (1828) warned his ‘worthy, unsuspecting, self-sufficient’ readers to ‘look before you leap’ to avoid purchasing ‘an animal afflicted with spasm, speedy-cut, wind gall, corns, broken knees, staggers, gravel, and cancer in the tongue; a roarer that has been eating hay chops, that has been blistered in the knees, fired in the hock, or (if deficient in these points) one that has been *stolen*’.⁸⁵² Moreover, caricatures (see Plates 38 & 39) often show buyers peering into the jaws of horses to inspect their teeth, behaviour which horse-savvy viewers knew to be one of the best ways to age an animal. The prevalence of this kind of satire suggests that respectable Londoners were well versed in these matters but criminals also tapped into the metropolitan knowledge economy.

London’s sprawling equine world not only provided appropriate venues, but also the social contacts needed to make illicit deals.⁸⁵³ The black market relied on innumerable inn- and stable-keepers, coachmen and grooms to act as accomplices, or to turn a blind eye. According to Henry Mayhew, some ‘low horse dealer[s]’ assisted horse thieves by agreeing to sell stolen animals at Smithfield or at markets outside the metropolis.⁸⁵⁴ Certain inns and livery stables appear in the Old Bailey Proceedings more regularly than others, suggesting that they were safe havens. Inns such as the Greyhound, Smithfield; the Pewter Platter, St John’s Street; and the Black Horse, Aldersgate, benefited from their proximity to the Smithfield horse market, while evading its regulatory obstacles.⁸⁵⁵ This shady relationship is underlined by an article in the *World* newspaper in June 1788, concerning a horse stolen from Lord Bayham’s estate in Kent. Bayham immediately dispatched his groom to London, where he found the animal on sale at an inn near Smithfield.

⁸⁵⁰ John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (1796-98), vol.2, pp.167-8.

⁸⁵¹ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties* (1829), p.147.

⁸⁵² Anon., *How to Live in London; or, the metropolitan microscope, and stranger’s guide ... containing hints to the unwary* (1828), pp.40-1.

⁸⁵³ On the national problem of horse-stealing, see J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1986), p.169.

⁸⁵⁴ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861-2), vol.4, p.325.

⁸⁵⁵ OBSP, t17360721-29 (21/7/1736); t17381011-1 (11/10/1738); t17450911-45 (11/9/1745); t17750531-24 (31/5/1775); t17801018-8 (18/10/1780).

The groom apprehended the thief and a scuffle ensued, but when he ‘called out to the servants of the livery-stable, who were standing by, for their assistance; they ... continued unconcerned spectators at length’. ‘Without any assistance’, the paper observed, ‘he overpowered the fellow ... and took him before a Magistrate’.⁸⁵⁶ It was thus implied that some livery stables were at best tacitly sympathetic to thieves and at worst, part of a criminal fraternity which protected criminals and obstructed victims. Some stable workers traded in the stolen animals and became trusted middle men.⁸⁵⁷ Mayhew observed that after stealing a horse, thieves would generally hide the animal in a stable or outhouse until the “hue and cry” had subsided. Middlemen were also involved in altering the appearance of stolen horses prior to sale.⁸⁵⁸ In some cases, victims found their horses with their ears deliberately disfigured and their tails cut to remove distinguishing features.⁸⁵⁹

Combined with the limitations of eighteenth-century policing, metropolitan conditions made organized horse-thieves notoriously difficult to catch.⁸⁶⁰ In 1789, the *World* newspaper lamented that the crime had ‘risen of late to a very alarming rate’ and advised that no-one should buy a horse from a stranger.⁸⁶¹ The previous year, the activities of one gang were exposed when the son of one of its members led a constable to a stable near Chick Lane where ‘he declared he had often seen three, four, five, six, and more’ stolen horses at a time. He added that ‘these horses were commonly sold in Smithfield’ and admitted to seeing the gang steal from Hackney and ‘divers other places’. The *World* proclaimed that ‘the information of this child will lead to the detection of a numerous and formidable gang of villains’.⁸⁶² A decade later, six London newspapers reported the arrest of thieves near Staines with six horses from Oxford, five loaded pistols ‘and various implements for housebreaking’. The gang was later brought before the sitting magistrate at Bow Street for questioning.⁸⁶³

Victims relied heavily on London’s equine knowledge economy to stop thieves and to retrieve their animals. Smithfield market and the city’s repositories developed some effective strategies to detect and prevent the sale of stolen horses, using various forms of knowledge exchange. At Smithfield, it was common for prospective buyers to ask sellers to present a ‘voucher’ to prove

⁸⁵⁶ *World* (7/6/1788).

⁸⁵⁷ OBSP, t17591205-6 (5/12/1759); t17480907-29 (7/9/1748); t17710116-8 (16/1/1771); t17710911-78 (11/9/1771).

⁸⁵⁸ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861-2), vol.4, p.325.

⁸⁵⁹ OBSP, t17701024-37 (24/10/1770).

⁸⁶⁰ Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, p.169.

⁸⁶¹ *World* (20/10/1789).

⁸⁶² *World* (27/11/1788).

⁸⁶³ *London Packet or New Lloyd’s Evening Post* (13/15/5/1799); *Oracle and Daily Advertiser* (15/5/1799); *True Briton* (15/5/1799); *Sun* (16/5/1799); *Courier and Evening Gazette* (16/5/1799); *Bells’ Weekly Messenger* (19/5/1799).

that they owned the animal or had permission to sell it. Evidence of this practice first appears in the Old Bailey Proceedings in 1720, and continues into the nineteenth century.⁸⁶⁴ Furthermore, legislation active from the sixteenth century required that a note was made of all horses sold in fairs and markets in England and that the vendors were made known to the toll-taker to account for the sale.⁸⁶⁵ In Smithfield, buyers could access a ‘toll-book’ which contained detailed descriptions of transactions. This information could be critical in court. In 1801, the clerk of the market was asked to read one of his entries to the jury at the Old Bailey

October 1800, Thomas Williams, of Old Brentford, costermonger, sells George James, of Bethnal Green, Middlesex, costermonger; voucher, John Manby, of Sharp’s-alley, Cow-cross, butcher, buyer; a dun mare, twelve hands and a half high, the price seven pounds.

Chapman’s detailed record-keeping proved that Manby was innocent of stealing the horse, and he was duly acquitted.⁸⁶⁶ By contrast, in 1816, a similar entry made by the Smithfield toll-collector, Thomas Teasdale, helped to convict a man accused of stealing a mare from Leicestershire.⁸⁶⁷ Smithfield also acted as a national hub of information concerning stolen horses. From at least the early 1730s, the clerks kept a record of horses which had been reported or advertised as stolen. When sellers failed to present vouchers, cautious buyers were advised to ask the clerk to consult this record before they made a purchase.⁸⁶⁸

Moreover, the market provided an effective location to raise a hue and cry, even when a stolen horse had been seen in another part of town. This was partly because horse thieves gravitated towards the market, but also because so much knowledge and so many trained eyes were concentrated there. In 1767, a horse thief attempted to sell a gelding to William Terry, a hackney coachman, at the Swan Inn on Tyburn Road. Suspicious of the seller, the coachman seized the horse, had the thief ‘cried in Smithfield market and advertised’ the horse as stolen ‘by which means the prosecutor found me, and owned the horse’. The seller was prosecuted and condemned to death.⁸⁶⁹ This case highlights the fairly common use of advertising to report the theft or retrieval of horses in the second half of the eighteenth century. In this instance, the hackney coachman

⁸⁶⁴ OBSP, t17200427-23 (27/4/1720); t17261012-40 (12/10/1726); t17310602-38 (2/6/1731); t17450227-18 (25/2/1745); t17910914-46 (14/9/1791).

⁸⁶⁵ Public Act, 2&3 Philip & Mary, c.7; 31 Eliz I., cap.12. George Stephen, *The Adventures of a Gentleman in Search of a Horse* (1835), p.218.

⁸⁶⁶ OBSP, t18011028-18 (28/10/1801); see also t18030914-95 (14/9/1803).

⁸⁶⁷ OBSP, t18160710-24 (10/7/1816). See also t17450227-18 (25/2/1745) and t17730421-24 (21/4/1773).

⁸⁶⁸ OBSP, t17310602-38 (2/6/1731).

⁸⁶⁹ OBSP, t17670218-15 (18/2/1767).

displayed a notice on his premises in Westminster, but from the 1770s, metropolitan newspapers often published advertisements on behalf of victims or the Bow Street office.⁸⁷⁰

While informants exploited knowledge about stolen animals to claim sizeable rewards – as much as fifteen guineas in the 1790s⁸⁷¹ – victims used the press and the courts to hold the trade to account. In 1780, the proprietor of Cuttle’s Livery Stables published a spirited appeal in the *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* for the return of a ‘true bred’ horse ‘got by Brilliant’. Cuttle’s claimed to have received ‘Information’ that the horse had been taken to Carter-lane, near St Paul’s and admonished

the person alluded to, that he may return the horse immediately to preclude the publication of such circumstances relative to this fraudulent business, as must brand him, a character deserving the severest penalty of the laws ... and also as a caution to the public that no man may be imposed upon by the purchase of this horse. One Guinea reward will be given to any person who shall discover where the said horse may be found ... and if any stable keeper shall conceal the said horse, he shall be dealt with as assisting in, and conniving at, a transaction of consummate fraud and knavery.⁸⁷²

Revealingly, horses stolen from the provinces were advertised as well as those taken from within the metropolis.⁸⁷³ This was partly because victims recognised the likelihood that their horse would be taken to London for sale. But it also highlights London’s reputation as a national hub of equine knowledge.

Because London’s repositories were so reliant on the trust of elite buyers, they made particular efforts to guard against suggestions of impropriety. It was common practice for proprietors and their clerks to interrogate sellers about the age, character and health of their horse, and to ask how they came about them. It seems likely that all repositories kept a record of horses which had been advertised as ‘stolen’. Moreover, it was common to hold animals in livery for a day or more prior to sale, partly to expose faults and illnesses but also to aid the detection of stolen goods. In 1774, a servant to Bever’s repository told the Old Bailey that the prisoner had brought a gelding to them

⁸⁷⁰ See, for instance, *London Evening Post* (12-14/12/1771); *St James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (19-21/6/1788); *World* (16/5/1789).

⁸⁷¹ *Morning Post* (10/6/1794).

⁸⁷² *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (12/6/1780).

⁸⁷³ *St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (26-29/7/1794); *Sun* (6/6/1800).

and ‘wanted it sold the same day’ but ‘I told him my master would never permit a horse to be taken in and sold the same day’.⁸⁷⁴

These measures were never sufficiently consistent or thorough to prevent illicit deals completely – the Old Bailey Proceedings reveal that thieves were able to sell stolen horses at repositories. On 10th and 18th June 1778, James Durham successfully sold two geldings, which he had stolen from a field in Deptford, at Tattersall’s. Durham was eventually arrested but this owed more to the power of equestrian discourse in London than to effective policing. News of the sales reached the owner by word of mouth during a visit to Smithfield market and Durham was apprehended on 20th June as he returned to collect his money.⁸⁷⁵ While repository-keepers gained respectability in the late eighteenth century, crime occasionally brought this into question. In 1780, Thomas Aldridge was arrested but later cleared of aiding and abetting a horse-thief who had entrusted him with a mare stolen from Greenwich.⁸⁷⁶ And in 1785, a dealer who had sold ‘a great number of horses’ at Langhorn’s repository was convicted of stealing a horse and sentenced to death. In court, Langhorn’s son gave the accused a good character, saying that he had ‘bought several [horses] in the fair way of dealing’ at the repository. In reaching a guilty verdict, the jury appeared to disregard this statement and cast a degree of suspicion on the repository.⁸⁷⁷

While the equine knowledge economy helped to combat criminality, the horse trade’s dramatic growth also increased opportunities for illicit deals. Images of Smithfield, discussed above, and Rowlandson’s depiction of Hopkins’ Repository (Plate 50) evoke the disorientating intensity of the metropolitan horse trade in the second half of the eighteenth century. While regulation probably improved, these conditions provided new opportunities for criminals. London’s expansion, together with its human and horse populations, made it more difficult to track down stolen horses in this period.

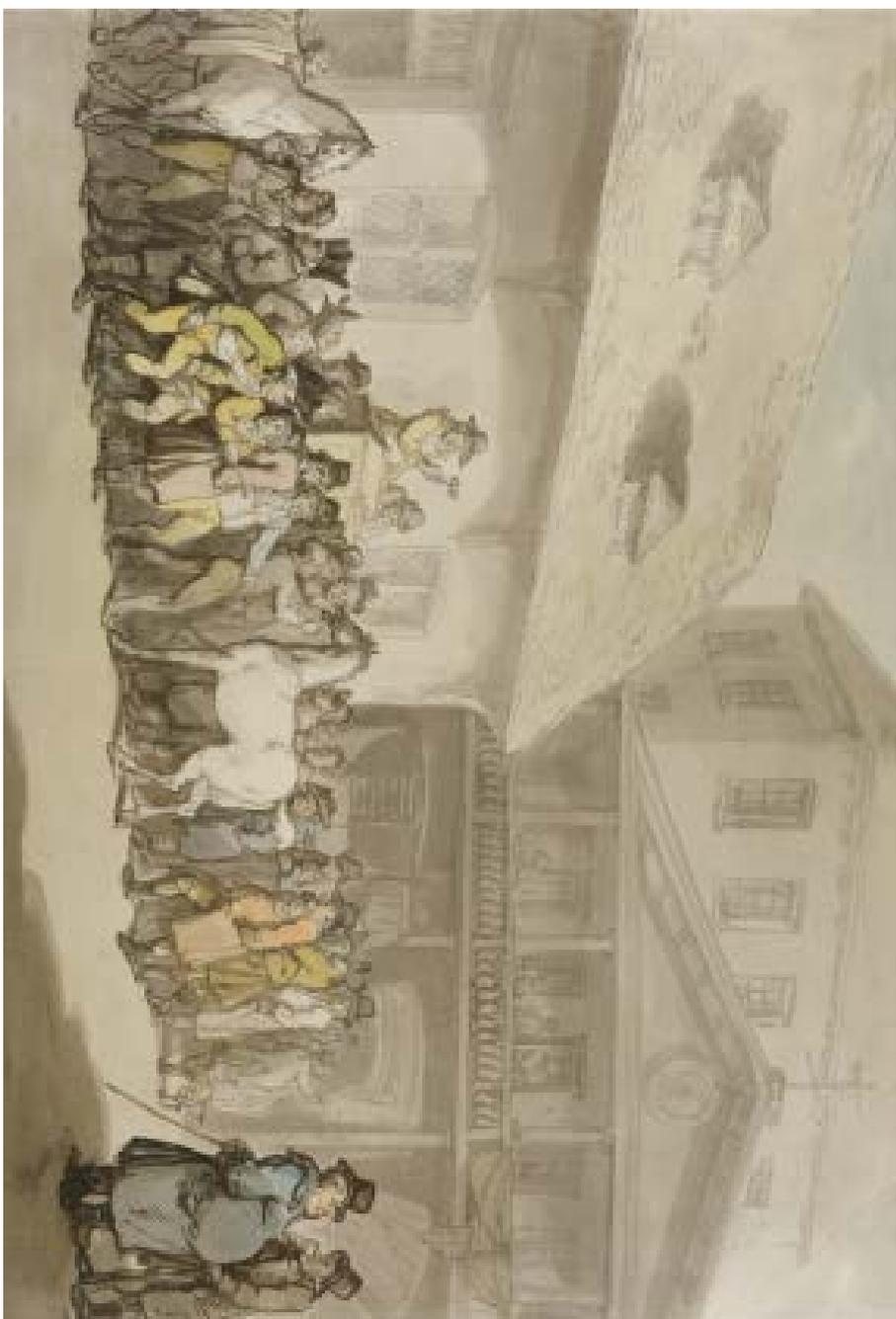
⁸⁷⁴ OBSP, t17740907-50 (7/9/1774); In 1754, Neville Henson of the Four Swans Inn, within Bishopsgate stipulated that ‘No Horse will absolutely be put up [for sale] unless they have been in seven Days in order to be view’d’; *Public Advertiser* (6/7/1754).

⁸⁷⁵ OBSP, t17780916-1 (16/9/1778).

⁸⁷⁶ OBSP, t17801206-26 (6/12/1780).

⁸⁷⁷ OBSP, t17850914-103 (14/9/1785); see also t17650710-28 (10/7/1765), William Abbott, a horse-dealer turned highwayman, was given a good character by Mr Beaver of the horse repository, St Martin’s Lane; despite this, Abbott was convicted and sentenced to death. These cases challenge the notion that repositories juxtaposed the criminality of Smithfield market; Orchard, *Tattersalls*, pp.143 & 166.

Plate 50: Thomas Rowlandson, *A horse sale in Hopkins's Repository, Barbican* (Watercolour with pen in black and grey ink on paper, c.1798–1800).



In some respects, the expansion of horse-ownership and the horse trade were divisive forces in metropolitan society. Accompanying their owners through public streets, squares and parks, horses were highly conspicuous signs of wealth and status in the city. These animals aroused envy among some, presented opportunities for self-enrichment to others, and cast suspicion on certain social groups, not least London's horse dealers. Moreover, the complexity of the horse as a commodity created fertile ground for dispute. Yet, despite being a source of conflict, the horse trade also brought a spectrum of Londoners together through a powerful shared interest in all things equine. In *Life in London* (1821), Corinthian Tom informs Jerry that 'if you have any desire to witness 'real life' ... and to view the favourite *hobbies* of mankind', Tattersall's

is the resort of the *pinks*, of the Swells ... the *dashing* heroes of the military, the fox-hunting clericals, sprigs of nobility, stylish coachmen, smart guards, saucy butcher, natty groomers, tidy helpers, knowing horse dealers, *betting* publicans, neat jockies, sporting men of all descriptions, and the picture is finished by numbers of real gentlemen.⁸⁷⁸

Historians tend to think of animal lore and knowledge as belonging to rural tradition, an impression which permeates Thomas' study.⁸⁷⁹ But both horse sense and livestock sense were, in fact, strongly metropolitan in character in the Hanoverian period. Indeed, the above shows that these animals drew enormous social attention in London and played a prominent role in metropolitan culture.

The trade in horses was a dynamic sector in London's burgeoning consumer economy. As demand increased, metropolitan dealers sourced greater numbers of animals from the British countryside – and towards the end of the period, from overseas – and developed new ways of marketing them. These were influential corollaries of rising horse ownership in Hanoverian London. Yet, as discussed below, this had many other effects, including the commercialization of equestrian recreation, the construction of thousands of stables and fast-growing demand for equine care.

⁸⁷⁸ Pierce Egan, *Life in London* (1869 edn.), pp.274-76.

⁸⁷⁹ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*; Longrigg, *The English Squire and his Sport*; H. Velten, *Cow* (London, 2007); R. Malcolmson & S. Mastoris, *The English Pig: A History* (London, 1998); C. Sachs, 'Rural women and the environment' in B.B. Bock & S. Shortall (eds.), *Rural Gender Relations: Issues and Case Studies* (Wallingford & Cambridge, MA, 2006), pp.288-302.

Chapter 4

Equestrian Recreation

Britain succumbed to an equestrian craze in the Hanoverian period, a powerful urge to be *diverted* by horses.⁸⁸⁰ As the riding master John Adams proclaimed in 1799

Among the various pursuits of man, for his amusement and recreation, that of Riding on Horseback seems to claim the pre-eminence ... And this preference is not to be wondered at, when we consider the pleasure, amusement, and benefit we derive from it. For, besides being conveyed wherever our business or inclination requires, the eye is uninterruptedly amused with the objects that pass or surround us; – a beautiful landscape, or delightful view, are continually presenting themselves – And, as you like, you may enjoy yourself in contemplation, or your friend in conversation. With all this, you receive the benefit of the purest air, so congenial to health, without the least danger of taking cold, or receiving injury, which is prevented by the bodily exercise ... Exclusive of these benefits, there is such a pleasure and gratification in riding, and riding well, that the young, especially...are quite fascinated with the practice.⁸⁸¹

Across the British Isles, an estimated 236,000 riding and carriage horses were in private use by the 1810s.⁸⁸² By this time, virtually every county played some role in breeding, marketing, stabling or racing these animals.⁸⁸³ Yet, at the very heart of this culture was London. By 1754,

⁸⁸⁰ The eighteenth-century lexicon used to describe recreational activities was imbued with complex connotations. *Diversion* was the most apt term to describe the kind of equestrian activities under discussion here, because it referred to livelier forms of recreation – for Samuel Johnson, it was ‘something that unbends the mind by turning it off from care’. He considered *diversion* to be something ‘lighter than *amusement*, and less forcible than *pleasure*’; as Benjamin Heller notes, *diversion*, like *pleasure*, *recreation* and *amusement* was one of the more ‘consistently respectable terms, a quality that declines through play, sport, and finally fun.’ There was, however, considerable flexibility and overlap in the use of the terms ‘diversion’ and ‘amusement’. Both represented an antonym for business, although as discussed below, riding could blur this boundary. *Diversion* could also be used in a critical sense; B. Heller, ‘Leisure and Pleasure in London Society, 1760-1820: an agent-centred approach’, (unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford, 2009), pp.19-23; M.M. Roberts ‘Preface’, in R. Porter & M.M. Roberts (eds.), *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1996); see also E. McKay, ‘For Refreshment and Preserving Health’: The Definition and Function of Recreation in Early Modern England’, *HR*, 81 (2008), pp.52-74; Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1771).

⁸⁸¹ John Adams, *Analysis of horsemanship* (1799), xiii-xiv; Adams began his career as cavalryman before moving to Edinburgh 1797 to organise the Mid-Lothian Cavalry; by c.1800, he had been appointed Master of the Royal Riding Manege in the city; John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits* (Edinburgh, 1838), vol.1, p.410.

⁸⁸² F.M.L. Thompson, ‘Nineteenth-century horses sense’, *EcHR*, 29 (1976), pp.60-81, Table 2.

⁸⁸³ The nation’s finest horses were bred in the Midlands, champion race horses grazed on noble estates from Petworth in West Sussex to Wentworth in Yorkshire, and some of Britain’s greatest race courses

the metropolis contained 4,255 of England's 9,000 four-wheeled private carriages and an additional 2,909 two-wheelers. By comparison, a major provincial city like York could muster only 116 and 214 respectively.⁸⁸⁴ And by 1810, it is conceivable that London contained more than 15,000 carriages, and well over 50,000 pleasure horses.⁸⁸⁵

As discussed in Chapter 3, the capital's role as the leading consumer and vendor of recreational horses was an important feature of Britain's consumer revolution but the city led the commercialization of equestrian culture in many other ways. The city was the preeminent manufacturer of carriages and horse furniture; the foremost provider of equine care (see Chapter 5) and the mainspring of sporting literature. Moreover, after 1732 the capital housed one of the largest royal stable complexes in Europe, the King's Mews at Charing Cross. Perhaps most importantly, however, London became the nation's leading hub of equestrian recreation. Previous studies have generally considered activities such as horse-racing, fox-hunting and the circus in isolation rather than as components of a much broader culture revolving around horses.⁸⁸⁶ In his analysis of the commercialization of leisure in the eighteenth century, Plumb observed that horse racing 'was the first sport to become a highly organized, nationwide social activity, run as much for profit as for fun'.⁸⁸⁷ Yet Plumb tends to view horse racing as an opportunity for gambling rather than as an equestrian recreation.

were established in Suffolk, Yorkshire and Cheshire; R. Longrigg, *The English Squire and His Sport* (London, 1977), pp.99-177.

⁸⁸⁴ P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London* (London, 1989), pp.343-4; T. Barker & D. Gerhold, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport, 1700-1990* (Cambridge, 1995), p.60; in 1762, 'one third of the twenty thousand or so carriages paying duty were based in London', PRO, CUST 48/17, p.413 cited by P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989), p.407.

⁸⁸⁵ Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society*, p.16; see also Chapter 5.

⁸⁸⁶ An important exception to this trend is D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750-1850* (New Haven & London, 2007); on the circus, see M. Wilson Disher, *Greatest show on Earth as Performed for Over a Century at Astley's (afterwards Sanger's) Royal Amphitheatre of Arts, Westminster Bridge Road* (London, 1937); J. Selby Lowndes, *The First Circus: The Story of Philip Astley* (1957); A.H. Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse: A History of Hippodrama in England and France* (New Haven & London, 1968); A.D. Hippisley Coxe, *A Seat at the Circus* (1st edn., 1951; London & Basingstoke, 1980); J.S. Bratton & J. Traies, *Astley's Amphitheatre* (Cambridge, 1980); M. Kwint, 'Astley's Amphitheatre and the early circus in England, 1768-1830' (PhD thesis, Oxford, 1994), 'The circus and nature in late Georgian England' in R. Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford & New York, 2002) & 'The Legitimization of the circus in late Georgian England', *P&P*, 174 (2002), pp.72-115; on fox-hunting, see R. Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting* (London & Basingstoke, 1975) & E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (New Haven & London, 2007); on horse-racing, see R. Longrigg, *The History of Horse Racing* (London & Basingstoke, 1972) & W. Vamplew, *The Turf: A Social and Economic History of Horse Racing* (London, 1976).

⁸⁸⁷ J.H. Plumb, 'The commercialization of leisure' in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer & Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982); p.285.

Moreover, because of their strong connection to land, horse riding, racing and hunting have primarily been viewed as rural phenomena.⁸⁸⁸ The field, according to Mingay ‘was the great rural diversion’, while for Colley, fox hunting was predominately a means for rural landowners to distinguish themselves from ‘the urban and mercantile, the sedentary and the professional’.⁸⁸⁹ An important exception to this trend is Borsay who asserted that ‘post-Restoration towns were extraordinarily resourceful in establishing a substantial and secure foothold in the world of sport’.⁸⁹⁰ Yet Borsay was primarily interested in the role of the provincial town as a service centre for sport rather than the participation of urban riders. Overlooking a wealth of evidence, historians continue to neglect the existence of a distinctive metropolitan equestrian culture.⁸⁹¹ Recent studies have acknowledged the role played by the equipage in West End life in this period but they have tended to focus on two key applications of the horse-drawn carriage: the expression of status and the provision of mobility.⁸⁹² By contrast, this study asserts that riding was an important mode of sociability and an alluring diversion in its own right.

Part of the problem with the current historiography lies in its broad acceptance that England’s landed classes divided their recreational life neatly in half. During the summer months, these individuals resided in the countryside where, it is generally suggested, they dedicated themselves to rural pursuits, particularly riding and hunting.⁸⁹³ But when they came to Town for the winter Season, it has been assumed, they relinquished these country diversions and devoted themselves

⁸⁸⁸ G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London & Toronto, 1963); E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (Harmondsworth, 1977); Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting; The History of Horse Racing & The English Squire and His Sport*; G. Worsley, *The British Stable: An Architectural and Social History* (New Haven & London, 2004); D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750-1850* (New Haven & London, 2007), ch.6 & 7; D. Landry, ‘Learning to Ride in Early Modern Britain, Or, The Making of the English Hunting Seat’ in K. Raber & T.J. Tucker (eds), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York & Houndmills, 2005), pp.329-49; S. Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England* (1988).

⁸⁸⁹ Mingay, *English Landed Society*, p.152; L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven & London, 1992), p.172.

⁸⁹⁰ P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989), pp.172-73; Donna Landry acknowledges that many Londoners participated in fox hunting but does not examine this culture in detail; Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, p.170.

⁸⁹¹ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp.179 & 185; Borsay acknowledges that towns kept packs of hounds and provided ‘a core of support’ for local races, but does not go into detail about how town-dwellers participated in these events on the ground; E. Griffin, *England’s Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford & New York, 2005) also focuses on provincial towns and cities; H. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1980) provides some metropolitan examples as part of a broader national picture; Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting*, notes the prevalence of fox and stag hunts around the metropolis.

⁸⁹² S. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford & New York, 1999); A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven & London, 2009), pp.119, 124 & 141; ‘Pomp and power: carriages as status symbols’, International Carriage Conference, Museum of London, Nov 2009; in eighteenth-century discourse, ‘riding’ could mean riding on horseback or in a horse-drawn carriage. I follow this usage, thus unless specifically stated, ‘riding’ refers generally to both strands of equine recreation.

⁸⁹³ Mingay, *English Landed Society*; Longrigg, *The English Squire and His Sport*; A. Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s lives in Georgian England* (New Haven & London, 1998), pp.272-5.

to urban sociability, conducted for the most part indoors. In this vein, numerous studies have discussed the attraction of the London season, with its theatres, balls, concerts and coffee houses.⁸⁹⁴ Some historians have argued that rural life, and particularly its sports, appealed to ‘male cultural tastes’ in conflict with ‘a female taste for urban diversion’,⁸⁹⁵ while other studies have emphasised that the provincial season afforded both sexes considerably more than sport.⁸⁹⁶ Yet, despite these reassessments, the idea that horse riding played a role in the London Season has rarely been acknowledged.

This neglect appears to stem from a prevailing tendency to polarise town and country, and to consider indoor activities as the epitome of urban culture. Yet, as Roy Porter observed, ‘If county grandees and gentlemen ... were to come to town, it is hardly surprising that they wished to bring tokens of the countryside with them’.⁸⁹⁷ Traditional analyses of metropolitan culture appear to be rooted in eighteenth-century stereotypes. Recreation was a key battlefield in the cultural tussle between town and country by the time Henry Fielding lampooned hunting-mad squires in *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1749).⁸⁹⁸ And throughout the second half of the century, essayists, poets and novelists reinforced the cultural juxtaposition of the rustic bumpkin – perpetually muddy and off to hunt – with the refined Londoner. Landry suggests that ‘metropolitan intellectuals with little regard for rural pastimes seem to have had a disproportionate influence on opinion shaping during the eighteenth century’.⁸⁹⁹ From the 1740s, there was certainly a growing outpouring of hostility towards field sports by some metropolitan writers.⁹⁰⁰ On the other hand, metropolitan culture was the subject of vitriolic condemnation from a provincial perspective.⁹⁰¹ Writers such as William Cowper claimed that routs and masquerades led to affectation and deceit while the city’s gaming tables and bagnios polluted the nation’s

⁸⁹⁴ P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2001); J. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination* (London, 1997), pp.34-50; M. Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London, 2004), ch.11.

⁸⁹⁵ Mingay, *English Landed Society* (1963), p.205; Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, p.272; Mingay, *English Landed Society*, pp.156-7.

⁸⁹⁶ H. Berry & J. Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North East England* (2002); Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, pp.261-4; Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*.

⁸⁹⁷ R. Porter, ‘Enlightenment London and urbanity’ in T.D. Hemming, E. Freeman & D. Meakin (eds.), *The Secular City: Studies in the Enlightenment* (Exeter, 1994), p.31.

⁸⁹⁸ Landry argues that ‘the urbanization of literary culture opened a great divide between polite and rural pastimes’; the two key strands of this opposing literature, georgic and sports literature were part of the same metropolitan production; D. Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking, and Ecology in English Literature, 1671-1831* (New York, 2001), p.115.

⁸⁹⁹ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, p.115.

⁹⁰⁰ There were important earlier expressions of this, notably James Thompson, *The Seasons* (1726-30, revised 1744); see John Aldington, *Cruelty of Shooting* (1769); Oliver Goldsmith, *The Disserted Village* (1770); Edward Lovibond, ‘On Rural Sports’ in *Poems on Several Occasions* (1785).

⁹⁰¹ Porter, ‘Enlightenment London and urbanity’, pp.27-9 & ‘The urban and the rustic in Enlightenment London’ in M. Teich, R. Porter & B. Gustafsson (eds.), *Nature and Society in Historical Context* (Cambridge, 1997), ch.10.

morals and bankrupted its leaders.⁹⁰² Yet, Cowper retained his faith in Londoners, proclaiming ‘That man, immured in cities, still retains / His inborn inextinguishable thirst ... / To range the fields, and treat their lungs with air’.⁹⁰³

Previous studies have associated this ‘thirst’ with activities such as the acquisition of suburban villas, as well as the popularity of pleasure gardens and urban parks in this period, but equestrian activities continue to be overlooked.⁹⁰⁴ Moreover, while the material culture of urban recreation has received considerable attention,⁹⁰⁵ comparatively little has been said about how and why Londoners actually derived pleasure from this apparatus. An important exception is Heller’s recent doctoral thesis but this largely reinforces the orthodox ‘town versus country’ model.⁹⁰⁶ While acknowledging other, less significant impulses, such as ‘novelty’ and ‘excitement’, Heller argues that interaction with people was the ‘crucial antidote to dullness’ in London, as well as its common cause.⁹⁰⁷ Yet, while recreational events were often judged on social dynamics, there is a wealth of evidence to show that Londoners derived pleasure from other sources, a key example being interaction with horses.⁹⁰⁸

Modern psychologists and sociologists broadly agree that ‘Companion animals can provide a sense of family and friendship, an opportunity to care for something, recognition by another being, a sense of security and stress reduction’.⁹⁰⁹ This ‘supportive function’ has been described as a ‘selfobject’, an experience which ‘evoke[s], maintain[s] and give[s] cohesion to the self’. Moreover, as Brown asserts, companion animals can become ‘consistent and trustworthy selfobjects in a way that humans cannot’.⁹¹⁰ Yet despite this lively interdisciplinary debate, there

⁹⁰² William Cowper, *The Task* (1785), 1st and 3rd extracts, Book 1: The Sofa; 2nd extract, Book 3: The Garden.

⁹⁰³ William Cowper, *The Task* (1785), Book 4: The Winter Evening.

⁹⁰⁴ A.F. O’Byrne, ‘Walking, rambling, and promenading in eighteenth-century London: a literary and cultural history’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2003); M. Girouard, *The English Town* (New Haven & London, 1990), p.281; E. McKellar, ‘The suburban villa tradition in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London’ in B. Arciszewska (ed.), *The Baroque Villa: Suburban and Country Residences c.1600-1800* (Warsaw, 2009), pp.197-208; L. Williams, ‘“To recreate and refresh their dulled spirits in the sweet and wholesome ayre”: green space and the growth of the city’, in J.F. Merritt (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001) & ‘Rus in urbe: greening the English town, 1660–1760’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1998).

⁹⁰⁵ Porter & Mulvey Roberts (eds.), *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*.

⁹⁰⁶ B. Heller, ‘Leisure and pleasure in London society, 1760-1820: an agent-centred approach’ (unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford, 2010), p.7; see also H. Greig, ‘The beau monde and fashionable life in eighteenth-century London, c. 1688-1800’ (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London 2003).

⁹⁰⁷ Heller, ‘Leisure and pleasure’, pp. 220 & 224.

⁹⁰⁸ Heller, ‘Leisure and pleasure’, pp.220-3.

⁹⁰⁹ S-E. Brown, ‘The human-animal bond and self psychology: toward a new understanding’, *Society & Animals*, 12 (2004), pp.79; A. Beck & A. Katcher, *Between Pets and People: The Importance of Animal Companionship* (Revised edn., West Lafayette, IN, 1996).

⁹¹⁰ E.S. Wolf, *Treating the Self: Elements of Clinical Self Psychology* (New York, 1988), p.63; Brown, ‘The human-animal bond’, p.70.

has been very little serious work on the character of human-animal companionship in an historical context. Only pet-keeping in the nineteenth century has received significant attention.⁹¹¹ And yet, as Haraway has argued, ‘companion species’ such as horses, are bonded with humans in ‘relentlessly historically specific, joint lives’.⁹¹² Thus, analysis of London’s equestrian recreational sphere reasserts the need to unbound the social to take account of human interactions with horses.⁹¹³

The key aims of this chapter are threefold: firstly, to integrate equestrian culture into the history of the commercialization of metropolitan leisure in the Hanoverian period. Secondly, to highlight the role played by horses in specifically urbane modes of recreation and particularly as facilitators of sociability. And thirdly, to examine the possibility that equine companionship was a powerful alternative to urbane sociability.

Expansion & commercialization of equestrian recreation

As previous studies have observed, maintaining a private equipage in Hanoverian London was tremendously expensive. Vickery describes the horse-drawn coach as ‘the most flamboyant’ and potentially ‘ruinous ... masculine accoutrement’ of the age.⁹¹⁴ In the 1780s, more than £140 was needed to keep a four-wheeled carriage and pair of horses in a private stable, or £189 if they were kept at livery.⁹¹⁵ Only London’s super-rich could afford such arrangements but we should not confuse private equipage ownership with access to equestrian recreation. John Trusler, author of *The London Advisor* (1786) spoke to a relatively wealthy readership when he claimed, ‘A man may live like a gentleman in London at a very easy rate’⁹¹⁶ but an array of more affordable opportunities to ride did emerge in the eighteenth century. A key development was the expansion of livery stable services. In the 1780s, £28 was sufficient to stable a single horse in summer and ‘at straw’ in the winter while a chaise could be housed for an additional £10.⁹¹⁷ Such arrangements proved popular with London’s growing bourgeoisie. Tax records show that upper middling sorts

⁹¹¹ K. Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley, 1994); H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), ch.2.

⁹¹² D. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago, 2003), p.16.

⁹¹³ B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social – An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford, 2005); P. Joyce & T. Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon, 2010).

⁹¹⁴ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p.124.

⁹¹⁵ John Trusler, *The London Advisor and Guide* (1786), p.171.

⁹¹⁶ John Trusler, *The London Advisor and Guide* (1786), pp.120.

⁹¹⁷ John Trusler, *The London Advisor and Guide* (1786), pp.169-70.

frequently owned a two-horse chaise and an even broader group, including some shopkeepers and tradesmen, kept a saddle horse.⁹¹⁸

At the same time, horse-ownership became less of a bar to participation. Horses, carriages and chaises could be hired by the month, week or even the day. In the 1780s, a saddle horse could be hired for 6 or 7s while a day's use of a one-horse chaise cost 10s 6d.⁹¹⁹ These were substantial sums – a ticket for the pit in the Drury Lane theatre cost 3s – but such services were invaluable to lesser gentry and upper middling sorts who either lacked an equipage or required additional horses/vehicles on a temporary basis. Furthermore, those unable to rent, including servants, lesser tradesmen and labourers, often found alternative ways to ride, either by exercising a master's horse, commandeering a beast of burden, or stealing. As discussed below, while the West End elite enjoyed privileged access to certain facilities and activities, and plebeian society continued to be excluded from many opportunities, the commercialization of equestrian recreation widened participation to a significant extent.

These developments were felt by women as well as men, although equestrian culture was dominated by men in countless ways. Gentlemen held sway over the family equipage, controlling both its financial affairs and accessibility.⁹²⁰ Moreover, aristocratic men governed the turf and the field as investors and rule-makers; jockeys were always male; and by the 1750s, the huntswoman on horseback was an endangered species.⁹²¹ Equestrian and sporting literature was written by men and celebrated the achievements of a riding fraternity. Nevertheless, as shown below, many polite and bourgeois women engaged in equestrian activities in London, complicating recent studies which have tended to focus on female 'domiciliary sociability'.⁹²² To examine the expansion and commercialization of London's equestrian culture further, let us begin by considering one of the capital's best-known riding venues, Hyde Park.

Equestrian activity was an important barometer of Hyde Park's renaissance as a place of public resort after the Restoration.⁹²³ Its focal point was a 'ring' specially railed off for the use of

⁹¹⁸ Those paying tax on 'carriages with two-wheels (and one horse) in St. Leonard's, Streatham in 1800 included a school master, shop keeper, salesman, brewer, two farmers and 20 'Gentlemen': a kaleidoscopic category which included middling sorts. Meanwhile, those taxed for a single 'riding horse' included an apothecary, two shop keepers, a publican, a tailor, a cooper, a farmer, two clergymen and a butcher; Lambeth Archives, P/S/13/19, St Leonard's, Streatham, Assessments for taxes on houses and windows....four-wheeled carriages; riding and carriage horses; horses used in husbandry and trade; mules' (6 April 1800-5 April 1801).

⁹¹⁹ John Trusler, *The London Advisor and Guide* (1786), pp.120-1.

⁹²⁰ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p.12-13 & 124; Whyman, *Sociability and Power*, esp., pp.93-107.

⁹²¹ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, pp.163-6.

⁹²² G. Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge, 2007), p.11; an important exception to this trend is Whyman, *Sociability and Power*, pp.93-107.

⁹²³ Girouard, *The English Town*, p.269.

carriages which soon captured the imagination of writers.⁹²⁴ In 1711, *The Spectator* complained about the mob of servants ‘let loose’ at the entrance to the park ‘while the Gentry are at the Ring’. And in 1732, one writer observed that ‘four or five Lines of Noblemen’s and Gentlemen’s Coaches’ were frequently seen ‘rolling gently round the Ring in all their gayest Equipage’.⁹²⁵ Yet, by then, riders were already growing tired of the ring’s ‘aimless circuits’. In 1736, the *London Spy Revived* found it ‘quite disused by the quality and gentry’ and not long after, the site was partly destroyed in the formation of the Serpentine River.⁹²⁶ Yet, George II’s and Queen Caroline’s renovation scheme dramatically expanded the park’s equestrian facilities. In 1735–6, a new *route du roi* was dug to replace that constructed by William III in the 1690s. Yet, rather than being turned back to turf, the *King’s Old Road* was retained as a public riding parade (see Map 18). Within a few years, it had become a fashionable hub for the *beau monde* and by the early 1760s had earned a sobriquet, *Rotten Row*.⁹²⁷ By the 1790s, public riding had spread to the *King’s New Road* which consequently became known as *South Carriage Drive*, or simply the *Drive*. In April 1791, the *Argus* reported

Exercise in *every way*, it seems, is the thing now on *Sundays*, amongst the bucks of fashion. The true ton is, to *grind gravel* with your curricule in the *drive*, from half past two till half past three; then stretch your leather in the *ride* [Rotten Row], till half past four and, after kicking up a dust amongst the *canaille* [riffraff] till five, on *foot*, vote it a damn’d *bourgeois lounge*, and march off with a good morning t’you, to dress for dinner.⁹²⁸

⁹²⁴ The ring was ‘between 200 and 300 paces in diameter’; N. Braybrooke, *London Green: The Story of Kensington Gardens, Hyde Park & St. James’s Park* (London, 1959), p.60; Henri Misson, *Memoirs and Observations in his Travels through England*, trans. John Ozell (1719); Thomas Salmon, *Modern history: or, the Present State of All Nations*, 26 vols. (London, 1732), vol.15, p.339; Joseph Brown, *The Circus; or, British Olympicks. A Satyr on the Ring in Hyde-Park* (London, 1709); *Spectator*, No.88 (June 1711).

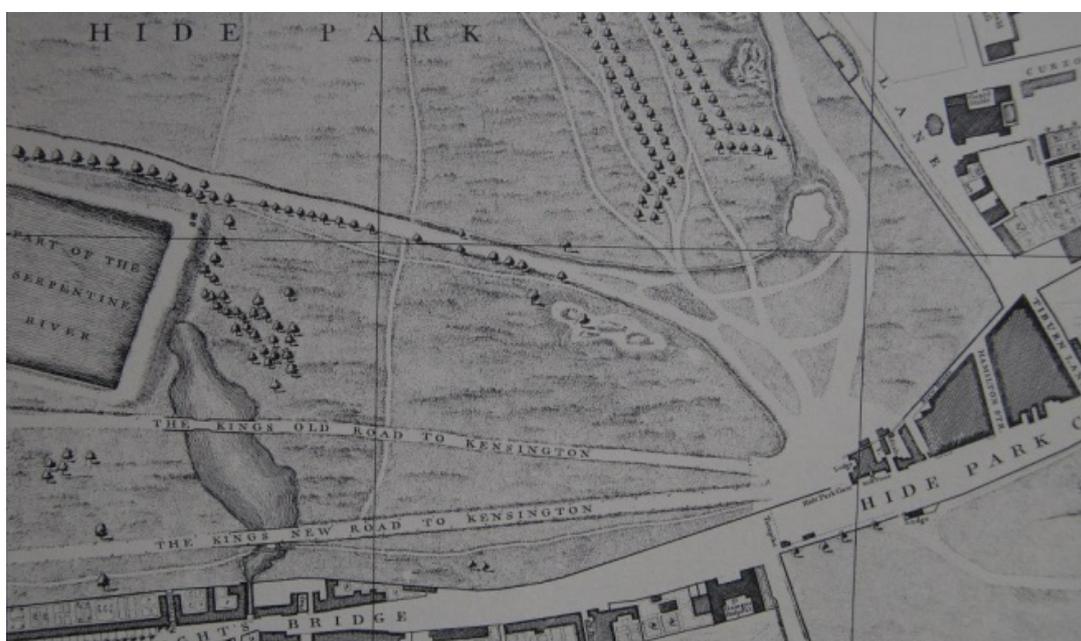
⁹²⁵ Thomas Salmon, *Modern History* (1732), vol.15, p.339.

⁹²⁶ Braybrooke, *London Green*, p.74; *The London Spy Revived* (6/12/1736); *Old and New London* (1878), vol.4, pp.375-40

⁹²⁷ S. Lasdun, *The English Park: Royal, Private & Public* (New York, 1992); p.76 & 124; Ann Thicknesse, *A letter from Miss—d, addressed to a Person of Distinction* (1761), p.6; Braybrooke, *London Green*, p.63; *Rotten Row* is possibly a corruption of *Rue du Roi*, however, some claim a Celtic derivation, from *rattanreigh*, meaning a good mountain path.

⁹²⁸ *Argus* (11/4/1791).

Map 18: Hyde Park in John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747).



In the late eighteenth century, the park swarmed with riders, vehicles and pedestrian spectators. On his first visit to London from Lancashire, Richard Hodgkinson observed that

The number of Carriages is truly astonishing; for the whole length of Hyde Park which, in one view, I conceive cannot be less than a Mile from 3 to 5 o’Clock you may see Carriages two fold continually passing.⁹²⁹

Plate 51, a lively engraving from Phillips’ *Modern London* (1805) depicts ‘The Entrance to Hyde Park on a Sunday’ not just as a place of fashionable resort but as an equestrian paradise. Rotten Row bisects the image, packed with riders as far as the eye can see. Meanwhile, hundreds of pedestrians line the rails captivated by the unfolding equestrian spectacle. In the foreground, fashionable carriages pour in from both sides while to the rear, a group of horses frolic unsaddled and unsupervised, emphasising the degree to which the park served these animals.

⁹²⁹ ‘Journal of a Journey to London on Account of the Lancaster Canal’, 2nd March 1794, cited in F. & K. Wood (eds), *A Lancashire Gentleman: The Letters and Journals of Richard Hodgkinson, 1763-1847* (Stroud, 1992), p.41

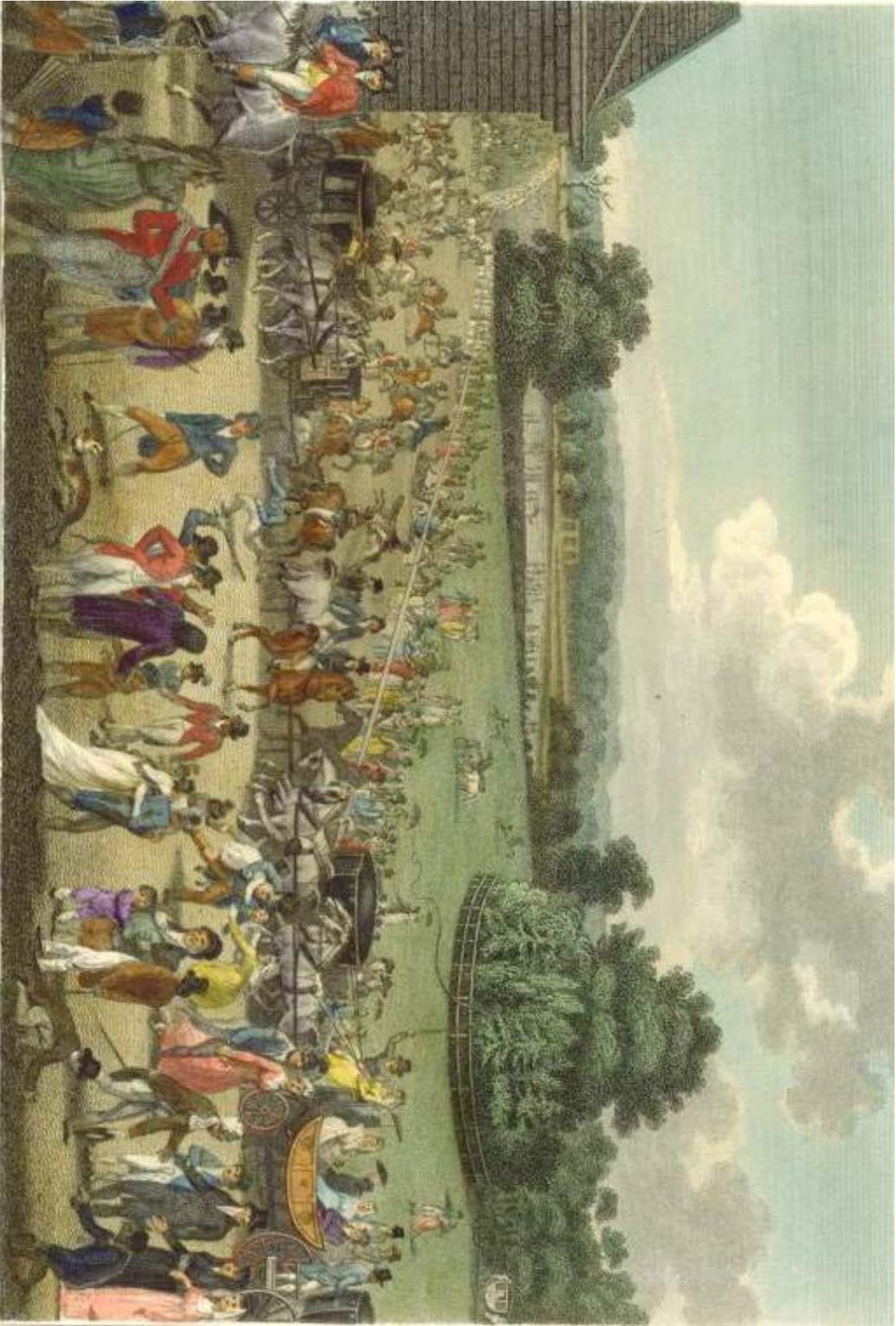


Plate 51: 'The Entrance to Hyde Park on a Sunday' in Richard Phillips, *Modern London; Being the History and Present State of the British Metropolis* (2nd edn., 1805).

The intensification of equestrian activity in Hyde Park in this period prompted increasing demand to improve its layout and facilities. In 1792, the *Public Advertiser* suggested that ‘a riding circuit should be formed within its precincts, by uniting the two divisions of the Park, similar to that of the *Bois de Bologne*, near Paris ... by a bridge open for horses and carriages across the Serpentine River’.⁹³⁰ Progress came gradually, perhaps because of tensions between the Court and the Town, but by 1827, a grand scheme to equestrianise the park had been completed. *Rotten Row* and the *Drive* were incorporated into a complete formal circuit including an Outer Ring, East, North and West Carriage Drives and the Serpentine Road.

Throughout the Hanoverian period, Hyde Park was London’s pre-eminent equestrian venue. Despite being admission free, it played a key role in the commercialization of equestrian culture because, as discussed below, it was here that the most fashionable riders came to exhibit their horses, vehicles and tackle. Thus, Hyde Park was intimately connected to the expansion of the metropolitan horse trade, examined in Chapter 3. But the park was also the principal stage on which to exhibit equestrian skills acquired in London’s riding schools, and it is to these institutions that we now turn.

While considerably less decorous than many other polite venues, London’s public riding houses or schools, as they were also known, were important manifestations of the commercialization of leisure in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁹³¹ Yet, despite showing some interest in the architecture of private riding houses in Britain,⁹³² historians continue to overlook the dramatic rise of riding instruction in Hanoverian London. In the 1750s, elite equestrians such as the 10th Earl of Pembroke patronised a handful of continental riding masters in the metropolis. Among these individuals, the Frenchmen, Henry Foubert and his nephew, Solomon Durrell; and the Italian, Domenico Angelo, opened the city’s first public riding schools.⁹³³ These pioneers promoted a continental system of “managed riding” known as “riding the Great Horse”, or what we might loosely describe today as dressage. Encouraged by George III’s support,⁹³⁴ the *ménage*

⁹³⁰ *Public Advertiser* (29/2/1792).

⁹³¹ Typically rectangular, generally no more than 40ft wide, and with fairly plain interiors, there was a clear distinction between the relatively unostentatious Georgian riding house and ‘the grand carousels’ found on the Continent; Worsley, *The British Stable*, pp.168-70.

⁹³² Worsley, *The British Stable*, ch.7; L. Lambton, *Beastly Buildings: The National Trust Book of Architecture for Animals* (London, 1985).

⁹³³ Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo with Memoirs of His Late Father and Friends*, 2 vols. (1830), vol.1, p.35-6; Solomon Durrell died in July 1771 and Angelo’s closed in 1782. *Middlesex Journal* (2/7/1771); *Moring Herald & Daily Advertiser* (13/6/1782).

⁹³⁴ Having admired the Duke of Newcastle’s seventeenth-century equestrian treatise, George III constructed a private riding house at Buckingham House in 1763-66 and inspired his brothers, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, to follow suit; in 1771, George III’s Gentleman of the Horse published a guide commending the *ménage* to the modern rider; William Cavendish, *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention, to Dress Horses* (1667); Richard Berenger, Esq., *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, 2 vols. (1771).

remained fashionable into the 1760s but enthusiasm began to wane in the early 1770s.⁹³⁵ As Landry has shown, British equestrian culture moved decisively away from managed riding towards the ‘English Hunting Seat’, a system promoting ease ‘so that riders could ride ever faster horses ever more quickly over fences’ in the English countryside.⁹³⁶

In 1799, the Edinburgh-based riding master, John Adams brashly accused London’s riding schools of failing to adapt to this change, claiming that

Masters of old taught only one style of riding ... the manege ... [yet] as gentlemen are emulous of riding fast, as well as of riding well; and finding ... [this] style so ill calculated to travel far, or fast, or endure its fatigue; they ridiculed the idea of learning to ride at a school, but preferred, or sought to copy, a hunting-groom, or racing-jockey. Thus the *manége* got into disrepute.

Adams cast himself as the saviour of equestrian education, promising to reconcile the ‘science’ of the *ménage* with the ‘ease’ of ‘jockey riding’.⁹³⁷ Yet, as shown below, this calculated piece of self-promotion offers a highly misleading assessment of London’s riding schools.

Searching the online database of the Burney collection of eighteenth-century newspapers, I have been able to assess the longevity, location, patronage and strategy of London’s riding houses between 1731 and 1835.⁹³⁸ This data provides striking evidence of the commercialization of equestrian recreation. As shown in Table 18, riding houses emerged on 26 sites in these years. On average, firms advertised for 27 years, but the most successful did so for more than 40 years.⁹³⁹ The number of public riding schools in London increased without interruption for more than three decades between 1761 and 1795. As shown in Table 19 and Figure 5, they were most common in the years 1781–1795, by which time the *ménage* was already out of favour, and in 1821–1830, when the English Hunting Seat had long been the dominant mode of riding in Britain. This clearly shows that London’s riding schools successfully adapted to satisfy shifting consumer demands.

⁹³⁵ Richard Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship* (1771).

⁹³⁶ Landry, ‘Learning to ride’, p.331.

⁹³⁷ John Adams, *Analysis of Horsemanship: Teaching the Whole Art of Riding* (1799), vol.1, Preface.

⁹³⁸ The Burney Collection of English Newspapers, British Library (17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers, Gale Digital Collections); it was essential for public riding houses to advertise in the London press to attract business in what became an increasingly competitive market place.

⁹³⁹ This does not imply that 26 new riding houses were constructed because proprietors often moved into buildings previously used as private or military riding houses; Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.177; it is not always possible to establish the precise duration of a riding house from its advertisements. It is likely that when a venue fell into terminal decline, it may have lacked the resources to continue advertising, even if its doors remained open; where this is the case, it seems reasonable to assume a margin of error of 5 years.

These two periods of exceptional success pre- and post-dated a 25-year downturn (1796–1820) during the Napoleonic Wars. The combined effects of a sharp rise in the cost of provender, discussed in Chapter 5, and a contraction in consumer spending forced half of firms out of business. The trade’s swift recovery in the 1820s, at a time when many other businesses were suffering, emphasises the strong appeal of equestrian diversion in the capital. As this golden age drew to a close, the number of riding schools fell by a quarter between 1831 and 1835 but resisted serious decline until the 1850s.

Table 18: London’s public riding houses, 1731–1835.⁹⁴⁰

Earliest ref	Final Ref / Closes	Duration (yrs)	Name of establishment / Location	Riding Masters & Proprietors
Mar 1731	Closes in 1778	40	‘The Royal Academy’, King St, Golden Sq	Major Foubert (1731 – 1743); Solomon Durrell, Esq (Feb 1743-1778)
Jan 1762	May 1765	3	‘Military Academy’, Norland, near Kensington Gravel Pits	Proprietor: Thomas Marquois Riding Master: Domenico Angelo
1764 (but open by mid-1750s)	May 1782	18	Carlisle House, Kings Sq Court, Soho	Proprietor & Riding Master: Domenico Angelo
May 1765	1795	30	Curzon St, Mayfair	Proprietor: Mr. Hemming
Dec 1765	Nov 1832	66	Worship St, Moorfields	Samuel Miller (1765-1766); Johnson (1786?-1787); Park & Son (1787-1791); Hales (1803); Lewis de Fontaine (1825-1832)
April 1768	July 1821	53	Westminster Bridge	Philip Astley (1768-1797); John Astley (1797- 1821)
April 1769	April 1795	26	Shepherd’s Market, Mayfair	Mr Emmerson (1769-1795)
1772?	April 1800?	28	St. George’s Fields	Proprietor: Charles Hughes (1772-97) Riding Masters: Jones (?-1798); Parker (1796); Davis (1800)
1773	1789	16	Fulham Road, Little Chelsea	Lewis Lochee (1773-1785); J.L. Lochee Jn & J. Lambert (1785-1789)
Dec 1778	May 1795	55	Chapel St, near South Audley Chapel, Grosvenor Sq	Charles Carter (1778-1814); Mr Birch (1815-33)
June 1782	Nov 1794	12	Princes St, Moorfields	William Cowling
Jan 1784	Nov 1798	14	Park Lane	Proprietor: James Fozard (1784-1798); Riding Master: Mr Carteret (1784-1785)

⁹⁴⁰ The Burney Collection of English Newspapers, British Library (17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers, Gale Digital Collections).

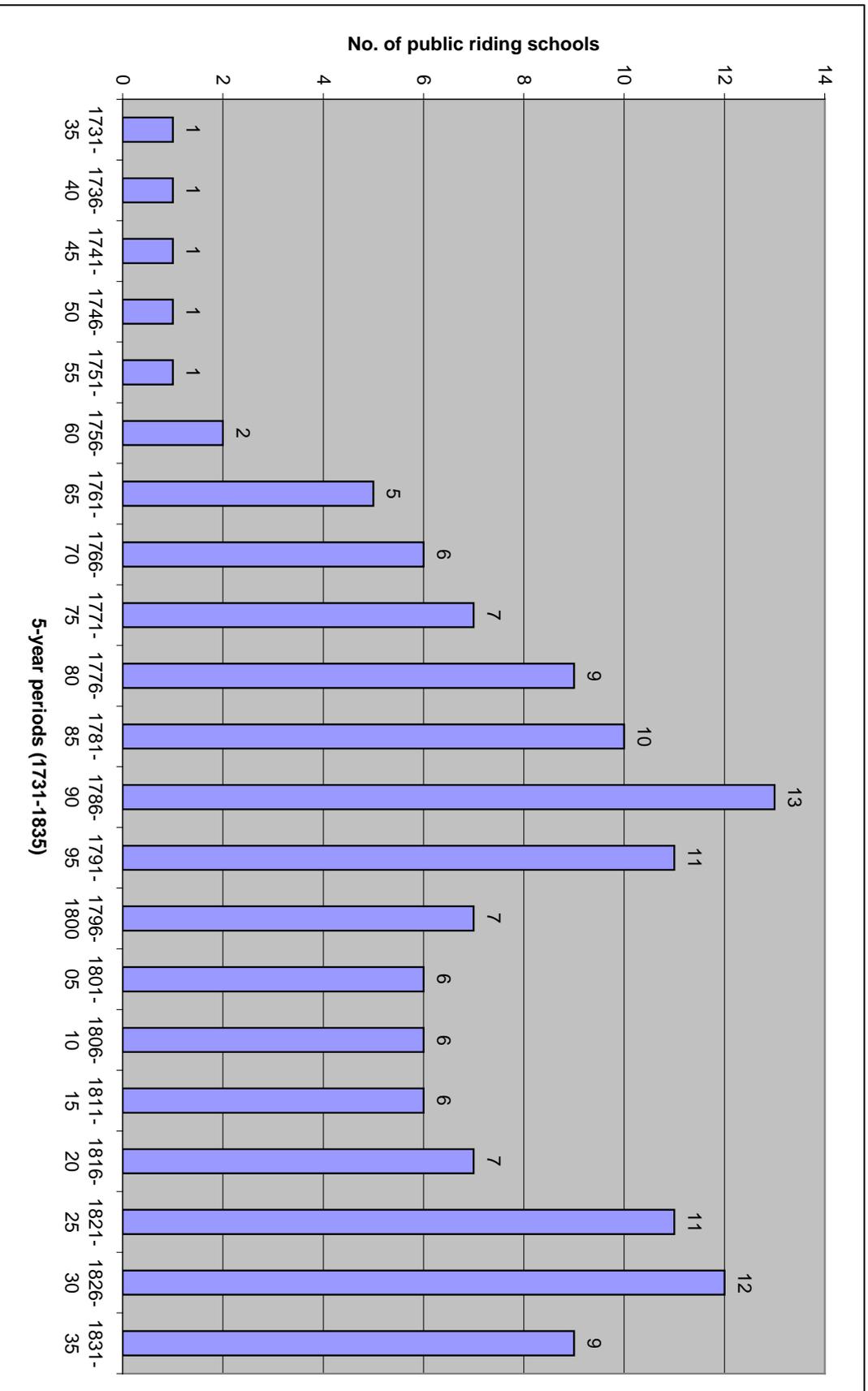
Table 18 (continued)

1784	June 1827	43	Hamilton / Halkin St, Hyde Park Corner, Grosvenor Place	John Hall (1784-1789); John Hall Jn (1789-97); Mr Vernon (1821-27)
April 1786	April 1788	2	Union St, Whitechapel	Mr Jones (1786-88)
June 1787	May 1795	8	Gray's Inn-Lane Road	Proprietor: Mr Wright Riding Master: John Burrows (- 1790?)?
Aug 1788	June 1830	42	Stamford St, Camberwell New- Road, Blackfriars	Mr Bean (1788-1793); Mr Lawson (1820-23) 'The Brunswick' [Unknown] (1830-40)
Dec 1798	March 1844	46	Corner of Webber St, adjoining Magdalen Hospital, Blackfriars Rd, St. George's Fields.	George Jones (1798-1818?); E. M. Jones (1818?- 1844)
1801?	Feb 1827	26	'The Brandenburgh', John St, Edgware Road	Mr Davis (1801-1811); Mr Seffert (1818-1822); Mr William Auger (1823-1827)
June 1817	May 1842	25	Mabledon Place, Bidborough St, Burton-crescent, New Road	Mr. James Martin (1817-1833); Mr Howden (1832-40); Mr. C. Barnett (1840-1842)
Dec 1819	Dec 1866	47	Seymour Place, Bryanston Sq	Mr Allen (1819-1866)
July 1823	Dec 1838	15	Finsbury Place, Moorfields	Mr Matthew (1823-1825); Mr Dyer (1838)
Oct 1824	Jan 1871	47	Upper Road, Islington	Mr Jones (1824-1841); Mr Channel (1858-?); Mr Angle (1871)
March 1826	Sept 1844	18	Motcomb St / Kinnerton St, Belgrave Sq, Knightsbridge	Proprietor: Mr Davis (1826- 1844) Riding Master: Mr Brown (1833)
Dec 1828	Dec 1861	33	Albany St, Regent's Park	Lieut (later Captain) T. Hall (1828-1861)
Mar 1830	June 1834	4	Horse Bazaar, Portman Sq	Captain Bruce (Mar 1830) Mr Stanley (Nov 1830-June 1834)

Table 19: Prevalence of public riding houses in London, 1731–1835.

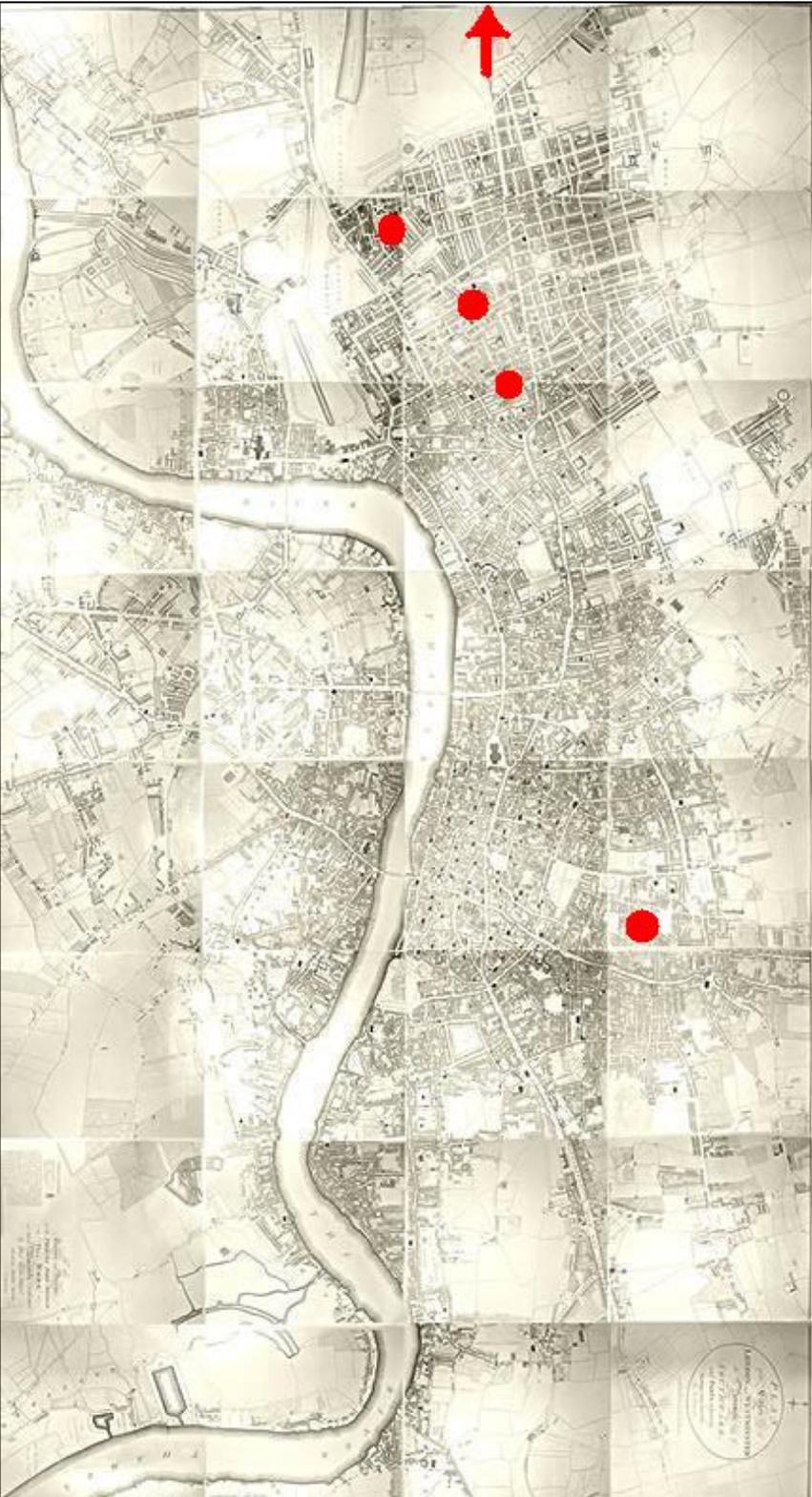
5 Year period	New ref to a school	Final ref to a school	Total schools operating
1731-35	1	0	1
1736-40	0	0	1
1741-45	0	0	1
1746-50	0	0	1
1751-55	0	0	1
1756-60	1	0	2
1761-65	4	1	5
1766-70	2	0	6
1771-75	2	0	7
1776-80	1	1	9
1781-85	3	1	10
1786-90	3	2	13
1791-95	0	5	11
1796-1800	1	1	7
1801-05	1	0	6
1806-10	0	0	6
1811-15	0	0	6
1816-20	2	0	7
1821-25	3	0	11
1826-30	3	3	12
1831-35	0	3	9

Figure 5: Prevalence of public riding houses in London, 1731–1835.



As shown in Maps 19–21, the number and distribution of London’s public riding houses developed in three phases. 1761–65 saw an initial expansion which broke the monopoly of Foubert’s Royal Academy at Golden Square. Two of the new houses opened nearby, while a third was established in Moorfields, presumably to serve the mercantile market. These early pioneers created an attractive business model which was replicated well into the nineteenth century. In the years 1786–90, the number of sites almost trebled, with Hyde Park Corner becoming a leading hub. This provides further evidence of park riding’s growing *éclat*, as well as the increasing of number of polite residents moving west. Yet, expansion also took place in less wealthy parts of the metropolis, including in Lambeth, Moorfields and Whitechapel. By the early 1790s, four types of school had emerged, each appealing to a particular clientele in different parts of town. In ascending order of prevalence, they were: out-of-town military academies; City venues; circus/riding school venues in Southwark; and elite institutions near Hyde Park. 1831–35 comprised the final decades of the culture’s golden age and saw the displacement of sites from Hyde Park corner to major new estates south of Regent’s Park, which had become fashionable riding terrain.⁹⁴¹ Rising land values, and opposition from local residents, probably contributed to the exodus from Hyde Park Corner in this period.

⁹⁴¹ The fashion for riding in Regent’s Park probably grew after the opening of the Zoological Gardens in April 1828; in July 1831, Mary Nichols visited the animals and then ‘rode round the Park’ with two other women; Nichols Archive Project, Transcript of diary of Mary Nichols (1813-70), by Julian Pooley, (11/1/1829); (30/6/1831) & (1/7/1831); J. Pooley, ‘The diary of Mary Nichols: its value as a source for local historians’, *The Local Historian*, 25 (1995), pp.130-41.



Map 19: Phase 1: 1761–1765.

Maps 19 – 21: Location of London's Public Riding Houses (1761–1835) (marked on Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813).



Map 20: Phase 2: 1786–1790.



Map 21: Phase 3: 1831–1835.

The commercialization of London's riding houses is reflected in the increasingly diverse services which they offered. Proprietors developed pricing structures which protected their respectability and aristocratic patronage by excluding most tradespeople, while welcoming new clients from the city's fast-growing bourgeoisie. In the 1787, Carter's near Grosvenor Square charged £2 7s for twelve lessons taken at a pupil's convenience. In 1799, the Pantheon Riding School on Blackfriars Road charged £3 13s 6d for an intensive course of 24 sessions as well as the more affordable option of single lessons priced at 5–7s.⁹⁴² Some houses charged between one and three guineas as an annual entrance fee,⁹⁴³ while others offered free entry to ride within certain hours, a strategy designed to promote more lucrative services including lessons, stabling, breaking-in and dealing.⁹⁴⁴ By the 1780s, some proprietors sought a steadier income by adopting a subscription system – for six guineas, Carter offered riding instruction three times a week for eight months, the breaking-in and exercise of one horse, and use of the riding house.⁹⁴⁵ Many firms also hired out horses for use on-site, in Hyde Park or for a ride out of town, highlighting the increasingly close relationship between different strands of metropolitan equestrian culture in this period.⁹⁴⁶ The above also highlights the fact that like many other recreational venues, riding houses made increasing use of newspaper advertising to promote their services, an important sign of their growing commercial sophistication.⁹⁴⁷ This reflects similar developments in the horse trade (see Chapter 3) as well as in the circus, horse racing and fox-hunting, discussed below.

London's new generation of riding schools offered lessons carefully adapted to the capital's and Britain's equestrian mood. In 1783, Carter was teaching ladies 'to rise in the stirrup', precisely the technique that Adams would recommend sixteen years later 'to ease the jolting' when 'riding on the road'.⁹⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the riding master and circus impresario, Philip Astley (1742–1814) advertised that he broke horses 'for the Army, Road, Field and Draft; also for Stalking, Shooting, and particularly for Ladies Riding',⁹⁴⁹ showing that the rise of the circus in the second half of the

⁹⁴² *World & Fashionable Advertiser* (9/10/1787) & (13/12/1787); the same fee purchased sixteen lessons if taken in a four-week period; *Morning Herald* (25/3/1799).

⁹⁴³ *Lloyds Evening Post* (21/11/1764); *Morning Chronicle* (20/12/1787).

⁹⁴⁴ For instance, Carter's: *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (4/2/1780) and Wright's at Gray's Inn-lane Road: *World* (9/9/1791); Johnson's, Upper Moorfields, allowed gentlemen keeping horses at livery to 'practice at the bar, and benefit their health', gratis; *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (6/11/1786).

⁹⁴⁵ *Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser* (30/11/1780).

⁹⁴⁶ Carter charged 5s. for park riding, and 3s. 6d. for use in the house; *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (30/10/1778).

⁹⁴⁷ Plumb, 'The commercialization of leisure'; R. Altick, *The Shows of London: A Panoramic History of Exhibitions, 1600-1862* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, ch.4; Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*; Kwint, 'Astley's Amphitheatre and the early circus in England'; Heller, 'Leisure and Pleasure in London society', ch.4.

⁹⁴⁸ *Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser* (14/2/1783); John Adams, *An Analysis of Horsemanship* (1799), vol.2, p.8; Landry, 'Learning to Ride', pp.329-49; interestingly, Carter claimed to have received the finest traditional education in *haute école* in the European Academies, including at Versailles; Charles Carter, *Instructions for Ladies in Riding... As given at his Riding House in Chapel Street* (1783), v.

⁹⁴⁹ *Public Advertiser* (16/1/1779)

eighteenth century was part of a much broader commercialized equestrian culture than historians have previously acknowledged.⁹⁵⁰ Riding masters did not reject the art of managed riding completely – their great achievement was to assimilate its discipline with the ease of *jockey* riding to suit the needs of individual riders: male and female, child and adult, sporting and sedate, rural and urban. In the 1790s, the Pantheon school promised to teach ‘Ladies and Gentlemen the polite art of riding and managing their horses for army, road, or field’.⁹⁵¹ Rather than using the language of the *manège*, proprietors developed a new vocabulary for the modern equestrian age, under the banner of ‘the polite art of riding’. This prioritised three outcomes: ‘a graceful appearance on horseback’, the demonstration of ‘ease’, and the prevention of accidents.⁹⁵² In promoting deportment, London’s riding schools were part of an urbane educational culture which included dancing masters and instructors in swordsmanship.⁹⁵³ Writing to his son at Westminster School in 1751, the 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773) advised him not to ‘neglect your exercises of riding, fencing, and dancing ... for they all concur to *dégourdir* [smooth rough edges], and to give a certain air. To ride well, is ... a proper and graceful accomplishment for a gentleman’.⁹⁵⁴ This relationship was made particularly explicit at Angelo’s Academy in Soho, which offered lessons in riding, fencing and dancing in the 1760s and 1770s.⁹⁵⁵

The commercialization of riding tuition was also seen in architectural improvements and the introduction of new safety measures. In the late eighteenth century, the Pantheon school boasted that it was ‘the most warm and commodious of any in or near the metropolis’ while Carter reassured his patrons that a ‘place for ladies attendants’ would be kept warm by stoves even in damp or cold weather.⁹⁵⁶ Many proprietors also banned dogs to avoid the kind of disruption caricatured by Thomas Rowlandson in this period (see Plate 52). Riding masters also promised to mount vulnerable riders on their most amenable animals – De Fontaine’s in Finsbury Square offered a ‘superior stud of horses purposely broken in to accommodate every capacity’.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵⁰ Disher, *Greatest Show on Earth*; Lowndes, *The First Circus*; Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse*; Coxe, *A Seat at the Circus*; Bratton & Traies, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*; Kwint, ‘Astley’s Amphitheatre’, ‘The circus and nature in late Georgian England’ & ‘The Legitimization of the circus’.

⁹⁵¹ *Morning Post and Gazetteer* (25/12/1798).

⁹⁵² Park & Son: *Morning Chronicle* (20/12/1787); Royal Circus: *Morning Post* (18/4/1800); Astley’s: *Gazetteer* (27/7/1779).

⁹⁵³ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp.107 & 547; J.H. Plumb, ‘The new world of children in eighteenth-century England’, *P&P*, 67 (1975), pp.72 & 79.

⁹⁵⁴ D. Roberts (ed.), *Lord Chesterfield’s Letters* (Oxford, 1998), p.230, Lord Chesterfield to his Son (16/5/1751).

⁹⁵⁵ *Lloyd’s Evening Post* (21/11/1764); *Gazetteer* (4/3/1767); *London Evening Post* (7/5/1771); *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (10/1/1778); Angelo’s clients included Silas Neville, who ‘began to ride & fence’ there in December 1767; he was praised for displaying ‘a very good disposition for fencing’ but admitted that ‘to learn to ride well’ was his primary aim; B. Cozens-Hardy (ed.) *The Diary of Silas Neville, 1767-1788* (London, 1950), p.30; see Thomas Rowlandson’s *Angelo’s Fencing Academy* (watercolour, 1787) Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford.

⁹⁵⁶ *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (25/12/1798); *Morning Post* (4/2/1780).

⁹⁵⁷ *Morning Post* (31/5/1830).

Plate 52: Thomas Rowlandson, *The Riding School* (drawing, late eighteenth century).



These developments produced some highly successful businesses just as Tattersall's and other horse repositories were making their mark in the metropolis (see Chapter 3). In the 1760s, the *bon ton* was particularly well represented at Hall's on Hyde Park corner, with clients including Lady Mary Coke, the Duke and Duchess of Bolton, the Duke of Roxborough and Lady Mary Lowther.⁹⁵⁸ In 1787, Charles Carter offered a free list to prove that 'Nine hundred ladies of the highest rank and fashion, and nearly an equal number of Gentlemen have been Taught to Ride ... at his Riding House'. Carter began his proprietorship in 1778, suggesting that he attracted almost 200 new pupils a year.⁹⁵⁹ At the zenith of Angelo's fame in the late 1770s, his income was thought to be £4,000 a year,⁹⁶⁰ and in the 1790s, James Fozzard could afford to pay his junior partner £300 a year. Fozzard's of Park Lane became the most fashionable school in the city, eventually securing the patronage of a young Princess Victoria in 1831.⁹⁶¹ By the early nineteenth century, London's leading riding schools occupied 'immense' buildings. One such edifice, located in Seymour Place, was 140 feet in length, dwarfing many other recreational sites, including London's famed Pantheon, the frontage of which measured only 54 feet.⁹⁶²

The above shows that riding schools were deeply entwined in polite metropolitan culture and the commercialization of leisure in the Hanoverian period. As suggested, these sites increasingly taught skills which enabled and encouraged Londoners to ride out from the city and into the countryside. 'Riding out' could be enjoyed on horseback or seated in a light vehicle and comprised a spectrum of activities including airings, commuting, race-going and hunting, each of which receive attention below. Metropolitan horse-owners had, of course, ridden in the suburbs long before the eighteenth century but the practice became increasingly prevalent, multifaceted and commercialized after 1750. This chronology closely paralleled Hyde Park's renaissance as an equestrian destination and the rise of public riding schools and horse repositories in London but riding out was also intimately connected to the rise of internal tourism in Britain. Historians have generally attributed this culture to the inaccessibility of the Continent in the mid-eighteenth century,⁹⁶³ but the exploration of the British Isles on horseback or by horse-drawn carriage was part of a broader equestrian culture which continued to expand into the nineteenth century.

⁹⁵⁸ *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke* (Edinburgh, 1889), vol.1, p.247: Diary, Nov 1766 & May 1767; Mary Coke was the 2nd Duke of Argyll's daughter and Viscount Coke's widow; Mary Lowther's husband later became 1st Earl of Lonsdale.

⁹⁵⁹ *World & Fashionable Advertiser* (9/10/1787) & (13/12/1787).

⁹⁶⁰ *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo* (1830), vol.1, p.6.

⁹⁶¹ *Morning Post & Fashionable World* (3/7/1795); in 1831, Fozzard was also teaching Miss Fanny Cavendish (the Earl of Burlington's granddaughter), Anne Elizabeth Weld-Forester (Lady Chesterfield) and Lady [Georgiana?] Grey; Frances Anne Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood* (New York, 1879), pp.605, Diary, June 1831 & 13 Dec 1831.

⁹⁶² *The Standard* (26/5/1831).

⁹⁶³ Colley, *Britons*, p.172.

Like other equestrian activities, riding out encouraged the consumption of horses, vehicles and tackle, but was considerably less expensive than using London's riding schools or competing with the fine equipages paraded around Hyde Park.⁹⁶⁴ Thus, riding out was particularly attractive and accessible to London's middling sorts. Analysis of this relationship emphasises that the commercialization of equestrian recreation generated different kinds of riding opportunity for different social groups. Previous studies of middling, and particularly mercantile life, have tended to emphasise the importance of City-based venues including coffee houses, livery halls and voluntary societies. Yet, as shown below, this group produced some of the capital's most enthusiastic riders.⁹⁶⁵

The diaries of John Eliot (1734–1802) and Thomas Bridge (c.1740–c.1811) suggest that horses were central to the recreational lives of many upper middling men. In 1757, Eliot was an unmarried, 22-year-old insurance underwriter living in Bartholomew Close, Smithfield. He owned his own horse, which he kept at livery in Coleman Street, Lothbury, a convenient ten-minute walk from his house.⁹⁶⁶ Despite handling a heavy workload, Eliot rode approximately once a week and found opportunities to do so on every day of the week except Sunday.⁹⁶⁷ In 1762, Thomas Bridge was a 23-year-old drug merchant living above his counting house in Bread Street, near Cheapside.⁹⁶⁸ Unmarried and in the early stages of building a substantial fortune, Bridge dedicated his recreational life to two closely related activities: riding and visiting friends in the suburbs. Bridge rode out more than once a week, mostly at the weekend but also during the week.⁹⁶⁹ This suggests that some middling men structured their working lives to accommodate equestrian diversion. In the first quarter of 1762, Bridge purchased a chariot, two brown geldings and a chaise with harness and trunks, worth more than £100, evincing an impressive commitment to the pursuit of equestrian pleasure.⁹⁷⁰ Bridge stabled this equipage at the *George*, a large coaching inn in Snow Hill, Holborn, just half a mile from Bread Street.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁴ Riding out occasionally incurred turnpike charges but these were relatively inexpensive: 7d for a single-horse chaise and 1½ d for a saddle horse; TNA, J90/13, Thomas Bridge, 'Diary' (1760-1809), 1772.

⁹⁶⁵ P. Gauci, *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660-1800* (London & New York, 2007), p.75.

⁹⁶⁶ John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747) shows several stable yards in the vicinity.

⁹⁶⁷ LMA, ACC/1017/0944, Diary of John Eliot (III) of London, Underwriter (1757); on Sundays, Eliot attended Quaker meetings; he was most likely to ride on Saturdays (48%) and Thursdays (24%), beginning half of his rides between 8:30 and 10 am, after reading taking breakfast, and a third before three and four pm.

⁹⁶⁸ Bread Street was a relatively expensive district in the City.

⁹⁶⁹ 44% of Bridge's rides in 1762 took place on a Sunday and 27% on a Saturday; the only day of the week on which on did not ride was Tuesday; he preferred to ride either after dinner (61%) or after breakfast (30%); TNA, J90/13, Thomas Bridge, 'Diary' (1760-1809), 1762.

⁹⁷⁰ TNA, J90/13, 1762.

⁹⁷¹ Also known as the *George & Blue Boar*; Bridge refers to paying Thomas Jacques, who was a 'book-keeper' at the George in 1764; in 1769 and 1773, he was described as the inn-keeper; OBSP: t17640502-

Bridge's and Eliot's riding behaviour emphasises that upper middling sorts developed a distinctive riding culture which although strongly influenced by aristocratic equestrian culture, remained independent of it.⁹⁷² At a time when Hyde Park riding was becoming increasingly fashionable, Bridge never mentioned riding there while Eliot did so only once.⁹⁷³ While some polite commentators feared that merchants and tradesmen were invading the park, there is little evidence for this. Park riding retained an aristocratic identity while wealthy citizens continued to express a strong preference for riding out. There are several possible explanations for this pattern. Geography is likely to have been a significant factor. Getting to Hyde Park from the City involved a three mile ride through some of the capital's busiest streets. Thus, any pleasure to be derived in the park was likely to be negated by the inconvenience suffered en route.⁹⁷⁴ It is also conceivable that the equestrian *beau monde* made citizens feel sufficiently unwelcome that they sought out alternative riding terrain which they could call their own.⁹⁷⁵ Yet, as discussed below, there were many other, more positive reasons for citizens to ride out, underlining Gauci's assertion that mercantile actions should not be interpreted 'from the perspective of a landed society, without recognition of more immediate foci for City loyalty'.⁹⁷⁶ Thus, analysis of riding out culture complicates McKendrick's emphasis on the importance of 'social emulation' in the consumer revolution.⁹⁷⁷

56 (2/5/1764); t17690906-67 (6/9/1769) & t7730421-99 (21/4/1773). *Lloyd's Evening Post* (22/10/1764); Flying post coaches for Stamford, Doncaster, York, Andover and Salisbury operated from the inn by 1764; at other times, Bridge met his riding horse at Moorgate or Aldgate; occasionally, Bridge had his horses and chariot brought to his house on Bread Street; he also refers to picking up a horse and chaise from 'Pierces, either a repository or hackney coach proprietor.

⁹⁷² P. Gauci, *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660-1720* (Oxford, 2001), p.88.

⁹⁷³ Significantly, Eliot had not planned to ride in the park; having ridden to the Bishop of Bristol's house in the West End to examine a chaise, he was forced to spend a couple of hours in the nearby park because the Bishop was still asleep; Bridge: TNA, J90/13; Eliot: LMA, ACC/1017/0944.

⁹⁷⁴ Riding the short distance from Soho Square to the park was enough to make Silas Neville complain that 'Riding over stones is very disagreeable'; *Diary of Sylas Neville*, p.30 (11/2/1768).

⁹⁷⁵ H. Greig, "'All together and all distinct": public sociability and social exclusivity in London's pleasure gardens, c.1740-1800'. *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (2012), pp.50-75.

⁹⁷⁶ Gauci, *The Politics of Trade*, p.88.

⁹⁷⁷ N. McKendrick, 'The consumer revolution of eighteenth-century England' in McKendrick, Brewer & Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, p.11.

Plate 53: Thomas Rowlandson after Henry William Bunbury, *Cit's Airing Themselves on a Sunday* (Hand-coloured engraving, 1810).



The image of the ‘cit’ riding in the suburbs became an increasingly popular subject for satirists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, presumably reflecting their increasing visibility. One of the earliest and best-known depictions, William Cowper’s comic ballad *The Diverting History of John Gilpin* (1782), follows a Cheapside draper’s ill-fated journey on a runaway horse to his villa in Hertfordshire.⁹⁷⁸ Cowper viewed riding out from a rural perspective and poked fun at the attempts made by citizens to engage with an unfamiliar countryside. By contrast, Thomas Rowlandson’s *Cits Airing Themselves on a Sunday*, published in 1810 (Plate 53) was directed at an urban audience and was primarily concerned with class. The scene features a riding party led by two middle-aged merchants mounted on a pair of stocky hacks. The ostentatious finery of the riders’ clothes juxtaposes the mediocrity of their low-bred horses, serving as a critique of social emulation.⁹⁷⁹ This representation appears to reflect growing hostility towards an increasingly confident and conspicuous mercantile class in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁹⁸⁰

It is important to note that riding out was intimately connected to other important developments in mercantile culture in the Hanoverian period, in particular the acquisition of suburban villas and the rise of commuting.⁹⁸¹ As early as the 1720s, Defoe could marvel at the elegant suburban villas springing up in Essex and Surrey,⁹⁸² and by the early 1800s, hundreds of citizens were commuting into the City. While some chose to walk or took advantage of an expanding network of short-stage coaches, many rode on horseback or travelled in their own chaise.⁹⁸³ Thomas Bridge’s emergence as a commuter marked a decade of life changes – by January 1772, he was married and in October of that year, he became a father. As well as retaining his base in the City, Bridge acquired a villa in Tottenham. Bridge’s riding behaviour changed markedly in this period – free-ranging jaunts were replaced with a regular commute to and from the City and a more limited array of short excursions to villages near Tottenham.⁹⁸⁴ The fact that mercantile schedules were ‘fashioned by the need to cover as much ground as possible in pursuit of information and

⁹⁷⁸ William Cowper, *The Diverting History of John Gilpin: Showing How he Went Farther than he Intended, and came safe home again* (1782).

⁹⁷⁹ See also Anon, *Letters from an Irish student in England to his father in Ireland*, 2 vols. (1809), vol.1, pp.195-96, which claimed that ‘a swarm of young clerks in office, and in banking and commercial houses, the moment business is over, issue from the city, cloathed in excellent imitation of men of fashion; some booted and spurred as if they had been riding all the morning, parade up and down this beloved street, . . . and jostle bucks of rank and fortune’.

⁹⁸⁰ Rowlandson’s inspiration for this image came from Henry William Bunbury, a key figure in elite riding culture who, as discussed below, revelled in teasing the sporting citizen.

⁹⁸¹ Gauci, *Emporium of the World*, p.29.

⁹⁸² Defoe, *Tour* (1778), vol.1, pp.2-3 & 281; the word villa, meaning ‘a house built for rural retirement’ was adopted in England in the seventeenth century; Girouard, *The English town*, p.281; McKellar, ‘The suburban villa tradition’, pp.197-208.

⁹⁸³ By 1825, these were providing about 1,800 journeys from the City and the West End; D. Aldcroft & M. Freeman, *Transport in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1983), p.60.

⁹⁸⁴ In 1762, Bridge rode more than once a week and 70 per cent of his journeys were between the City and Tottenham; in 1772, Bridge commuted between Tottenham and the City at least three times a week and only rode out to other locations once every two and a half weeks, and only on Sundays; TNA, J90/13.

contacts' made riding a natural recreational choice for men like Bridge.⁹⁸⁵ In this sense, the industrious commuter juxtaposed the dissolute park rider discussed above, emphasising the multi-faceted nature of metropolitan equestrian culture in this period.

Riding out was closely linked to the sporting citizen's favourite activities: race-going and hunting on horseback. In the second half of the eighteenth century, thousands of metropolitan riders flocked to race courses in the south-east of England every year. This behaviour was one of the most startling expressions of the 'intimate relationship between town and turf'.⁹⁸⁶ As discussed below, horse racing was transformed in the mid-eighteenth century but despite the unparalleled size of London's race-going populace and the proximity of major race courses, the impact of these changes on metropolitan recreational life has received remarkably little attention.

Between the 1680s and the 1730s, horse racing expanded on an unprecedented scale across Britain and not least in the metropolitan area. In 1700, there were only three race courses within twenty miles of London (Barnet, Croydon and Epsom); by 1738, there were no fewer than nineteen. Most of these newcomers formed a 'a battery of petty venues'⁹⁸⁷ located less than five miles from Charing Cross: Tothill Fields (1 mile), Kentish Town (2.8 miles), Belsize (3.3 miles), Finchley (6.7 miles), Hampstead (4.1 miles) and Highgate (4.1 miles). A handful, such as Egham and Limpsfield in Surrey, were more than fifteen miles away. Yet, this growth came to 'an abrupt halt' in June 1740 with the introduction of an Act 'to restrain and prevent the excessive Increase of Horse Races' which stipulated that all prizes had to be worth at least £50 or more.⁹⁸⁸ Across the country, the legislation may have culled as many as 90 per cent of races. London's exceptional wealth softened the blow in the metropolitan area to some extent but even here, only six venues survived after 1740 (see Table 20). Only two sites, Belsize and Tothill Fields, appear to have struggled on illegally after June 1740, suggesting that the law was rigorously enforced.⁹⁸⁹ In 1755, the Middlesex Justices initiated a successful campaign to eradicate these rogue events⁹⁹⁰ – I have found no evidence to suggest that illegal races continued after this date.

⁹⁸⁵ Gauci, *Emporium of the World*, p.61; Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman in Familiar Letters* (London, 1726-7), vol.1, p.124; while not a commuter, John Eliot used twelve per cent of his rides to complete business tasks, choosing his route so he could collect or deliver paperwork; LMA, ACC/1017/0944.

⁹⁸⁶ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.185; Barnet and Epsom races were respectively ten and fifteen miles from Charing Cross as the crow flies.

⁹⁸⁷ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.302.

⁹⁸⁸ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.182; Public Act, 13 Geo II c.19.

⁹⁸⁹ *Whitehall Evening Post* (29-31/8/1749); *Public Advertiser* (26/9/1753).

⁹⁹⁰ LL, MS/PS/504440009, Middlesex Sessions, Justices' Working Documents (Sept 1755).

Table 20: Horse race meetings within twenty miles of Charing Cross, London.⁹⁹¹

Place	Value of Plates	Approx. Distance from Charing Cross (miles as the crow flies)	Meetings recorded in calendar sample of 17 yrs. between 1730 and 1770 (max = 17)	Earliest Ref	Final Ref / Racing ends	Source RC – Racing Calendar SM – Suffolk Mercury L - Longrigg, <i>Horse-Racing</i>
Barnet (Herts)	£25 (1732) £50 (after 1740)	9.9	11	1620	1871 (High Barnet rail station built on course)	L, p.41 <i>The Standard</i> (6/9/1872)
Belsize (Middx)	£2, £5 (1738) £5, £6 (1739)	3.3	2	1730	1753-55	RC; <i>Public Ad</i> , (25/9/1753); Middsx Sessions (Sept 1755)
Enfield (Middx)	£5, £10, £15 (1733) £50 (1752)	10.2	1	1755	1880 (No refs Sept 1762–Aug 1789; races then revived on new course)	RC; <i>Hampshire Ad</i> (29/12/ 1880)
Finchley (Middx)	£2, £10 (1738)	6.7	3	1736	1738	RC; <i>London Evening Post</i> (19-21/9/1738)
Hampstead (Middx)	£5, £10 (1731) £5, £12, £15 (1736) £2.5, £5, £10, £15, £20 (1738) £5, £10, £12 (1740)	4.1	7	1730	1740	RC; <i>London Evening Post</i> (10-12/6/1740)
Highgate (Middx)	£5 (1735) £10 (1736 + 1738)	4.1	2	1735	1738	<i>London Daily Post</i> (18/11/1735); RC; <i>Country Journal</i> (26/8/1738)
Hounslow (Middx)	£20, £30 (1733) £50 (1757)	10.7	10	1725	1757	SM, (27/9/1725); <i>London Evening Post</i> (16-18/6/1757)
Kentish Town (Middx)	£3, £5, £10 (1733); £5, £15 (1734); £5, £20 (1737); £5, £10 (1738) £5, £10 (1739)	2.8	4	1733	1739	SM (9/7/1733) <i>London Evening Post</i> (9-12/6/1739)

⁹⁹¹ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, Appendix 7. Borsay acknowledged that his survey was 'in no respect...comprehensive'; I have, therefore, added details derived from metropolitan newspapers and other sources (as indicated); earliest and latest references cannot be taken as the date at which a meeting was founded or disbanded, unless otherwise indicated.

Table 20 (continued)

Sunbury (Mddsx)	?	14.1	1	1730	-	RC
Tothill Fields (Mddsx)	£3, £5, £10, £12 (1736) £5 (1740)	1.0	4	1736	1751 (Middlesex Sessions still concerned in 1755)	RC; <i>London Morning Penny Post</i> (28-30/8/1751)
Carshalton (Surrey)	£10, £20 (1735); £5, £15 (1739)	10.2	7	1730	1739	RC; <i>London Evening Post</i> (13-15/9/1739)
Cobham (Surrey)	£10, £15, £30 (1740)	17.5	6	1735	1740	RC; <i>London Evening Post</i> (10-13/5/1740)
Croydon (Surrey)	£30 (1734); £10, £20 (1739)	10	4	1574	Final newspaper ref (1739) but revived by 1841. Closed 1890	L, p.30; <i>Daily Journal</i> (30/5/1734); <i>Daily Gazetteer</i> (13/10/1739) <i>Morning Post</i> (22/7/1841)
Egham (Surrey)	£5, £10, £20 (1734) £50 (after 1740)	19.2	6	1734	Closed 1884	RC; <i>Daily Courant</i> (23/8/1734); M. Lord, <i>Egham Races 1734-1884. 150 years of horse racing on Runnymede</i> (1988)
Epsom (Surrey)	£15, £25, £30 (1734) £50 (post 1740)	14.8	16	1625	Ongoing	D. Hunn, <i>Epsom Racecourse</i> (London, 1973), p.32
Hurst Park (Surrey)	?	12.2	1	1737	Probably ends pre-1740	RC
Limpsfield (Surrey)	£20 (1735)	18.9	3	1730	1735	RC; <i>London Evening Post</i> (5-7/8/1735)
Kingston-upon-Thames (Surrey)	£5, £10, £30 (1737)	10.3	3	1734	1737	<i>London Evening Post</i> (21-24/9/1734); RC; <i>London Evening Post</i> (28-31 May 1737)
Wimbledon (Surrey)	£5, £10, £15 (1738)	7	6	1730	1750	RC; <i>General Advertiser</i> (19/6/1750)
Epping Forrest (Essex)	£3, £5 (1730) £10, £15, £20 (1738)	16.8	-	1702	1738	<i>Post Man & Historical Account</i> (22/10/ 1702); <i>London Evening Post</i> (8-11/7/1738)

After a decade in 'recession', English racing began to recover in the 1760s and entered a period of increasing commercialization. In the metropolitan area, the number of races held on the surviving courses and the size of prize money which they awarded increased dramatically. The crisis had effectively 'pruned back the weaker courses ... leaving only the larger, more resilient meetings'.⁹⁹² By 1760, there were only four sites within twenty miles of the metropolis: Barnet, Enfield, Epsom and Egham. Only one new course was established, at Enfield in 1788, but this was abandoned a few years later.⁹⁹³

An important effect of these developments was a dramatic rise in the volume of Londoners riding out to the same courses. In 1771, it was computed that more than 30,000 people attended Barnet races in just one week, 'of which the greater part come from London'.⁹⁹⁴ Before 1740, most courses had been within easy walking distance, a couple of miles, of the capital but by the 1760s, the nearest venue, Barnet, was ten miles away, while Epsom was fourteen miles and Egham nineteen miles distant. Thus, in the second half of the eighteenth century, riding out became the primary means of attendance for a high proportion of race-goers. As a rip-roaring song from the 1760s makes clear, these two activities were swiftly and deeply entwined

Invitation to Epsom Races (1764)

Come Nobles, and Heroes, and Bucks of the Turf;
Having had of the dull smoaky Town quite enough;
Come mount the gay Steed; and to Epsom repair,
To see the fine Horses, and Ladies, so fair! [Repeat]

Come Statesmen so subtle, unbend for a while,
And leave your deep Schemes, on our Races to smile,
In your Coaches, so splendid, at Races preside,
And learn of our Jockeys how People to guide. [Repeat]

Come Merchants, and Bankers, and Poets, and Players,
Leave your discounting Bills, and your anxious Affairs
Come mount the proud Steed, and to the Races advance,
To taste Health and Pleasure, not equall'd in France. [Repeat]

⁹⁹² Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.185.

⁹⁹³ Races at Enfield were temporarily revived in 1816 and 1817; J. Tuff, *Historical, Topographical and Statistical Notices of Enfield In the County of Middlesex* (1858), p.30; races at Enfield were temporarily revived in 1816 and 1817.

⁹⁹⁴ *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (2/9/1771).

Come Aldermen, Commoners, - all sober Cits,
 Who center your Happiness in your Tit Bits;
 Now the Winter is fled, and fair Flora is drest,
 We've Turtle and Poultry, and Things of the best, [Repeat]

Come Judges, and Council, Sollicitors too,
 And Bishops, and Doctors, and Curates so slue;
 In Coach, or in Chaise, or on Horseback, draw near,
 We've Choice of fine Ladies – but nothing too dear. [Repeat]

Come Brewers, Distillers, of Gold the Effrayers,
 Come Jonathan's Jobbers, in Bulls and in Bears...⁹⁹⁵

Encouraging all Londoners to mount horses, the song extols the dual benefits of riding out and race-going. As discussed below, these included sociability and display; escape from urban life, the opportunity to 'taste Health and Pleasure'; and the thrill of equine speed. The production of this kind of puffery was a powerful weapon in the commercialization of leisure in the eighteenth century, a process in which equestrian recreation was fully engaged. At the same time, it becomes clear that race-going played an important role in London's wider equine economy. In 1785, the *Whitehall Evening Post* reported that Epsom was 'visited by phaetons, curricles, tim-whiskies, gigs, buggies, and sulkies, out of number, together with pleasure-carts drawn by Jack-asses, and vehicles, progressively on, through the whole anti-climax of modern inventions'.⁹⁹⁶ And in 1792, the *Evening Mail* observed that 'Epsom Races were never more full ... Not a chaise was to be had yesterday for love or money. The road was lined all the way [from London] with carriages'.⁹⁹⁷ By encouraging the metropolitan bourgeoisie to hire horses and vehicles, race-going fuelled the expansion of the city's repositories and livery stables, discussed in Chapter 3.

The transformation of horse racing created a new impetus to ride out from the metropolis, and strengthened the bond between London's equestrian and sporting cultures. Another important aspect of this relationship was the rise of metropolitan fox- and stag-hunting.

⁹⁹⁵ 'Invitation to Epsom-Races. A Song. By Philo-Bumper' in Philo-Pegasus, *Eclipse Races, (addressed to the Ladies:)* *Being an impartial account of the celestial coursers and their riders...* (1764), p.20.

⁹⁹⁶ *Whitehall Evening Post* (5-7/5/1785).

⁹⁹⁷ *Evening Mail* (25-28/5/1792).

Plate 54: Thomas Rowlandson, *Easter Monday, or the cockney hunt* (Hand-coloured etching, 1811).



In 1826, Colonel John Cook published a practical treatise on fox hunting in which he paid special tribute to London and its riders. Drawing on his own extensive experience in Essex and Suffolk, Cook asserted

Should you happen to keep hounds at no great distance from London, you will find many of the inhabitants of that capital (cockneys, if you please) *good sportsmen*, well mounted, and riding well to hounds: they never interfere with the management of them in the field, contribute liberally to the expense, and pay their subscriptions regularly.⁹⁹⁸

This assessment offered a well-meaning, if somewhat patronising, defence of the cockney sportsman against a long-standing culture of rural snobbery. As early as 1719, a ballad ridiculed the City's common hunt

... once a year into Essex a hunting they go;
To see 'em pass along, O' tis a most pretty show:
Through Cheapside and Fenchurch-street, and so to Aldgate pump,
Each man with's spurs in's horses sides, and his back-sword cross his rump...
And when they had done their sport, they came to London, where they dwell,
Their faces all so torn and scratch'd, their wives scarce knew them well.⁹⁹⁹

And by the early 1800s, the sporting Londoner was a well-known caricature.¹⁰⁰⁰ Thomas Rowlandson's *Easter Monday. Or the Cockney Hunt*, 1811 (Plate 54) depicts an inept and terrified citizen about to be thrown over the head of his horse as he attempts to jump a wall. To emphasise the cockney's incompetence, a woman riding side-saddle clears the same ridge in complete control.¹⁰⁰¹

This satirical culture culminated in the 1830s, when John Jorrocks, 'a cit rapturously fond' of fox hunting became one of Britain's most popular comic creations. Robert Surtees' *Jorrocks Jaunts and Jollities* (1838) revelled in the 'eccentric and extravagant exploits' of a 'substantial grocer' from St Botolph's Lane, and particularly his rides with the Surrey Hunt. These episodes were plagued with calamity, humiliation and dubious triumph – in one, Jorrocks plunges into a cess-

⁹⁹⁸ Colonel John Cook, *Observations on Fox Hunting and the Management of Hounds in the Kennel and the Field* (1826), pp.148-9.

⁹⁹⁹ Tom d'Urfey, *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1719).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Anon, *Advice to Sportsmen, Rural or Metropolitan* (1809), begins with a dedication to 'the most enlightened Sportsmen in the metropolis of the British Empire' and ends with an ode 'Inscribed to London Sportsmen'.

¹⁰⁰¹ See also Thomas Rowlandson's *The Race (or How to Twist your Neck)* in Anon, *Advice to Sportsmen, Rural or Metropolitan* (1809), p.6.

pool while on another he crosses the Croydon canal by barge after his horse refuses to jump.¹⁰⁰² Surtees repeatedly lampooned cockney sportsmen for talking shop, a lack of equestrian skill and quitting the field early, yet he had been a Londoner himself and expressed considerable fondness for its sporting culture.¹⁰⁰³ As well as satirizing rural prejudices, *Jorrocks Jaunts* teased old friends who had given him a joyful escape from the drudgery of legal work.¹⁰⁰⁴ In doing so, Surtees was celebrating the twilight years of a golden age of metropolitan hunting, the culmination of seven decades of expansion.

Satire was just one response to the growing self-confidence of the metropolitan sportsman. By the early nineteenth century, the city was producing its own heroes of the chase to compete with those of Leicestershire and Yorkshire. They included the eccentric Colonel Hylton Jolliffe MP (1773–1843), master of the Merstham foxhounds in Surrey. When his pack disbanded in 1830, Jolliffe was described by the *Sporting Magazine* as

one of the old school, and a very fine sample of it. Who has not seen him walk up St. James's Street with ... [his] neat blue coat with metal buttons ... and clean yellow leather shorts with long gaiters? He looks like what he is, a country gentleman and a fox-hunter.¹⁰⁰⁵

In 1819, Jolliffe inspired Richard Dighton (1795–1880), an artist best known for his satirical portraits of London celebrities, to make an etching entitled 'The hero of the chase'.¹⁰⁰⁶ More significantly, Jolliffe's sporting achievements were immortalized by the metropolitan artist Dean Wolstenholme (1757–1837). Between 1803 and 1826, Wolstenholme celebrated the vibrancy of London's hunting activities in a flurry of images including *The Epping Forest Stag Hunt* (oil on canvas, 1811) (Plate 55) and prints depicting foxhunting in both Surrey and Essex.¹⁰⁰⁷ While previous studies have identified London as a hub of production and consumption of sporting

¹⁰⁰² Robert Smith Surtees, *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities* (1st pub. 1838; 2nd edn., 1843), pp.56 & 21; Surtees lived in London between 1825 and 1835, when he inherited Hamsterley Hall in Durham.

¹⁰⁰³ Robert Surtees, *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities* (1843), pp. 57, 59 & 61.

¹⁰⁰⁴ J. Welcome, *The Sporting World of R.S. Surtees* (Oxford & New York, 1982), p.63.

¹⁰⁰⁵ D.R. Fisher (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832* (Cambridge, 2009).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Richard Dighton, reissued by Thomas McLean, Colonel Hylton Jolliffe ('The hero of the chase'), hand-coloured etching, 1819 (National Portrait Gallery).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Dean Wolstenholme, *The Merstham Hounds in 1813, with the Huntsman, Roffey, and a Whip* (Oil on canvas, 1813, Private collection); *A Meet of the Merstham Hounds at Chipstead Green with Col. Hylton Jolliffe* (n.d., Private collection), both subsequently engraved; www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/dean-wolstenholme-sen-hounds-of-colonel-hylton-5484454-details (accessed 1/8/2013); see also [Fox-hunting set of four] 'Surrey Views' (undated, hand-coloured aquatint), Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection; 'The Essex Hunt: Four Works' (engravings, 1831), British Museum Prints & Drawings Collection; E. Clarke, rev. A. Peach, 'Wolstenholme, Dean, the elder (1757-1837)', ODNB (2004).

art,¹⁰⁰⁸ historians have rarely acknowledged the existence of a thriving artistic oeuvre focussed specifically on metropolitan riding and hunting. It should be noted that this work emerged during a period of particular enthusiasm for masculine sporting culture in London which also gave rise to the whip-cracking Regency journalist, Pierce Egan (1772–1849).¹⁰⁰⁹



Plate 55: Dean Wolstenhome the elder, *The Epping Forest Stag Hunt* (Oil on canvas, 1811).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, ch.7; R. Blake, *George Stubbs and the Wide Creation: Animals, People and Places in the Life of George Stubbs, 1724-1806* (London, 2005); S. Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England. A Social and Political History* (New Haven & London, 1988); B. Taylor, *Animal Painting in England, from Barlow to Landseer* (Harmondsworth, 1955); O. Miller, *British Sporting Painting 1650-1850* (London, 1974); A. Walker, *Sporting Art England 1700-1900* (London, 1972).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Pierce Egan, *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected; including numerous characteristic portraits of persons in every walk of life, who have acquired notoriety from their achievements on the turf, at the table, and in the diversions of the field* (1820); *Life in London or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, esq., and his elegant friend, Corinthian Tom* (1821); *Pierce Egan's Life in London and Sporting Guide*, a weekly newspaper, was launched in 1824; *Books of Sports, and Mirror of Life; the turf, the chase, the ring, and the stage* (London, 1832); see also, J.C. Reid, *Bucks and Bruisers: Pierce Egan and Regency England* (London, 1971).

Other kinds of evidence reveal the mechanics of hunting's success. In his defence of metropolitan fox-hunters, quoted above, Colonel Cook highlighted the city's investment in fine horses and commitment to retaining local packs of hounds funded by kennel subscriptions.¹⁰¹⁰ These were key developments in the expansion and commercialization of field sports, a process which was particularly advanced in the metropolitan area. One of London's earliest organised fox hunting institutions, the Epping or 'Common' Hunt of the Citizens of London, was established in the 1740s but enjoyed its heyday in the final quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹¹ This period witnessed the emergence of dozens of subscription hunts each jostling for territory and subscribers, drawn from the capital's resident nobility, gentry and not least, its expanding bourgeoisie. Hunting on horseback became an obsession for many upper middling Londoners. In 1825, William Cobbett (1763–1835) boasted that his adolescent son Richard 'can ride ... over anything' and observed that he 'begins to talk of nothing but fox-hunting!' This level of enthusiasm was worthy of the great aristocratic hunting families of the Midlands and North of England, but Cobbett ran a plant nursery in Kensington and his son pursued foxes within a few miles of the metropolis.¹⁰¹²

Surrey became a particularly important hub of activity – in the 1760s, a pack of foxhounds was kept at Bermondsey 'to hunt bagmen in the suburbs',¹⁰¹³ and in the 1770s, hounds belonging to Mr. Walker of Putney were pursuing foxes in Wimbledon.¹⁰¹⁴ Not long after, the famous Surrey Hounds were established at Godstone, less than twenty miles from the capital. A second pack, kennelled at Leatherhead, hunted further to the west and in 1799, they merged to form the Surrey Union.¹⁰¹⁵ By then, Londoners enjoyed an overwhelming choice of suburban hunts. In 1796, the *Sun* newspaper predicted 'that our sporting friends, in and near the Metropolis, will have no reason to repine at the present prospect of sport for the season, as

Wood's harriers take Sunbury [and] Hounslow Heath...whilst on the other side of the Thames, Kingston Hill, Wimbledon Common &c. is possessed by the excellent pack of Mr. Chapman. The adjoining Country is covered by Mr. Gee, of Beddington [near

¹⁰¹⁰ Colonel John Cook, *Observations on Fox Hunting* (1826), pp.148-9.

¹⁰¹¹ However, its origins were much older than this: a charter granted by Henry I entitled the citizens of London to 'have chases, and hunt' in the forest; John Timbs, *Curiosities of London* (1855), p.11; G.K. Whitehead, *The Deer of Great Britain and Ireland: an account of their history, status and distribution* (London, 1964), p.25; William Mellish sold his hounds c.1806; *Sporting Magazine*, vol.27 (1806), p.257; Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting*, p.83; 'The Druid' [H.H. Dixon], *Scott & Sebright* (1862), ch.4.

¹⁰¹² William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, (ed.) I. Dyck (1830; Harmondsworth, 2001), pp.259-60: 'Kensington, 20th November 1825'; R. Ingrams, *The Life and Adventures of William Cobbett* (London, 2005), p.207.

¹⁰¹³ Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting*, p.81; H.R. Taylor, *The Old Surrey Fox Hounds* (London, 1906); Bagmen refers to foxes released from a bag or box at the start of a hunt.

¹⁰¹⁴ *St James's Chronicle* (14/1/1775).

¹⁰¹⁵ Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting*, p.81; Taylor, *The Old Surrey Fox Hounds*; Longrigg warns that this date was conjectural.

Croydon] ... to these are added ... the King's stag hounds and harriers ... [and] Lord Derby's at the Oaks [near Banstead].¹⁰¹⁶

The use of the London press to publicise forthcoming hunts, and to attract new subscribers, emphasises the increasingly organised and commercialized character of this strand of metropolitan equestrian diversion.

Metropolitan sportsmen received further encouragement from the royal family in the late eighteenth century. Unlike his two predecessors, George III proved himself 'a lover of hard exercise' and, in the later years of his reign, hunted with the Royal Buckhounds twice a week when staying at Windsor. Moreover, in 1781, the Prince of Wales described hunting as an 'almost divine amusement', boasting to his brother, Frederick, that he now had at his disposal 'plenty of excellent & beautiful horses'. Chases often brought the king and prince within a few miles of London, events which were eagerly reported in the metropolitan and sporting press.¹⁰¹⁷ Perhaps inspired by royal example, several new stag-hunts were established in Middlesex in the 1780s and 1790s.¹⁰¹⁸

As suggested, the growth and increasing sophistication of metropolitan fox- and stag- hunting after 1760 coincided and interacted with developments in equine marketing, racing and riding schools. It is particularly striking that riding schools began to offer lessons and breaking-in specifically for 'the Field' in the final quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹⁹ This amused some rural riding snobs – Surtees describes a Cockney sportsman falling during an Epping Hunt because the Bidborough Street riding school, established in 1817, had told him to 'ride at whatever came in the way'.¹⁰²⁰ But the emergence of this relationship shows that riding masters were well aware of the rise of London's sporting department and took decisive action to adapt their offering to its needs.

Furthermore, metropolitan hunting responded to a growing challenge in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the need to get to open countryside. In the 1760s and 1770s, hunts

¹⁰¹⁶ *Sun* (16/8/1796); Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting*, p.112, notes that the 12th Earl of Derby kept his pack of staghounds near Croydon and usually released his stag onto Epsom Downs; see also 'The Druid' [H.H. Dixon], *Scott & Sebright* (1862), ch.4.

¹⁰¹⁷ Griffin, *Blood Sport*, p.105; Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting*, pp.82-3; Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, pp.160-1; A. Aspinall (ed.), *The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770-1812*, 8 vols. (London, 1963-71), vol.1, p.75.

¹⁰¹⁸ These included the packs of Grantley Berkeley, Hubert de Burgh, John Elmore and Josh Anderson; Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting*, p.112.

¹⁰¹⁹ Carter's: *Morning Post* (30/10/1778); G. Jones': *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (25/12/1798); Astley's: *World* (5/10/1789).

¹⁰²⁰ Robert Surtees, *Jorrock's Jaunts and Jollities* (1843), p.41.

often began or ventured within five miles of the Thames. But over the next half-century, urban expansion made this increasingly untenable. The need for change was highlighted by unfortunate incidents reported in the London press. In 1788, the *World* observed that after an epic chase across country, the Surrey Fox Hounds had been forced to dig out a fox after it ran to ground ‘under the Tower on Shooter’s Hill’, one of London’s most popular suburban leisure spots.¹⁰²¹ And in the mid-1790s, the constant trespasses of the Middlesex stag hunter William Bean were said to have made him ‘the scourge’ of market gardeners in the city’s northern suburbs.¹⁰²² In the 1830s, Surtees caricatured the Surrey Hunt’s terrain as ‘flint fallows occasionally diversified with a turnip field or market garden’. And in one episode of *Jorrocks’s Jaunts*, the Surrey stag-hounds catch their quarry ‘once in a mill-pond, once in a barn, and once in a brick field’. According to Surtees, these suburban obstacles were all part of the experience for London sportsmen.¹⁰²³ But by the early nineteenth century, most metropolitan hunts had shifted their activities at least ten miles from the centre of Town – with chases often finishing twenty miles or more from the city – to avoid these problems. This required further investment and organisation.

The need to ride out several miles to join a meet threatened to exhaust horses before the chase had begun and to undermine the pleasure of a day’s sport.¹⁰²⁴ To remedy this situation, some Londoners began to hire fresh horses from suburban ‘hunting stables’ like the Derby Arms at Croydon, where they left their own animals to stand at livery.¹⁰²⁵ According to Surtees, Croydon became ‘the general rendezvous’ of ‘grinning cits’ on a Saturday morning.¹⁰²⁶ But as hunts strayed further from the metropolis, participants also suffered the inconvenience of returning home in the dark. In 1782, a Park Lane stationer was robbed by a highwayman after a day ‘out a hunting’ at Beconsfield in Buckinghamshire, twenty miles from Town. By the time his chaise had passed Bayswater, it was nearly 6pm and already dark.¹⁰²⁷ A novel solution to such problems, for those who could afford it, was to hire or even purchase a ‘sporting box’, a residence in ‘good sporting country’ within convenient distance of the metropolis. These were usually located more than fifteen miles from London but began to lose appeal after more than thirty miles. From the 1790s, the London press regularly featured advertisements for opportunities such as

[A] Cottage...in the Village of London-Colney, Herts ... 18 miles from London... particularly well adapted for any Gentleman who is fond of Country Diversions...two

¹⁰²¹ *World* (28/2/1788).

¹⁰²² *Illustrated London News*, 6 April 1867; Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting*, p.83; ‘The Druid’ [H.H. Dixon], *Scott & Sebright* (1862), ch.4.

¹⁰²³ Robert Surtees, *Jorrocks’s Jaunts and Jollities* (1843), pp. 46-7 & 54.

¹⁰²⁴ Robert Surtees, *Jorrocks’s Jaunts and Jollities* (1843), pp.34-8.

¹⁰²⁵ Robert Surtees, *Jorrocks’s Jaunts and Jollities* (1843), pp.42-4.

¹⁰²⁶ Robert Surtees, *Jorrocks’s Jaunts and Jollities* (1843), p.8.

¹⁰²⁷ OBSP, t17820220-2 (20/2/1782).

Packs of Hounds being kept in the Neighbourhood, and the Country abounds with Game.¹⁰²⁸

A neat Compact Sporting Box ... Bromley, Kent ... with Stabling, Coach-House ... desirably situated, Ten Miles from London ... abounding with Game and Field Sports.¹⁰²⁹

To be Let ... A Complete Sporting Box, at the very easy and convenient distance of only fourteen Miles from London ... on the borders of Epping Forest ... Coach-House and Stabling for Nine Horses ... Packs of Stag and Fox-Hounds are kept in the Neighbourhood.¹⁰³⁰

To be Sold by Auction ... A desirable Freehold Estate ... in the Village of Limpsfield [Surrey] ... a remarkable pleasant Village [in] ... an excellent sporting Country, the Surrey Fox-Hounds hunting in that Neighbourhood twice a week.¹⁰³¹

The above provides striking evidence of the commercialization of metropolitan equestrian recreation in the period 1760–1835 and emphasises the degree to which the different strands of this culture were entwined. Having asserted the need to integrate horse riding into the history of the commercialization of leisure, I now want to examine the character of these activities in more detail. In the first instance, let us consider the role played by horses as promoters of sociability.

Riding & urbane sociability

Sociability has long been identified as a key component of urban and particularly metropolitan life. Yet historians had tended to associate this culture with certain kinds of recreational activities practiced in primarily indoor venues such as assembly rooms, theatres, coffee shops and town houses, as well as pleasure gardens. While historians have occasionally credited horses with enabling urbanites to travel between these sites, horse riding has rarely been viewed as a sociable activity in its own right. Yet, the strength of this relationship not only fuelled the fashionable appeal of London's equestrian activities but also exposed it to criticism. This was particularly striking in the case of park riding, discussed below, but is also reflected in riding school and riding out culture.

¹⁰²⁸ *Daily Advertiser* (7/7/1796).

¹⁰²⁹ *True Briton* (14/4/1798).

¹⁰³⁰ *World* (1/8/1791).

¹⁰³¹ *St. James's Chronicle* (8/3/1791).

As well as being temples to equestrian pleasure and perfection, riding schools became refined meeting places for the *beau monde*. Proprietors worked hard to create an atmosphere which was conducive to polite conversation and spectatorship. A viewing gallery was ‘an essential part of any riding house’ and received some ‘architectural treatment’ for the benefit of visitors.¹⁰³² Thus, riding schools shared much in common with other, more conventional venues of urban sociability, such as the Ranelagh Rotunda, the Pantheon and the Opera House. In the 1760s, Lady Mary Coke timed her visits to Hall’s riding house specifically to meet friends and acquaintances.¹⁰³³ And, in 1831, the young actress Fanny Kemble (1809–1893), enjoyed ‘a pleasant, gossiping ride with Lady Grey and Miss Cavendish’ at Fozzard’s. On another occasion, these women discussed the theatre and the ‘stay-at-home sensation’ which, revealingly, they condemned as an unsociable fad.¹⁰³⁴

Riding schools did, however, impose some limitations on sociability, particularly between men and women. The intense physicality of riding, its potential to ruffle garments and expose flesh, constituted a potential threat to decency and decorum, particularly when so many pupils were unmarried girls. Thus, proprietors created strict timetables and rules – occasionally advertised in the London press – to exclude male voyeurs. Generally, gentlemen were admitted in the morning and ladies in the afternoon.¹⁰³⁵ Nevertheless, these venues played a crucial role in polite urban life, successfully promoting refined sociability among elite and upper middling riders. Furthermore, this influence extended beyond the riding school as pupils graduated to other equestrian diversions.

‘Riding out’ also generated opportunities for sociability, particularly among upper middling citizens. Nearly three-quarters of rides taken by John Eliot, discussed above, incorporated some kind of sociable recreational activity, including tea and coffee drinking, dining at an inn or visiting friends and relatives.¹⁰³⁶ Even more remarkably, 96 per cent of Thomas Bridge’s outings in 1762 led to activities such as walking with friends, drinking at taverns, playing bowls, sightseeing and going to church.¹⁰³⁷ Further evidence of this relationship appears in Rowlandson’s *Cit’s Airing Themselves on a Sunday*, 1810 (see Plate 53), which features a father, a daughter and a young

¹⁰³² Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.168-9.

¹⁰³³ *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke* (Edinburgh, 1889), vol.1, p.247, Diary, May 1767.

¹⁰³⁴ Frances Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood* (New York, 1879), p.605, Diary, (19/12/1831); Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London*.

¹⁰³⁵ This was the case at Carter’s school near Grosvenor Square and Jones’ Pantheon school on Blackfriars Road; *Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser* (30/11/1780); *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (6/11/1786); the Royal Circus reminded patrons: ‘No Gentlemen admitted into the school during the time Ladies are riding’; *Star* (19/5/1795).

¹⁰³⁶ LMA, ACC/1017/0944.

¹⁰³⁷ TNA, J90/13, Thomas Bridge, ‘Diary’ (1760-1809), 1762.

male suitor riding on horseback and a single-horse chaise carrying three family members or friends. This image emphasises that riding out promoted a spectrum of interactions, including mixed-sex sociability. Yet, while 40 per cent of Bridge's outings led to some form of sociability with women,¹⁰³⁸ riding out played a particularly important role in male sociability.

When Bridge and Eliot rode in company, it was mostly with men, and usually the same riding companion.¹⁰³⁹ Moreover, when women did participate, they travelled in a chaise while the men rode on horseback, creating a somewhat segregated equestrian dynamic.¹⁰⁴⁰ An interesting exception is the noblewoman Lady Mary Coke (1727–1811) who, as a widow in her forties, regularly rode out alone and on horseback from her house in semi-rural Notting Hill in the 1760s and early 1770s.¹⁰⁴¹ Yet, Coke seems to have been a rare exception – while I have found many references to women riding on horseback in Hyde Park, on rural estates and in spa towns, I have not encountered such behaviour in suburban London. Metropolitan women faced several obstacles in this regard. By the 1750s, virtually all female riders in Britain rode side-saddle, a technique which made long-distance travel over uneven terrain both uncomfortable and precarious.¹⁰⁴² But riding out from London exposed elite women to other dangers, above all the threat posed by highwaymen. Metropolitan newspapers occasionally reported attacks on 'well mounted' riders in the suburbs, crimes which probably dissuaded some male riders, but heavily restricted female participation.¹⁰⁴³ Thus, like riding schools, riding out culture imposed significant limitations on mixed-sex sociability which were not to be found in Hyde Park. As shown below, this contributed to park riding's reputation as the most sociable form of metropolitan equestrian culture.

Traditional studies have tended to emphasise the potential for social mingling and mixing in Hanoverian towns. Klein has, for instance, asserted that public promenades enabled 'different elements in society' to share 'a common form of sociability and social display, even if separated by an altitude of several feet'.¹⁰⁴⁴ Yet, such interpretations should be treated with caution, not

¹⁰³⁸ TNA, J90/13, Thomas Bridge, 'Diary' (1760-1809), 1762.

¹⁰³⁹ Bridge rode with Mr Kirkman, and Eliot with Hansen. Bridge: TNA, J90/13; Eliot: LMA, ACC/1017/0944; Bridge rode with eight different men in total, including another male friend and his uncle.

¹⁰⁴⁰ On gender relations among the middling sorts, see K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity & Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012).

¹⁰⁴¹ *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, vol.3: pp.495.

¹⁰⁴² Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, p.166.

¹⁰⁴³ *London Evening Post* (22-25/9/1753); *Independent Chronicle* (6-9/10/1769).

¹⁰⁴⁴ L.E. Klein, 'Politeness for plebes: Consumption and social identity in early eighteenth-century England' in A. Bermingham & J. Brewer (ed.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London & New York), p.367; see also Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp.277-79; R. Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1990), p.232; P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1992), p.102; T. Castle, *Masquerade and Civilisation: Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Palo Alto, CA, 1986), p.28.

least in Hyde Park's case, where elite equestrians shared the same rides and 'kicked up' the same dust as their social inferiors. Hyde Park was open to anyone 'of decent habit and demeanour',¹⁰⁴⁵ free of charge, and contemporaries often commented on the extraordinary degree of social mixing which flourished there. In *The Adventures of Timothy Twig* (1794), a Welsh visitor is left spellbound by the 'glorious confusion' of riders before him, which included a duchess in a phaeton; Charles Curd, a Cheesemonger's Clerk 'on a worn Moorfield hack'; Sir Peter Pension in a chariot; and Sir Benjamin Globe, a 'fat bloated figure' who rides a 'lean mare'.¹⁰⁴⁶ As well as providing fertile ground for satirists,¹⁰⁴⁷ Hyde Park was cited by some eighteenth-century commentators as evidence of social harmony in the capital. Yet, as Hannah Greig has shown with reference to the London pleasure garden, 'social exclusivity' was often 'performed and practised within ostensibly "open" (inclusive) public arenas'.¹⁰⁴⁸ This was certainly the case in Hyde Park where equestrians rode in distinctive ways and mounted different types of horse to project their status, and judged other riders accordingly. In May 1767, Lady Mary Coke noted in her diary that she

came into Hyde Park [and] rode all the time with Lord Bathurst ... Just as we came home we met the Duchess of Norfolk. She stopped her Chaise, & desired me to dine with her. I accepted the invitation, & came home.¹⁰⁴⁹

These events reveal some of the ways in which elite equestrians adapted their behaviour to foster and protect exclusivity. Riders habitually entered the park together or orchestrated desirable encounters by looking out for familiar horses, vehicles or liveries, and riding to intercept a favoured riding companion.¹⁰⁵⁰ By stopping her chaise, the Duchess of Norfolk accepted Coke into her equestrian circle. By contrast, undesirables could be excluded by riding off or changing direction. As discussed in Chapter 5, modes of riding horses and driving vehicles played a powerful role in metropolitan social relations in the Hanoverian period.

In Hyde Park, riding styles and equine qualities were as if not more powerful instruments of social recognition, attraction and segregation than clothing, manners or conversation. Evidence of this

¹⁰⁴⁵ John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (1796-98), vol.1, p.254.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Joseph Moser, *The Adventures of Timothy Twig, Esq. in a series of poetical epistles*, 2 vols. (London, 1794), vol.2, pp.36-47.

¹⁰⁴⁷ John O' Keefe, *The Farmer: a comic opera. In two acts. As it is performed at the Theatres Royal in London and Dublin* (Dublin, 1789); 'Prologue to the Miniature Picture, written by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq; spoken by Mr. King', *The Annual Register for the year 1780* (1781), p.209.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Greig, "All together and all distinct", p.51.

¹⁰⁴⁹ J.A. Home (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1889-96), vol.1, p.247: Diary, May 1767.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, vol.1, p.247.

can be gleaned from caricatures and newspaper reports, as well as the letters and journals of park riders. In 1785, the *Morning Herald* observed that

Rotten Row was ... fully attended by jockies of all descriptions, and mounted on *nags*, that bid defiance to discrimination; from the Peer on his spirited hunter, to the *man milliner* on his hireling palfrey, own brother to *Rosinante!*¹⁰⁵¹

Yet, as this description attests, the dazzling array of horses and riders on view did not defy ‘discrimination’, rather it aided and abetted social differentiation. Isaac Cruikshank presents a similarly forensic satirical study in *Sunday Equestrians or Hyde Park Candidates for Admiration*, published in 1797. As shown in Plate 56, the assemblage includes a well-dressed gentleman mounted on a fine white stallion – apparently trained in the *ménage* – and a Lord on an impressive skewbald thoroughbred. Juxtaposing these fine horse-human units is a rural bumpkin riding a shaggy country horse and a luckless gentleman forced to ride a huge dray-horse (because his ‘Blood Mare’ is lame). At the bottom of the pile, a lean tradesman rides a skinny ass which he has ‘crop’t and docked’ in hopes ‘they’ll admit him into the park’.¹⁰⁵² This suggests that by the end of the eighteenth century, park warders may have guarded the entrance to the park to assess the respectability of both riders and their horses, although I have been unable to find definitive evidence of this.

It is important to note that such depictions do not offer proof of non-elites riding in the park. Low-born grooms, coachmen and postilions seem to have been prevalent because they accompanied masters on rides or exercised their horses as part of their employment.¹⁰⁵³ But as suggested, the park retained its *éclat* and the participation of middling sorts appears to have been exaggerated. Rather, this kind of commentary shows that Hyde Park’s equestrian activities were dragged into broader debates about the respectability of metropolitan recreational space.¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁵¹ *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* (24/1/1785); ‘Palfrey’: an archaic term for a docile horse used for light riding; ‘Rocinante’ was Don Quixote’s horse; see also Philippina Hall, *Portraits, characters, pursuits, and amusements of the Present Fashionable World, interspersed with poetic flights of fancy* (London, 1785?), pp.8-9.

¹⁰⁵² See also John Cawse, *Blood & bone!!!* (hand-coloured etching, London, c.1800), The Lewis Walpole Library.

¹⁰⁵³ *Independent Chronicle or Freeholders Evening Post* (9/10/1769); *Lloyd’s Evening Post* (24/5/1769); *Public Advertiser* (26/2/1783) & *World* (11/1/1791); in 1791, the Master of the Horses at the King’s Mews ordered that ‘none of the King’s coachmen do presume to exercise their horses on the parade or on the foot paths of St James’ Park’ following a complaint by the Duke of York; RAW, Mews/Proc/Mixed, Precedence Book, 1760-1805, p.250; Tim Meldrum argued that servants working with horses had access to certain perquisites and freedoms denied to others in the servant’s hall; *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750* (Harlow, 2000), pp.167-77.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Greig, “‘All together and all distinct’”; M. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London’s Geographies, 1680-1780* (New York & London, 1998), ch.4.

Plate 56: Isaac Cruikshank, *Sunday Equestrians or Hyde Park Candidates for Admiration* (Hand-coloured etching, 1797).



Like routs, masquerades and concerts, park riding powerfully invoked ‘urban civility and sociability’, as well as fashionable display.¹⁰⁵⁵ As historians have often observed, London’s parks were ‘characterised by an almost frantic dedication to gazing’¹⁰⁵⁶ and there was no better way to be seen than riding on horseback or in a horse-drawn vehicle. In May 1769, Silas Neville – a 28-year-old bachelor of modest fortune – decided to ride his first horse ‘round Hyde Park in *his* new bit made from Lord Pembroke’s pattern and Hussar saddle’.¹⁰⁵⁷ Eager to be acknowledged and accepted by the *beau monde*, Neville hoped to exhibit refined taste. As shown in Chapter 3, he had spent months selecting his horse and now adorned it with items inspired by aristocratic equestrian culture. At the same time, Neville hoped to demonstrate equestrian prowess, to which end he had invested in the services of a West End riding school, discussed below.

At the same time, park riding’s success as a polite urban recreation was highly dependent on its ability to allow conversation to flow between participants. Considering the concentration that was needed to ride a horse, the potential for equine behaviour to interrupt and distract, and the noise of other park users, this was an impressive achievement. But polite recreations were also judged on the ‘aesthetics of sociability’, the quality of conversation which they fostered.¹⁰⁵⁸ Obsessive talk about riding and hunting was associated with dull country bumpkins,¹⁰⁵⁹ but park riding appears to have facilitated varied and refined conversation among and between men and women. Striking evidence of this appears in the diary of Lady Mary Coke. After riding in Hyde Park with Lord Bathurst in 1767, Coke noted that she ‘talk’d to him of some of his old acquaintances, Mr Pope, Swift, [and] Lord Bolingbroke’. And on another occasion, Coke was joined on a park ride by the Duke of York, who predicted ‘a very late day in both Houses [of parliament] on Wednesday’.¹⁰⁶⁰ This aspect of park riding culture underlines the degree to which horses were integrated into metropolitan life, a point asserted throughout this study.

The urbane characteristics of this strand of equestrian culture were underlined when commentators periodically fretted over the health of English culture. At times of national anxiety, often provoked by war, park riding shared in the condemnation of certain aspects of urban sociability.¹⁰⁶¹ In 1786, Richard Cumberland observed that a man of dissipation ‘might have visited the ruins of Herculaneum in half the number of paces that he spends in sauntering up to

¹⁰⁵⁵ Williams, ‘‘To recreate and refresh their dulled spirites’’, p.205.

¹⁰⁵⁶ M. Pointon, ‘The lives of Kitty Fisher’, *J ECS*, 27 (2004), p.88; Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.162; O’Byrne, ‘Walking, rambling, and promenading’, pp.141-3.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Diary of Sylas Neville*, pp.69 & 67 (18/5/1769) & (6/4/1769).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Heller, ‘Leisure and pleasure in London society’, ch.7.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Longrigg, *The English Squire and His Sport*, pp.110-11.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, vol. 1, p.247: Diary, May 1767.

¹⁰⁶¹ P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society 1660-1800* (Harlow, 2001).

Rotten-Row'.¹⁰⁶² In 1787, *A Fat Buck of Hyde Park* (Plate 57) depicted a finely-dressed gentleman riding through the park, pompously resting his whip over one shoulder while tugging hard on the reins to make his horse trot in a frenchified style. As if to endorse the viewer's disdain, the horse defecates on the buck's dog. And in 1790, the moralising essayist Vicesimus Knox (1752–1821) lampooned 'Sir Hurricane Bustleton', a social type which

having inherited a very good fortune and being trained to no profession has less business on his hands than most people ... thus, with perhaps a gallop in Rotten-row, [he] gets rid of the tedious hours which intervene between the hour of riding and the hour of dinner.¹⁰⁶³

Plate 57: Raphael Lamar West [?], *A Fat Buck of Hyde Park* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1787).



¹⁰⁶² Richard Cumberland, *The Observer: Being a Collection of Moral, Literary and Familiar Essays*, 5 vols. (1786), vol.2, pp.167-8.

¹⁰⁶³ 'A new song' in *The English lyceum, or, Choice of pieces in prose and verse, selected from the best periodical papers, magazines, pamphlets and other British publications*, 3 vols. (Hamburg, 1787), vol.1, pp.24-5; Vicesimus Knox, *Winter evenings: or, lucubrations on life and letters*, 2 vols. (1790), vol.1, pp.355 & 357.

The accomplished male rider was highly esteemed in Hanoverian culture but was judged on fluid and contestable criteria. In the second half of the eighteenth century, some commentators viewed park riding as a threat to more useful and manly strands of equestrian culture such as field sports.¹⁰⁶⁴ The most contemptible evidence of this was the macaroni rider, a man who mounted simply to show off flamboyant dress and a frenchified riding seat. Writing in the mid-1790s, when the macaroni had largely lost its cultural resonance, John Lawrence noted that some continued to ride

up Rotten Row bolt-upright ... as though he were impaled, his stirrup-leathers of an excessive length, the extremity of his toe barely touching the stirrups ... his lily hands adorned with ruffles Volant, and his head with a three-cocked hat.¹⁰⁶⁵

Plate 58 offers a more stylised depiction of *A Macaroni taking his Morning Ride in Rotten-Row* (1770) at the height of his fame. While inaccurate in some respects – the stirrups are too short and the rider’s back arched – this image conveys the awkwardness of the macaroni rider. Weighed down by a huge wig and strangled by a voluminous neck-cloth, this affected equestrian cannot be the master of his horse.

Plate 58: Anon, *A Macaroni taking his Morning Ride in Rotten-Row Hyde Park* (engraving, 1770).¹⁰⁶⁶



¹⁰⁶⁴ Colley, *Britons*, p.172.

¹⁰⁶⁵ John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (1796), vol.1, p.248.

¹⁰⁶⁶ For a more accurate visual depiction of the continental seat, see John Nost Sartorius, 'The Manage Seat' in John Adams, *Analysis of horsemanship* (1799).

Philip Carter has rightly argued that ‘male participation in polite society’ posed constant challenges to ‘traditional male values’ but this tension was particularly acute in equestrian culture because English men had long expressed so much of their identity through horsemanship. It was in this context that James Boswell chided Dr Johnson for being ‘a delicate Londoner’ in 1773, adding ‘you are a macaroni [sic]; you cannot ride’. The friends had commenced their highland tour, or as Boswell called it their ‘wild tour’. As they left Montrose, Boswell began to worry that his friend, then in his sixties, was beginning to struggle but with typical spirit Johnson retorted, ‘Sir, I shall ride better than you’.¹⁰⁶⁷ In allaying Boswell’s fears, Johnson crushed the spectre of the macaroni rider and reasserted his manly vigour. Boswell’s *Journal* of the tour was first published in 1785, by which time the macaroni rider – a creature of Hyde Park lacking the skill and strength to ride over real countryside – was firmly established in British culture. These tensions appears to have been linked to a broader identity crisis in England brought about by the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). As Dror Wahrman observes, fighting ‘a war without a stable “other”’ transformed ‘unreliable identities’ such as the ‘gender-flexing’ macaroni from a ‘pet peeve of moralizers and doomsayers, alarmed by the fashionable consequences of commercial society, into a disturbing, inescapable underpinning of the conflict that was threatening to pull the British nation and empire apart’.¹⁰⁶⁸

Park riding posed a particular threat to masculinity because it proved so effective at promoting mix-sexed sociability.¹⁰⁶⁹ In the final quarter of the century, poems, plays and novels often depicted men in hot pursuit of *belles* nested in carriages as a romantic or comic device. In 1790, a popular song observed that ladies ambled ‘in the morning ride: / And the beaux ... Simper by them, side by side’.¹⁰⁷⁰ However, this kind of behaviour struck some as disconcerting. In 1790, a poem observed that ‘of late’ women had begun to ‘Usurp the Whip and boldly grasp the Reins ... / With manly fortitude!’¹⁰⁷¹ The same imagery underpins John Collet’s *Kitty Coaxer driving Lord Dupe towards Rotten Row*, published between 1793 and 1820 (see Plate 59).¹⁰⁷²

¹⁰⁶⁷ James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (Dublin, 1785), p.201, Montrose (21/8/1773).

¹⁰⁶⁸ D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2004), pp.60-62 & 246-47.

¹⁰⁶⁹ M. Cohen, ‘Manliness, effeminacy and the French: gender and the construction of national character in eighteenth-century England’ in T. Hitchcock & M. Cohen (eds.) *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (London & New York, 1999), p.51.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Mr. Oakman, song ‘CLXXXVI’, in *The busy bee, or, vocal repository. Being a selection of the most favourite songs &c. contained in the English operas, that have been sung at the public gardens, and written for select societies...* 3 vols. (1790?), vol.2, p.214; see also Charlotte Turner Smith, *Marchmont: a novel*, 4 vols. (1796), vol.1, pp.139-40.

¹⁰⁷¹ Charles Dunster, *St. James’s Street, a poem, in blank verse* (1790), p.21.

¹⁰⁷² Pointon, ‘The lives of Kitty Fisher’, pp.84; Bowles and Carver’s business in St Paul’s Churchyard continued from 1793-1832; this print appears in a hand-coloured collection in the British Museum dated 1820.

Plate 59: *KITTY COAXER driving LORD DUPE towards ROTTEN ROW. From the Original Picture by John Collet, in the possession of Carington Bowles (engraving, London, c.1793–1820).*



The foppish Lord Dupe sits powerlessly as his mistress usurps his authority. Kitty towers above him, grasping the whip and reins, her mastery emphasised by the feminized appearance of matching white ponies. The animals trot in step and gaze into each other's eyes, underlining the dangers of female seduction. Meanwhile, Dupe's hunting dog symbolises his master's role as a landowner and country patrician, but its position has already been usurped by Coaxer's aggressive lap dog. Coaxer's persona was based on Kitty Fisher (1738?–1767), one of London's most celebrated courtesans. Following a series of high-profile affairs in the mid-eighteenth century, she became known as 'an alluring and dangerous consumer of men's wealth'.¹⁰⁷³ Park riding played an important role in Fisher's story – in 1759, she was thrown from her horse as she cantered through St. James's park. Unhurt, she was said to have 'burst into a fit of Laughing' until she was picked up by 'A superb Chair' in which 'she swung through a Crowd of Gentlemen and Ladies.' The event defined Fisher's infamy. One onlooker is said to have remarked 'Why tis enough to debauch half the Women in London'.¹⁰⁷⁴ As Pointon observes, 'The imagery of riding and falling' suggested not only 'sexual misconduct but also the socially and economically destabilising effects of the courtesan's success'.¹⁰⁷⁵

Kitty's revival in the 1790s coincided with the resurfacing of anxieties prompted by the French Revolutionary Wars. Collet depicted 'a world turned upside down'¹⁰⁷⁶ which warned men to take back the reins and to defend their nation. At a time when several volunteer cavalry regiments were formed in London,¹⁰⁷⁷ the sight of young gentlemen frolicking with women in Hyde Park seemed a betrayal of their patriotic duty. Addressing parliament in 1798, Sheridan railed against 'our young men of fashion' who 'might be better employed in contributing to the defence of the

¹⁰⁷³ She was born Catherine Marie Fisher 'probably the daughter of a German-born Lutheran silver-chaser' and was apprenticed to a milliner. After a scandalous time in London, she married John Norris, M.P. for Rye in 1766, but died in Bath in 1767. One of the first to support her as an affluent mistress was Commodore Keppel. Pointon argues that Fisher continued to inspire satirical literature until 1765, 'a remarkable duration of celebrity for an ephemeral character'. Fisher sat for Joshua Reynolds on several occasions from 1759-66 and may have appeared in as many as seven of his works; Pointon, 'The lives of Kitty Fisher', pp.77-97.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Anon, *HORSE and AWAY to St. JAMES'S PARK OR, a Trip for the Noontide Air. Who Rides Fastest, Miss KITTY FISHER, or her GAY GALLANT*. (No publisher, no date); see also Anon., *The Juvenile Adventures of Miss Kitty F---r.*, 2 vols. (London, 1759), vol.2, pp.165-66; Pointon, 'The lives of Kitty Fisher', pp.85-6.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Pointon, 'The lives of Kitty Fisher', p.86.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Pointon, 'The lives of Kitty Fisher', p.86; N. Zemon Davis, 'Women on Top: Symbolic and Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe', in B.A. Babcock (ed.), *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca, NY & London, 1978), pp.147-90.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Lambeth Archives: P/S/13/3, 'Streatham Militia' (1796-98) & IV/161, 'Loyal Lambeth Volunteers Minutes' (26 July 1803 – 26 June 1804); see also Charles Cranmer's *View of the London Volunteer Cavalry and Flying Artillery in Hyde Park, May 1804* (Oil on canvas, 1805); J. Newman, 'An Insurrection of Loyalty': The London Volunteer Regiments' Response to the Invasion Threat' in M. Philip (ed.), *Resisting Napoleon: The British response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815* (Aldershot & Burlington, 2006), ch. 4.

country, than in ... taking the field in Rotten-row'.¹⁰⁷⁸ Thus, equestrian culture was fertile ground for the refashioning of the British elite's image from 'a parasitic leisured class to a patriotic service elite'.¹⁰⁷⁹ Although riding with a volunteer cavalry regiment involved relatively little danger, to be seen doing so was a public affirmation of an individual's masculinity and patriotism.¹⁰⁸⁰

In the second half of the eighteenth century, park riding played an increasingly important role in polite metropolitan recreation. In this green but characteristically urban venue, the horse proved a highly effective promoter of sociability. This underscores the need to unbound the social to take account of interactions between human and non-human animals.¹⁰⁸¹ At times, park riding's ties to sociability were so strong that it appeared to undermine traditional equestrian values such as martial prowess, manliness and authority. As a result, park riders were exposed to the kind of criticism which historians have generally associated with assemblies, masquerades and routs.

As suggested, riding schools, riding out and park riding each promoted sociability to significant, if varying degrees. Yet, this does not explain why many Londoners expressed a preference for riding over other recreational activities which relied more heavily on human company and conversation. Heller has shown that the experience of attending assemblies, dinners and routs was often ruined by dull conversation and stifling company.¹⁰⁸² With this in mind, we need to consider the possibility that interactions with horses offered something which sociability did not.

The appeal of equine companionship

In January 1830, the twenty-year-old Fanny Kemble, discussed above, wrote excitedly to a female relative

my dearest H ... I am exceedingly happy ... my father has given me leave to have riding lessons, so that I shall be in right earnest "an angel on horseback," and when I come to Ardgillan ... I shall make you mount upon a horse and gallop over the sand with me; won't you, my dear?¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Observer* (22/4/1798).

¹⁰⁷⁹ Colley, *Britons*, ch. 4, pp.184-8 & 192; see also Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, p.63.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, p.63.

¹⁰⁸¹ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*; Joyce & Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers*.

¹⁰⁸² Heller, 'Leisure and pleasure', pp. 220 & 224.

¹⁰⁸³ Letter from Frances Kemble to 'H' (17/1/1830) in *Records of a Girlhood*, p.605.

In the full swing of the London Season, the thrill of riding appeared to please Kemble more than any other activity. Moreover, while she enjoyed ‘gossiping’¹⁰⁸⁴ while riding at Fozzard’s school, this was not her principle source of pleasure. As shown by a diary entry written two years later, Kemble viewed riding as an exhilarating and rewarding recreation in its own right. In the interim, Kemble became a spirited rider determined to test her physical strength and equestrian skills. During a visit to Hyde Park in January 1832, she performed her sociable duties by walking ‘soberly round the park’ and speaking to ‘friends and acquaintances’. But she then mounted a ‘great awkward brute’ of a horse and

determined once more to try ... [its] disposition, whereupon off he went again, like a shot ... I flitted down Rotten Row like Faust on the demon horse, and as I drew up and turned about I heard, "Well, that woman does ride well" ... whereas, in my mad career, I had passed Fozzard [her riding master], who shook his head lamentably ... exclaiming, "Oh, Miss Fanny! Miss Fanny!" After this last satisfactory experiment I made no more, and we cut short our ride on account of my unmanageable steed.¹⁰⁸⁵

These responses suggest that interaction with horses kept dullness at bay in the West End but also that equine companionship was an alluring alternative to sociability, a culture which continues to dominate studies of polite urban life. If this was the case in Hyde Park and the city’s riding schools, venues in which sociability played a particularly important role, it becomes even clearer when we consider riding out.

The appeal of *rus in urbe* in the Hanoverian period has received considerable attention in recent years¹⁰⁸⁶ but historians have rarely examined the degree to which urbanites crossed the boundary between town and country for pleasure. As noted in Chapter 3, an important exception is Pelling’s study which describes seventeenth-century Londoners as ‘skirters’, individuals enjoying ‘a mode of metropolitan living which was mobile’.¹⁰⁸⁷ Building on this model, I argue that thousands of

¹⁰⁸⁴ Diary of Frances Kemble (19/12/1831) in *Records of a Girlhood*, p.605,

¹⁰⁸⁵ Diary of Frances Kemble (Jan 1832) in *Records of a Girlhood*, p.605.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Attention has focussed on the greening of West End squares, and the popularity of parks, spas and pleasure gardens; H. W. Lawrence, ‘The Greening of the squares of London: transformation of urban landscapes and ideals’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 83 (1993), pp.90-118; Williams ‘To recreate and refresh their dulled spirits’’, pp.185-213; Girouard, *The English Town*; Porter, ‘Enlightenment London and urbanity’, pp.27-41; Mingay, *English Landed Society*; Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*; G. Maclean, D. Landry & J.P. Ward (eds.), *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 1999); Heller, ‘Leisure and pleasure in London society’, p.84; M. Judd, ‘“The oddest combination of town and country”: popular culture and the London fairs, 1800-60’ in J.K. Walton & J. Walvin (eds.), *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939* (Manchester, 1983).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Pelling, ‘Skirting the city? Disease, social change and divided households in the seventeenth century’ in P. Griffiths & M.S.R. Jenner (eds.), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester, 2000), pp.154-75.

Londoners were inspired to ‘ride out’ of the city to explore the surrounding countryside. At the same time, I highlight the power of pleasurable interactions with companion animals, something widely acknowledged today but largely excluded from historical narratives.

As suggested, when considering urban recreation, historians have repeatedly emphasised the importance of indoor venues and sociability. An important recent exception to this trend is Mary Crane’s assertion that individuals in early modern England sought privacy outdoors – ‘away from enclosure and surveillance’ – much more than historians have previously acknowledged. Outdoor spaces, Crane rightly argues, provided ‘a more open and liberating environment for the formation of the self’. Crane focusses on the use of gardens but riding out was perhaps the most private and liberating of all urban recreations because horses expedited access to private space while also enabling self-expression.¹⁰⁸⁸

As suggested, riding out involved a deliberate withdrawal from the built environment. While the urban fringe provided some pleasant riding opportunities, many Londoners ventured far beyond this terrain. As discussed below, this partly reflected an impulse to lose sight of the city and to seek privacy, but also a strong desire to test physical abilities and equestrian skills on open terrain. Between three and ten miles from the heart of London lay a ring of satellite villages and hamlets, set in semi-rural countryside. Many of the locations favoured by metropolitan riders were spas or well-known pleasure resorts such as Hampstead and Muswell Hill to the north and Dulwich and Putney to the south.¹⁰⁸⁹ To these were added an array of picturesque villages including Hackney, Tottenham, Edmonton, Battersea and Clapham. It is important to note that even in 1800, most of these villages still only comprised a few houses¹⁰⁹⁰ and that riders spent considerable time traversing fields, heath, marsh and woodland. Some rode out ten miles or more into the countryside, before turning back to the metropolis while others spent a night or two in a rural inn or friend’s house.

John Eliot refers to seventeen riding destinations located between three and fourteen miles from the City.¹⁰⁹¹ Eliot was most likely to ride in Surrey, partly because his grandfather lived in Croydon, but he also showed a liking for Clapham and Putney, both scenic villages. A quarter of

¹⁰⁸⁸ M.T. Crane, ‘Illicit privacy and outdoor spaces in early modern England’, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 9 (2009), pp.4-7 & 17; with reference to North American cities, McShane and Tarr have observed that horses ‘had a liberating influence ... most obviously by allowing access to ... the real countryside’; C. McShane & J. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the 19th Century* (Baltimore, 2007), p.100.

¹⁰⁸⁹ G.R. Williams, *London in the Country: The Growth of Suburbia* (London, 1975), pp.1 & 5.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Williams, *London in the Country*, p.1.

¹⁰⁹¹ Eliot’s destinations can be grouped into five zones (1) The countryside to the north of the City; (2) the villages to the north of Westminster, (3) Surrey; (4) Greenwich and (5) Kent; LMA, ACC/1017/0944, Diary of John Eliot (1757).

his rides took him to villages north of the City, especially Tottenham (5.6 miles) and Enfield (9.4 miles). Thomas Bridge was more adventurous, recording 33 destinations ranging from 1.5 miles to 22.4 miles from the City.¹⁰⁹² Bridge spent most of his outings riding through the Hackney and Leyton Marshes, and the lower reaches of Epping Forrest. Exploring these areas on horseback was particularly rewarding because riders were elevated by several feet. This gave privileged access to ‘unfettered perspective’ which Addison deemed important because ‘the Eye has Room to range abroad’.¹⁰⁹³ At the same time, horse riding exposed riders to vistas which changed at an enthralling rate.

It is not hard to imagine why these experiences proved so appealing to individuals who spent much of their lives in the ‘close-packed streets and alleys of the city’.¹⁰⁹⁴ Riding out offered an opportunity to exchange the pollution of the city for good country air,¹⁰⁹⁵ stimulated circulation and loosened muscles, widely accepted remedies for relieving stress and lethargy. Some of the eighteenth-century’s most popular medical volumes specifically recommended riding as a strategy for preventing and alleviating ill health.¹⁰⁹⁶ In the 1720s, George Cheyne (1671–1743) claimed that ‘The Digestion and the Nerves are strengthened, and most Head-aches cured, by Riding; the Stone ... eased by riding in a Coach over rough Ground’.¹⁰⁹⁷ Later, John Wesley’s (1703–91) *Primitive Physic*, published continually between 1747 and 1859, asserted that riding was a ‘grand medicine’ of particular value to those leading a sedentary life.¹⁰⁹⁸ In the late 1750s, the underwriter John Eliot usually spent between three and four hours in the saddle and covered around 14 miles, a considerable workout.¹⁰⁹⁹ Similarly, in the early 1760s, the merchant Thomas

¹⁰⁹² Bridge’s destinations can be grouped into eight zones: (1) The countryside to the north and north-east of the City; (2) The countryside to the east of the City; (3) The villages to the north of Westminster; (4) The area to the south-east of the City; (5) South Middlesex & Berkshire; (6) Surrey; (7) Hertfordshire and (8) Westminster; TNA, J90/13, Thomas Bridge, ‘Diary’ (1760-1809), 1772.

¹⁰⁹³ D.F. Bond (ed.), *The Spectator*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1987), vol.3, no.412, p.541, cited in L. Williams, ‘To recreate and refresh their dulled spirites’, p.199.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Williams, ‘To recreate and refresh their dulled spirites’, p.199.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Williams, ‘To recreate and refresh their dulled spirites’, pp.193-5; Thomas Short, *New Observations on City, Town and Country Bills of Mortality* (1750).

¹⁰⁹⁶ The benefits of riding had previously been noted by some seventeenth-century writers; Dr Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689) believed it was particularly effective against ‘nervous and hypochondriac illnesses’; D. Madden, ‘A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine’: *Religion, Medicine and Culture in John Wesley’s Primitive Physic* (Amsterdam & New York, 2007), p.185; K. Dewhurst, *Dr Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689): His Life and Original Writings* (London, 1966), p.54.

¹⁰⁹⁷ G. Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and London Life* (5th edn., 1724), p.120.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Wesley himself rode ‘above four thousand miles a year’ on horseback; J. Wesley, *Primitive Physic: or, An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases*, (24th edn., 1792), xii-xii; this was the last authentic copy before editors began to make changes; Madden, ‘A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine’, pp.3 & 185; John Wesley, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, 4 vols. (1827), vol.4, p.77; see also G. Smith, ‘Prescribing the rules of health: self-help and advice in the late eighteenth century’, in R. Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society* (Cambridge, 1985), pp.249-82.

¹⁰⁹⁹ The duration of Eliot’s rides can only be estimated with a reasonable degree of accuracy in nine instances because he often paused to enjoy other activities, such as taking coffee.

Bridge rode for between two and five hours, and despite owning his own vehicle, spent two-thirds of his outings on horseback.¹¹⁰⁰ For these busy urbanites, riding out provided an energetic alternative to otherwise sedentary urban activities. Whether at their books in the counting house, conversing in the coffee house or dining with friends, these men were cooped up indoors for much of the week.¹¹⁰¹ At the same time, equine companionship provided a powerful alternative to the kind of intense human contact which made commercial life possible but also frequently stressful and unpleasant. After a day of networking and negotiation, riding gave merchants an invaluable opportunity to free themselves from *the world*, to communicate without words and to have their wishes granted without protracted debate. Mounting a horse lifted riders up, psychologically as well as physically, from the worries of commercial life. It is revealing that Eliot was almost as likely to ride out alone as he was in company while Bridge was alone on a quarter of his jaunts on horseback.

Since the 1980s, the nature of human relationships with horses and pets has received considerable attention from sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, biologists and ecologists.¹¹⁰² Moreover, the potential for riders and their horses to forge close personal bonds is now widely accepted and celebrated in Western culture.¹¹⁰³ Numerous qualities have been suggested to explain the appeal of horses. The ecologist Paul Shepard highlights the sensuousness of their ‘sleek’ coats and curvaceous bodies. ‘Close up, the horse makes the heart beat faster’, a sensation which, he argues, is multiplied by the pleasure of genital stimulation when riding.¹¹⁰⁴ From an alternative perspective, the anthrozoologist Lynda Birke notes that ‘people with horses often see them as friends, partners on particular journeys – above all, as individuals. They have to learn to read each other, to be “in tune” and ‘as partners, horses become almost people’.¹¹⁰⁵ Whatever their emphasis, few doubt the strong emotional impact of such relationships on modern riders. Despite this, previous analyses of horsemanship in the early modern period have tended to focus

¹¹⁰⁰ It is only possible in ten out of 48 outings to calculate the approximate duration of Bridge’s rides.

¹¹⁰¹ Madden, ‘A cheap, safe and natural medicine’, p.185; John Wesley, *Primitive Physic* (1792); for cramped working conditions, see Thomas Rowlandson’s *A Merchant’s Office* (Watercolour, 1789), Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection; see also Heller, ‘Leisure and pleasure in London society’, p.90.

¹¹⁰² A.H. Kidd & R.M. Kidd, ‘Seeking a theory of the human/companion animal bond’, *Anthrozoös*, 1 (1987), pp.140-57; J. Serpell, *In the company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships* (Cambridge, 1996); Beck & Katcher, *Between Pets and People*; C.C. Wilson & D.C. Turner (eds.), *Companion Animals in Human Health* (Thousand Oakes, CA, 1998); A.L. Podberscek, E.S. Paul & J.A. Serpell (eds.), *Companion Animals & Us: Exploring the Relationships Between People & Pets* (Cambridge, 2000); see also Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*.

¹¹⁰³ For instance, the 1998 Hollywood adaptation of *The Horse Whisperer* (1995), a novel by Nicholas Evans, proved a major box-office hit.

¹¹⁰⁴ P. Shepard, *The Others: How Animals Made us Human* (Washington, D.C., 1996), p.251 & cited in McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.85.

¹¹⁰⁵ L. Birke, ‘Talking about Horses: Control and Freedom in the World of “Natural Horsemanship”’, *Society and Animals*, 16 (2008), p.115.

on issues of control and discipline, often as a means of commenting on social power structures. In doing so, these studies often refer to riding manuals.¹¹⁰⁶ While valuable in many respects, this approach offers an unbalanced view of the relationship between horse and rider. Birke notes that when interviewed, modern riders often talk in a ‘rational/scientific tone’ about some aspects of equine behaviour but describe their own relationship with a particular horse, and the experience of riding ‘him’/ ‘her’ in largely emotional terms.¹¹⁰⁷ But historians have rarely questioned how the edicts of equestrian manuals were interpreted, ignored and rejected by those who read them. Neither have they acknowledged the complexity of personal responses to riding or the feelings which equine companionship generated.

In 1837, the London coachmaker and part-time locomotive engineer, William Bridges Adams (1797–1872), leapt to the defence of horse riding as steam travel began to grow in popularity.¹¹⁰⁸ Although narrowly post-dating the period under discussion, this passage evinces an age-old connection between horse and rider which reached its zenith in the Hanoverian period. Adams proclaimed

Steam is a mere labourer – a drudge. It is not so with a horse ... They are beautiful and intelligent animals, powerful yet docile ... The man who rides a horse, feels a pleasure when the creature responds willingly to his purposes; and when he responds unwillingly, he feels a pride in the exercise of his power to compel him to obedience. Even when a horse is vicious, there is a pleasurable excitement in riding him. The rider’s nerves are strung, his senses are quickened; eye, hand, and ear are alike on the alert; the blood rushes through the veins, and every faculty is aroused.¹¹⁰⁹

Assessing the attitudes of metropolitan horse riders is fraught with difficulty. Few eighteenth-century diarists described their responses to riding in any detail, still less their feelings towards their horses. An important exception, the diary of Syllas Neville, provides extraordinary insight into the equine obsessions of one London buck. Between December 1767 and April 1769, Neville devoted himself to becoming a fine horseman in the metropolis. Whilst taking tuition at Angelo’s academy, Neville acquired a horse which, in recognition of its suitability, he named after the

¹¹⁰⁶ Raber & Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse*; D. Landry, *Noble brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English culture* (Baltimore, 2009), ch.2.

¹¹⁰⁷ Birke, ‘Talking about horses’, p.118.

¹¹⁰⁸ H.T. Wood, rev. R. Harrington, ‘Adams, William Bridges (1797-1872)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), online edition (2007) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/140 (accessed 7/8/2013).

¹¹⁰⁹ William Bridges Adams, *English Pleasure Carriages* (1837), pp.198-9, quoted in W. Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Leamington Spa, Hamberg & New York, 1986), pp.13-14.

heroic conquistador *Pizarro*.¹¹¹⁰ Neville often alludes to Pizarro's attributes and individuality but it is when he falls into debt that the strength of his feelings becomes clear.¹¹¹¹ In October 1772, while riding alone to Yarmouth, he admitted '[I] cried almost all the way over my poor horse, which I may perhaps never ride again'. And by 1784, he lamented, 'I seldom ride on horseback as I do not keep horses of my own; those I kept were so good that I cannot ride a bad or even a tolerable horse with any satisfaction'.¹¹¹² Even as a means to conceal his financial woes, the fact that Neville could conceive of a horse as being irreplaceable is revealing.

While some attitudes to animals have changed considerably since the eighteenth century, then as now recreational riders valued their horses as unique individuals and loyal companions. While more forthcoming with his feelings than most equestrian diarists, Neville was not unusual in deeply appreciating horses. In 1768, Lady Mary Coke wrote to her sister Anne, the Countess of Strafford (1719/20–1785) to lament the 'loss of Your Horses'. She agreed that 'a loss that can be repair'd with money is not a misfortune, yet to those who love riding, a favourite Horse is a bad thing to lose'.¹¹¹³ Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 5, many Londoners paid remarkable attention to the wellbeing of their horses. When not in the saddle, Bridge regularly 'went to the stables to see the Horses' or to 'dress' them.¹¹¹⁴ The dedication underpinning such behaviour suggests that equine companionship was highly valued and may have developed into affection over time.

The behaviour of London's race-goers and fox-hunters provides further insight into the appeal of interacting with horses. While modern race-goers interact as spectators and gamblers, the sport was treated as a participatory event in the Hanoverian period.¹¹¹⁵ As shown in Thomas Rowlandson's *A Crowded Race Meeting*, c.1805-1810 (Plate 60), the dividing line between racers and spectators was ill-defined and unguarded, and many race-goers considered themselves to be fellow jockeys.

¹¹¹⁰ Marquess Francisco Pizarro Gonzalez (c.1471-1541) was the conqueror of the Incan Empire, and founder of Lima; the name gained even greater fame in London in 1799 when Richard Brinsley Sheridan's hugely popular play, *Pizarro*, was performed at Drury Lane; *Diary of Syllas Neville*, p.67 (5, 6, 10, 13 & 18 April 1769); J. A. Carlson, 'Trying Sheridan's Pizarro', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 38 (1996), pp.359-78.

¹¹¹¹ *Diary of Syllas Neville*, pp.69 & 67 (18/5/1769) & (6/4/1769).

¹¹¹² *Diary of Syllas Neville*, pp.182 & 323 (13/10/1772) & (8/10/1784).

¹¹¹³ *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, vol.2, p.440, diary (25/10/1768).

¹¹¹⁴ TNA, J90/13, Thomas Bridge, 'Diary' (1760-1809), 1762.

¹¹¹⁵ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.181.



Plate 60: Thomas Rowlandson, *A Crowded Race Meeting* (Watercolour with pen in brown and grey ink on paper, c.1805–1810).

Visiting Epsom in the 1760s, Grosley was shocked to find

There are neither lifts nor barriers ... the horses run in the midst of the crowd, who leaves only a space sufficient for them to pass through ... The victor, when he has arrived at the goal, finds it a difficult matter to disengage himself from the crowd, who congratulate, caress, and embrace him¹¹¹⁶

Unsurprisingly, such interaction resulted in frequent accidents. At Tothill Fields in 1736,

a young Fellow being in Liquor, riding furiously about the Course, beat down a Girl of about nine years of age, and rode over her ... [later] the same person, riding amongst the thickest of the people, beat down and trampled on a young lad ... and broke one of his legs ... The fellow rode clear off.¹¹¹⁷

And at Epsom in 1776, ‘a gentleman on horseback’ rode out in front of a horse approaching the winning post, the jockey was thrown but his leg was caught in the stirrup and ‘miraculously’ he won.¹¹¹⁸

The excitement generated by horse races appears to have encouraged particularly ebullient riding behaviour on the journey to and from courses. Onlookers described returning race-goers with a mixture of wonder and horror as they hurtled into the city. In 1771, a critic of Barnet races described how these unskilful ‘London jockies’

press with the utmost eagerness, or rather madness, through the narrow passages at and near Barnet, and then down ... Highgate-hill ... and those who arrive in London alive, and with bones unbroken, many undoubtedly contract dangerous, some fatal distempers, from such intemperate drinking and riding in such hot weather.¹¹¹⁹

Alarming for some and rapturously exciting for others, this culture suggests that the pleasurable sensation of speed was intimately connected to the horse in the Hanoverian imagination. This is emphasised by Thomas de Quincey’s (1785–1859) reminiscences about coach travel. Writing in the 1840s, he observed that

¹¹¹⁶ Pierre Jean Grosley, *A Tour to London* (Dublin, 1772), p.173.

¹¹¹⁷ *London Spy Revived* (13/9/1736).

¹¹¹⁸ *Morning Post* (24/10/1776).

¹¹¹⁹ *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (2/9/1771).

The vital experience of the glad animal sensibilities made doubts impossible on the question of our speed; we heard our speed, we saw it, we felt it as a thrilling; and this speed was not the product of blind insensate agencies, that had no sympathy to give, but was incarnate in the fiery eyeballs of the noblest among brutes, in his dilated nostril, spasmodic muscles, and thunder-beating hoofs.¹¹²⁰

The intoxicating sensory exchange between horse and rider, which de Quincey describes so vividly, was central to the appeal of London's riding out culture in the Hanoverian period. This is particularly clear to see in the case of fox and stag hunting, the most energetic and thrilling of all equestrian activities.

The rise of metropolitan field sports was a significant counterbalance to Hyde Park's uncomfortably close association with sociability, and particularly mixed-sex sociability, discussed above. Women played an ever diminishing role in fox-hunting in the Hanoverian period and as Landry asserts, the 'field would be constantly reinvented as a proving ground of English manhood'.¹¹²¹ The growing popularity of fox- and stag-hunting also complicates the notion that Londoners embraced a new sentimental attitude towards animals in the late eighteenth century. The evidence points not only to a wide acceptance of hunting but also a growing desire to participate in the years before and after 1800.¹¹²² Yet, torturing animals was not the primary motivation for most hunters; rather they valued the sport as an opportunity 'for bold riding'.¹¹²³ Combining high speeds, rough terrain and jumps, these activities pushed riders and their horses to the limit. Dramatic improvements in equine breeding gave specialised 'hunters' unprecedented speed, stamina and courage. These animals were widely available to sportsmen across the country, but as discussed above, particularly in London.¹¹²⁴ Yet, 'jumping obstacles at flat-out racing pace' required riders as well as horses to adapt. The adoption of the 'English hunting seat' encouraged 'free forward movement of the horse ... while increasing the security and comfort of the rider over rough terrain'.¹¹²⁵ Nevertheless, hunts put horse and rider at serious risk of injury and even death. As a result, riding in the field was thought to be the most exhilarating form of riding for both species. By the early nineteenth century, it was widely believed that horses displayed 'initiative in fox hunting because they enjoy it'.¹¹²⁶ This enjoyment was, however, heavily

¹¹²⁰ D. Masson (ed.), *The Collected Writings of Thomas de Quincey*, 14 vols. (1889-90), vol.13, pp.283-84; first published in *Blackwood's Magazine* (1849) and cited in Schivelbush, *The Railway Journey*, p.12; on the importance of equine speed in nineteenth century American urban culture, see McShane & J. Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.101.

¹¹²¹ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, p.169.

¹¹²² This view is shared by Griffin, *Blood Sport*, pp.142-43.

¹¹²³ Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, p.251; Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, p.160.

¹¹²⁴ Longrigg, *The English Squire and His Sport*.

¹¹²⁵ Landry, 'Learning to ride in early modern Britain', p.331.

¹¹²⁶ Landry, *Noble Brutes*, p.54.

dependent on the rider's ability. A poor rider hindered his animal's free movement and ruined its day in the field. Thus, hunting was, in many ways, the ultimate expression of horse-human cooperation and companionship in the Hanoverian period.

The above shows that horses were the focal point of a rich and diverse recreational culture in Hanoverian London. In certain respects, this was distinctly urban in character, both enabling and promoting sociability in ways which historians have not previously acknowledged. Yet, riding was also a rich source of pleasure in its own right and offered significant alternatives to urban sociability. With the aid of horses, the metropolis encouraged its residents to incorporate 'rural' pleasures such as fresh air, scenic views and physical exercise into their lifestyles.¹¹²⁷ Thus, if we are to give agency to towns, as Borsay and others have demanded, equestrian culture reveals further ways in which the metropolis spread its tentacles into the British countryside. More importantly, in the context of this study, London's equestrian culture reasserts the need to unbound the social and integrate interactions with non-human animals into histories of urban recreational life.

¹¹²⁷ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*; W. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York & London, 1991).

Chapter 5

Demands & Investment

Previous chapters have emphasised the remarkable extent to which London's growth and prosperity depended on horses and livestock but this contribution came at a price. Equine demands for shelter, food, water and care shaped the architecture and social organisation of the metropolis in remarkable ways. As shown below, these developments were entwined with a reconceptualization of the needs of horses in the Hanoverian period which sought to maximise the contribution which these animals could make. Moreover, in exchange for their co-operation in the streets, horses and livestock demanded certain conditions of treatment. At the same time, urbanization was creating an increasingly risk-prone environment in which to work with these animals. This meant that drivers and drovers had to draw on considerable skill, experience, physical strength and courage to manage animal behaviour. Analysis of these developments suggests that historians have underestimated the dynamism of the human–animal network in the development of cities and that an important strand of metropolitan modernity revolved around non-human animals.

Architecture

Historians have tended to view Georgian London's architectural development as a manifestation of human behaviour and social processes, often citing issues such as population growth, migration, consumption, taste and land ownership.¹¹²⁸ Overwhelmingly, the metropolitan built environment has been viewed as a response to human needs. However, in their recent study of nineteenth-century American cities, McShane and Tarr highlighted the extent to which horses forced 'cities to build new infrastructure around their needs', influencing everything from 'residences' and 'warehouses' to 'stables' and 'wide streets' specially 'shaped to facilitate movement'. Because, they argue, 'so much of the urban built environment' was shaped by equine

¹¹²⁸ J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, 1945); M. Reed, 'The transformation of urban space 1700-1840' in P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.2: 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.615-640; D. J. Olsen, *Town Planning in London: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven & London, 1964); E. McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1600-1720* (Manchester & New York, 1999); Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*; R. Porter, *London: A Social History*; Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, pp.12-22; R. Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London* (New Haven & London, 2009); L. Clarke, *Building Capitalism* (London & New York, 1992), p.10.

needs, these animals should be thought of ‘as consumers of these features’.¹¹²⁹ As shown below, these processes were particularly influential in Hanoverian London, where a massive convergence of horses and livestock dictated the terms of urban expansion on an unprecedented scale. Recognition of these developments reasserts the need to unbound the social.¹¹³⁰ Moreover, it shows that horses were at the heart of some of the most sophisticated infrastructures to be built in Hanoverian London. Ogborn has identified a spectrum of spaces in eighteenth-century London – including Vauxhall gardens, Westminster’s streets and the Magdalen Hospital – as modernity’s ‘spaces of transformation’ to challenge the totalisation of modernity and assert that modernities can be found in different forms and locations.¹¹³¹ Although horses and livestock had used metropolitan infrastructures for centuries, the emergence of certain kinds of animal-focused space in the Hanoverian period played a key role in the city’s modernisation. Too often, these infrastructures have been overshadowed by sites associated with the novelty of steam technology, such as factories and railways. Yet, this innovation-centric and totalising focus fails to appreciate the variety and complexity of ‘modernity’s geographies’.¹¹³² One of the most significant ways in which animals shaped London’s built environment in this period was through the housing of horses.

The stable was one of the most common London building types and the city boasted many more than any other city in Europe or North America. In size, organisation and location, these constructions varied as much as the horses and owners which used them. There were public and private stables; brick-built goliaths and ramshackle wooden sheds; stables for beasts of burden and those for elite equipages; stables arranged in mews, the yards of inns and industrial sites; well-ventilated and commodious stables, as well as their cramped and insanitary antitheses. Despite this, stables have been almost entirely overshadowed by architecture built for humans and especially the expensive town house.¹¹³³ Yet, the aim here is not just to emphasise that horses

¹¹²⁹ McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, pp.18, p.35 & 178.

¹¹³⁰ B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social – An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford, 2005); P. Joyce & T. Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon, 2010).

¹¹³¹ M. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London’s Geographies 1680-1780* (New York & London, 1998), pp. 17 & 28.

¹¹³² D. Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History Since 1900* (London, 2006); Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*.

¹¹³³ A rare exception being G. Worsley, *The British Stable: An Architectural and Social History* (New Haven & London, 2004), pp.102-23, which assesses elite stabling in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London; the *Survey of London* also provides some valuable references to stabling; Peter Guillery challenges the orthodox fixation on the London town house by highlighting vernacular architecture in the eighteenth century metropolis; P. Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth Century London: A Social and Architectural History* (London & New Haven, 2004); key studies of London architecture in the Hanoverian period include Summerson, *Georgian London*; Olsen, *Town Planning in London*; McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*; Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*; D. Cruickshank & N. Burton, *Life in the Georgian City* (1990); J. Ayres, *Building the Georgian City* (New Haven & London,

were key considerations in urban planning. In the rare instances that historians have discussed stables, there has been a tendency to view them as sites exclusively for horses and devoid of human activity. In the 1980s, the National Trust published a ‘Book of Architecture for Animals’ by Lucinda Lambton entitled *Beastly Buildings*. While Lambton celebrates the imagination invested in stables, her study provides little indication that people used these buildings, or that they were part of wider social infrastructures.¹¹³⁴ By contrast, this study re-conceptualises stables as human-animal constellations to assert that metropolitan architects were thinking about animals at precisely the same time as human arrangements. Focussing on two influential metropolitan stable types, the brewery stable and the West End mews, I explore the entwined uses of stables as accommodation for horses and humans; equine processing zones; sites of human labour; industrial distribution hubs; and key departments in the service of polite living. In doing so, I suggest that these horse-human infrastructures were influential ‘spaces of modernity’. While stables were age-old features of London’s built space, I show that their expansion and transformation in the Hanoverian period reflected and contributed to the city’s modernisation.

In Chapter 1, I showed that distilleries and breweries incorporated extensive piggeries into their agro-industrial infrastructures. More architecturally impressive, however, was the extent to which stable design became increasingly entwined with brewery planning in the Hanoverian metropolis. Summerson noted that London’s major brewers were ‘handsome patrons of architecture’, an observation which historians have since repeated with reference to housing vats and steam engines.¹¹³⁵ As discussed in Chapter 2, these developments were crucial to the trade’s progress in the industrial revolution but it has generally been overlooked that these leading industrialists also drove important kinds of architectural innovation and improvement to accommodate expanding ranks of dray-horses in conditions which prepared them for increasingly intensive work.¹¹³⁶

Late eighteenth-century architectural plans for Thrale’s and Whitbread’s breweries indicate the impressive size and sophistication of the equine infrastructures which accompanied thirty years

1998); McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*; N. Burton & P. Guillery, *Behind the Façade: London House Plans, 1660-1840* (Reading, 2006).

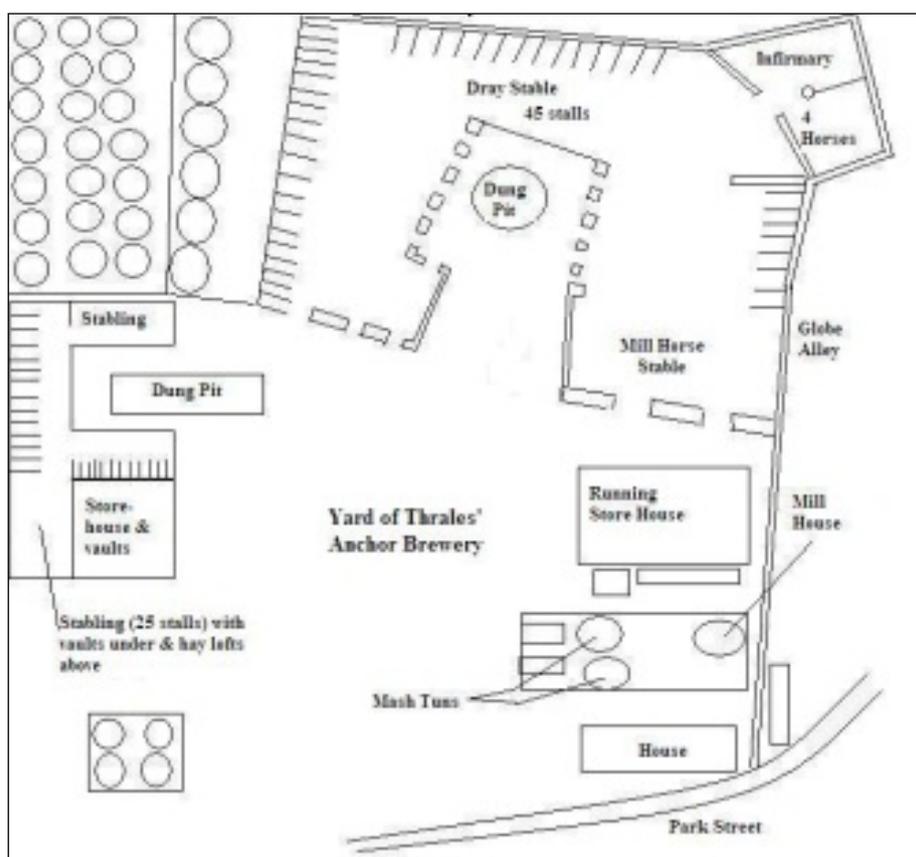
¹¹³⁴ L. Lambton, *Beastly Buildings: The National Trust Book of Architecture for Animals* (London, 1985).

¹¹³⁵ Summerson, *Georgian London*, p.253; Spiller, ‘The Georgian brewery’, *Architectural Review*, 122 (1957), p.311; the change in scale of London’s brewery buildings probably began at the Anchor in Southwark in 1700 when Edmund Halsey built a new brewhouse costing £3546; Samuel Whitbread began to enlarge his White Hart Brewery in Chiswell Street in 1750, Truman’s Black Eagle site underwent ‘steady enlargement from around 1800’ with a vat house being erected in 1805, a new brewhouse in 1820; L. Pearson, *British Breweries: An Architectural History* (London, 1999), pp.27-34.

¹¹³⁶ Spiller, ‘The Georgian brewery’, p.311.

of commercial growth.¹¹³⁷ As shown in Plate 61, by 1774, Henry Thrale had constructed individual stall stabling for 70 dray-horses. The largest of the firm's two stable blocks formed a quadrangle around a large dung pit, with 45 stalls for dray-horses and an adjoining wing for the mill-horses. An infirmary with capacity for four horses was located in the north-east corner of the complex, while the second block, at the west end of the brewery, consisted of 'stabling with vaults under & haylofts above' providing 25 stalls for dray-horses, with a second dung pit. Having surveyed these arrangements, the new owners, Barclay and Perkins, decided to make improvements, investing an impressive £2,000 in new stables in 1780.¹¹³⁸ This marked the start of a particularly dynamic phase in metropolitan brewery stabling.

Plate 61: Plan of Thrale's Anchor Brewery, 1774 (not to scale).¹¹³⁹



¹¹³⁷ LMA, COL/CCS/PL/02/464, 'Rough plan of premises on the West side of Grub Street and South side of Chiswell street adjoining Mr Whitbread's Brewhouse' (undated); LMA, ACC/2305/01/834, Plan of Thrale's Estate (1774); the less valuable mill horses were accommodated in informal, mixed stabling.

¹¹³⁸ LMA, ACC/2305/1/159/1, Courage, Barclays & Simonds Rest Book, 1780; Pearson, *British Breweries*, p.34.

¹¹³⁹ LMA, ACC/2305/01/834.

By the late 1790s, Whitbread was insuring three stable blocks: the ‘Great Stable & East Building for £1,200, the ‘Mill Stable’ which the policy combined with other buildings; and a ‘Stable next [to the] Gateway’ for £300. The largest of these blocks measured approximately 125 x 25 ft., sufficient to provide individual stalls for 80 dray-horses.¹¹⁴⁰ Developments in stall stabling testify to the increasingly individualised, improved care which dray-horses received from their employers. The introduction of ‘individual stalls separated by planking partitions’ began in the Tudor period, in the stables of the elite. Previously, horses had only been separated by a ‘bale’ or pole suspended from the roof or the facing wall, a strategy which endured in some commercial and military establishments throughout the eighteenth century. Yet, brewers like Thrale and Whitbread were among the ‘enlightened horse-owners’ who recognised the practical benefits of allowing their ‘horses to rest undisturbed by their neighbours’, while also guarding against the injuries inflicted by jostling and kicking.¹¹⁴¹ The dimensions of the stall, as well as the central passageway of the stable, were crucial considerations. By the 1830s, Truman’s stalls measured 10 ft. in length (a dray-horse measuring approximately 8 ft.) and led onto a central corridor 10 ft. wide and 69 ft. long, offering ample space for these animals to safely turn their large bodies.¹¹⁴²

Important advances in brewery stabling were achieved in the 1820s and 30s. This was partly due to the availability of new materials and construction techniques but also a greater understanding of architecture’s role in improving both equine care and industrial efficiency. Growing awareness of the importance of light, ventilation and cleanliness drove developments in this period. Visiting Whitbread’s stables in 1823, the diarist Thomas Creevey discovered ‘A stable brilliantly illuminated, containing ninety horses worth 50 or 60 guineas apiece upon average, is a sight to be seen nowhere but in this ‘tight little island’.¹¹⁴³ Mastery of light played a crucial role in improving equine care, enabling stable workers to identify injuries and potential health problems, keep the stable clean, and safely manoeuvre their animals.

The improvement of brewery stables in this period emphasises that metropolitan architects were thinking about stables as integrated sites of human labour and equine accommodation. It also shows that industrialists were prepared to invest large sums to facilitate this. In 1837, Robert

¹¹⁴⁰ LMA, 4453/B/12/002, Whitbread Rest Book, 1800; Spiller, ‘The Georgian brewery’, p.321; see also James Basire II, *Plan of the Brewhouse in Liquor-Pond Street* (hand-coloured engraving, 1796), British Museum, which details 65 horse stalls in two stable blocks.

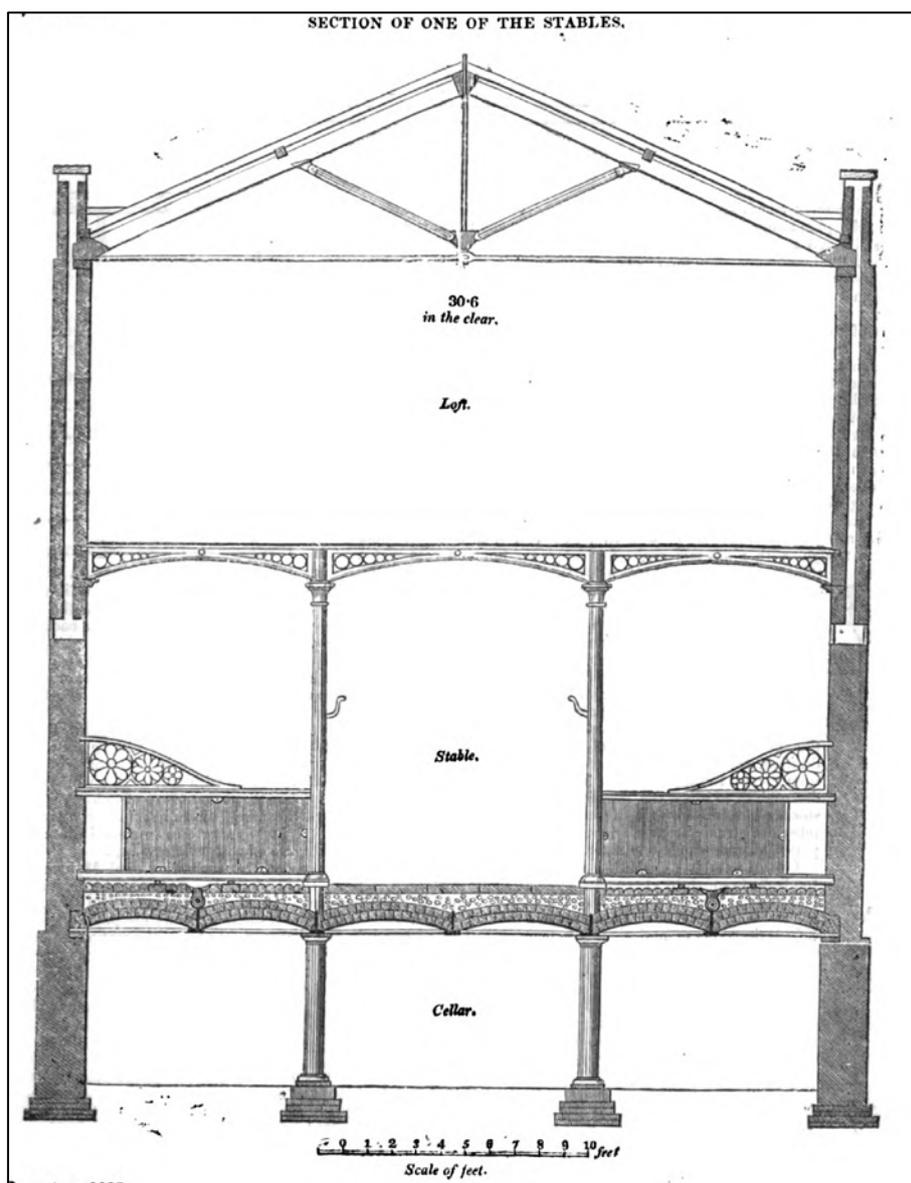
¹¹⁴¹ A. Macgregor, *Animal Encounters: Human and Animal Interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War One* (London, 2012), p.35.

¹¹⁴² Each stall was approximately 5ft. wide; *The Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal*, vol.1 (1837-38), No.3, pp.47-48.

¹¹⁴³ Cited in Whitbread & Co, *Whitbread’s Brewery* (London, 1951), p.38; Thomas Creevey was a friend of Samuel Whitbread II; by 1823, the company had developed first-floor stables with a ramp leading up from the brewery yard; Creevey underestimated the capacity of these new stables, which could in fact accommodate 160 animals.

Davison, engineer at Truman's Black Eagle brewery, completed one of the most advanced stable blocks in the metropolis (see Plate 62). Large enough to accommodate 114 horses, construction took six months and cost almost £10,000, approximately the same cost as the Church of St Andrew, built in Lambeth a few years later.¹¹⁴⁴

Plate 62: Cross-section of one of the new stables at Truman's brewery, in *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (1837–38), p.47.



¹¹⁴⁴ The Church of St. Andrew, Coin Street cost just over £10,000 to build in the mid-1850s and seated nearly 800 people; H. Roberts & W.H. Godfrey (eds.), *Survey of London, Vol.23: Lambeth: South Bank and Vauxhall* (London, 1951), pp.18-22.

That *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* dedicated three pages to describing the project emphasises that equine architecture was considered worthy of financial and intellectual investment. The building, which integrated four stables, contained about 300 tons of iron, including an innovative cast iron frame, as well as columns, brackets, cantilevers, drains, troughs and mangers. Above the iron manger in each stall, a cast-iron tablet contained the horse's name, evincing the individualised care accorded to these valuable animals. A key feature of Davison's design was its attention to sanitation. Iron grating in the centre of each stall fed waste into a cast-iron drain which ran the entire length of the stables; and was flushed by a 'stream of water ... allowed to run for a few minutes each morning to thoroughly cleanse it'. The stables were supplied by hot and cold water and 'ventilated both below and above by several air-bricks, as well as by eight flutes in each stable, which are carried up in the party walls, having moveable ventilators to regulate the egress of foul air'.¹¹⁴⁵ The *Civil Engineer* noted that the stable's achievements included reducing the risk of disease, the 'prevention of splinters of wood injuring the horses', security against fire, and the durability of its cast iron fittings which stood up to 'the rough usage they are subject to by the dray-horses'.¹¹⁴⁶

By the early nineteenth century, London's leading brewers were constructing the kind of grand stables which had previously only been built on aristocratic estates. Similarly impressive arrangements were developed at Barclay's brewery in the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1841, the firm boasted stabling for nearly 200 horses in a range extending nearly 300 ft. in length, with lofts for provender above 'and an open space for ventilation along the middle of the stables'.¹¹⁴⁷ Brewery stables were a dynamic response to a reconceptualization of equine needs during the industrial revolution – these spaces were modern because they were ingeniously engineered to maximise the contribution which working horses could make to the metropolitan economy. At the same time, their impressive scale and innovative design reminded Londoners of the city's reliance on horses. Moreover, the transformation of equine infrastructure was not restricted to metropolitan industry. As private horse ownership increased, an array of public and private stabling infrastructures emerged across the city. The most impressive of these served the West End's wealthy equestrians.

Roy Porter observed that the West End was 'an innovation in urban living', a view supported by subsequent studies of London's elite town houses and estates.¹¹⁴⁸ Yet, while the development of

¹¹⁴⁵ *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, vol.1 (1837-38), No.3, p.48.

¹¹⁴⁶ *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, vol.1 (1837-38), No.3, p.50.

¹¹⁴⁷ 'A Day at a London Brewery' in *The Penny Magazine Supplement*, vol.10 (March 1841), p.128.

¹¹⁴⁸ Porter, *London: A Social History*, p.145; Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*; Cruickshank & Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*; Olsen, *Town Planning in London*.

squares, crescents and wide open streets; the design of facades; and the layout of rooms have all received attention, the West End's extraordinarily ambitious and innovative equine arrangements have largely been overlooked. This demands attention because mews were not just an interesting adjunct to the history of the West End but an integral part of its development. The area was shaped by equine culture to such an extent that it requires a major modification of our whole understanding of the built environment as a social history. Mews were not just an ingenious solution to the private stabling needs of London's horse-owning elite; they were key to the success of the town house as a mode of polite living. They also provide striking evidence of investment in horses driving the integration of architectural and social infrastructures. As discussed below, because treasured thoroughbreds required constant supervision and care, the horse-servant nexus underpinned every aspect of mews construction and operation.

The rapid expansion of mews was one of the most startling features of the elite's invasion of and investment in the West End in the Hanoverian period. As shown by Giles Worsley, London's earliest mews were built in the seventeenth century, starting with Covent Garden in the 1630s, followed by Hatton Garden in the 1650s, and Bloomsbury Square and St James's Square in the 1660s.¹¹⁴⁹ Mews construction accelerated dramatically in the eighteenth century. By 1746, the street index accompanying Rocque's *Survey* of 1747 recorded 29 'mewse'. By 1813, Horwood's survey featured 117 mews, a four-fold increase in sixty years.¹¹⁵⁰ As shown in Map 22, Horwood recorded the remarkable prevalence of mews stabling in the heart of the West End in the early nineteenth century. The scale and sophistication of this kind of stabling was unparalleled in the rest of the country, or in any other European or North American city. As Worsley observes, in no other British city 'did provision for stabling play so large a role in town planning ... because other cities were not only smaller, but held proportionately fewer horses and carriages'.¹¹⁵¹ Despite this, mews are almost entirely absent from histories of the Hanoverian metropolis and Worsley's study, a valuable exception, tends to present mews as static architectural spaces rather than sites alive with animals and workmen.¹¹⁵² By contrast, this study re-conceptualises the mews as a dynamic horse-human nexus.

¹¹⁴⁹ Worsley, *The British Stable*, pp.106-10.

¹¹⁵⁰ John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark* (1747); Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813).

¹¹⁵¹ Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.102.

¹¹⁵² Worsley, *The British Stable*; despite surveying the West End in detail, John Summerson never referred to mews; more recently, Dan Cruickshank and Neil Burton's analysis of everyday life in the Georgian town house made just one fleeting reference to mews in a survey of town gardens; here, the mews is subsumed into a range of 'architectural features' which were located at the bottom of the garden; Summerson, *Georgian London*; Cruickshank & Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*, p.197.

Coaches and coach-horses were expensive assets requiring specialised housing.¹¹⁵³ The challenge which architects faced in the West End was where to locate their clients' equipages given that the terrace offered neither a forecourt nor gaps between the individual properties. The solution was the mews. Situated at the rear of the terrace, they comprised a modest two-storey building for horses and coaches connected to the main residential building by a garden or yard but accessed from the street by a separate alley. The basic mews layout featured a stable on one side of the ground floor, and a double-doored coach house on the other. Above, the first floor was divided between a hay loft and basic living quarters for the coachman and occasionally grooms.¹¹⁵⁴ The major advantage of this system was that it kept the house and stables attached but 'the noise, sight and smell of horses and their dung' in a secluded purpose-built service street.¹¹⁵⁵ Plate 63, a grand 1792 view of Portland Place, depicts an elegant two-horse coach standing outside the residence of its wealthy passengers. The well-maintained beasts, vehicle and coachman instantly convey the area's wealth and gentility. Visible to the rear of the coach is the side-street leading to a mews which is out of sight and out of mind.¹¹⁵⁶ This was the great achievement of polite metropolitan stabling, without which the terraced house 'could never have supplanted the hôtel as the common London residence of the English upper classes'.¹¹⁵⁷ In this alone, mews were important 'spaces of modernity' but these infrastructures demand our attention for other reasons.¹¹⁵⁸

¹¹⁵³ Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.105.

¹¹⁵⁴ The horse and coach capacity of mews units varied significantly depending on their size and design. In the eighteenth century, coach houses grew considerably deeper, often allowing accommodation for two or more coaches with 'four or more stalls placed at right angles to the party wall'; Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.117.

¹¹⁵⁵ Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.112.

¹¹⁵⁶ Whyman, *Sociability and Power*, p.104, notes that the sight of fine coach horses was an important gauge of a street's status. When John Verney married in 1680 'he automatically bought a carriage' and 'as he searched for a house...counted the number of coaches per street.'

¹¹⁵⁷ Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.105; for an analysis of Dublin's substantial mews infrastructure, see R. McManus, 'Windows on a hidden world: urban and social evolution as seen from the mews', *Irish Geography*, 37 (2004), pp.37-59; Stewart, *The Town House*, p.116; as Stewart observes, in London, unlike in Paris, 'most of those who owned a coach chose not to live in a hotel but in a terrace house.'

¹¹⁵⁸ Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*.

Map 22: Detail of Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining* (3rd edn., 1813), showing the prevalence of mews stabling in the heart of the West End.

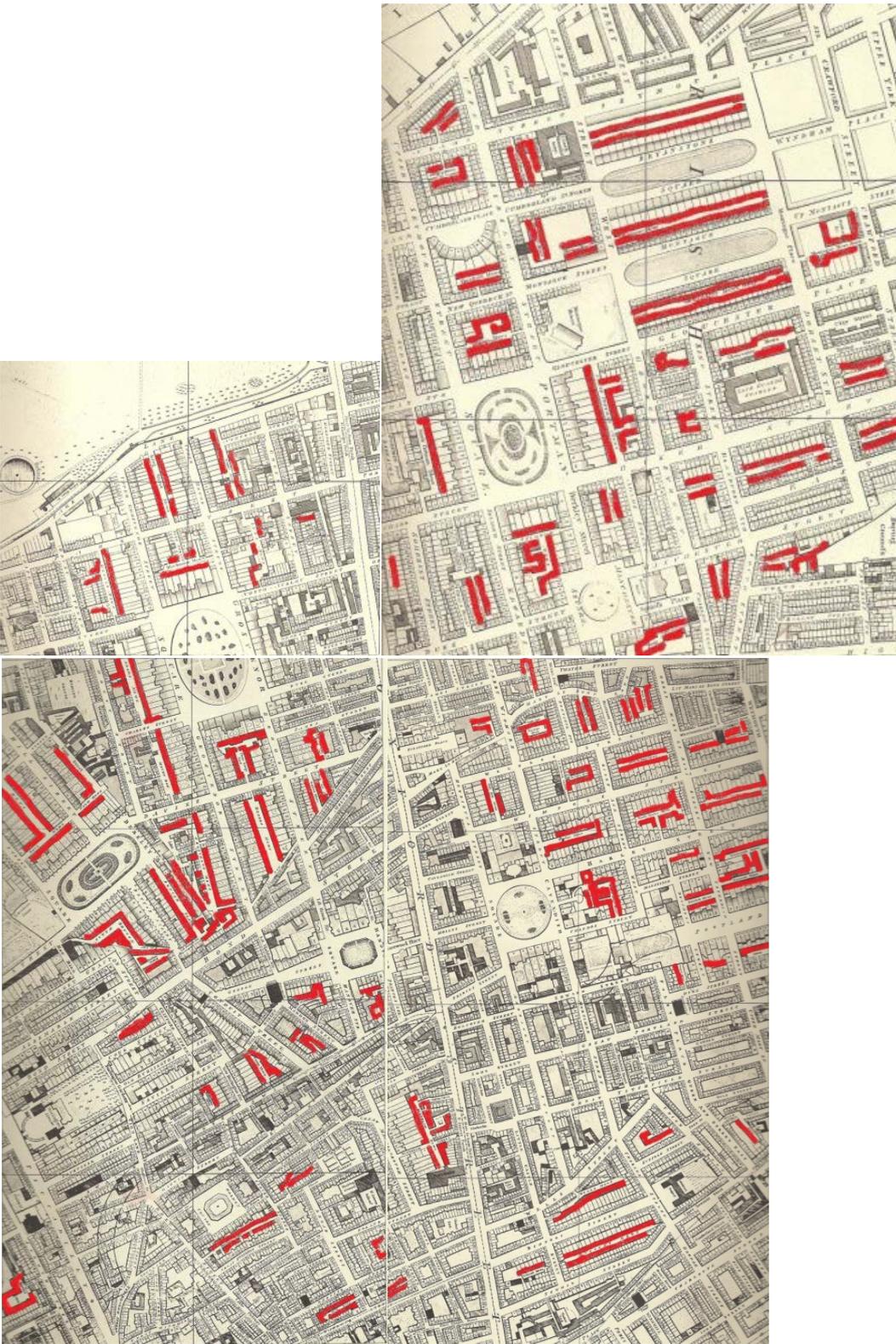


Plate 63: A coach waits outside a house in Portland Place, c.1777–80, view from Thomas Malton, *A Picturesque Tour* (London, 1792), vol.1, plate 88.



One of the first parts of the West End to perfect mews provision on a large scale was the Grosvenor Estate. From the 1720s, its 100 acres and unified structure of land ownership allowed its surveyor, Thomas Barlow, to ‘plan on a lavish scale’. The estate responded to the need ‘to facilitate the horse age’ by introducing wider and straighter thoroughfares which gave carriages sufficient space to manoeuvre.¹¹⁵⁹ But this system also created an ordered grid of streets, making it convenient to ‘discreetly contain stables behind the houses’.¹¹⁶⁰ All of the Grosvenor estate building plots were designed to be ‘long and narrow to provide a house, garden or yard and mews house’.¹¹⁶¹ As shown in Rocque’s map of 1747 (Map 23), the square and its major surrounding streets were served by a substantial network of mews complexes. The largest – Reeves, Adams, Mount Row and Grosvenor – were located to the South of the square, below Grosvenor Street. At No.4 Grosvenor Square (Map 24), Charles Watson-Wentworth, the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham (1730–82) maintained one the largest mews units on the estate.

¹¹⁵⁹ Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, vol.39, pp.11-12, Thomas Barlow received his official appointment as estate surveyor on 10 August 1720; as Ruth McManus has argued, the ascendancy of mews was closely linked to the kind of ‘land ownership and development structures’ which underpinned West End estates. As suburban land ownership was concentrated in the hands of relatively few families, the great aristocratic landlords ‘owned areas large enough to allow planning on a substantial scale, without being restricted either by financial concerns or by government interference.’ Had the land been divided into individually-owned plots, an orchestrated layout of stables serving multiple properties would have been virtually inconceivable; R. McManus, ‘Windows on a hidden world’, p.37.

¹¹⁶⁰ McManus, ‘Windows on a hidden world’, p.40.

¹¹⁶¹ Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.110.

During his residency between 1751 and 1782, he embodied eighteenth-century equestrian culture and epitomised the crucial relationship between polite metropolitan living, the equipage and the mews.¹¹⁶² The Wentworth-Woodhouse Muniments provide a detailed record of the second Marquis' equine arrangements, both in Yorkshire and the metropolis.¹¹⁶³ Between 1755 and 1782, the number of horses kept at Wentworth, the family's country seat, increased from 20 to 97, by which time these animals occupied one of the grandest stable complexes in the country.¹¹⁶⁴ When brought to London, these animals benefited from similarly impressive standards of accommodation and care. Their master's coach house and stables were located directly behind his property in *Three King's Yard*, a 'T-shaped' mews complex, accessed from Davies Street. The section of the yard adjoining the rear gardens of the houses is clearly visible in Sutton Nicholl's *View of Grosvenor Square* (Plate 64), published in 1754.¹¹⁶⁵ According to an inventory of 1782, the house benefited from 'roomy Stabling' for 24 horses and 'Standing for four Carriages', an arrangement exceeding that of most other West End properties, including the detached stables of some London hôtels. When the 4th Earl of Chesterfield moved to Chesterfield House in c.1748, he had room for three coaches and eleven horses.¹¹⁶⁶

Comparable arrangements included those at 26 Grosvenor Square. Remodelled by Robert Adam in 1773–74, Derby House became one of the most fashionable addresses in London. Adam's plan of the ground floor (see Plate 65) includes a substantial stable with eleven stalls. The 11th Earl's prized horses occupied an area of just over 1,000 sq. ft., a remarkably generous space, considering

¹¹⁶² Rockingham was an influential horse breeder, race-horse owner, huntsman and the most important early patron of George Stubbs. He received an annual income of £40,000 a year, held lands in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Ireland and a magnificent house at No.4 Grosvenor Square. When Rockingham first took office as First Lord of the Treasury in 1765, aged just thirty-four, he was widely derided as a figure 'only known to the public by his passion for horse-races' and one of those 'called from the Stud to the State, and transformed miraculously out of Jockies into Ministers.' As Paul Langford asserts, 'the Turf had never been better represented in a Cabinet than in Rockingham's first administration'; G.F.R. Barker (ed.), *Horace Walpole's Memoirs of the Reign of King George III*, vol.2 (1894), p.140, cited in P. Langford, *The First Rockingham Administration, 1765-1766* (Oxford, 1973), p.16; Stubb's masterpiece *Whistlejacket* (c.1762) depicted Rockingham's star race horses and hung at the family's Yorkshire estate, Wentworth-Woodhouse; and by 1782, the artist's *Horse and Lion* (1762) had taken pride of place at No. 4, a symbol of the importance of horses in Rockingham's metropolitan lifestyle; R. Blake, *George Stubbs and the Wide Creation: Animals, People and Places in the Life of George Stubbs, 1724-1806* (London, 2005).

¹¹⁶³ Held by Sheffield Archives (SA).

¹¹⁶⁴ SA, WWM/R/2A/33, 'List of horses and Stable Staff', 1755; SA, WWM/A/1228, Inventory & appraisal, 1782-84, pp.24-7, 'Particulars of horses and carriages &c late the property of the Marquis of Rockingham deceased as valued by Mr. Tattershall', 1-2 Aug 1782; Wentworth's gigantic new stables were completed in 1766; Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England* (2nd edn., 1771, reprinted New York, 1967), p.293-4; in addition, the Marquis kept impressive facilities at Swinton and Newmarket for his race horses.

¹¹⁶⁵ Cruickshank & Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*, p.195.

¹¹⁶⁶ SA, WWM/A/1228, Inventory & appraisal, 26 August 1782, p.52; Worsley, *The British Stable*, pp.116-7; British Library, Add. MSS 22267 f.69.

the ‘The smallness of the scites upon which’ Adam and his rivals were forced to build.¹¹⁶⁷ In addition to the stables, the property boasted a 133 sq. ft coach house (large enough for two vehicles); ground-floor servant accommodation, presumably for the head coachman; as well as extensive haylofts and a ‘Grooms Room’ above. Around the same time, Adam constructed even more impressive arrangements for Sir Watkin Williams Wynn to accompany his lavish residence at No. 20 St James’s Square. As shown in Plate 66, this featured a fourteen-stall stable covering 1,134 sq ft., two large coach houses (together 528 sq. ft.), a ‘Room for Harness’, hay-loft and two servants rooms. Altogether, these facilities occupied around a fifth of Wynn’s plot, underscoring his extravagance,¹¹⁶⁸ but more importantly, the remarkable extent to which London’s elite prioritised their horses. Despite the fact that stables were among the least visible features of a fashionable town house, their owners invested heavily, both financially and spatially, in the accommodation of their animals and vehicles.

Map 23: John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1747) showing part of the Grosvenor Estate.



¹¹⁶⁷ Robert and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1778-1822; New York, 1980), p.13.

¹¹⁶⁸ Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*, p.97.

Map 24: Detail of Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813), indicating the location of No.4 Grosvenor Square.

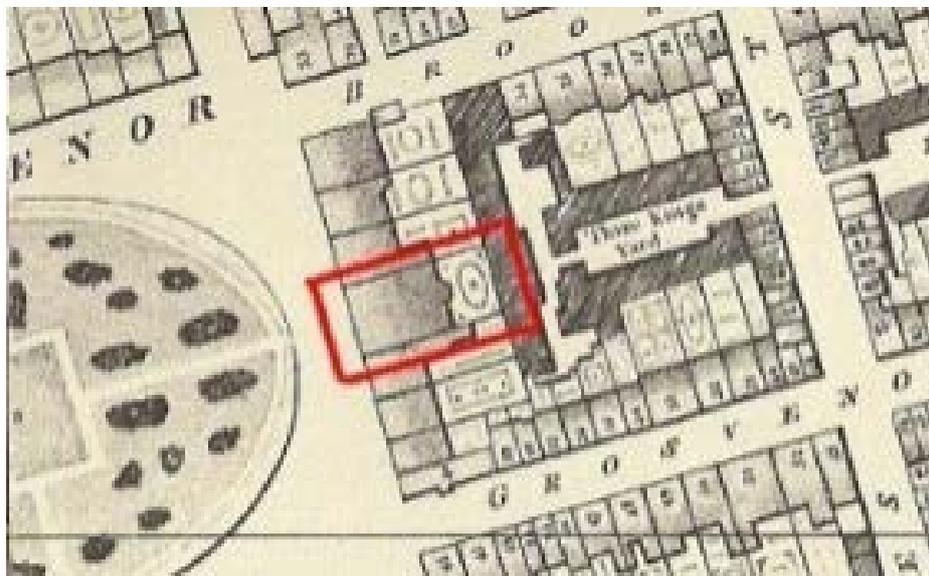


Plate 64: Detail of Sutton Nicholl's *View of Grosvenor Square* (engraving, 1754). Indicating the location of Three Kings Yard.

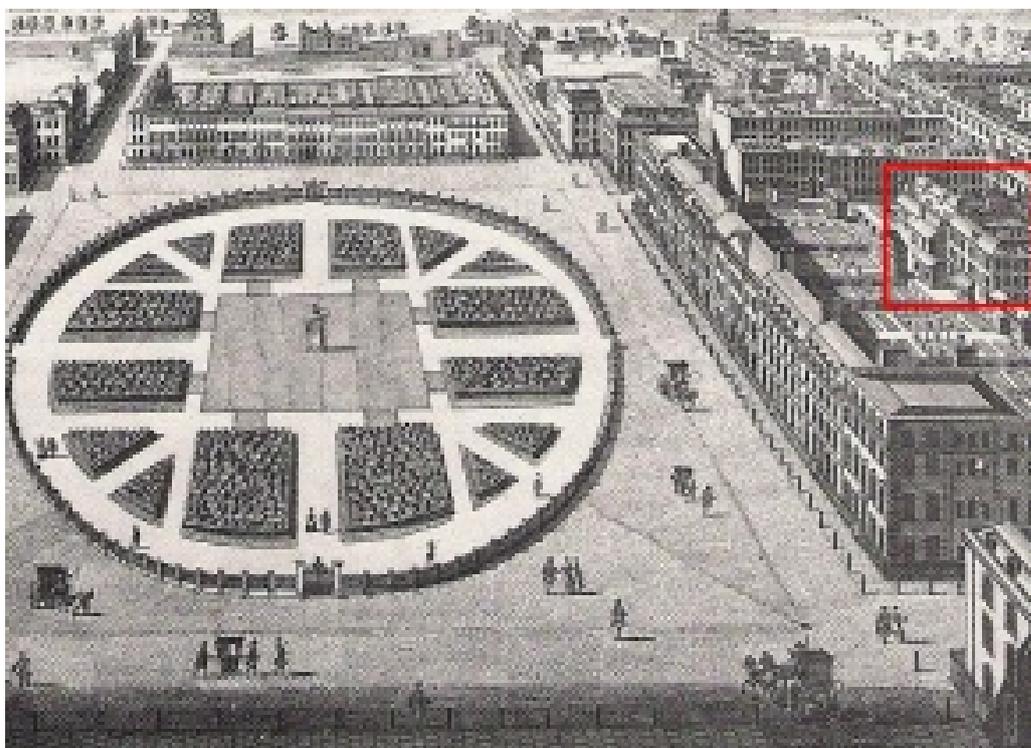


Plate 65: Ground & first floor plan of coach house and stables at Derby House, 26 Grosvenor Square, built 1773–74, from Robert & James Adam, *The Works in Architecture*.

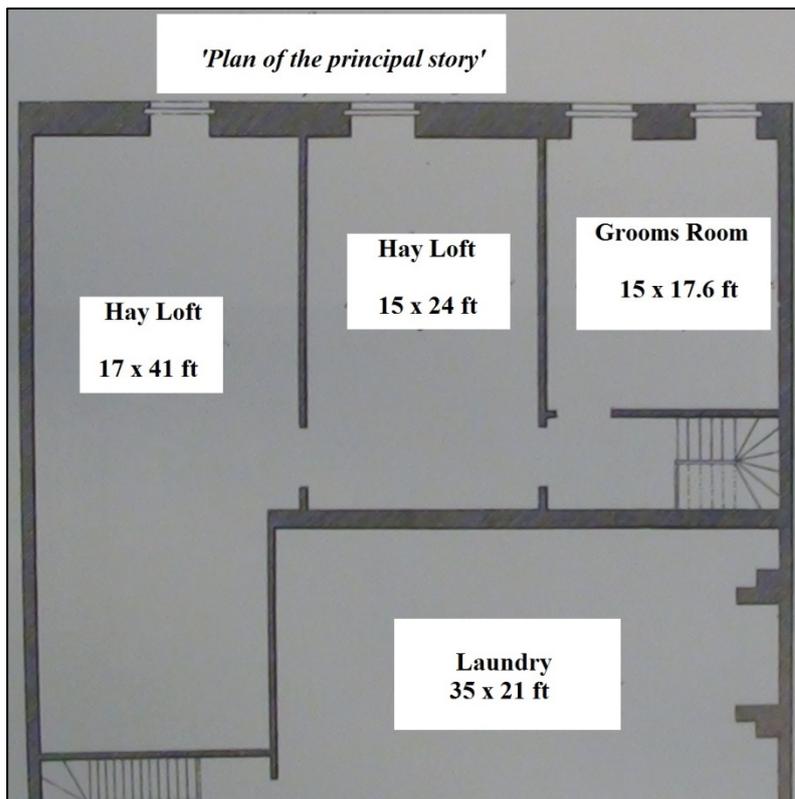
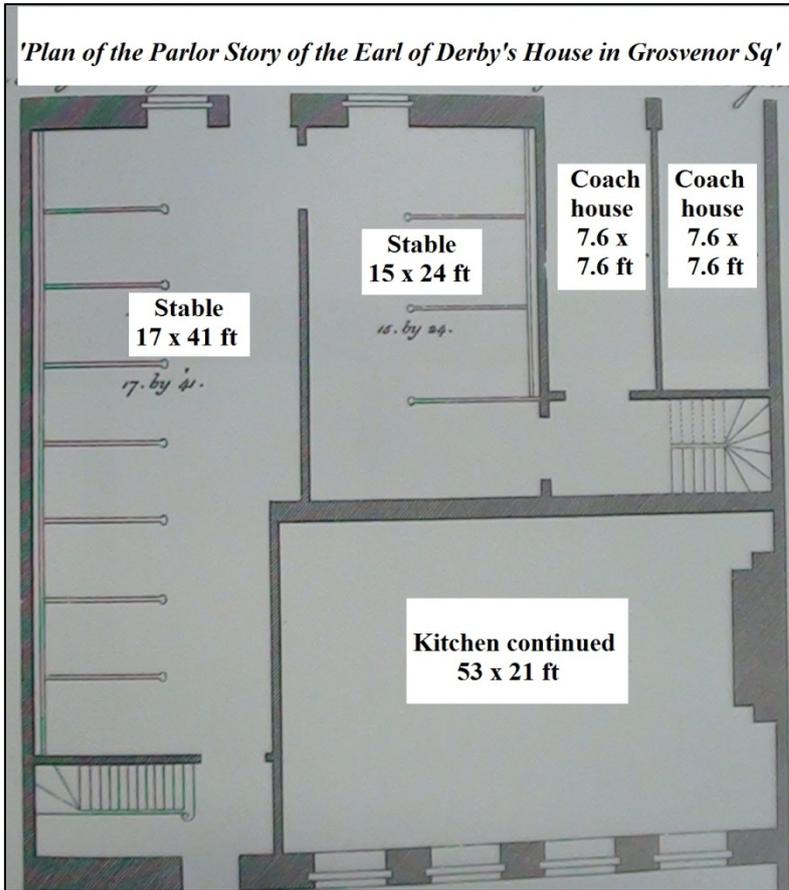
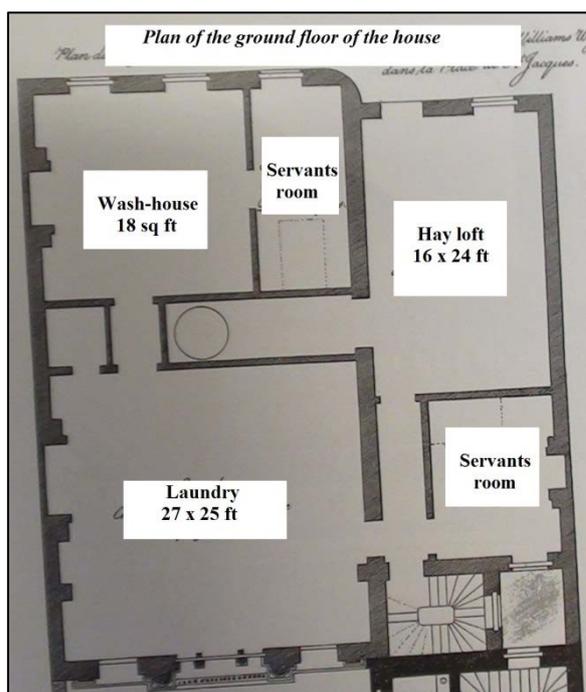
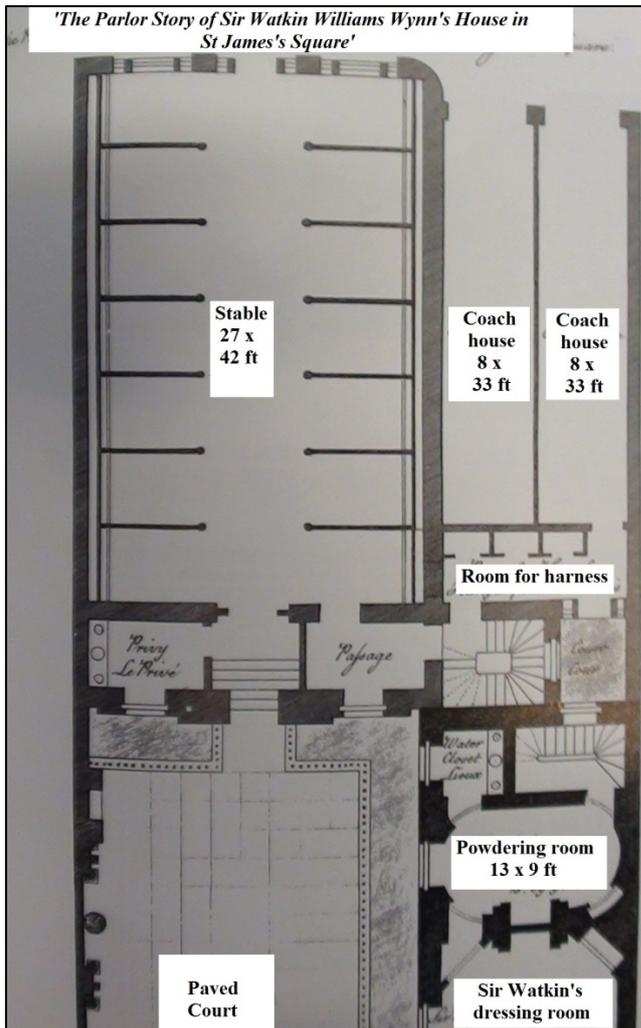


Plate 66: Plans of the Parlor Story & Ground Floor of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn's House in St. James's Square, built 1771–74, from Robert & James Adam, *The Works in Architecture*.



Architectural plans offer little detail about the workings of mews stables but do record their dimensions, from which we can calculate the space given to each horse. Wynn's animals enjoyed 81 sq. feet, while Lord Derby provided 96 sq. ft. By comparison, dray-horses at Truman's spacious brewery stables, discussed above, had 73 sq. ft. in the 1830s.¹¹⁶⁹ This data suggests that despite the restricted nature of West End building plots, the wealthiest horse-owners managed to set aside relatively spacious arrangements for their horses.

That very few West End mews could match these examples highlights the pressure which an expanding human and equine convergence placed on the West End, and the limits of what even the most dynamic culture of investment and improvement could achieve. Yet, as Muthesius asserts, we should not assume that the elite made grudging compromises when acquiring a London home 'simply through economic necessity'. Many large landowners adapted to and even learned to appreciate the spatial efficiency – the 'compactness' and 'completeness' – of town houses and treated their equine arrangements in the same spirit.¹¹⁷⁰ Attention to detail when fitting out a home was crucial and the same was true in the mews. A dazzling array of custom-made fixtures and fittings transformed these spaces into sophisticated equine servicing zones. In 1733, the Earl of Chesterfield's mews behind No. 45 Grosvenor Square was fitted with 'Bailes, Rings, Chains ... Racks and Mangers ... Two Corn Binns ... a Crane to the Hay loft Door, a Lead water trough to convey the wast[e] water into the Stable yard ... [a] Cistern in the Stables'.¹¹⁷¹ As discussed below, these items attest to the relentless labour of a workforce dedicated to the care of elite horses, but they also emphasise the modernity of these dynamic equestrian sites.

While impressive, the Grosvenor Estate's mews provision remained irregular and, in places, insufficient.¹¹⁷² In the second half of the eighteenth century, this contributed to a gradual shift in appeal towards new estates. As increasing numbers of the lesser nobility and gentry brought private equipages to the capital, equine needs were placed at the heart of a more sophisticated and consistent blue-print for fashionable urban living. For those colonising fashionable parts of Marylebone such as the Cavendish-Harley Estate, the horse-drawn carriage had become a necessity for polite metropolitan living. Here, the terrace house was designed and utilised, above

¹¹⁶⁹ *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, vol.1 (1837-38), No.3, pp.48-50; *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, Plates 41 & 49.

¹¹⁷⁰ S. Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (New Haven & London, 1982), pp.6-7; Stewart, *The Town House*, p.117.

¹¹⁷¹ A schedule of fixtures contained in a lease in the Grosvenor Office dated 3 December 1733 from Thomas Richmond, carpenter, to Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield cited in Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, 39, p.197.

¹¹⁷² In 1763, the surveyor Henry Bridgeman rejected Lady Carpenter's house in Grosvenor Square as a potential residence for Sir William Lee on the basis that there were 'no Stables, and the Offices [were] very bad in general'. Buckinghamshire Record Office, Hartwell papers, *D/LE/DI/44*, 'Henry Bridgeman to Sir William Lee' (13/7/1763), cited in Stewart, *The Town House*, p.73.

all else, as a base from which to pursue sociability. Because this culture demanded high standards of personal mobility,¹¹⁷³ the architectural needs of carriage horses had to be prioritised more than ever before.

The growing importance of the mews is reflected by rising levels of carriage ownership in different parts of the West End in the Hanoverian period. In 1727/28, one person kept a coach for every fifteen houses in Westminster. In the more fashionable St George's, Hanover Square, a coach was kept for every 4.3 houses at this time.¹¹⁷⁴ Worsley suggested that by 1800 some areas of the West End were approaching the point when virtually every house had access to a private coach house and stable but did not specify where this occurred.¹¹⁷⁵ With reference to maps, however, it can be proven that certain areas were fast approaching this milestone. The Cavendish-Harley Estate is an important example.¹¹⁷⁶ Both Horwood's 1813 survey (Map 25) and Peter Potter's more detailed *Plan of the Parish of St Marylebone* (Map 26), completed a few years later, show the prevalence, scale and sophisticated layout of mews servicing the area. The numbers of units in each complex can be calculated by counting the blocks in Potter's *Plan*. This data is presented in Table 21.¹¹⁷⁷

Among the largest complexes were Weymouth Mews and Devonshire Mews East, two H-shaped developments, which served sections of Portland Place, Harley Street and Upper Harley Street. Each provided 35 units. To the west, Wimpole Mews, Devonshire Mews South and Devonshire Mews West were arranged along straight stable yards and comprised between 23 and 39 units. The smallest mews were those built at the start of the post-1763 building boom, just north of Queen Anne Street. They included Mansfield Mews, serving just five properties, and North Harley Mews and Marylebone Mews, each containing ten units.¹¹⁷⁸ By dividing the number of mews units by the number of residential properties on corresponding street sections, I have calculated the ratio of houses to coach-house / stables in the early 1800s. As shown in Table 21, Harley Street offered the lowest provision (1: 0.63) because its southern third was constructed in

¹¹⁷³ Whyman, *Sociability and Power*.

¹¹⁷⁴ Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, p.388ff.

¹¹⁷⁵ Worsley, *The British Stable*, p.119.

¹¹⁷⁶ The development of the Cavendish-Harley estate took place in two marked chronological phases in 'waves of building activity stirred and halted by economic fluctuations and the fortunes of war.' Cavendish Square and the area leading north up to Queen Anne Street began to take shape at the end of Anne's reign (1702-14). Construction slowed dramatically in the 1730s, 40s and 50s, as war repeatedly hampered economic conditions. As Summerson noted, 'The North-West estates continued to resist further expansion till after the Seven Years' War' in 1763. The next three decades witnessed the estate's most sustained and intensive phase of construction, progressing northwards from Queen Anne Street to the fringes of Marylebone fields; Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, p.34; Summerson, *Georgian London*, p.94.

¹¹⁷⁷ Peter Potter, *Plan of the Parish of St Marylebone* (2nd edn., 1821).

¹¹⁷⁸ For the full list of mews serving Portland Place, Harley Street and Wimpole Street, North of Queen Anne Street, see Table 9.

the 1760s, when demand for private stabling was less pressing. The most advanced streets were those constructed in the final quarter of the century, two of which – Upper Wimpole Street (1: 1) and Upper Harley Street (1: 1.05) – offered comprehensive arrangements, with Devonshire Place close behind (1: 0.90). The estate’s overall provision ratio of 1: 0.82 confirms its increasing prioritisation of equine infrastructures in the second half of the century.

Rate books for Portland Place, Harley Street and Wimpole Street at this time show that the estate attracted residents from the highest reaches of society, including dukes and baronets, foreign ambassadors, successful merchants, former plantation owners, MPs and senior army officers.¹¹⁷⁹ When choosing a West End property, these elite house-hunters had to make a series of ‘articulate choices’ based on ‘strategic decision making’.¹¹⁸⁰ Architectural guides recommended properties ‘in some open airy street, contiguous to some square’ with good access to public places’.¹¹⁸¹ The Cavendish-Harley Estate fulfilled each of these criteria but its particular appeal owed a great deal to its superior equine arrangements.¹¹⁸² When newspaper advertisements were placed for ‘Wanted’ properties, stabling ranked highly among their specifications. In the late 1780s, the *World* newspaper published enquiries for

A House to Rent ... elegantly furnished or unfurnished, fit for the reception of a large family, with double coach-house, and stabling for not less than four horses; the situation preferred will be the neighbourhood of Cavendish or Portman Square, but particularly Wimpole or Harley Street.¹¹⁸³

A House, to Rent or Purchase, with three good rooms on a floor, accommodation for fifteen or sixteen servants, stabling for six horses, kitchen, and laundry out of the house. A square, or Portland Place, would be preferred.¹¹⁸⁴

¹¹⁷⁹ WCA, *St Marylebone Rate Books* (1777-1778).

¹¹⁸⁰ H. Greig, ‘Leading the fashion: the material culture of London’s Beau Monde’ in J. Styles & A. Vickery (eds.) *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (2006), p.299; recent literature on elite consumption has questioned the idea that the gentry and aristocracy tended to be spontaneous and profligate in their spending. Instead Helen Berry has described the gentry’s behaviour as exhibiting ‘prudent luxury’; H. Berry, ‘Prudent luxury: the metropolitan tastes of Judith Baker, Durham gentlewoman’ in R. Sweet & P. Lane (eds.), *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Aldershot, 2003), pp.131-56; A. Vickery, “Neat and not too showey”: words and wallpaper in Regency England’ in Styles & Vickery, *Gender, Taste and Material Culture* (New Haven, 2006), pp.201-25.

¹¹⁸¹ Thomas Skaife, *A Key to Civil Architecture; or, The Universal British Builder* (1774), p.31.

¹¹⁸² To the north, the estate bordered Marylebone Fields, offering an unbroken view of the Hampstead Hills; the south, Cavendish Square provided a grand focal point. While less central than St. James’s and the Grosvenor Estate, the area offered convenient access to Parliament and the polite diversions of the West End.

¹¹⁸³ *World* (21/5/1788).

¹¹⁸⁴ *World*, (3/6/1789).

Some advertisements even promoted stabling over domestic stipulations.¹¹⁸⁵ In 1776 an advertisement for a house in Welbeck Street boasted ‘standing for three carriages [and] stabling for five horses’ before mentioning the property’s ‘two good rooms and a dressing-room on each floor’.¹¹⁸⁶ Because elite house-hunters valued their private equipages so highly, it was clearly in the best interests of aristocratic landlords to build high-quality mews and to ensure that they were well maintained. Because landlords regained ownership of properties when their first lease expired, their prime concern was to attract high-class tenants who would ‘maintain ... or raise the tone, and hence the value of the estate’.¹¹⁸⁷ Mews represented an important investment in an estate’s future profitability.

To learn more about the Cavendish-Harley estate’s equine infrastructures, I surveyed advertisements for properties placed in London’s newspapers between 1775 and 1790.¹¹⁸⁸ Table 22 provides a summary of key details including the property’s location, its owner, and the capacities of the coach-house and stable.¹¹⁸⁹ At least twelve of the eighteen mews serving this section of the Cavendish-Harley estate are represented here. As shown in Table 23, the data shows that horse stalls offered by individual mews units ranged from four to eight, with an average of 5.9, a median of six and a mode of five. Each unit’s capacity for coaches ranged from two to three, with an average of 2.3 and a median and mode of two. The superior size of the Marquess of Rockingham’s arrangements in Grosvenor Square indicates the extreme wealth and unusual scale of equipages maintained by the upper nobility. Yet, the smaller mews units found on the Cavendish-Harley estate gave its broader social elite precisely the kind of equine mobility and display which they needed to succeed in the *beau monde*. Moreover, when applied to the entire Cavendish-Harley estate (see Table 23), this data emphasises the extraordinary ambition of these ‘spaces of modernity’ – in an area containing little more than three hundred elite homes, accommodation was made for as many as 1,782 horses and 695 coaches. In the West End, the elite’s obsession with horses and its commitment to a heavily horse-dependant metropolitan

¹¹⁸⁵ Stewart, *The Town House*, pp.43 & 116-7, argues that instead of seeking to distinguish themselves by the sheer size of their property, house hunters increasingly desired a residence which was ‘streamlined as a London base.’

¹¹⁸⁶ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* (24/5/1776).

¹¹⁸⁷ Cruickshank & Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*, p.111.

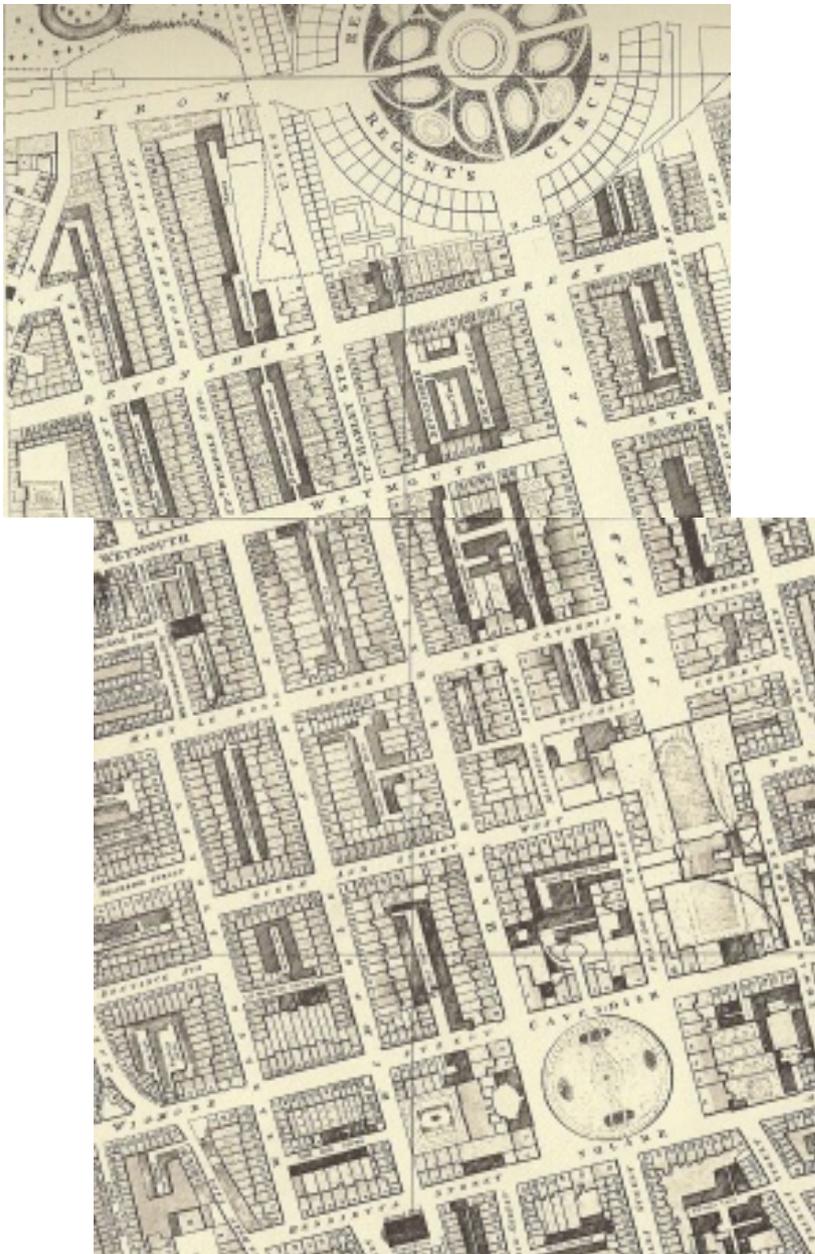
¹¹⁸⁸ Using the word search facility provided by the online 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers (Gale Digital Collections).

¹¹⁸⁹ Potter, *Plan of the Parish of St Marylebone* (1821); in cross referencing street numbers with Potter’s map, I have taken into account the street re-numberings which took place in Harley Street, Upper Harley Street and Portland Place in the 1770s and 1780s. Wimpole Street was never re-numbered and retains its original ordering. No advertisements provide the name of the mews complex serving the property on sale. However, house numbers and specific descriptions of location make it possible to identify them. Where advertisements did not provide sufficient location detail, I have suggested the small number of mews which could have served the property.

lifestyle fuelled one of the most dynamic aspects of Hanoverian London's architectural development.

The above shows that London planned energetically for and invested heavily in the accommodation of horses. Yet, as suggested, these architectural infrastructures were also intimately connected to large social networks which revolved around horses. It is to the dynamics of equine care that we now turn.

Map 25: Detail of the Cavendish–Harley Estate from Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining ...* (3rd edn., 1813).



Map 26: Detail from Peter Potter's *Plan of the Parish of St Marylebone* (2nd edn., 1832) showing the key mews developments serving Portland Place, Harley Street and Wimpole Street on the Cavendish–Harley Estate.



Table 21: Ratio of mews units: houses in key streets on Cavendish-Harley Estate (north of Queen Ann Street) in the early 1800s.¹¹⁹⁰

	No. of residential properties	Mews complexes (with approx no. of stable units serving street)	Total no. of mews units serving street	Ratio of residential properties : mews units
Harley St	57	N. Harley (10) Mansfield (0) Wimpole (12) Weymouth (14)	36	1 : 0.63
Portland Place	68	Duchess (5) Weymouth (14) Charlotte St (5) Devonshire East (16) Williams (9) Devonshire Row (3)	52	1 : 0.76
Wimpole St	55	N. Harley (10) Marylebone (10) Westmoreland (6) Woodstock (5) Wimpole (12)	43	1 : 0.78
Devonshire Place	41	Devonshire Place (16) Devonshire West (18)	37	1 : 0.90
Upper Wimpole	26	Upper Wimpole (8) Devonshire South (13)	26	1 : 1
Upper Harley St	40	Devonshire South (12) Devonshire East (19) Devonshire West (8) Devonshire North (5)	42	1 : 1.05
	Total houses: 287		Total mews units: 236	Ratio of houses to mews units across the C-H estate 1 : 0.82

¹¹⁹⁰ Calculated using Peter Potter's Plan of the Parish of St Marylebone (2nd edn., 1821).

Table 22: Newspaper adverts for rent & sale of properties with coach houses & stables (1775–1790).

Street (west or east side) & no. by 1790	Date	Owner (Source, Date)	Mews	Coach capacity	Horse capacity	News-paper
Portland Place (corner of New Cavendish St), No.8 or No.61	11/2/ 1778	If No. 8 - Rev William Rose for Ambassador (Rate book, 1808) If No.61 - Theodore Henry Broadhead (Rate book, 1808)	Charlotte <u>or</u> Weymouth	2	6	<i>Morning Post</i>
Mansfield St, Portland Place	31/5/ 1783	Sir Edward Dering, Bart	Mansfield or Duchess	2	6	<i>Morning Post</i>
Portland Place (NE corner of Weymouth St), No.22	8/12/ 1783	Robert Sparks Esq (Rate book, 1808)	Williams	2	5	<i>Gazetteer</i>
Portland Place, No.10 (East side)	26 /12/ 1785	John Musters, Esq (Rate books, 1785); 'A Man of Fashion'	Charlotte	2	5	<i>Morning Post</i>
Portland Place (West side, corner of Weymouth St, No.51	27 /6 / 1786	William Mitchell Esq (Rate book, 1808)	Weymouth	3	8	<i>Morning Post</i>
Portland Place (Centre, East side), No.17	20 /5/ 1789	Robert Butler, Esq	Charlotte	2	5	<i>World</i>
Portland Place (East side), No.35	19 /1/ 1790	Duke of Orleans	Devonshire Row	3	8	<i>World</i>
Upper Harley Street (West Side)	29 /10/ 1779	"A Nobleman" (1779); 'Earl of Rochford' (Rate books, 1777)	Devonshire South <u>or</u> Devonshire West	2	5	<i>Morning Post</i>
Lower Harley St (West side)	6 / 4/ 1781	Unknown	North Harley or Harley	2	6	<i>Gazetteer</i>
Upper Harley (East side)	27 / 4/ 1784	'A Foreign Ambassador'	Devonshire East <u>or</u> Devonshire North	Unknown	6	<i>Gazetteer</i>
Harley (West side)	13 /11/ 1786	A Nobleman	Harley, North Harley or Wimpole	2	7	<i>Morning Post</i>
Harley (West side), No.46	8 / 7/ 1784	The Earl of Newburgh on lease to William Godfrey	Wimpole	3	8	<i>Morning Post</i>
Harley (West side), No.43	18/2/ 1790	'John Prybus Esq' (Rate book, 1777)	Wimpole	3	8	<i>World</i>
Devonshire Place (East side), No.2	27/1/ 1791	Unknown	Devonshire West	Unknown	4	<i>World</i>

Table 22 (continued)

Devonshire Place	31/12/1790	Unknown	Devonshire West or Dev. Place	Unknown	4	<i>World</i>
Upper Wimpole (East side), No.10	18 /12/ 1790	Unknown	Devonshire South	2	5	<i>World</i>
Wimpole (best part)	8 / 9/ 1788	Unknown	Marylebone, N. Harley, Westmoreland or Wimpole	Unknown	6	<i>Morning Post</i>
Wimpole (West side)	12 /3/ 1787	William Lutwyche Esq	Marylebone or Westmoreland	Unknown	5	<i>Gazetteer</i>
				Average: 2.3 Median: 2 Mode: 2	Average: 5.9 Median: 6 Mode: 5	

Table 23: Coach and horse capacity in mews serving Cavendish–Harley Estate, North of Queen Ann Street (1775–1790).¹¹⁹¹

	No. of coach houses in mews	Average coach capacity of coach houses (estate average) *	Approximate Coach Capacity of Mews (Coach houses x average coach capacity)	No. of stables in Mews	Average horse capacity of stable (No. of stalls based on estate average)	Approx horse capacity of mews (No. of Stables x average horse capacity)
Duchess	9	2.3	20.7	9	5.9	53.1
Weymouth	35	2.3	80.5	35	5.9	206.5
Charlotte St	8	2.3	18.4	8	5.9	47.2
Devonshire E	35	2.3	80.5	35	5.9	206.5
Williams	24	2.3	55.2	24	5.9	141.6
Devonshire Row	8	2.3	18.4	8	5.9	47.2
North Harley	22	2.3	50.6	22	5.9	129.8
Mansfield	5	2.3	11.5	5	5.9	29.5
Wimpole	23	2.3	52.9	23	5.9	135.7
Devonshire W	39	2.3	89.7	39	5.9	230.1
Devonshire N	5	2.3	11.5	5	5.9	29.5
Marylebone	23	2.3	52.9	23	5.9	135.7
Westmoreland	6	2.3	13.8	6	5.9	35.4
Woodstock	6	2.3	13.8	6	5.9	35.4
Clarks Mews	5	2.3	11.5	5	5.9	29.5
Upper Wimpole	8	2.3	18.4	8	5.9	47.2
Devonshire S	25	2.3	57.5	25	5.9	147.5
Devonshire Pl	16	2.3	36.8	16	5.9	94.4
Estate (North of Queen Ann St)	297	2.3	694.6	297	5.9	1781.8

¹¹⁹¹ For calculation of averages, see Table 22.

Equine Care

Certain features of equine biology place heavy demands on stable workers. In particular, the horse's cecal digestive system necessitates several separate feedings a day and the provision of large volumes of water to prevent their small stomachs and intestines from twisting and blocking, a condition known as 'colic'.¹¹⁹² Horses also produce large quantities of dung – Mayhew estimated that a single animal dropped about 45 lbs. [20 kg] a day¹¹⁹³ – which had to be cleared from the stable with shovel and muscle. These basic equine demands contributed to the long and unsociable hours which metropolitan stablemen were required to work in the Hanoverian period.¹¹⁹⁴ In *Low Life*, Thomas Legg recorded that 'Hostlers and Stable Sweepers' began 'to feed and dress' their horses at two or three o'clock on Sunday mornings, ready to be ridden by their owners, and that servants to coal merchants spent all morning on Sundays 'feeding, watering, and cleaning their Horses'.¹¹⁹⁵ That stablemen worked on Sundays, a day on which most other Londoners rested, emphasises that equine demands shaped labour patterns.¹¹⁹⁶ Yet, the delivery of equine care was not a passive or static process. London led a dramatic re-conceptualization of its scope and purpose in the Hanoverian period, from one in which men attended to basic equine wants to one in which they endeavoured to improve horses through increasingly individuated and sophisticated modes of care. In a recent study, Michael Mackay has shown that the demands of wealthy metropolitan horse-owners spurred the medicalization of the farriery trade, culminating in the emergence of veterinary surgeons in the early nineteenth century.¹¹⁹⁷ While important in itself, these developments were part of a much broader transformation of metropolitan horse care. Focussing on brewery stables and mews, I show that this constituted a significant strand of metropolitan modernity.

¹¹⁹² McShane & Tarr, *The Horse and the City*, pp.127.

¹¹⁹³ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861; 1968), vol. 2, pp.194-95.

¹¹⁹⁴ On working hours in London, see H-J. Voth, *Time and Work in England 1750-1830* (Oxford, 2000); thirteen stable workers appearing at the Old Bailey between 1750 and 1810 gave the times at which they started and finished work; this data suggests a modal start time of 6:30am, an end time of 8:30pm, and a working day of fourteen hours, two hours longer than the average metropolitan worker; OBSP: t17821204-3 (4/12/1782); t17860719-36 (19/7/1786); t17890708-8 (8/7/1789); t17930410-73 (10/4/1793); t17980110-18 (10/1/1798); t18000709-106 (9/7/1800); t18000709-106 (9/7/1800); t18041205-29 (5/12/1804); t18060917-68 (17/9/1806); t18090215-56 (5/2/1809); t18090920-137 (20/9/1809); a coroner's report from the 1770s recorded that a servant to coal merchants regularly rose at 3am to clean out the company's stables; LL, WIC/652120656 (4/9/1772).

¹¹⁹⁵ Thomas Legg, *Low Life* (1764 edn.), pp.17 & 50-1.

¹¹⁹⁶ A quarter of the stable men identified in the OBSP were at work on Sundays, twice the proportion which Voth found in the average London workforce in 1760; OBSP: t17821204-3 (4/12/1782); t17890708-8 (8/7/1789); t18090215-56 (5/2/1809); only 12.4% of the witnesses identified by Voth in the OBSP in 1760 were at work on Sunday; Voth, *Time and work in England*, Table 3.7.

¹¹⁹⁷ M.H. McKay, 'The rise of a medical specialty: the medicalisation of equine care, c.1680-c.1800' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2009).

The records of London's leading breweries provide the richest source of information about the care of working horses in this period, and reveal improvements which played a significant role in the trade's progress in the Hanoverian period. As suggested in Chapter 2, the intensity of work performed by metropolitan dray-horses increased during the industrial revolution. But to achieve this, brewers had to invest in the fuelling and maintenance of their living machines. Anecdotal and quantitative evidence suggests that brewers prepared their horses for longer and harder shifts by greatly improving their nutritional regimes and stable-based care. When Louis Simond visited Barclay Perkins' dray-horses in the 1810s, he noted that 'These colossuses are fed with a mixture of clover-hay, straw, and oats ... They are often sixteen hours in harness out of the twenty four'.¹¹⁹⁸ Simond recognised that these hard-worked animals demanded a nutritionally rich and highly calorific diet. In the 1830s and 1840s, the average daily calorific consumption for a dray-horse at work was estimated at 38,000 Kcal.¹¹⁹⁹ By comparison, an average horse at rest requires between 12-15,000 Kcal per day.¹²⁰⁰

That brewers engineered improved nutritional regimes for their horses during the industrial revolution is supported by the Truman brewery rest books, which provide unique insights into the diets of dray-horses from the 1770s into the nineteenth century. Between 1771 and 1775, clerks recorded the quantities of foods purchased each year. Thereafter, we are only told the quantity of foods on-site at the time of the summer stock-take, but not the total quantities purchased annually. Unfortunately, this makes it impossible to track changes in the quantity of foods fed to dray-horses over the period. But the Truman records do show that at least one major step was taken to improve the diet of the firm's horses. Throughout the 1770s, the animals were fed on hay; chaff (a mixture of cut meadow hay, straw and clover); wheat bran and pollard (reject flour). Yet, by 1791, when the record resumes, three nutritionally rich foodstuffs had been added to the menu: clover, beans and oats.¹²⁰¹ This was an important development. The nutritional benefits of these foods were well known by the late 1790s when John Middleton published his *View of the agriculture of Middlesex* (1798)¹²⁰² and in the 1830s, William Youatt wrote that oats afforded 'the principal nourishment' for horses and that beans – given principally in winter – added 'materially

¹¹⁹⁸ Louis Simond, *Journal of a tour and residence in Great Britain, during the years 1810 and 1811* (Edinburgh, 1817), vol.1, pp.183-84.

¹¹⁹⁹ It is important to note that a horse only digests just over half of this fodder effectively, and the 'overall efficiency of food energy consumed to power applied is only around 10 per cent'; P. Warde, *Energy Consumption in England and Wales 1560-2000* (Cambridge, 2000), p.44; E.J.T. Collins, 'Power availability and agricultural productivity in England and Wales, 1840-1939', in B.J.P. van Bavel and E. Thoen (eds.), *Land Productivity and Agro-systems in the North Sea Area* (Turnhout, 1999), pp.216-7.

¹²⁰⁰ N.E. Robinson (ed.), *Current Therapy in Equine Medicine*, 4 (Philadelphia, 1997), p.202; H. M. Clayton, *Conditioning Sport Horses* (Saskatchewan, 1991), p.158.

¹²⁰¹ LMA, B/THB/B/004-006 (1767-93); B/THB/B/007-014 (1794-1817); the rest books for 1781-89 do not survive and the 1790 record does not provide a breakdown of the foods given.

¹²⁰² John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), pp.362 & 366.

to the vigor [sic] of the horse', without which 'many ... will not stand hard work'. Youatt advised that a mixture of 'eight pounds of oats and two of beans should be added to every twenty pounds of chaff'.¹²⁰³ Clover, an energy- and protein-rich legume, was another valuable addition to the dray-horse's diet, and was given in the late spring and summer as a supplement to hay.

There can be no doubt that the introduction of these foodstuffs in the late eighteenth century was calculated to increase the muscle bulk and energy levels of dray-horses. Seen in the context of increased labour intensity, these dietary changes were surely designed to prepare dray-horses for longer and heavier work. It therefore seems likely that all of London's leading brewers, along with many smaller concerns, would have taken similar action by the end of the eighteenth century.¹²⁰⁴ Taking into account that beans, oats and clover were relatively expensive items on which to feed horses¹²⁰⁵ and that brewers ordered greater quantities of food in this period to fuel larger and harder working horses emphasises the significance of this strategic shift.¹²⁰⁶ Moreover, the fact that brewers were prepared to make these changes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when agricultural prices were soaring makes their commitment even more remarkable.¹²⁰⁷ In 1795, a petition signed by 22 metropolitan hostlers complained that 'the heavy prices of Horse Provender' which they had 'borne for some time' and which were 'daily increasing ... render it impossible ... to do justice to the Horses under their care, unless they are permitted to make an additional charge' to their customers.¹²⁰⁸ Despite encountering the same price rises, the city's brewers recognised that the benefits of maintaining a well-fuelled equine workforce outweighed the savings to be made by scrimping on provender.

¹²⁰³ Youatt, *The Horse* (1854 edn.), pp.393-97; D. Gerhold, *Road Transport Before the Railways: Russell's London Flying Waggons* (Cambridge, 1993), p.130, asserts that 'Hard-working waggon horses required a generous diet containing a high proportion of the more energy-giving provender – oats and beans'.

¹²⁰⁴ This underlines McShane & Tarr's point that while urban horses worked harder than their rural counterparts, they were often better cared for; McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.1.

¹²⁰⁵ In the mid-eighteenth century, beans cost approximately 70% of the price of wheat, the most expensive grain; oat prices were around 40% of those for wheat. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the price of beans and oats declined as the price of hay and straw increased so that by 1750, they were almost in line. However, during the Napoleonic wars, the price of beans and oats increased substantially. In 1794, the surveyor Peter Foot observed that clover was 'in general bought for the brewers and carmen's horses' and 'generally yields a greater price than the best meadow hay'; Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: 1640-1750. Vol. 5* (Cambridge, 1985), Table 13.4; B.A. Holderness, 'Prices, productivity, and output' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol.6: 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 92-109, 124-25 & Table I.5; P. Foot, *General view of the agriculture of the county of Middlesex, with observations on the means of their improvement* (1794), p.58.

¹²⁰⁶ Visiting Barclay-Perkins' brewery in the 1790s, Alexander McLeay observed that 'The racks are always kept full of hay, so that the horses have as much as they can eat'; John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), pp.364-5.

¹²⁰⁷ Holderness, 'Prices, productivity, and output' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol.6*, pp.92-109 & 124-25.

¹²⁰⁸ *Morning Post & Fashionable World* (26/3/1795).

At the same time, the labour costs involved in fuelling dray-horses increased to the extent that some brewers were convinced of the need to invest in expensive steam-powered technology to help process and distribute their food. Having constructed new stables in 1837, Truman transformed his stable regime by exploiting ‘a four-horse condensing steam-engine, for the combined purposes of cutting chaff, raising fodder into the loft, and pumping water from a well in the cellar for the use of the stable and other purposes’.¹²⁰⁹ This technology increased efficiency and saved hours of expensive human labour but may also have improved the care given to the company’s horses. Visiting Barclay’s brewery in 1841, the *Penny Magazine* saw ‘A steam-engine of five or six horse-power ... used to crush the oats’, a ‘modern practice’ which, it was claimed, was ‘productive of much benefit to the health of the animal’, by aiding digestion and energy intake. On the same site, ‘another machine’ was used to cut the chaff and ‘By an ingenious arrangement, the waste steam from this engine can be directed into a water-trough, whereby any desired temperature may be given to the water which the horses drink’.¹²¹⁰ These developments emphasise that horses not only worked alongside steam engines (see Chapter 2), but were also consumers of their mechanical power.

In addition to feeding their horses better, metropolitan brewers provided increasingly sophisticated care to maximise their output and working lives. Major firms employed large teams of dedicated ‘horse keepers’ and draymen. In the 1790s, a third of Barclay Perkins’ workforce dealt directly with horses, a ratio likely to have been matched by its competitors.¹²¹¹ Alexander McLeay described the painstaking work involved in the 1790s. The stables, he observed ‘are daily cleaned and littered, by men whose business it is to attend them night and day ... they pay the greatest attention to their being and they are well littered at all seasons ... They are ... well rubbed down after they come in from work’.¹²¹² Particular care was taken to protect the hooves of dray-horses, which suffered heavy wear on the streets of the metropolis. This necessitated a continuous programme of regular horse-shoe removal and replacement. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Truman’s horses consumed approximately 1,200 shoes and 10,000 nails every year.¹²¹³

To make efficient use of their horses, brewers had to maintain a sophisticated stable regime and keep detailed records. Most large firms would have kept a ‘stable book’ of the kind which survives for Barclay-Perkins for 1827–39.¹²¹⁴ Here, the company recorded weekly tallies of sick or lame

¹²⁰⁹ *The Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal*, vol.1 (1837-38), No.3, p.50.

¹²¹⁰ *The Penny Magazine Supplement*, vol.10 (March 1841), p.128.

¹²¹¹ LMA/ACC/2305/01/0176/4, ‘List of workers, 1791-97’, a note in Barclay-Perkins rest book, 1797.

¹²¹² John Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), pp.364-5.

¹²¹³ LMA/B/THB/B/14 & 15, Truman brewery rest books, 1814-18; James Clark, farrier, *Observations on the Shoeing of Horses*, 2 vols. (3rd edn., 1782), vol.1, p.62.

¹²¹⁴ LMA/ACC/2305/1/1300, Barclay-Perkins stable book, 1827-39.

animals, deaths, total stock and additional notes. In an average week in 1828, the brewery employed 126 horses, of which six had to be rested for reasons of sickness or lameness.¹²¹⁵ When Louis Simond visited a few years earlier he was impressed to find that none of these horses were sick, which he took as evidence of their superior care.¹²¹⁶ Yet, with so many animals stabled in close proximity, the rapid spread of disease posed a grave threat. In a single week in December 1827, Barclay Perkins workmen found three horses dead.¹²¹⁷ With so much capital invested in these animals and income so reliant on their services, brewers made huge efforts to avert the ravages of infection. Trade ledgers reveal that Whitbread spent large sums on medicine and farriery equipment and by the 1790s, he maintained two large ‘farrier’s shops’ on-site.¹²¹⁸ The 1774 plan of the Anchor brewery in Southwark (see Plate 61) features a sheltered wing for infected animals away from the main stable complex and indicates that large gates were used to seal the area as a further precaution against the spread of disease.¹²¹⁹ By the early 1840s, *The Penny Magazine* found that Barclays maintained a laboratory for its own veterinary surgeon ‘under whose care the health of the valuable stud is placed’; as well as ‘a blacksmith’s shop, provided with the necessary arrangements for shoeing horses’ and ‘a harness-maker’s shop’.¹²²⁰

The above suggests that improvement in equine care was part of a concerted effort to maximise the contribution made by dray-horses. Horse care in London’s leading breweries was particularly advanced, but comparable developments were visible in other equine-dependent sectors, including waggon and stage-coach operations, the coal trade, and the city’s water suppliers. Moreover, although difficult to prove, many smaller employers of horses may have tried to emulate progressive stable regimes. This is not to claim that the treatment of working horses improved evenly across the metropolis. Many beasts of burden continued to be under- and improperly fed, overworked, poorly stabled, cruelly abused and denied adequate care by employers who were either ignorant of their animals’ needs, or variously unwilling or unable to satisfy them.¹²²¹ At the other end of the scale, however, thousands of elite horses received extraordinary levels of human care in the West End’s mews. As shown below, these animals were beneficiaries of impressive investment in social infrastructures which served equine wellbeing and polite urban living simultaneously. Analysis of these arrangements underlines the need to unbound the social but also highlights another integral aspect of the mews’ modernity.

¹²¹⁵ LMA/ACC/2305/1/1300.

¹²¹⁶ Louis Simond, *Journal of a Tour* (Edinburgh, 1817), vol.1, pp.182-4.

¹²¹⁷ LMA/ACC/2305/1/1300, Barclay-Perkins stable book, 1827-39.

¹²¹⁸ Spiller, ‘The Georgian brewery’, p.321; Whitbread trade ledger, 1746-52, cited in Mathias, *The Brewing Industry*, p.79.

¹²¹⁹ LMA/ACC/2305/01/834, Plan of Thrale’s estate, 1774.

¹²²⁰ *The Penny Magazine Supplement*, vol.10 (March 1841), p.128.

¹²²¹ John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (1796), vol.1, pp.306-10.

Traditionally, the West End has been discussed as an area almost exclusively occupied by a human elite. Only in the last decade have historians begun to acknowledge the many domestic servants who lived and worked alongside these wealthy residents.¹²²² Yet, despite their prevalence, the horses and equine servants who occupied the area's mews have continued to evade attention.¹²²³ The onerous business of feeding, watering, mucking out, grooming, treating and harnessing highly valued horses – combined with the work associated with maintaining coaches – meant that owners had to invest heavily in equine servants. A demanding family using a coach three times a day required two coachmen and two grooms.¹²²⁴ Rockingham required a much larger retinue. In 1781, he was paying annual wages to five equine servants¹²²⁵ but by the following summer, this team had grown to nine, with two coachmen, three postillions, three grooms and a stable boy. Listed by name and position in Table 24, these mews-based employees made up almost forty per cent of the Marquis' permanent staff at No.4 Grosvenor Square in 1782.

The incessant demands of horse and household meant that equine servants had to be on-site day and night. Thus, coachmen (occasionally with their families), grooms and stable boys lived in basic quarters above the stable and coach-house. Using a conservative estimate that two servants were needed to maintain an equipage of six animals (based on the average number of stalls in each mews unit), the Cavendish-Harley Estate's estimated 1,782 horses would have employed nearly 600 men (see Table 25). By the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, the total population of equine servants in the West End would have run into the thousands.

¹²²² B. Hill, *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1996); C. Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009); T. Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, 2000); J.J. Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1956).

¹²²³ For the most detailed previous consideration of equine servants, see Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750*.

¹²²⁴ F. Huggett, *Carriages at Eight: Horse Drawn Society in Victorian & Edwardian Times* (New York, 1980).

¹²²⁵ SA, WWM/A/1296, 'Isaac Charlton's London household disbursements' (19/7/1781); their total wages amounted to £147' 19s.

Table 24: List of taxable servants at Grosvenor Square, 4 May 1782.¹²²⁶

Equine Staff		Non-Equine Staff	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
Hamlet Yates	Coachman	Thomas Woodhead	Footman
George Ellard	Second Coachman	John Saby	Footman
William Clark	Postillion	Robert Needham	Footman
William Fido	Postillion	Joseph Lee	Footman
John Street	Postillion	Remus Stansfield	Footman
Henry Powell	Groom	Romulus Wimbleton	Footman
John Guest	Groom	Mr John Heck	Valet de Chambre
William Harrison	Groom	Charles Crabb	Valet de Chambre
William Bailey	Stable Boy	Eustache Crabb	Clerk of Kitchen
		John Seaven	Cook
		Isaac Charlton	Butler
		Joseph South	Under Butler
		John Oxley	Waiter
		Thomas Hankin	Porter

Table 25: Approximate density of equine servants living and working in mews on the Cavendish-Harley Estate, North of Queen Ann Street (1775–90).

Mews	Approximate Horse Capacity of Mews (No. of Stables x Average Horse Capacity)	Approx. No. of Equine servants (coachmen and grooms) in each Mews (Based on 2 servants caring for 6 horses in each mews unit)
Duchess	53.1	18
Weymouth	206.5	69
Charlotte St	47.2	16
Devonshire East	206.5	69
Williams	141.6	47
Devonshire Row	47.2	16
North Harley	129.8	43
Mansfield	29.5	10
Wimpole	135.7	45
Devonshire West	230.1	77
Devonshire North	29.5	10
Marylebone	135.7	45
Westmoreland	35.4	12
Woodstock	35.4	12
Clarkes Mews	29.5	10
Upper Wimpole	47.2	16
Devonshire South	147.5	49
Devonshire Place	94.4	31
Cavendish-Harley Estate (North of Queen Ann St)	1781.8	595

¹²²⁶ SA, WWM/A/1296, 'List of Servants liable to be taxed according to an Act of Parliament' (4/5/1782).

In a recent study, Carolyn Steedman rightly challenged Adam Smith's formulation of the servant's labour as a kind of non-work, or anti-work, as well as E.P. Thompson's suggestion that servants were not part of the working class, because they were not really workers.¹²²⁷ Steedman shows that 'the woman in the kitchen cooking the family dinner was a worker' and observes that 'the basket, the carrots ... the dirty clouts, all have their wants: they tell the worker what needs doing to them'.¹²²⁸ In the world of the mews, horses were no less demanding, and ensured that coachmen and grooms were put through a grueling regime of very real, and demanding work. Yet, as suggested, mews servants were engaged in work which went beyond the basic 'wants' of horses. They were involved in a re-conceptualization of horse care in the Hanoverian period which directed their efforts towards the improvement of elite mobility and display.

This process created distinctive work cultures and social structures, both within and beyond the architectural confines of the mews. Many coachmen and grooms began their working days two or three hours before the household's maids, cooks or footmen.¹²²⁹ In his study of Victorian mews, Frank Huggett suggests that work usually started 'at 5am in the summer and 6am in the winter, so that the head coachman, after having a late breakfast at 10 am could report at the big house to receive the orders of the day'.¹²³⁰ Completing stable work whilst also respecting the schedule of a particularly mobile master posed major challenges for coachmen and grooms. Late night sociability meant that some coachmen had to fetch their masters from clubs, only to rise a few hours later to tend to their horses' needs. In 1818, the Earl of Denbigh's coachman brought 'his Lordship home' at two o'clock in the morning, put his coach and horses away and recommenced his duties less than four hours later.¹²³¹ In 1803, the leading farrier and equestrian writer, William Taplin, listed 'punctuality' among a groom's essential qualities, recognising that equine needs, as well as the master and mistress of the house, set strict deadlines.¹²³² Moreover, Taplin emphasised that the improvement of horses – a project which elite equestrians found so compelling – was as dependant on social discipline as the breeding, nourishment, stabling and medical treatment of these animals.

¹²²⁷ Steedman, *Labours Lost*; Adam Smith, *The wealth of nations* (1776; London, 1986), pp.133-40 & 430; E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working class* (New York, 1963).

¹²²⁸ Steedman, *Labours Lost*, pp.14 & 353-54.

¹²²⁹ In 1780, Archenholz noted that domestics were still asleep at 8am; at 11am, Goede observed that the only signs of life came from 'a groom here or there'; Christian August Gottlieb Goede, *The Stranger in England* (1807); Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *A Picture of England* (1789) cited in Cruickshank & Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*, pp.23-4; according to Sophie von la Roche, maids in the West End 'seldom open their eyes before eight o'clock', *Sophie in London* (1786; trans., London, 1933), p.89.

¹²³⁰ Huggett, *Carriages at Eight*.

¹²³¹ OBSP, *t18180909-23* (9/9/1818).

¹²³² William Taplin, *The Sporting Dictionary* (1803), p.350.

The importance of mobility and equine display meant that wealthy West End residents had to invest considerable trust in their equine servants. Although coachmen and grooms ranked among the household's inferior manservants, astute masters looked for an array of skills and personal qualities to ensure the wellbeing of their horses and the orderliness of their equestrian affairs. West End stable regimes are likely to have taken their lead from the King's Mews in Charing Cross, where 'an almost military discipline was maintained'.¹²³³ Coachmen to the aristocracy and gentry not only had to be able to ride and drive well, but also to manage a team of subordinate grooms, postilions and, in larger establishments, stable hands. As noted by Hecht, 'the governance of the stables lay entirely in his hands', including the purchase of fodder, horse care and vehicle maintenance.¹²³⁴ Yet, grooms also warranted the respect and vigilance of their employers. In Taplin's lexicon, a 'Groom' had to be 'a complete and perfect master of every part of stable discipline' and to display 'obedience, fidelity, patience, mildness, diligence, humanity, and honesty'. Taplin warned masters that 'the HEALTH, SAFETY, and CONDITION, of every horse' depended upon 'the sobriety, steadiness, and invariable punctuality, of the groom; and by his incessant attention only can they be insured'. Grooms, he insisted, 'are men who, from the arduous task they stand engaged in, the variegated nature of their servitude, and the property entrusted to their care, lay claim, and are entitled to ... all the equitable pecuniary compensation, and personal kindness, their employers can possibly bestow'.¹²³⁵

Taplin emphasised that to be a coachman or groom meant more than owning an occupational label, it involved a unique set of skills and behaviours, routines, living conditions, master-servant dynamics and wider social interactions.¹²³⁶ Recently, Meldrum and Steedman have disputed Maza's assertions that eighteenth-century servants were caught in a social limbo between their masters and the wider world and that they lacked autonomy. Meldrum has argued that most domestic servants 'were engaged in too much interaction with others' both within and outside the household 'for them to be in any way aloof or withdrawn', and emphasises that these characteristics were particularly pronounced among equine servants.¹²³⁷ Although architecturally

¹²³³ Huggett, *Carriages at Eight*; the King's saddle horses were care for by nine grooms, one for every three animals while thirty coach horses were divided into three teams, each supervised by an experienced coachman with grooms and stable helpers beneath him; RAW, 'Precedence Book', 1760-1805, pp.87-8, 'A List of their Majestys' officers and servants who occupy Houses in the mews at Charing Cross by virtue of their places', 1769; see also RAW, 'Precedence Book', 1760-1805, pp.65-7, 'An Account of all the Stables in his Majesty's Mews at Charing Cross and by whom they were occupied in the year 1766'; pp.68-9, 'A List of all the Coach Houses in his Majestys Mews and of the persons by whom they are occupied in the year 1768'.

¹²³⁴ J.J. Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-century England* (London, 1956), p.51.

¹²³⁵ William Taplin, *The Sporting Dictionary* (1803), pp.349-50.

¹²³⁶ Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750*, pp.167-177.

¹²³⁷ Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p.124 & 174-82; S. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: the Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, 1983), pp.109-10, 131 & 134; Steedman, *Labours Lost*, pp.8-9.

enclosed, mews were fully integrated into a bustling social nexus revolving around horses. A survey of the Grosvenor Estate in the 1790s records that a remarkable 142 householders were involved in ‘transport’, of which 30 were stable-keepers, 27 coachmen and 23 coach-makers. The remaining 62 performed a wide range of equine service trades, including farriers, wheelwrights, saddlers, horse-dealers and coach-brokers.¹²³⁸ Omitted from the survey, however, were the numerous coachmen, postillions, grooms and stable boys who lived above their masters’ coach houses but were not householders.

As elite equine care became more sophisticated, it required increasing interaction between mews workers and London’s wider equine economy, discussed in Chapter 3. In the mid-nineteenth century, ‘one dweller in a large West End mews’ calculated that ‘100 different street-traders resorted thither daily’.¹²³⁹ The influence of this culture is reflected in changes in master-servant relations in the Hanoverian period – in 1731, Jonathan Swift’s satirical *Directions to Servants* (1731) identified several ways for coachmen and grooms to exploit their masters, principally by evading work.¹²⁴⁰ Over the next century, mews workers found countless other opportunities to exploit their privileged access to valuable horses and their ability to tap into London’s thriving equine economy. This behaviour was so pervasive that even the King’s Mews struggled to restrain its workforce. In 1769, its Clerk recorded that ‘several great abuses have been practiced ... by some of the Livery and others; such as buying and selling, keeping & letting of Horses, & horses & Chaises; & buying and selling Harness, Carriages &c by which means the Mews has been made a kind of Trading Place to the great Dishonour of the King’.¹²⁴¹ These activities were banned ‘upon pain of suspension or discharge from the King’s service’ but twenty years later the King’s yeoman rider complained that little had changed.¹²⁴²

Moreover, mews workers across the West End capitalised on their expertise and contacts to progress their careers, either by changing masters or becoming independent hackney coachmen

¹²³⁸ F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.) *Survey of London, Vol. 39: The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1: General History* (London, 1977), p.88.

¹²³⁹ H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, vol. 1 (1861), pp. 49, 55, 400, 425 & 503; among those in regular contact with Rockingham’s men were suppliers of provender and Edward Snape, a successful farrier and entrepreneur based in Grosvenor Mews; SA, WWM/A/1391/b, ‘Discharges of Cash by Samuel Dutoit’, 1766-67; SA, WWM/A/1300, ‘Weekly Abstract, tradesmens bills on house and stables, London’, 1775-82.

¹²⁴⁰ Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants* (1st edn., 1745; London, 2003), pp.46 & 51.

¹²⁴¹ RAW, Precedence Book, 1760-1805, ‘Orders relative to abuses that have been practiced within the mews’ (13/6/1769), p.89.

¹²⁴² In 1789, the King’s Yeoman Rider complained that ‘it appears to me to be incompatible with my situation...to use the means of increasing my income, which those beneath me...have done, and can do, with Propriety; such as buying and selling Horses, and breaking Horses for Gentlemen’; RAW, Precedence Book, 1760-1805, ‘Mr. Smith’s Letter to David Parker Esq., King’s Mews’ (30/4/1789), pp.235-36.

or hostlers.¹²⁴³ In the 1720s, William Black served as postilion and second coachman to the Earl of Bristol for three years; followed by Sir William Shirkland and Lord Scarsdale, each for two years, before leaving to become a hackney coach driver and hostler at the Hole in the Wall in St Clement Danes.¹²⁴⁴ In 1748, the Old Bailey heard that a prisoner accused of stealing saddles and bridles from a stable had ‘lived in several gentlemen’s services’ before taking over as ‘hostler at the Blue-boar in Holbourn’.¹²⁴⁵ And in 1775, character witnesses for John Jennings confirmed that in a seven year period, he had served as a postilion to ‘Squire Hasley, in Pall-mall’ and as a coachman to Lord Howe, before leaving service to ride ‘post for Mr. Bowling’, a stable-keeper in the Hay-market.¹²⁴⁶ It becomes clear, therefore, that the West End’s commitment to equine care shaped plebeian behaviour and master-servant relations in powerful ways.

Viewed as a whole, the above shows that in exchange for their extraordinary service to metropolitan society, horses placed heavy demands on urban space and human labour. The accommodation and care of horses not only generated large-scale architectural infrastructures but moulded entire communities and work cultures around their increasingly complex needs and uses. Further to this, however, the behaviour of horses and livestock on London’s streets posed major challenges. This is partly evinced by the energetic construction and improvement of roads and bridges in the Hanoverian period. A key impetus for such projects was the perceived need to alleviate traffic congestion and disorder. This is particularly clear in the construction of the Paddington to Islington New Road between 1756 and 1761.

The recalcitrant beast

In what probably amounted to ‘the world’s first planned by-pass’,¹²⁴⁷ the New Road traversed the fields to the north of the metropolis, spanning approximately three miles between Paddington in the west and Islington in the east (see Map 15).¹²⁴⁸ This ambitious project was principally conceived to alleviate, if not eradicate the problems generated by horse-drawn waggons and livestock droves along Oxford Road and adjoining streets in the fashionable West End. Frustrated by the nuisance caused by animal traffic, many local residents expressed their support for the proposals drawn up by the trustees for the Islington Turnpike. A petition signed by well-to-do

¹²⁴³ Steedman, *Labours Lost*, pp.8-9; P. Earle, *A City Full of People*, p.85.

¹²⁴⁴ Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p.176; LMA, DL/C/266f.142, London Consistory Court Hearing, Deposition of William Black (9/6/1729).

¹²⁴⁵ OBSP, t17480907-33 (7/9/1748).

¹²⁴⁶ OBSP, t17750913-39 (13/9/1775).

¹²⁴⁷ D. Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1998), p.17.

¹²⁴⁸ F.H.W. Sheppard, *Local Government in St Marylebone, 1688-1835* (London, 1958), pp.94-101; *Whitehall Evening Post* (31/7/1755); K. Bonser, *The Drovers* (London & Basingstoke, 1970), p.216.

residents in Bloomsbury complained that ‘west country wagoners passing from London up Holborn’ used Bloomsbury Square and Great Russell Street as a short cut to join Oxford Street, ‘by means whereof the peace and quiet of His Majesty’s subjects ... is necessarily disturbed, by night as well as by day’.¹²⁴⁹ Meanwhile, residents of other West End parishes complained that livestock droves entering the metropolis from the west brought congestion to Oxford Street and bovine chaos to their doorsteps. A combined plea from the residents of Saint George Hanover Square, St James Westminster, Saint Ann Soho, Paddington and Saint Marylebone asserted that the New Road would ‘prevent the frequent Accidents and Obstructions that happen by Conveying [cattle] two miles or upwards through the paved streets’.¹²⁵⁰ Enthusiastic support also came from the residents of Holborn, Bloomsbury and Saint-Giles-in-the-Fields, who were determined to defend the commercial interests of the district’s waggon services. The obstructions caused by the great number of animals being ‘constantly drove through Holborn’ were, they claimed, ‘a great hindrance’ to ‘Trade and the Dispatch so essential thereto’.¹²⁵¹ They also lamented the many accidents endured by Holborn’s residents and road users, caused by ‘oxen frequently running wild about the streets ... and doing Mischiefs in the Neighbourhood’.¹²⁵²

Concerted calls to banish cattle droves from the West End had emerged in the mid-1750s, at the same time as Spranger, Hanway and Massie were calling for widespread street improvements in the area. Massie even included the ‘driving of live bullocks’ among his list of ‘Nuisances ... by all means, to be remdy’d’.¹²⁵³ However, support for the New Road shows that when it came to animal traffic, the interests of polite improvers were not necessarily opposed to those of commerce.¹²⁵⁴ In April 1756, nearly 200 ‘Graziers, salesmen, butchers, drovers and dealers in cattle who attend Smithfield Market’ signed a petition in favour of the New Road, asserting that it would enable them ‘in a more Expeditious manner and with much greater ease and security bring their Cattle ... quiet and cool to and from the Market and transact the other necessary Business of their Employments which are of such General concern to the Publick’.¹²⁵⁵ As discussed below, the task of driving livestock through the narrow and congested streets of the metropolis was both challenging and dangerous, a fact upon which drovers and residents of the

¹²⁴⁹ This petition was sent to Mr Robert Butcher, the fourth Duke of Bedford’s agent-in chief (c.1739-61), cited in G.S. Thomson, *The Russells in Bloomsbury 1669-1771* (London, 1940), p.357.

¹²⁵⁰ PAL, HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/5, ‘Petition of Saint George Hanover Square, St James Westminster, Saint Ann Soho, Paddington and Saint Marylebone’ (6/4/1756); support for the New Road also came from *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (1755), pp.577-78, as well as the *Gazetteer & London Daily Advertiser* (17/2/1756).

¹²⁵¹ PAL, HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/4, ‘Petition of Saint Andrews Holborn, Saint Georges Bloomsbury and Saint Giles’ in the Fields’ (6/4/1756).

¹²⁵² PAL, HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/4.

¹²⁵³ Jonas Hanway, *A Letter to Mr. John Spranger* (1754); Joseph Massie, *An Essay on the Many Advantages* (1754), pp.12-15.

¹²⁵⁴ Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (1714; 3rd edn., 1724), no pagination.

¹²⁵⁵ PAL, HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/14, ‘Petition of the Graziers etc...’ (9/4/1756).

West End agreed. Thus, the New Road not only promised to bring greater order and safety to the streets, but also to expedite trade and commerce.

The strength of support for the New Road and the urgency with which it was completed,¹²⁵⁶ emphasise the severity of the problems which large animals brought to urban street space. Recent studies relating to street improvement and crime have occasionally discussed the policing of traffic in the eighteenth century, but they have generally focussed on human agency.¹²⁵⁷ Yet, in a recent study of early America, Anderson showed that livestock ‘acted in ways that their owners neither predicted nor desired, provoking responses that ran the gamut from apology to aggression’.¹²⁵⁸ Building on this work, I assert the need to move the study of human-animal relations beyond thinking about cruelty, to consider how people and animals work or fail to work together. In doing so, I show that integrating animal behaviour and human-animal interactions into the social helps us to understand the complex workings of London’s streets.

¹²⁵⁶ The New Road bill was enacted on 30 April 1756, upon which the work of clearing and levelling the ground proceeded immediately and continued ‘at a great rate’; Public Act, 29 Geo II, c.88; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* (13/8/1756); *Whitehall Evening Post* (18/9/1756).

¹²⁵⁷ Sidney and Beatrice Webb often downplayed the street improvements achieved by London’s parish authorities in the eighteenth century but more recent studies have identified significant advances in policing, lighting and paving in this period; S. & B. Webb, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: Part I: The Parish and the County*, (London, 1906), p.289; R. Sweet, *The English Town, 1680-1840: Government, Society and Culture* (Harlow, 1999), pp.75-114; J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1986), pp.68-72 & *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750* (Oxford, 2001), pp.124-5; E. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies: The Night watch and police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720-1830* (Basingstoke, 1998), p.36; J.J. Tobias, *Crime and Police in England, 1700-1900* (London, 1979), p.25.

¹²⁵⁸ V. Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford & New York, 2004), p.5.

Plate 67: William Hogarth, *Second Stage of Cruelty* (etching & engraving, London, 1751).



William Hogarth's *Second Stage of Cruelty*, 1751 (Plate 67) has often been discussed in relation to the rise of sensibility and the anti-cruelty movement in Britain.¹²⁵⁹ The artist himself certainly hoped to correct in some measure 'that barbarous treatment of animals, the very sight of which renders the streets of our metropolis so distressing to every feeling mind'.¹²⁶⁰ Yet, this focus on animal welfare, and the behaviour of men rather than animals, has obscured other important dimensions of Hogarth's scene.¹²⁶¹ When viewed as a streetscape, what startles is the intensity and disruptive impact of animal traffic, and the difficulty of controlling animal behaviour in the metropolitan environment. In the foreground, a horse collapses and overturns its coach. Determined to retain his fare, the coachman urges the animal to stand, by whipping its head. Nearby, an enraged drover beats a sheep which has strayed from its flock. In the middle of the street, a pair of unsupervised horses is about to pull a dray over a child playing with a hoop. Meanwhile a heavily laden mule wanders into oncoming traffic, raising the spectre of further disorder. Finally, at the end of the street, a bullock chased by a raucous mob, and taunted by a yapping dog, tosses a man high into the air. If not this individual, the drover may be part of the gang chasing it, or he may have abandoned the animal.

As discussed below, this melee reveals important information about human-animal units, but it also reflects the increasing association of livestock and horses with nuisance and disorder in metropolitan discourse. All too frequently, London's streets appeared to descend into real scenes of animal-orchestrated chaos of the kind described by the *London Chronicle* in October 1820

A bullock having escaped from a slaughter-house in Whitechapel, ran down the Minories, followed by several hundred persons, whose attempts to stop it only tended to make it the more outrageous; in its course it upset several poor women who sat with their stalls in the streets, some of whom were much injured. The enraged animal, in running through a court in Rosemary-lane ... came in contact with a horse drawing a cart, against which it ran with such violence as to plunge both its horns into the horse's belly, and lacerated it in such a manner as to expose its entrails: a porter, heavily laden, was killed on the spot, by being jammed between the cart and a house, in consequence of the horse's making a sudden plunge backwards, in order to disengage himself from the horns of the bullock.¹²⁶²

¹²⁵⁹ D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750-1850* (2007), pp.199-200; D. Donald, "Beastly Sights" in D. Arnold (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image* (1999), p.59.

¹²⁶⁰ John Bowyer Nichols, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: with Essays on His Life and Genius* (1833), pp.64-5.

¹²⁶¹ In *First Stage of Cruelty*, unwatched children develop a taste for brutality by torturing small animals; in *Second Stage*, this behaviour hardens into working men abusing larger animals, including horses, cattle and sheep. This cruelty culminates in the *Third Stage* with the anti-hero of the series, Tom Nero, murdering a young woman.

¹²⁶² *London Chronicle* (18/10/1820).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the livestock trade became an increasingly infamous source of nuisance and tragedy. In the 1760s alone, the metropolitan press reported 18 deaths from oxen and a further 26 cases in which the victim was said to have been ‘carried off for dead’ or ‘without hope of recovery’ or their ‘life was despaired of’.¹²⁶³ Broken ribs and limbs, fractured skulls, severe bruising and puncture wounds caused by horns were also regularly reported. At that time, the *Middlesex Journal* prayed for the day when ‘men and women would be able to walk the streets without terror from beasts on market days’.¹²⁶⁴ Yet, almost a century would pass until these prayers were finally answered, with the market’s removal to Islington. Throughout the Hanoverian period, enraged bullocks continued to crash into glazed shop fronts, charge into carriages and enter houses.¹²⁶⁵ Even more serious was their tendency to toss, gore and trample pedestrians, behaviour which posed a terrifying threat to human life and a major obstacle to London’s progress as an enlightened metropolis.¹²⁶⁶

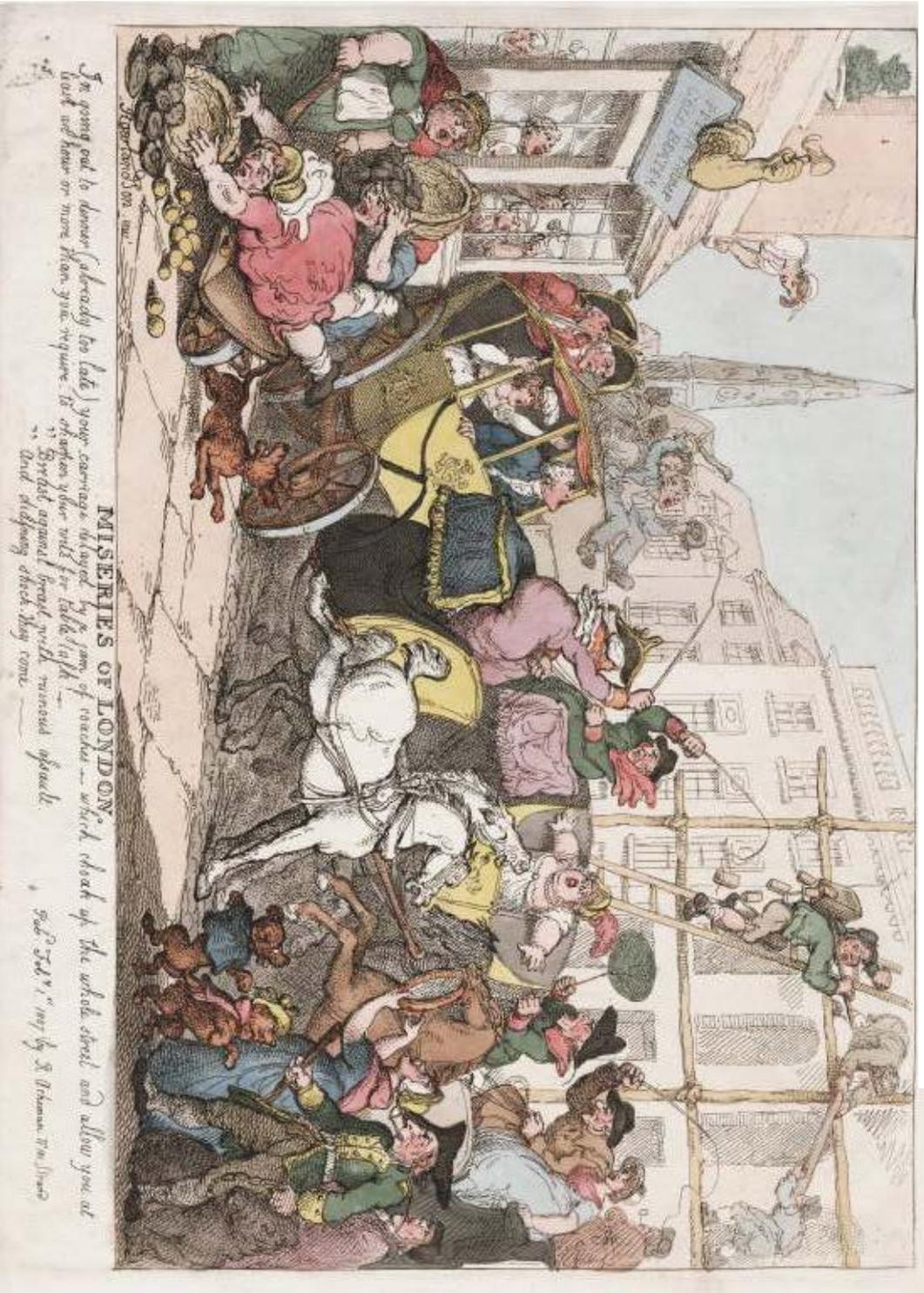
¹²⁶³ 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers.

¹²⁶⁴ *Middlesex Journal* (25/11/1769).

¹²⁶⁵ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, ‘Second Report’ (1828); *Lloyd’s Evening Post* (19/8/1765); *St James’ Chronicle* (4/9/1764).

¹²⁶⁶ The extant source material makes it difficult to ascertain the number of people killed by Smithfield cattle. While the Bills of Mortality reported deaths under the category ‘Gored by Ox’ they also used more generic categories, such as ‘fractured skull’ and ‘killed by a fall’ which may have concealed bullock-related causes. *Penny London Post* (14/11/1744); *A Collection of the Yearly Bills of Mortality, from 1657 to 1758 inclusive* (1759); coroners inquests could help to clarify the number of casualties, but the records survive as a patchwork with too many gaps; coroner’s records for the City of London and Southwark survive with many gaps from 1788 (LMA, CLA, 041/IQ/02); Middlesex East district in isolation for 1747 and then with many gaps from 1777 (LMA, MJ/SP/C/E); Middlesex West District is covered with many gaps from 1753 (LMA, MJ/SP/C/W).

Plate 68: Thomas Rowlandson, *Miseries of London [traffic]* (Hand-coloured etching, London, 1807).



Horses were no less troublesome. F.M.L. Thompson rightly observed that ‘HORSES ARE HARD WORK’ and that ‘The behaviour of horse traffic is unpredictable, its control of direction erratic and its road discipline poor’.¹²⁶⁷ Yet, Thompson neglected to discuss the fact that in a heavily populated urban environment, these characteristics made the horse a potentially calamitous social actor. Spooked horses injured themselves, damaged property and endangered the lives of riders, passengers and passers-by. In Hanoverian London, horses were constantly implicated in scenes of mayhem, ranging from chaotic traffic jams to hair-raising high-speed crashes and fatal accidents. In 1759, the *Public Advertiser* reported that three horses drawing a dung cart in Whitechapel Road ‘took Fright, by which Accident they run against a Chariot, overturned it, and bruised a Lady in the Chariot very much. The Carter had one of his Legs broke, and was immediately carried to the London Hospital’.¹²⁶⁸ And a few years later, the *London Chronicle* lamented that ‘as the postboy was bringing the Cirencester mail to the Post Office, a post-chaise ran against him, and overturned the mail-cart, and bruised him in such a manner that his life is despaired of’.¹²⁶⁹ While the caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) encouraged Londoners to see the dark humour in traffic accidents – notably in *Miseries of London [traffic]* (1807) (see Plate 68) and *The Dance of Death* series (1826)¹²⁷⁰ – such incidents jarred uncomfortably with contemporary equestrian ideals and expectations of metropolitan civility.

Coroners’ records provide some useful detail about the events which led to fatal equine accidents. For the purposes of *deodand*,¹²⁷¹ coroners had to differentiate carefully between the death-dealing role of horses and vehicles. For instance, when a child was run over by a dray in Aldgate in 1785, the Middlesex coroner identified ‘the said Near wheel’ as the cause of death and recorded its value at 20s, which the owner was required to pay as a fine.¹²⁷² However, when a carter was thrown by his shaft horse in 1781 and subsequently crushed under the wheel of the cart he was driving, the

¹²⁶⁷ F.M.L. Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society* (Inaugural Lecture, Bedford College, University of London, 1970), p.3 & p.12.

¹²⁶⁸ *Public Advertiser* (11/8/1759).

¹²⁶⁹ *London Chronicle* (10/7/1764).

¹²⁷⁰ Thomas Rowlandson, ‘The Fall of Four in Hand’ in William Combe, *The Dance of Death, from the Designs of Thomas Rowlandson, with Metrical Illustrations, by the Author of “Doctor Syntax”* (1815–16); according to Gatrell, for Rowlandson ‘the moment when chaos descends is no time for pit, alarm or moralizing. Rather it catapults people into a betrayal of their unveneered and common humanity, and thus becomes a moment for high comical observation’; V. Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2006), p.45.

¹²⁷¹ Under this law, any chattel deemed by a coroner’s jury to have caused a death was considered *deodand* and, therefore, to be “given to God”. In theory, the object or animal was to be given to the Church or some pious foundation but long before the eighteenth century, its value was generally assessed and the sum became a forfeiture or fine which was usually paid to the Exchequer. It has often been assumed that *deodand* became defunct in or before the eighteenth century, and received a short-lived revival in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, metropolitan coroner’s records support the J.J. Finklestein’s assertion that *deodand* survived throughout the eighteenth century; Finklestein, ‘The Ox that Gored’, *TAPS*, 71 (1981), pp.73–81.

¹²⁷² LMA, MJ/SP/C/E/0360.

coroner identified both the ‘said shaft horse and near wheel of the said cart’ as the cause of death. Consequently, the coroner valued both the horse and the wheel for the purposes of compensation.¹²⁷³ If the carter had been sat on his vehicle and the horse had caused him to fall without coming into physical contact, the animal would not have been judged *deodand*. This kind of evidence demands a degree of caution because the coroner’s inquest relied heavily on witness accounts, which may not always have been accurate or honest.¹²⁷⁴ As traffic accidents often took place near the home or work place of victims, many witnesses would have known them and their recollection of chaotic events may have been compromised.¹²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, coroners’ depositions describe the type of vehicle involved and whether the victim was ‘thrown from’ or ‘fell from’ a horse or vehicle, ‘run over by wheels’ of a vehicle or ‘crushed between a vehicle and a wall or post’.¹²⁷⁶ But coroners’ records do not reveal the full complexity of accidents involving horses. For the purposes of *deodand*, coroners generally only recorded sufficient detail to identify a death-dealing object. Thus, we are not told why the shaft horse threw his carter in 1781 and, therefore, cannot deduce whether the horse misbehaved or the carter acted improperly. Neither do we know whether a third party or other stimuli triggered the accident by startling the horse.

To better understand how the dynamics of the human-animal unit contributed to disorder on the streets of Hanoverian London, we need to draw on a broader spectrum of material, including the Old Bailey proceedings; newspaper reports; equestrian and agricultural manuals; as well as anecdotal references and visual sources. Analysis of this material suggests that the metropolis deprived horses and livestock of certain environmental conditions and patterns of treatment upon which their cooperation depended. In so doing, the city provoked the kind of unpredictable animal behaviour – which included shying, stalling, bolting, biting, kicking, rearing and goring – which gave rise to nuisance, destruction, injury and death.

The task of driving livestock through the metropolis was a highly skilled, physically demanding and dangerous operation for the men responsible, the Smithfield drovers. Recent research into the behaviour of domesticated livestock helps to explain why conditions in Hanoverian London were so challenging. Certain aspects of ovine behaviour made sheep ideal for domestication by human societies – in particular, a strong tendency towards allelomimetic or synchronized behaviour lends itself to herding because sheep instinctively follow members of the flock which initiate movement and walk in a column. However, these characteristics came under enormous strain in Hanoverian

¹²⁷³ LMA, MJ / SP/C / E / 0016.

¹²⁷⁴ N.Z. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 1990); I.A. Burney, *Bodies of Evidence: Medicine and the Politics of the English Inquest, 1830-1926* (Baltimore, 2000).

¹²⁷⁵ Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, p.91.

¹²⁷⁶ See the ‘cause of death summaries’ in the LMA’s index: MJ/SP/C/E.

London, and often exacerbated the drover's predicament. Sheep can recognise other sheep as well as individual humans, and will follow a dominant leader, including a familiar herdsman.¹²⁷⁷ But the transfer of animals from country drovers to town drovers meant that the latter benefitted from no such familiarity. Sheep are also easily startled by the sudden appearance of shadows, reflections or unexpected sounds, and will alert other members of their flock to potential danger by raising their heads and adopting a tense stride.¹²⁷⁸ Thus, while strong flock affiliation benefitted drovers when sheep were together and relaxed, once an animal became separated it would typically panic and become almost impossible to control. To compound matters, if an isolated sheep caught sight of its flock, its instinct was to run towards it, regardless of any threat in its path.¹²⁷⁹

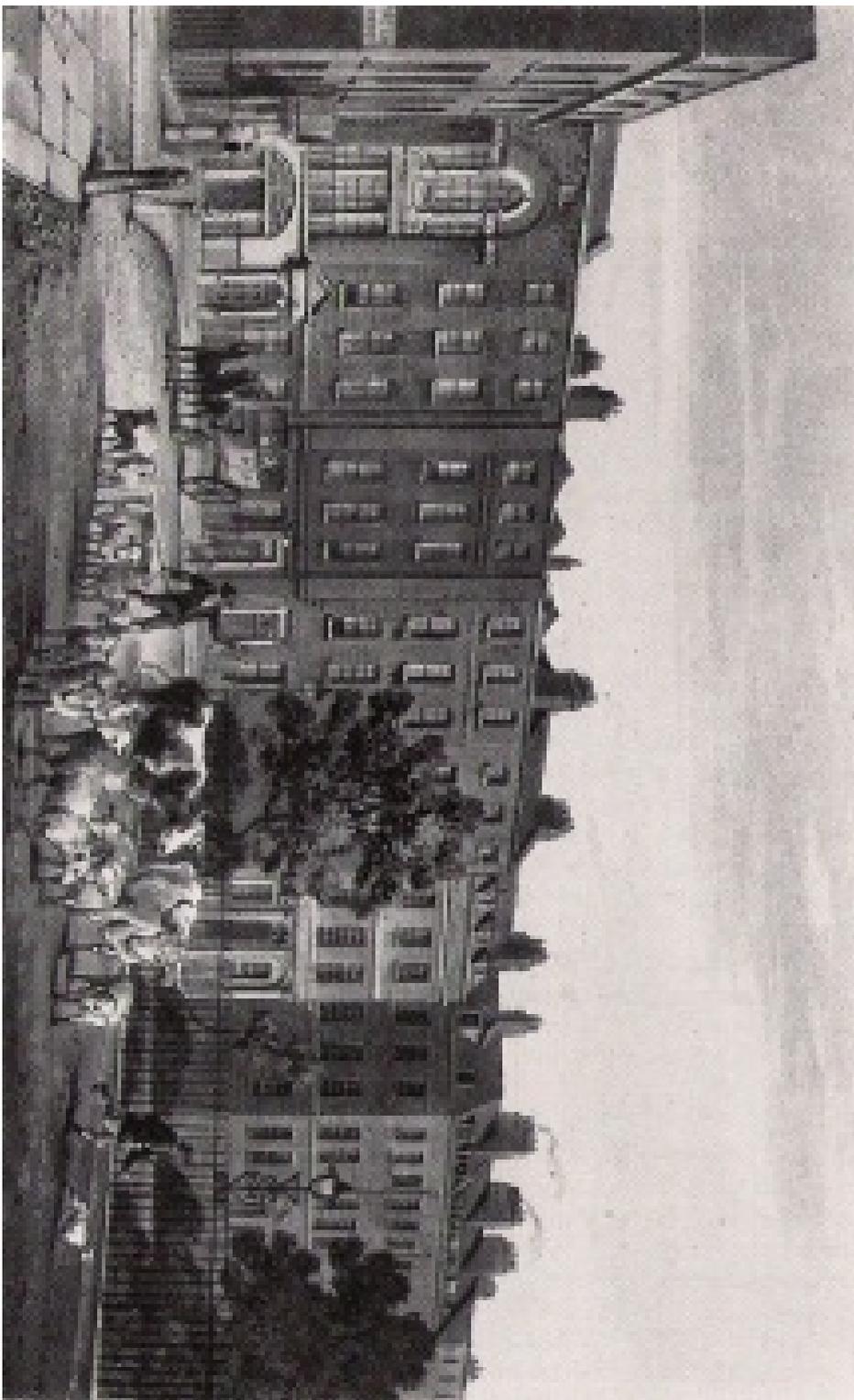
An 1812 *View of Soho Square* (Plate 69) shows that managing livestock was challenging even on a quiet street. The drover pictured has managed to keep a dozen sheep in a loose column, but the leaders have begun to deviate. The drover's task is complicated by his responsibility for two large horned cattle – whose gait and temperament differ from that of the sheep – which threaten to trample on the smaller animals. Erratic ovine behaviour must have been a continual source of frustration for drovers, and helps to explain why some individuals beat errant animals in a sudden rage, as depicted by Hogarth in his *Second Stage of Cruelty* (see Plate 67).

¹²⁷⁷ I. Ekesbo, *Farm Animal Behaviour: Characteristics for Assessment of Health and Welfare* (Wallingford, 2011), pp.82 & 84; A.F. Fraser, *Farm Animal Behaviour* (London, 1974), p.64.

¹²⁷⁸ Ekesbo, *Farm Animal Behaviour*, p.85.

¹²⁷⁹ Ekesbo, *Farm Animal Behaviour*, p.83; it should be noted that these general characteristics are complicated by variation between breeds; some breeds are more individualistic than others, and appear 'easily frightened when crowded together' while others are more close-flocking and suffer less stress in confined situations; J.J. Lynch, G.N. Hinch & D.B. Adams, *The Behaviour of Sheep: Biological Principles and Implications for Production* (Melbourne, 1992), p.94.

Plate 69: 'View of Soho Square' from *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics*, printed for R. Ackermann (1812), vol. 8, plate 22.



Bovine physiology and behaviour posed even greater difficulties. As one modern veterinary ethologist observes, ‘It is principally with regard to cattle that the problem of handling loose animals is greatest’.¹²⁸⁰ Cattle wield tremendous bulk and power as a means to resist instruction. Thus, anyone involved in the Hanoverian livestock trade knew that considerable physical strength was necessary to manage their behaviour. In 1828, an experienced Smithfield salesman told a parliamentary committee investigating the state of the market that the extreme difficulty of moving cattle through a crowded area made ‘a certain violence necessary to be used’.¹²⁸¹ As discussed below, this view gained wider acceptance but it was also understood that actions which irritated or frightened a bullock could provoke a devastating response. Despite their size, power and, in some cases, deadly horns, the bullocks being driven through London were generally timid by nature. The cow-keeper, Richard Laycock, advised the 1828 committee that ‘the animal is more frightened at the public than the public at the animal’.¹²⁸² When accompanied by other animals in a close-knit group, bullocks could be commanded fairly safely but as soon as they felt alone or exposed, they became ‘exceedingly anxious’.¹²⁸³ Criticising the livestock trade in the 1760s, the street improver John Gwynn observed that accidents

are chiefly owing to the separating of these animals from each other, to which they have a natural aversion; when one of them is parted from the herd it always endeavours to recover his situation, but being prevented and finding himself alone, which he is unaccustomed to be, he runs wildly about ... and at length from the natural principle of self-defence often does inseparable mischief.¹²⁸⁴

For this reason, two drovers on trial for manslaughter in 1786, after their bullock ran wild, were heavily criticised for separating the beast from its herd as they transferred it to a nearby yard.¹²⁸⁵

Agricultural literature from the period recorded that certain breeds displayed particular behavioural characteristics. In the 1830s, William Youatt complemented Galloway cattle on being ‘very docile’, noting that ‘It is rare to find even a bull furious or troublesome ... a most valuable point about them in every respect’. By contrast, he noted that the Ayrshire bull ‘was too furious and impatient of control to be safe’. Youatt also observed that hornless cattle, ‘being destitute of the natural weapon of offence’ were ‘less quarrelsome and more docile’, but concluded that ‘the

¹²⁸⁰ Fraser, *Farm Animal Behaviour*, p.90.

¹²⁸¹ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, ‘Second Report’ (1828), p.44

¹²⁸² LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, ‘Second Report’ (1828), p.220.

¹²⁸³ H. Velten, *Cow* (London, 2007), p.20.

¹²⁸⁴ John Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved* (1766), p.19.

¹²⁸⁵ OBSP, t17861025-37 (25/10/1786).

ferocity of the horned beast is oftener the effect of mismanagement than of natural disposition'.¹²⁸⁶ Such information would have been familiar to Smithfield men who often held years of knowledge and experience. Between field, market and slaughterhouse, two or three drovers might take charge of a drove, a system which relied on the efficient exchange of information about animal behaviour. In the 1786 trial, the drovers were accused of proceeding into the open street 'well knowing the said bullock was wild and mischievous'. But it emerged that while Plato (the London drover) had been told 'the bullock was wild ... in Lincolnshire', where it 'ran at a country drover,' he claimed that it had behaved 'pretty well' in London and 'came very well along with the rest of the beasts'. The witness attesting to this, another drover, added that he had handled 'a bullock yesterday ... as mad as a March hare almost' and swore 'we always tell a butcher when he is wild'.¹²⁸⁷

Yet, despite these efforts, drovers knew from painful personal experience that no amount of knowledge or skill could guard against erratic bovine instincts. When animals bolted or swung their horns, drovers and butchers were often the first to suffer. In December 1789, the *London Chronicle* reported that a 'butcher' had become the third member of his family in one generation to be killed by the same breed of bullock.¹²⁸⁸ In such instances, men generally vilified by the press, a trend discussed below, were granted a degree of pity. In 1757, the *London Evening Post* lamented that as one of the drovers was untying an ox 'fastened to a Rail in Smithfield Market, it gave a sudden toss with its head, and jabb'd its horn into the drover's eye, by which means the poor man's eye dropped out of his head'.¹²⁸⁹ And in 1767, 'an ancient Drover' was gored 'so terribly' after endeavouring to free his animal from Red Lion Court that he died before reaching hospital.¹²⁹⁰

As the population, trade and traffic of the metropolis expanded, livestock were exposed to increasingly unnerving stimuli and denied the conditions upon which their cooperation depended.¹²⁹¹ In the 1786 trial, one witness claimed that the bullock had been spooked by 'the carts and coaches [which] made such a noise' in St John's Street.¹²⁹² From the 1750s, London's drovers repeatedly warned the authorities that even with 'the utmost care' they could not prevent their animals 'running wild, terrifying and often killing ... the passengers in the streets'.¹²⁹³ In their petition of 1756 in favour of the New Road, discussed above, the drovers complained that they had 'sustained many losses', with animals being lamed or killed because of the great rise in

¹²⁸⁶ William Youatt, *Cattle: Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases* (1834), pp.164 & 274 & 283.

¹²⁸⁷ OBSP, t17861025-37 (25/10/1786).

¹²⁸⁸ *London Chronicle* (26/12/1789).

¹²⁸⁹ *London Evening Post* (7/5/1757).

¹²⁹⁰ *Public Advertiser* (6/3/1767).

¹²⁹¹ Donald, "Beastly sights", p.49.

¹²⁹² OBSP, t17861025-37 (25/10/1786).

¹²⁹³ PAL, HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/14.

vehicles. And in 1809, they told a historian that cattle were regularly maimed ‘by the drays, and also by the wagons and carts’ which were increasing in Bloomsbury and Holborn.¹²⁹⁴ In these areas, major transit points for Smithfield Market, livestock were exposed to the hubbub of a densely populated residential and commercial district. As well as being central to London’s wagon services, they accommodated major markets, Inns of Court and an array of shops. Conditions were perhaps even more challenging in the City – in the 1760s alone, the press reported four encounters with bullocks in the Royal Exchange.¹²⁹⁵ After the first incident in May 1761, the *Annual Register* recalled that people ‘were much alarmed by the appearance of a cow ... some losing hats and wigs, and some their shoes, while others lay upon the ground in heaps, with their limbs bruised’.¹²⁹⁶ Such incidents evinced a clashing of incongruous activities. In 1828, a resident noted that Monday, the main Smithfield market day, ‘is a great day of business in the City; there is a greater influx of individuals ... and it is precisely on that morning that ... the City is almost impassable from the cattle’.¹²⁹⁷ The above suggests that urbanization made it increasingly difficult to provide the conditions of treatment upon which the cooperation of livestock depended. This becomes even clearer when we consider equine behaviour.

As historians have often observed, the obedient horse played a crucial role in the cultural, political and philosophical discourse of early modern Europe. Command over equine behaviour had important ideological ramifications, particularly for the elite. Landry has rightly noted that ‘to ride a horse well was to possess the virtues necessary for social authority and even political rule’.¹²⁹⁸ Horsemanship itself became an increasingly important expression of upper class gentility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As Raber and Tucker have argued, it was considered that ‘as one trained oneself, so one was able to train one’s horse’.¹²⁹⁹ As shown in Chapter 4, equestrianism enjoyed a renaissance in eighteenth-century England¹³⁰⁰ but principles of horsemanship also changed considerably in this period. In sixteenth century Europe, the training of horses in the movements of the manège was achieved by the trainer’s forceful and often brutal ‘domination of the horse’. In the seventeenth century, ‘more refined and sympathetic methods’ emerged to achieve the submission and obedience of horses, which remained the rider’s

¹²⁹⁴ PAL, HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/14; Hughson, *London; Being an Accurate History*, vol.6, p.600.

¹²⁹⁵ *Annual Register* (May 1761); *Evening Post* (13/5/1763); *Lloyd’s Evening Post* (27/5/1764); *St James’s Chronicle* (12/5/1769).

¹²⁹⁶ *Annual Register*, vol. 4 (1761), p.106.

¹²⁹⁷ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, ‘Second Report’ (1828), p.155; Voth has shown that in the 1750s, Monday was still widely taken as a day off work in London but that this practice ‘declined rapidly during the second half of the eighteenth century and...had all but disappeared’ by 1800. Thus, Londoners were increasingly likely to be going about their business when Smithfield’s main cattle droving period was in progress; Voth, ‘Time and work in eighteenth-century London’, p.36.

¹²⁹⁸ D. Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore, 2009), p.16.

¹²⁹⁹ K. Raber & T.J. Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (Houndmills & New York, 2005), p18.

¹³⁰⁰ Worsley, *The British Stable* (2004), pp. 160-81.

resolute intention. Yet, by the eighteenth century, the struggle between the ‘rider’s essentially rational wishes and the horse’s essentially irrational nature has resolved itself into something more closely resembling a cooperative partnership between two reasonable creatures’.¹³⁰¹ Nevertheless, this relationship continued to rely on discipline and control. Polite equine manuals, such as Berenger’s *History and Art of Horsemanship* (1771) offered detailed advice on how to ‘reduce’ horses to obedience. Berenger argued that even the most hot-headed and ill-disciplined of animals could be tamed, firstly by identifying ‘from whence the different sorts of defences and rebellion ... proceed’ and then correcting any faults ‘with design ... method and order’.¹³⁰² Berenger’s lessons were, however, played out in peaceful rural estates and riding houses rather than in London’s busy streets. Thus, these developments emphasise the importance of the horse-human unit in early modern culture but also the need to look beyond theoretical ideals and to examine the interaction of human and equine behaviour in specific situations.

The unpredictability of equine behaviour was widely discussed in the metropolitan press, as well as in equestrian guides. This commentary often linked accidents to horses being ‘hot headed’ or ‘taking fright’ – newspaper reports identified a wide range of triggers for this kind of destructive behaviour. Many of these were common to the countryside and the city – in 1761, a horse ‘being stung by some flies’ kicked out and broke a Gentleman’s leg in Whitehall while in 1764, horses drawing a gentleman’s carriage in Gray’s Inn took fright at ‘loud claps of thunder’ and trampled one of his servants.¹³⁰³ Yet, other stimuli were more characteristically metropolitan. The density of London’s population, the intensity of its wheeled traffic and the cacophony of hundreds of trades made this a uniquely risk-prone environment for the exposure of naturally hyper-sensitive animals. As McShane and Tarr note

The evolutionary track taken by horses provided shyness and speed as defence mechanisms. Horses scare easily, and their reflex is to run away ... Even a flying piece of paper can scare a horse, especially since their instinct is to watch the scenery to the side ... rather than the road.¹³⁰⁴

Such characteristics were familiar to eighteenth-century equestrians. Berenger wrote that ‘all horses are, by nature, fearful [rather] than bold; hot and fretful than mischievous or ill tempered. Whenever they grow ... ungovernable, it is often more to avoid extreme pain which they feel, or expect to feel’. In another passage, he observed that ‘There are some horses who are struck with

¹³⁰¹ Raber & Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse*, p.14.

¹³⁰² Richard Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, (1771), vol.2, pp. 19-20 & p.65.

¹³⁰³ *St James’ Chronicle* (20/6/1761); *London Evening Post* (16/6/1764).

¹³⁰⁴ McShane & Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p.54.

such terror at the sight of a stone, or wooden-bridge, at the sound and echo of the hollow part of it, that they will fling themselves headlong into the water, without the rider's being able to restrain him'.¹³⁰⁵ Berenger recommended gently exposing horses to unsettling stimuli in controlled circumstances until they grew accustomed to them.¹³⁰⁶ But as frequent accident reports in the metropolitan press show, the variety and intensity of unfamiliar sights and sounds which the city produced made this strategy difficult to implement in practice. In 1757, a Gentleman was thrown into a ditch by a horse which had taken fright at a passing hay cart.¹³⁰⁷ In 1762, the horses drawing a light cart through the Kingland Road, 'took fright at the tilt of the Peterborough waggon passing by'. In their panic, the driver of the cart was thrown against the shafts of the vehicle and 'killed on the spot'.¹³⁰⁸ And in 1768, a horse stood outside a coffee house by St Clement's Church 'took fright at a pail of water' and ran away with its chair.¹³⁰⁹ On another occasion, the fore-horse of a cart 'took fright at something being hastily thrown out of a house' in Shoreditch and the wheels of the cart crushed a child to death.¹³¹⁰

Such stimuli provoked what modern veterinary ethologists describe as 'evasions' such as bolting or shying (sudden swerving of the forequarters); and 'hard-wired agonistic anti-predator responses' such as rearing or bucking (lowering the head and kicking out with the hind legs).¹³¹¹ While experienced horsemen could sometimes foresee triggers and calm startled animals, the unpredictability of equine displays of agonistic behaviour meant that this was not always possible.¹³¹² Young horses were thought to be particularly vulnerable to erratic behaviour,¹³¹³ and training these animals to deal with metropolitan conditions carried considerable risk. In 1740, it was reported that 'a Pair of mettlesome young Horses' had suddenly run away with their coachman, and 'beat down an elderly well dress'd Man' in Smithfield.¹³¹⁴ And in 1760, a coachman attempting to break in a 'pair of young Horses in Grosvenor Square' was thrown off his carriage box after they bolted and 'ran against a Post'.¹³¹⁵

¹³⁰⁵ Richard Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship* (1771), vol.2, pp.32 & 23.

¹³⁰⁶ Richard Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship* (1771), vol.2, pp.23-25.

¹³⁰⁷ *Public Advertiser* (31/12/1757).

¹³⁰⁸ *Lloyd's Evening Post* (17/2/1762).

¹³⁰⁹ *Gazetteer* (3/10/1768).

¹³¹⁰ *London Chronicle* (10/7/1764).

¹³¹¹ P. McGreevy & A. Mclean, 'Behavioural problems with the ridden horse' in D.S. Mills & S.M. McDonnell (eds.), *The Domestic Horse: The Origins, Development and Management of its Behaviour* (Cambridge, 2005), p.198; see also G.H. Waring, 'Agonistic behaviour' in Waring (ed.), *Horse Behaviour* (Norwich, NY, 2003), pp.253-69; Fraser, *Farm Animal Behaviour & The Behaviour of the Horse* (Wallingford, 1992).

¹³¹² Fraser, *Farm Animal Behaviour*, p.48.

¹³¹³ Richard Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship* (1771), vol.2, pp.21-22.

¹³¹⁴ *London & Country Journal* (5/2/1740).

¹³¹⁵ *Whitehall Evening Post* (1/5/1760).

In his *Correct View of the Golden Lane Genuine Brewery*, 1807 (see Plate 70) the London-based animal painter and keen equestrian Dean Wolstenholme, pays particular attention to the ways that horses reacted to urban stimuli, and some of the measures which were taken to prevent accidents.¹³¹⁶ A wild-eyed dray-horse lurches backwards as a hogshead erupts behind it. Closer examination reveals other distractions, including a cooper wielding a hammer and workmen rolling barrels across a yard. Yet, despite these challenging conditions, the two draymen maintain control over their horses. While one of the men stands on the dray, his colleague walks alongside the lead horse, thereby diffusing a potentially dangerous situation. As discussed below, this mode of driving was required by law but often flouted, a situation which contributed to many accidents and aroused fierce criticism.

An unusual feature of Wolstenholme's depiction is the absence of 'winkers', two pieces of stiff leather attached to the bridle which prevented horses from seeing behind or sideways.¹³¹⁷ An ancient invention, winkers were, by the eighteenth-century, routinely fitted to the bridles of draught and carriage horses in England to prevent them from taking fright at the vehicle's movement and other distractions (see Plate 71).¹³¹⁸ In the urban environment, winkers played a crucial role in equine management and feature in most depictions of draught and carriage horses in Hanoverian London. Wolstenholme appears to have dispensed with accuracy in this instance to reveal the expressive eyes of his startled dray-horses. But incidents in provincial cities, reported in the London press, show that removing winkers could have disastrous consequences. In Lewes in 1776, a chaise horse 'beat down' and killed an old man when someone trying to change its reins 'inadvertently took off' its winkers.¹³¹⁹ And in 1795, a hostler at a Salisbury inn removed the winkers from the lead horses of the mail coach and 'incautiously left them' while he handled a parcel. The animals took fright, ran against another inn and 'flew ... into the canal'. The coach was destroyed and two of the horses were killed.¹³²⁰

¹³¹⁶ E. Clarke, rev. A. Peach, 'Wolstenholme, Dean, the elder (1757-1837)', *ODNB* (2004).

¹³¹⁷ Because of the lateral placement of their eyes, horses have a particularly wide visual field; K.A. Houpt, *Domestic Animal Behaviour for Veterinarians and Animal Scientists* (2nd edn., Ames, Iowa, 1991), p.25.

¹³¹⁸ Anon, *The Laird and Farmer. a dialogue upon farming, trade, cookery, and their method of living in Scotland, balanc'd with that of England* (1740), pp.18-19, suggests that winkers were widely used for draught horses in England by 1740, but not in Scotland; David Booth, *An Analytical Dictionary of the English Language* (1835), p.297; in 1823, a correspondent to the *Sporting Magazine* complained that winkers could injure horses 'by pressing against the eye' but noted that they also protected against 'those blows and cuts of the whip, which the brutality of the driver sometimes inflicts in the moments of his violence and caprice'; *The Sporting Magazine*, vol.2 (1823), p.205; bridle-makers often advertised 'Winkers' as part of their offering in the London press; see *Public Advertiser* (7/5/1755).

¹³¹⁹ *General Evening Post* (6-9/7/1776).

¹³²⁰ *Sun* (28/1/1795).

The above shows that despite the efforts of drivers and drovers, Hanoverian London often failed to provide the conditions upon which the cooperation of horses and other livestock depended. The disorder which often ensued was a significant expression of how animal demands impacted upon metropolitan life. When viewed as a whole, the implications of providing shelter, food, water and care for thousands of horses and livestock emphasise that Hanoverian London was not shaped by human needs alone, reasserting the need to unbound the social.¹³²¹ Moreover, the city's remarkable achievements and struggles in this regard were important indicators of its emerging modernity. Londoners did not just use animals; they invested heavily in maximising their contribution. At the same time, accelerating urbanization made the capital an increasingly incongruous environment in which to maintain an orderly and efficient animal workforce.

¹³²¹ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*; Joyce & Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers*.

Plate 70: William Barnard after Dean Wolstenholme, *A Correct View of the Golden Lane Genuine Brewery* (mezzotint, 1807) [detail].

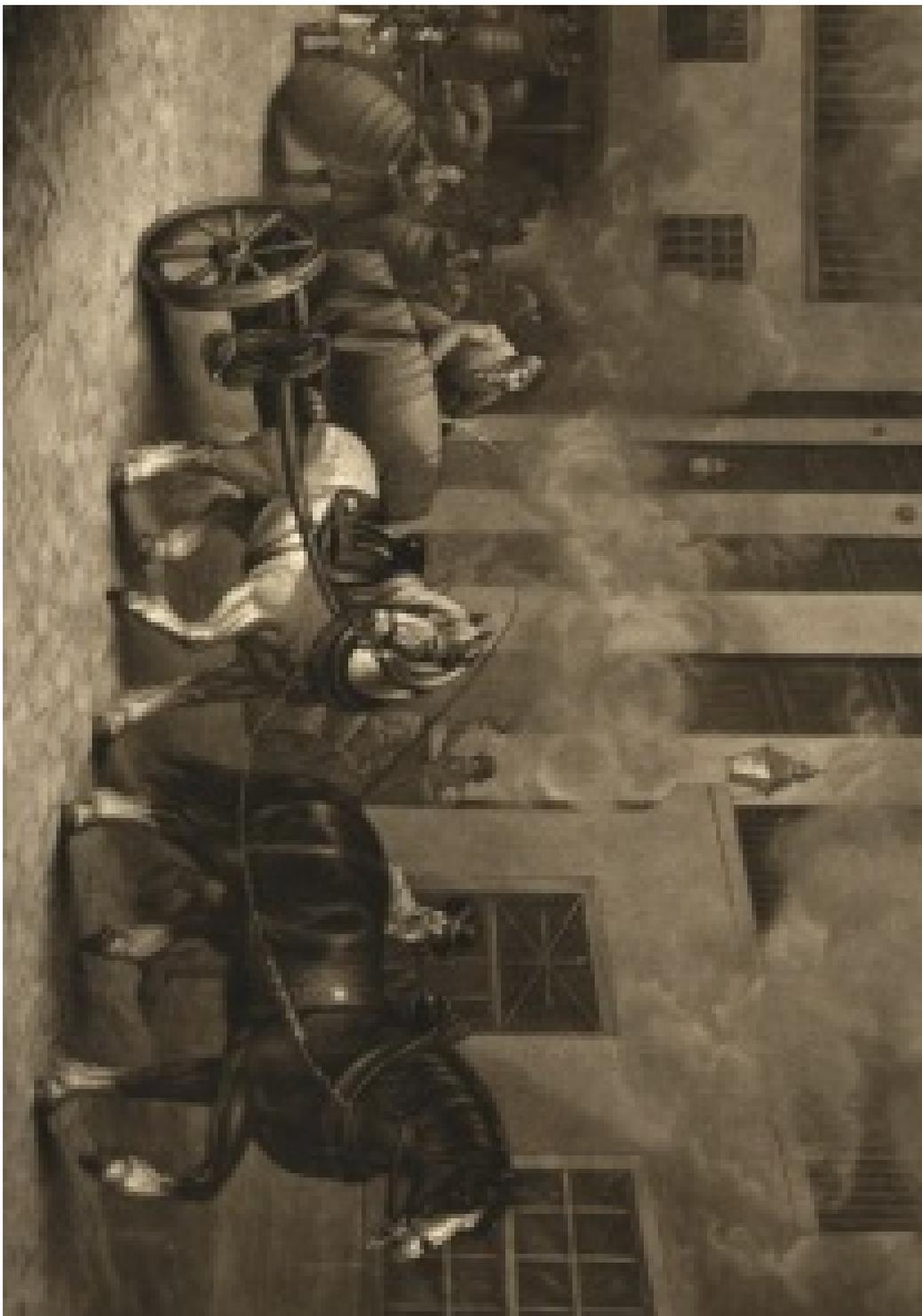


Plate 71: W. Ward after George Garrard, *View of the East End of Whitbread's Brewery in Chiswell St* (Aquatint, London, 1792) [detail].



Conclusion

Recalcitrant Interactions

As suggested, British animal studies have tended to focus on the treatment of animals or attitudes to animals. By contrast, this study has drawn attention to the power of human interactions with non-human animals.¹³²² In large part, I have highlighted the remarkable changes brought about in Hanoverian London by people and animals working harmoniously together. But as shown in Chapter 5, the cooperation of horses and livestock could not be taken for granted. Furthermore, animal-related disorder was intimately connected to concerns over human behaviour.

As recent studies have shown, the recalcitrance of the London ‘mob’ was an issue of serious concern in the Hanoverian period, impacting on law-making, policing and broader social relations. At its most inclusive, the ‘mob’ was defined as ‘the huge crowds of mostly lower-class people found on its streets’; and their perceived unruliness involved a spectrum of behaviours including insults, pushing, brawling and rioting.¹³²³ That animals featured so prominently on the streets of the metropolis and that animal-focussed jobs were dominated by plebeian workers ensured that horses and livestock were often implicated in these activities – both real and imagined – and the debates which surrounded them. Analysis of this relationship reasserts the need to integrate animals into histories of social tension and conflict,¹³²⁴ but also raises questions about the notion that London led a wave of compassion for animals in the Hanoverian period.

¹³²² B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social – An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford, 2005); P. Joyce & T. Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon, 2010); C. McShane & J. Tarr, *The Horse in the City* (2007), pp.31-54; V. Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford & New York, 2004).

¹³²³ R. Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth Century England* (2004; London & New York, 2007), xi & ‘The London “Mob” in the Early Eighteenth Century’, in P. Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1688-1820* (London, 1990), pp.188-222; see also T. Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth Century London* (London & New York, 2004); I. Haywood & J. Seed (eds.), *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 2012); N. Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, 1998); ‘Crowd and people in the Gordon Riots’ in E. Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990), pp.39-55 & ‘Popular protest in early Hanoverian London’, *P&P*, 79 (1978), pp.70-100.

¹³²⁴ Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*; E. Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England 1600-1770* (New Haven & London, 2007); N. Pemberton & M. Worboys, *Mad Dogs and Englishmen: Rabies in Britain, 1830-2000* (Basingstoke, 2007); I.H. Tague, ‘Eighteenth-century debates on a dog tax’, *The Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), pp.901-20; C. McNeur, ‘The “Swinish Multitude”’: controversies over hogs in Antebellum New York City’, *Journal of Urban History*, 37, pp.639-660; M.S.R. Jenner, ‘Circulation and disorder: London streets and hackney coaches, c. 1640 – c.1740’ in T. Hitchcock and H. Shore (eds.), *The Streets of London from the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London, 2003), pp.40-58.

Despite the installation of posts and raised pavements in some parts of London, many streets were poorly demarcated and remained incongruously multi-purpose spaces in which people and animals came into close contact. A thriving element of metropolitan street culture involved horses being teased, struck and whipped by strangers for sport or with malicious intent. Among the most common offenders were idle youths and drunks. In 1761, some boys threw a hissing firework at a horse in Old Street, which caused it to run off and overturn its chaise'.¹³²⁵ Forty years later, 'two young Ladies' were thrown from a coach in the Strand after a 'mischievous' boy cut the horse with a whip and set it off 'with great rapidity so as entirely to preclude any attempt to stop him'.¹³²⁶ Thieves were also known to provoke equine disorder as a diversionary tactic. In 1800, the *London Packet* reported that 'by frightening the leading horse' of a gentleman's cart laden with Christmas presents, 'some sharpers' made the animal 'so restive, that while the driver endeavoured to rein him, and prevent his doing mischief, a hamper was carried off from the cart'.¹³²⁷ Acting on their defensive instincts, horses often responded to this kind of behaviour by kicking out their rear legs, occasionally dispensing brutal justice in the process.¹³²⁸ In 1764, the *Lloyd's Evening Post* reported, perhaps with some gratification, that a horse being cruelly whipped by a teenager had 'reared up and kicked out his brains'.¹³²⁹

Mischievous interference with cattle posed an even more serious threat to the order of metropolitan streets. Legislative action, court proceedings and newspaper reports reveal that many individuals made sport with cattle droves on Smithfield market days. In his recent analysis of the City's summary courts, Gray found that ten per cent of the 582 prosecutions for street related regulatory offences recorded between 1784 and 1796 were for the abuse or chasing of cattle. Considering that offenders 'usually escaped prosecution', this data suggests that bovine trouble-making was persistent and widespread.¹³³⁰ Drivers often complained that passers-by deliberately startled their animals with loud noises or sudden movements, prodded them with sticks or pelted them with stones. In the 1786 trial, discussed above, one of the accused drivers claimed that three bakers had 'rattled their pails' at the animal, 'making game of him' while a witness recalled seeing a man 'daring the bullock' by 'waving his hat backwards and

¹³²⁵ *Lloyd's Evening Post* (22/6/1761).

¹³²⁶ *Evening Mail* (3/11/1800).

¹³²⁷ *London Packet* (26/12/1800).

¹³²⁸ P. McGreevy & A. Mclean, 'Behavioural problems with the ridden horse' in D.S. Mills & S.M. McDonnell (eds.), *The Domestic Horse: The Origins, Development and Management of its Behaviour* (Cambridge, 2005), p.198; G.H. Waring (ed.), *Horse Behaviour* (Norwich, NY, 2003), pp.253-69.

¹³²⁹ *Lloyd's Evening Post* (16/4/1764); see also *London Evening Post* (12/5/1767); *Lloyd's Evening Post* (20/7/1768) & *Whitehall Evening Post* (10/8/1769).

¹³³⁰ D. Gray, *Crime Prosecution and Social Relations: The Summary Courts of the City of London in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2009), p.118.

forwards'.¹³³¹ Such impromptu interactions appear to have been common but cattle were also the focus of organised urban sport in this period.

By the 1770s, metropolitan authorities had managed to force bull baiting, a violent and raucous pastime, out of the city and into the surrounding countryside. In the 1720s, John Strype had identified bull-baiting as a favourite diversion of London's 'lower classes' but efforts to suppress the sport steadily increased in the mid-eighteenth century.¹³³² In 1753, the Middlesex magistracy issued an 'order for suppressing and preventing Mischiefs Riots and Affrays occasioned by Bull baiting near the Pound in Old Street', on the edge of a built-up area.¹³³³ Between 1740 and 1825, the metropolitan press recorded bull baits taking place in nineteen locations, but all but two of these were in the suburbs. In 1762, a crowd of 'not less than 2000 spectators' assembled on 'the vacant ground behind Great Russel Street' but Justice Welch soon arrived, dispersed the crowd and 'obliged' the organisers 'to take their bull and dogs away'. The only bait reported in an urbanised area after 1762 took place in Tothill Fields, Westminster in 1772, when 70 dogs were said to have been 'set loose' at a 'grand bull-baiting' watched by 'near 10,000 persons'.¹³³⁴ This appears to have been an exceptional event, and the sport's final curtain call in London.

By contrast, 'bullock hunting', another raucous bovine sport, persisted in the city and remained popular until the early nineteenth century.¹³³⁵ As shown in Hogarth's *Second Stage of Cruelty*, 1751 (Plate 67), this culture was highly disruptive of public order. A contemporary described Hogarth's vignette as showing 'the hunting of a Bullock through the streets by a rabble of boys, and dirty fellows, till the creature maddens with rage, and in its fury tosses every one that is so unhappy to come in its way'.¹³³⁶ Bullock hunting's appeal and the threat which it posed stemmed from its hybridisation of human and animal recalcitrance. This is emphasised by a particularly detailed description of the sport in the recollections of Francis Place (1771–1854), who began

¹³³¹ OBSP, t17861025-37 (25/10/1786).

¹³³² John Strype (ed.), *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720), xix & p.666; see also Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (1st edn., 1801; 1830), p.244 fn.

¹³³³ LL, SM/GO/556030027, Middlesex Sessions: General Orders of the Court, (6/9/1753).

¹³³⁴ *Universal Spectator* (11/10/1740); *London Evening Post* (1/7/1760); *St James' Chronicle* (9/6/1761); *St James' Chronicle* (7/10/1762); *London Chronicle* (19/10/1762); *London Evening Post* (13/8/1767); *Public Advertiser* (24/9/1767); *Middlesex Journal* (3/3/1770); *Craftsman* (18/7/1772); *Morning Chronicle* (6/8/1772); *Morning Chronicle* (11/10/1776); *The Times* (22/6/1787); *Public Advertiser* (26/7/1791); *London Chronicle* (11/8/1791); *Lloyd's Evening Post* (16/12/1791); *Evening Mail* (5/9/1796); *The Times* (24/6/1825); *The Times* (10/8/1825).

¹³³⁵ Cunningham cites bullock hunting as evidence of thriving plebeian recreation during the industrial revolution; H. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c.1780-c.1880* (London, 1980), pp.23-24.

¹³³⁶ Anon, *A Dissertation on Mr. Hogarth's six prints lately published, viz. Gin-Lane, Beer-Street, and the Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751), p.37, cited in Gray, *Crime Prosecution and Social Relations*, p.138.

compiling his autobiography in the 1820s.¹³³⁷ By then a respectable man of leisure, Place grew up among the Strand's small shopkeepers and artisans. His autobiography was intended as an instructive tale to 'show how a man could rise to wisdom and prosperity from an unpropitious background'.¹³³⁸ Place often criticised the deplorable moral conditions of the eighteenth century and celebrated the rise of a newly respectable Victorian society but his attitudes to the dissolute days of the past were ambivalent. As Mary Thale asserts, his writings often reveal 'his pull towards the improper pleasures of his childhood ... Place was not quite so wholesome and disinterested as he thought'.¹³³⁹ As a Victorian gentleman, and social reformer, he complained that bullock hunting

used to collect the greatest of blackguards, thieves and miscreants of all kinds together. Its cruelty was atrocious, it led to every species of vice and crime, and proves how very low were peoples notions of morality, and how barbarous their dispositions.¹³⁴⁰

Yet, Place made little effort to conceal that he was also 'exceedingly delighted with this sport' after joining a bull-hunting gang in his school-holidays. On market days, he recalled

a number of men and boys used to assemble at the ends of the streets leading into the market and when a drove of bullocks came along, they fixed their attention on a light long horned one, these being the most skittish and the best runners, they then divided themselves into two parties, one on each side of the drove watching an opportunity to separate the bullock from the drove.

Walking alongside the herd, the hunters took turns in 'menacing the drovers and frightening the bullocks ... hallowing, and whistling through their fingers'. The gangs came armed with sticks fitted with a nail to provoke the most spectacular bovine reaction. Place observed that 'from the moment the bullock started it was utterly useless to attempt to recover him'. Moreover, the timing and location of the attack were carefully chosen to cause maximum chaos, 'generally where two streets crossed'.¹³⁴¹ Hunts could last well over an hour, until the beast was too exhausted to run further and could be secured. Place acknowledges, in a surprisingly casual, even callous manner, that he had seen 'people knocked down by the animals and one or two tossed. Many were ...

¹³³⁷ M. Thale (ed.), *The Autobiography of Francis Place, 1771-1854* (Cambridge, 1972); Place compiled his autobiography drawing on earlier writings from the turn of the nineteenth-century.

¹³³⁸ *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, xix.

¹³³⁹ *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, xxvi.

¹³⁴⁰ *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, p.70.

¹³⁴¹ *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, p.69.

injured and now and then one was killed'.¹³⁴² These experiences were part of the sport's zenith. Having grown in parallel with the livestock trade, hunts of the 1780s were probably larger and better orchestrated than ever before. The sport's enduring popularity undermines Thomas's assertion that apart from 'those directly involved in working with animals' urbanites became alienated from livestock in the eighteenth century.¹³⁴³ Indeed, it shows that many plebeian Londoners felt supremely confident in their presence.

At the same time, many respectable Londoners viewed the mob's raucous interaction with powerful animals as a serious threat to social order and public safety. This was reflected in legislative action and increasing efforts to prosecute offenders in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1781, parliament legislated that anyone who 'shall pelt with Stones, Brickbats, or by any other Means drive or hunt away, or shall set any ... Dogs at any ... Cattle, without the consent of the owner' should be arrested and fined.¹³⁴⁴ It is significant that the new legislation appeared less than a year after the Gordon Riots of June 1780.¹³⁴⁵ In the aftermath of the shocking mob violence which swept the city, disorderly behaviour of all kinds appears to have come under increasing scrutiny. In this context, cattle were recast as dangerous weapons wielded by the most unruly elements of society. This connection became even more deeply embedded during the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802). In *Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion*, 1796 (Plate 72), James Gilray depicted an enraged bullock charging down St James' Street ahead of a blood-thirsty troop of revolutionaries, the epitome of mob rule. As the animal defiantly tosses a well-dressed gentleman outside Brookes' club, a guillotine gets to work on the British elite. On the other side of the road, more revolutionary soldiers file into White's Club, marching through a trail of blood and severed heads. This dystopian panorama emphasises the degree to which respectable London society came to synthesise animal and plebeian disorder in the late eighteenth century.

¹³⁴² *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, p.70.

¹³⁴³ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth, 1984), p.182.

¹³⁴⁴ Public Act, 21 Geo III c.67; CLA/015/AD/02/032, Warrants for payments to constables and others for the apprehension and prosecution of persons, not being employed to drive cattle, for the 'hunting away' of bullocks, (Oct-Dec 1789).

¹³⁴⁵ D.T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1989), p.163; Haywood & Seed (eds.), *The Gordon Riots*; Rogers, 'Crowd and people in the Gordon Riots'.



Plate 72: James Gilray, *Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion, -or- Forcible Reasons for Negotiating a Regicide Peace* (Hand-coloured engraving, London, 1796).

While the 1781 act probably deterred some bullock hunters, the speed and confusion of the chase made it much more difficult to police these activities than bull baits, which took place on more contained sites.¹³⁴⁶ Yet, while the majority of bullock hunters continued to evade arrest, growing concern appears to have heightened regulatory efforts. By the last quarter of the century, prosecutions were made fairly regularly at the Guildhall and Mansion House justice rooms. However, the relative leniency of the punishments handed out by these summary courts may help to explain why the sport survived for so long. Of the 57 prosecutions identified by Gray between 1784 and 1796, around half led to fines, a third of offenders were discharged, and only three (5.8%) were imprisoned.¹³⁴⁷ By contrast, statutes passed in the 1740s made the act of stealing cattle (1741) and sheep (1742) capital offences, punishable by transportation or death.¹³⁴⁸ While steadily diminishing, reports of bullock hunts continued to appear in London's newspapers into the 1820s and the sport may have survived in a more restricted form until the trade was removed in 1855.¹³⁴⁹

The above suggests that respectable Londoners viewed interference with horses and livestock as an integral part of the mob's unruliness, and that the authorities made increasing efforts to suppress this behaviour. Far more concerted and aggressive, however, was the campaign to police the plebeian guardians of animal traffic. Drivers, coachmen, carmen and draymen were among the most bitterly criticised of Hanoverian London's working men. In the eyes of polite society and the metropolitan authorities, these individuals habitually provoked, exacerbated and deliberately exploited animal behaviour to serve their own agendas.

'Two-legged brutes'

While many Londoners acknowledged the difficulties which livestock drovers faced, these men bore the brunt of growing anger and frustration at increasing levels of street disorder.¹³⁵⁰ The vast

¹³⁴⁶ As shown by the actions of Justice Welch in Bloomsbury; *London Chronicle* (19/10/1762).

¹³⁴⁷ Gray, *Crime Prosecution and Social Relations*, p.141.

¹³⁴⁸ Public Act 14 Geo II, c6 s.2 (1741); 14 Geo II, c.34 (1742); J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England* (1986), pp.170-72; Linebaugh observes that Dick Turpin, hanged in 1739, began his criminal career by stealing cattle in the Plaistow marshes. In early life, Turpin was educated in the Smithfield trade, being a son to an Essex farmer and apprenticed to a Whitechapel butcher; P. Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1992), p.204; see also V.S. Balch-Lindsay, *An Orderly Metropolis: The Evolution of Criminal Justice in London, 1750-1830* (Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Texas Tech University, 1998), p.43.

¹³⁴⁹ *The Times* (25/9/1822) cited in Gray, *Crime Prosecution and Social Relations*, p.142.

¹³⁵⁰ See John Lawrence, 'Treatise on Horses and On the Moral Duties of Man towards the Brute Creation', extract published in *The Sporting Magazine or Monthly Calendar... For October* (1798), p.258.

majority of accident reports published in the London press described the cattle involved as ‘over-drove’, immediately implying that drivers, through ‘carelessness or bad conduct,’ were solely to blame when their animals ran wild in the streets.¹³⁵¹ This assumption evinces a strong eighteenth-century impulse to view hazards as lying within human power. As Porter observed, ‘Enlightenment optimism’ held that ‘Accidents could be avoided or damage limitation put in hand’.¹³⁵² But it also reflects a broader Enlightenment conviction in man’s ability to tame and control nature.¹³⁵³ Anderson has shown that early modern English colonists of North America were ‘Convinced that going wild resulted from human interference’ and viewed livestock less as ‘independent actors’ than as ‘passive objects of human manipulation’. Thus, the wrongdoing of animals ‘advertised their owners’ failure to maintain control’ or, worse still, their desire to manifest disorder.¹³⁵⁴ As shown below, this outlook was central to perceptions of the human-animal unit in Hanoverian London and shaped the policing of metropolitan street space in significant ways.

From the 1760s, metropolitan newspapers sardonically labelled drivers as the ‘Smithfield gentry’ while hackney coachmen, carmen and draymen were described as ‘Lords of the Road’. These epithets implied that these low-born men abused their responsibility for animals to challenge the city’s social hierarchy. At the same time, they were described as ‘two-legged brutes’ and ‘brutes in human shape’,¹³⁵⁵ implying that working with animals made plebeian men even more dim-witted, wild and brutish. For some respectable Londoners, man and beast morphed into a monstrous hybrid on the capital’s streets. Paradoxically, the metropolitan elite required plebeian men to command animal behaviour but simultaneously condemned them for becoming corrupted by their work.

The extent to which drivers, coachmen, carmen and draymen were ‘brutalised’ by their work is unclear, but there can be no doubt that the psychology of those in certain trades was moulded by the intensity of their relationships with animals. This further undermines Thomas’ assumption that it was only increasing distance that brought about changes in attitudes and behaviours towards

¹³⁵¹ *Gazetteer* (10/11/1764).

¹³⁵² R. Porter, ‘Accidents in the eighteenth century’ in R. Cooter and B. Luckin (eds.), *Accidents in History: Injuries, Fatalities and Social Relations* (Amsterdam, 1997), p.97.

¹³⁵³ Historians continue to disagree over the precise meaning and significance of this ideology; see M. Horkheimer & T. W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (1947; Stanford, 2002); D. Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2013), pp.5-6; S. Vogel, *Against Nature: The Concept of Nature in Critical Theory* (New York, 2006); R. Drayton, *Nature’s Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the ‘Improvement’ of the World* (New Haven & London, 2000).

¹³⁵⁴ Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, pp.96 & 132.

¹³⁵⁵ *St James’s Chronicle* (17/10/1761); *Public Advertiser* (17/4/1765); *Common Sense* (14/4/1739); *London Daily Advertiser* (6/2/1752).

animals in cities.¹³⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the condemnation of London's animal guardians was strongly influenced by bourgeois prejudice, combined with genuine frustration and fear generated by exposure to nuisance and disorder. In the 1760s, a London 'ambulator' lamented in the *Gazetteer* that hackney coachmen continued to 'endanger the limbs of the people by driving along with their chairs, and crying out just as they are upon you, "buy your leave", when perhaps the person has not timely notice to get out of their way'. The author concluded that these men were more like brutes than their horses because the equine species would 'of their own accord ... give the way'.¹³⁵⁷ Commentators were tempted to attribute this kind of reckless behaviour to an innate malice in the coachman's nature which led him to abuse his horses and human road users in equal measure. In 1737, *The Man of Manners* mockingly claimed

there are hardly half a hundred Hackney Coachmen within the Bills of Mortality, but what would with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction, drive over the most innocent Person whom they never knew ... provided they could do it conveniently and safely, that is, within the verge of the law.¹³⁵⁸

This characterisation was firmly established by the time Hogarth cast his anti-hero, Tom Nero, as a hackney coachman in his *Second Stage of Cruelty*, 1751 (Plate 67). Shown viciously whipping his horse, Nero's cruelty hardens before our eyes, readying him for greater evils against humanity.

Similar criticism of carmen predated the eighteenth century. In 1690, the Court of Aldermen observed that

Their imployment requires stout bodyes and naturally renders their minds unthinking and unheeding, rough and sturdy, untractable and ungovernable by themselves or by one another or without great difficulty by their Superiores; hence proceed frequent Brawles and Quarrells.¹³⁵⁹

This diatribe was closely linked to the Fellowship of Carmen's campaign to secure incorporation, which aroused considerable hostility in the seventeenth century.¹³⁶⁰ Yet, the hybridisation of plebeian workmen and the animals under their charge continued long after these tensions had subsided. Throughout the eighteenth century, carmen were repeatedly described as lumbering,

¹³⁵⁶ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, pp.181-2.

¹³⁵⁷ *Gazetteer* (13/10/1763).

¹³⁵⁸ Erasmus Jones, *The Man of Manners or, Plebeian Polish'd* (1737), pp.43-4.

¹³⁵⁹ *Reasons why the Carmen should not be Incorporated* (16/9/1690) cited in E. Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen* (London, 1982), p.74.

¹³⁶⁰ Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*.

hot-headed and recalcitrant, characteristics which seemed symptomatic of spending too much time with four-legged brutes.

As public outcry against drovers and drivers intensified, the authorities increased their efforts to regulate human-animal-vehicle units and to discipline the plebeian men involved. As discussed below, these developments were closely linked to metropolitan improvement debates, but also a 'strengthening of the view that men ought to be held more accountable for actions that led to serious injuries and deaths, even when they did not intend them'.¹³⁶¹ Many complaints stemmed from the perceived inexperience, incompetence and laziness of plebeian workers which, it was claimed, increased the risk of animals becoming disorderly and magnified their destructive potential.

Drovers were, for instance, accused of ignorantly and complacently relying on brute force to manoeuvre their animals, behaviour which tended to enrage cattle. A correspondent for the *Gazetteer* in 1764 proposed the complete prohibition of 'sticks, whips, and other weapons' to foster less cavalier droving techniques,¹³⁶² while others criticised the use of bull-terriers to intimidate cattle.¹³⁶³ A pair of late eighteenth-century caricatures highlights the controversy which these practices aroused. In George Woodward's *Miseries of Human Life*, c.1800 (Plate 73) a gentleman is about to be gored by a bullock which has been enraged by a bull-terrier. And in Thomas Rowlandson's *The Overdrove Ox*, 1790 (Plate 74), a trail of carnage on London Bridge is attributed to a bullock being pursued by a pack of dogs and stick-wielding drovers. Such criticism was not without foundation. Excessive and misplaced use of sticks and dogs almost certainly triggered bovine disorder in some instances. Yet, we need to remember that many of the complaints filed against drovers were cultural judgements reached by men with little or no personal experience of managing animals. While excessive brutality, negligence and deliberate mischief contributed to some bovine accidents, it seems that drovers were often unfairly blamed for incidents beyond their control.

¹³⁶¹ Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England*, p.89.

¹³⁶² *Gazetteer* (17/11/1764).

¹³⁶³ In March 1765, a 'widow gentlewoman' was fatally tossed by a bullock, in pursuit of which, the *London Chronicle* complained, were 'three butchers dogs'; *London Chronicle* (23/3/1765).

Plate 73: George Woodward, *Miseries of Human Life* (Hand-coloured etching, c.1800).



Plate 74: Thomas Rowlandson, *The Overdrove Ox* (Hand-coloured etching & aquatint, London, 1790).



Accidents involving horses were also habitually attributed to the ‘inattention, ignorance or presumption’ of the lower orders who commanded horse-drawn vehicles.¹³⁶⁴ It was widely recognised that horses demanded near-constant supervision in the streets to dissuade them from the kind of evasions or more aggressive behaviour, outlined in Chapter 5. Thus, the problem of carts and cart-horses being left unattended attracted persistent criticism from the seventeenth century.¹³⁶⁵ In 1687, the inhabitants of Thames Street complained that the ‘Carmen, knowing that they must load in their turnes, leave their horses and Carts in the Streetes, and noebody to looke after them, whilst themselves lye in Ale-houses and not to be found, by means whereof the Streetes are pestered with Carts and lere horses’.¹³⁶⁶ Partly to discourage this malpractice, turn-keeping in the streets was abolished by Act of Common Council in 1694. Despite repeated

¹³⁶⁴ Porter, ‘Accidents in the eighteenth century’, p.97; Newton Bosworth, *The Accidents of Human Life; With hints for their Prevention, Or the Removal of their Consequences* (1813), iv.

¹³⁶⁵ Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, p.103.

¹³⁶⁶ Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, pp.100-1; ‘Lere’, a variation on the adjective ‘Leer’ was used to describe a horse running ‘loose, away’, as well as a ‘loose ... dissolute, profligate drunkard’; Charles Richardson, *A New Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, 1839).

protests by the Carmen, this ruling survived the Hanoverian period.¹³⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the nuisance of unattended horse-drawn vehicles continued. In 1764, the *Public Advertiser* complained that a two-horse dray had been left fastened to a post on the south side of Westminster Bridge ‘so that if the Horses ... had taken fright, several persons might have been run over ... the leaving of dray horses thus loose, without any body by them, is a very dangerous thing, anywhere, but vastly so in so great a thoroughfare’.¹³⁶⁸

As suggested, the high level of skill and experience needed to control horses in London was widely recognised in the Hanoverian period. Thus, inexperience was seen to heighten the risks posed by equine traffic and by the 1750s there was a growing concern that unprepared ‘lads’ were being entrusted to command teams of horses in the metropolis, with dangerous consequences.¹³⁶⁹ In 1760, John Fielding sent the *Public Advertiser* ‘extracts from some penal Laws calculated to preserve Good-Order in the Streets of the Metropolis’. In response to one regulation, he observed

If brewers, carmen, hackney men, brickmakers, &c who are constantly hiring fresh servants from the Country, who are strangers to these laws, would print these extracts, and give them to every new servant, it might be the means of preserving their cattle and carriages from injuries, and prevent the servants from subjecting themselves to the penalties of the said statutes.¹³⁷⁰

Yet, the problem of inexperienced carmen appears to have been exacerbated by the authorities. After 1757, the City’s magistrates reduced the age limit for drivers of horse-drawn vehicles from eighteen to sixteen.¹³⁷¹ This action probably reflected broader changes in London’s labour market, and the demands of expanding trade. As Spence asserts, the city’s age structure became ‘markedly skewed toward youth, and consequently we can assume that a large proportion of the London work-force would have possessed a relatively limited stock of skill and experience’.¹³⁷² It is plausible, therefore, that the growth of the commercial carrying sector became increasingly reliant on a younger workforce. Yet, insufficient training, physical immaturity, youthful recklessness and

¹³⁶⁷ In 1757, the City Magistrates permitted ‘cars employed on wharf, crane, and tackle work’ to re-introduce turn-keeping in the immediate vicinity of the Port of London, but not in the streets of the metropolis; Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, p.103.

¹³⁶⁸ *Public Advertiser* (6/10/1764); see also *St James’ Chronicle* (8/2/1763).

¹³⁶⁹ There was a broad consensus among elite horse owners that their head coachmen should be at least 30 years old; F. Huggett, *Carriages at Eight: Horse Drawn Society in Victorian & Edwardian Times* (New York, 1980), p.58.

¹³⁷⁰ *Public Advertiser* (4/10/1760).

¹³⁷¹ Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, p.106; this age-limit was still in place in when the *London Companion* (1773), p.103, stated that owners of carts could be fined twenty shillings if ‘any person under the Age of 16’ was convicted.

¹³⁷² C. Spence, ‘Accidentally killed by a cart: workplace, hazard, and risk in late seventeenth-century London’, *European Review of History*, 3 (1996), p.10.

unfamiliarity with the dynamics of the city put lads, their horses and other road users in danger. In 1747, the *General Evening Post* reported ‘a Melancholy Accident’ in Old Street, in which ‘A Youth about eighteen Years of Age, Son to a Clerk of a Brewhouse ... sitting on a Dray and over-reaching himself to fetch a Blow at the Team, pitched forwards under the Wheel, which running over his Temples killed him on the spot’. The report concluded that he had only taken control of the vehicle ‘two or three Minutes before the Accident happened’.¹³⁷³ And in 1768, a gentleman was kicked by ‘a spirited cart-horse’ after its driver, ‘a boy’, struck the animal ‘violently over his buttocks’.¹³⁷⁴

Impatience on the part of carmen and coachmen appears to have exacerbated the risks posed by horse-drawn vehicles. The intensification of metropolitan trade in the eighteenth century meant that the tempo of work performed by horse-human units increased, and metropolitan newspapers often observed that accidents were caused by men driving ‘in a hurry’ to secure business. In 1761, the *St James’s Chronicle* reported that a boy crossing the street in Bishopsgate had been crushed between the wheels of two carts, one of which was hurrying ‘to get first to a House in the neighbourhood’ where he had been called.¹³⁷⁵ This time-conscious behaviour reflected the commercial pressures faced by hackney coachmen and commercial carrying operations as the century progressed.¹³⁷⁶

An unfortunate effect of the decision to outlaw turn-keeping, discussed above, was to encourage London’s licenced carmen to race rivals to secure work. Meanwhile, hackney coachmen had their own financial incentive to speed. In June 1768, a tin-plate worker was run down as two hackney coachmen drove ‘furiously’ along ‘Bishopsgate-street’ attempting to beat the other to a fare.¹³⁷⁷ The coachman’s existence was financially precarious because proprietors expected them to ‘bring in a certain sum each day’ or face dismissal.¹³⁷⁸ Such harsh terms of employment suggest that to some extent, the coachman’s infamous aggression was rooted in the financial necessity of chasing down fares, outdoing rivals and defending their access to business by forcing other forms of equine traffic out of their way. As Jenner has suggested, the pressure to maximise journeys to

¹³⁷³ *General Evening Post* (8/9/1747).

¹³⁷⁴ *Westminster Journal* (28/5/1768).

¹³⁷⁵ *St James’s Chronicle* (30/4/1761).

¹³⁷⁶ D. Gerhold, *Road Transport Before the Railways: Russell’s London Flying Waggons* (Cambridge, 1993), p.167.

¹³⁷⁷ *Lloyd’s Evening Post* (1/6/1768).

¹³⁷⁸ T. May, *Gondolas and Growlers: The History of the London Horse Cab* (Stroud, 1995), pp.10-11; the agreements made between proprietors and coachmen do not appear to have been uniform and probably changed over time. In 1830, an Inspector of Hackney Coaches claimed that ‘the old practice’ was to pay drivers between 10s and half a guinea a week. However, the same Select Committee report quoted a hackney coachman recalling that fixed wages had proved impossible because drivers dishonestly held back money, which led to the adoption of the tougher system; Parliamentary Papers, vol.10 (1830), ‘Report from the Select Committee on the Hackney Coach Office’.

build income meant that hackney coachmen ‘needed assertive, even aggressive, physical skills in order to move their horses and their carriage effectively through crowded city streets’.¹³⁷⁹

Previously, animal studies have tended to discuss whips and reins exclusively in terms of the cruelty inflicted on London’s working horses.¹³⁸⁰ Yet, their use also highlights the intensity of the struggle between different human-animal units on the streets of the metropolis. Through skilful and aggressive application of whip and reins, horses could be made to accelerate and swerve into preferential space, as well as to overtake and block rival road users. Significantly, the whip also served as a weapon against other drivers, behaviour which encouraged the hybridisation of human and equine identities. In July 1765, the *Lloyd’s Evening Post* reported that a ‘quarrel’ had broken out in Holborn between a hackney coachman and a drover after the former’s vehicle injured a sheep. ‘One of the drovers struck at the coachman with a large stick, who returned the blow with the butt-end of his whip, which hitting the man on the right temple, he fell down’. The coachman drove off ‘furiously’ and the drover later died in hospital.¹³⁸¹

Hackney coachmen and drovers were well known for their prowess in the boxing ring but the fact that these men beat each other in the streets as they did their horses, reinforced bourgeois prejudices.¹³⁸² Yet, the susceptibility of coachmen to bouts of road rage was, in large part, a reflection of the stress involved in commanding horses in congested metropolitan streets. On one front, they faced obstructions caused by increasing numbers of slow-moving commercial carrying vehicles. The size and bulk of carts and waggons allowed their drivers to bully coachmen for the right of way. As the daily hustle and bustle of the metropolis intensified, these men were forced to fight for their survival. Francis Place recalled that his brother, who drove a coach in the 1780s, was ‘possessed of great muscular powers for his height’.¹³⁸³ A careful observer of London’s horse traffic, Place surely recognised how far coachmen depended on their strength to survive in the city.

¹³⁷⁹ M.S.R. Jenner, ‘Circulation and disorder: London streets and hackney coaches, c.1640-c.1740’ in T. Hitchcock & H. Stone (eds.), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London, 2003), p.44.

¹³⁸⁰ H. Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London, 1998), pp.48 & 145; D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750-1850* (New Haven & London), pp.200 & 230 & ‘Beastly sights’: the treatment of animals as a moral theme in representations of London c.1820-1850’ in D. Arnold (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London* (Oxford, 1999), p.50; L. Brown, *Cruelty to Animals: the Moral Debt* (London, 1988), pp.2, 9 & 41; S.E. Ryan, *Coming to the Whip: Horsemanship and the Politics of Victorian Empathy* (Michigan, 2002).

¹³⁸¹ *Lloyd’s Evening Post* (19/7/1765); see also *Public Advertiser* (22/3/1758).

¹³⁸² *London Evening Post* (3/2/1739); *Middlesex Journal* (20/10/ 1772); *General Evening Post* (31/10/1786); *Gazetteer* (4/12/1788).

¹³⁸³ *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, p.84.

In their mode of driving, hackney coachmen, carmen and draymen exploited the combined physicality of their horses, own bodies and vehicles to bully other road users. This behaviour reasserts the need to unbound the social to take account of human interactions with non-human animals and inanimate things.¹³⁸⁴ Moreover, it is highly revealing of polite concerns about the mob. By obstructing thoroughfares, forcing other road users to make way, and refusing to give way to persons of quality, these men failed to respect ‘the deferential choreography that was supposed to govern London’s traffic’.¹³⁸⁵ Spatial practices were a central concern for those wishing to improve London. In 1754, Jonas Hanway insisted that gentlemen ought to feel safe to walk in contrast to Paris where, he complained, ‘few people of distinction ever walk’ for fear of ‘being run over by every careless or imperious coachman’.¹³⁸⁶ Visiting London a decade later, the Frenchman Pierre-Jean Grosley gave the impression that Hanway’s hopes had been realised, describing the city’s coachmen as

good-natured and humane ... from the great care which they take to prevent the frays almost ungovernable, amidst the eternal passing and repassing of carriages in the most frequented streets, some of which are exceeding narrow ... the great care of the coachmen and Carmen to avoid them ... their readiness to turn aside ... to lend each other a hand ... prevents this confusion from degenerating into one of those bloody frays which so often happen at Paris.¹³⁸⁷

Yet, considering Grosley’s limited exposure to London street-life and his anglophile sensibilities, his verdict should be treated with caution. Few respectable Londoners would have agreed that the city’s coachmen and carmen took ‘great care’ to prevent accidents.¹³⁸⁸ Indeed, the above underlines Jenner’s observation that hackney coachmen were ‘Far from being pliable servants of civility’ and their “equestrian spatial practices’ were profoundly disruptive of the order of the streets’.¹³⁸⁹

There was significant and growing tension in the eighteenth century between polite improvers like Hanway and the drivers of horse-drawn vehicles, over appropriate forms of equestrian

¹³⁸⁴ P. Joyce & T. Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon, 2010); B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social – An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford, 2005).

¹³⁸⁵ Jenner, ‘Circulation and disorder’, pp.44-5.

¹³⁸⁶ Jonas Hanway, *A Letter to Mr John Spranger* (1754), p.22.

¹³⁸⁷ Pierre Jean Grosley, *A Tour to London: or, new observations on England and its inhabitants. By M. Grosley* (trans.) Thomas Nugent, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1772), vol.1, p.68.

¹³⁸⁸ Having survived a night-time walk through some backstreets, Grosley once naively proclaimed ‘London is the only great city in Europe where neither murders nor assassinations happen’; Pierre Jean Grosley, *A Tour to London* (1772), p.67.

¹³⁸⁹ Jenner, ‘Circulation and disorder’, pp.43-4.

deportment and choreography in metropolitan street space. This is particularly clear in the case of carmen, and their occupational cousins, the draymen. Like hackney coachmen, these groups were condemned for ‘driving furiously’ (with excessive speed) and for refusing to give way, but more particularly for sitting on the shafts of their vehicles rather than leading their horses on foot.¹³⁹⁰ This practice was heavily criticised and criminalized because it greatly reduced the driver’s ability to bring his horses to a sudden halt or to steer them away from obstacles. Moreover, because offenders were at least ten feet behind their horses’ heads, they were much less able to see approaching pedestrians and particularly children.¹³⁹¹ In September 1767, a letter to the *Public Advertiser* lamented that ‘among the many accidents which I read of ... none I think are so common as Men, Women and Children being run over by carts and drays ... oweing entirely to the Carelessness and Laziness of those Fellows’.¹³⁹²

In *Second Stage of Cruelty*, 1751 (Plate 67), Hogarth depicted a two-horse dray about to crush a small child playing in the street. Asleep and perched on the side of his vehicle, the drayman allows his horses to draw the wheels into the child’s path. As discussed below, the artist’s inclusion of this vignette was far more journalistic than historians have previously acknowledged. Three years earlier, the *Old England* newspaper had reported a similar but even more shocking incident in which a boy and girl

being at play, were run over by a Dray; one of the wheels went over the Girl’s body, by which the blood gushed out of her mouth and nostrils, and left her for dead; the other went over the boy’s leg ... this was occasioned by the Carelessness of the Brewer’s Servant riding on the Dray.¹³⁹³

The metropolitan press habitually blamed such accidents on laziness but riding on the dray was at least partly motivated by a desire to avoid personal injury. In 1745, a carman walking alongside his cart through Bishopsgate, as the law demanded, slipped, ‘fell under the Cart ... and was so miserably bruise’d that his Life is despair’d of’.¹³⁹⁴ The intensification of traffic in the Hanoverian period appears to have encouraged drivers to break rules governing their deportment and choreography in the interests of self-preservation. Some juries sympathised with their

¹³⁹⁰ When vehicles were drawn by a single horse or several horses arranged in single file, two shafts were attached to either side of the rearmost animal, known as the ‘wheel horse’.

¹³⁹¹ C. McShane & J. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the 19th Century* (Baltimore, 2007), p.40, notes that nineteenth-century films of horse traffic show that drivers tended to stare ‘straight ahead (the strong point of human vision), leaving happenings to the side of horses, who have better peripheral vision’.

¹³⁹² *Public Advertiser* (11/9/1767).

¹³⁹³ *Old England* (16/7/1748).

¹³⁹⁴ *St James’s Evening Post* (15/6/1745).

predicament – in 1736, a carter was acquitted of manslaughter despite leaving his horse's head because he was forced to do so 'or I should have been squeezed myself' by an oncoming dray.¹³⁹⁵ Nevertheless, riding on the shafts came under increasing attack as polite improvers sought to reform the city's streets.

Regulating the human-animal unit

The recalcitrance of human-animal units challenged key specifications of an enlightened metropolis: unimpeded circulation, 'deferential choreography'¹³⁹⁶ and public safety. As anger about this hardened, human-animal units came under increasing regulatory scrutiny. In 1774, parliament passed an *Act to Prevent the Mischiefs that arise from driving Cattle within the Cities of London and Westminster*. The legislation gave constables the power to arrest drovers suspected of 'negligence, or ill usage' in the driving of cattle which resulted in 'any mischief'. Drovers found guilty faced fines of 5s–20s, substantial sums for men paid around 5s a day.¹³⁹⁷ The Act also entitled the City to frame and set down its own regulations for the driving of livestock and thereby impose fines of 10s–40s.¹³⁹⁸ In September 1775, one such offender was charged at the Guildhall 'according to act of parliament' for driving an ox 'through several streets of the city ... to the great terror of foot passengers'.¹³⁹⁹

Despite this action, accidents involving cattle continued unabated, generating further hostility against their guardians. In 1781, parliament felt compelled to pass a second act reiterating much of its predecessor's content, with the addition of a clause against bullock hunting, discussed above. Eleven years later, the City's Court of Aldermen published a new set of regulations designed, according to the *Public Advertiser*, 'to keep the drovers of cattle in order'. It banned the use of sticks 'below the hock' or with pointed goads more than a quarter of an inch long, for which a 20s fine was imposed. More significantly, every drover was 'to wear a numbered badge' on their arm or face the same penalty.¹⁴⁰⁰ This measure appears to have had some success. In the early 1790s, the London press reported the conviction of a handful of drovers 'for refusing to wear a badge' and in 1805, Pyne depicted a law-abiding drover wearing a badge marked with the

¹³⁹⁵ OBSP, t17360505-61 (5/5/1736).

¹³⁹⁶ Jenner, 'Circulation and disorder', pp.44-5.

¹³⁹⁷ K. Bonser, *The Drovers: Who They Were and How They Went: An Epic of the English Countryside* (London & Basingstoke), p.88.

¹³⁹⁸ Public Act 21 Geo III, c.67.

¹³⁹⁹ *Morning Post* (13/9/1775).

¹⁴⁰⁰ *Public Advertiser* (9/11/1792).

City's arms and '127 S.M' [Smithfield Market] in his *Costume of Great Britain* (see Plate 75).¹⁴⁰¹ But by the 1830s, humanitarian campaigners were complaining that drovers often worked without badges, pawned them or wore forgeries.¹⁴⁰² While these claims may have been overly pessimistic, it seems likely that drovers found ways around an imperfectly policed system which interfered with their working lives. As newspaper correspondents complained throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, the authorities struggled to keep pace with the escalating problem of the drover and his 'over-drove' cattle.¹⁴⁰³ More impressive were advances in the surveillance and policing of London's horse-human units.

Plate 75: 'Smithfield Drover' from William Henry Pyne, *Costume of Great Britain* (hand-coloured aquatint, London, 1805).



¹⁴⁰¹ *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post* (10-13/5/1793); *Morning Herald* (16/1/1793); see also OBSP, t18240715-128 (15/7/1824).

¹⁴⁰² *The Voice of Humanity* (1827), p.26 & (1830), p.108.

¹⁴⁰³ The most colourful condemnation of the City's perceived inaction appears in *London Chronicle* (27/6/1765); see also, *Gazetteer* (12/11/1765).

After the Restoration, parliament, the City magistracy and several Westminster parishes made repeated attempts to discipline the drivers of horse-drawn vehicles to free the streets from vehicle obstruction, to protect buildings and pavements from damage, and to raise public safety. In the 1750s and 1760s, these concerns developed a new impetus as part of major campaigns to improve London's streets, emphasising the perceived threat which human-animal recalcitrance posed to the capital's progress. Jenner has asserted that the hackney coach trade became one of 'the most regulated sections of the early modern economy'.¹⁴⁰⁴ Building on this work, I consider the experiences of carmen and draymen, which have received considerably less attention.

It is important to note that developments in the eighteenth century were rooted in a long history of traffic regulation. Detailed rules for commercial carrying vehicles emerged during Elizabeth I's reign and by the seventeenth century, a detailed code of conduct had evolved to govern driving practices.¹⁴⁰⁵ Moreover, the need to enforce new regulations encouraged the development of novel forms of proto-street policing.¹⁴⁰⁶ Building on these foundations, the eighteenth century witnessed a significant upsurge in legislative action, beginning with the reiteration of earlier rules – in 1715, parliament outlawed the practice of driving waggons, carts and drays without having 'some other Person or Persons on foot to guide or conduct' from the horse's head'.¹⁴⁰⁷ More significantly, in 1750, it legislated 'for the more effectual preventing of mischiefs occasioned by ... drivers riding upon carts, drays, carrs, and waggons' in the metropolis without some person on foot to guide the horses.¹⁴⁰⁸ This act was passed during a 'period of extreme anxiety' about crime and disorder in the capital which 'rose to such a level of panic by 1750 and 1751' that an unprecedented parliamentary committee was established to examine its causes and action to be taken.¹⁴⁰⁹ In the months which followed the enactment, Westminster's chief magistrate, Henry Fielding, unveiled

¹⁴⁰⁴ Jenner, 'Circulation and disorder', p.47 & p.42; Jenner points out that between 1660 and 1740 alone, parliament received twenty proposals for regulating hackney coachmen.

¹⁴⁰⁵ In 1586, an Act of Common Council ruled that no carter was to 'ryde or drive his horse or trot in the street' and must 'leade him by the Coller'. They were to lead their horses with a halter of not more than a yard long, stand at their heads when stationary and never break into a trot. It was also made illegal to 'make an empty cart go faster than a loaded one', to use 'more than one horse, except for pulling laden carts up the hills from the riverside' or to leave 'horses and cars unattended'; Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, pp.25-6 & 84.

¹⁴⁰⁶ After 1617, the Company of Woodmongers was ordered to appoint three officers to watch the activities of carmen near the Tower and on London Bridge, and two more to supervise car stands. In 1654, a further Act of Common Council called for an extra six officers to patrol the streets. Between 1668 and 1757, the governors of Christ's Hospital kept 'several persons constantly to attend in the Streets' to apprehend carmen and held regular committees to levy fines. After 1680, the Fellowship of Carmen itself dispatched two 'Assistants' to 'Walk the streets weekly in rotation and endeavour to prevent all misbehaviour of the Carmen and likewise of all little boys, not bound, going with any Horse and Cart'; Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, pp.39, 50, 75, 83 & 93.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Public Act, 1 Geo II, Stat.2, c.52.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Public Act, 24 Geo II, c.43.

¹⁴⁰⁹ J.M. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750* (Oxford, 2001), p.420.

his *Enquiry into the Late Increase of Robbers*, his major aim being to engage ‘private citizens in the tracking and arrest of offenders’ including dangerous drivers.¹⁴¹⁰ A month later, in February 1751, his friend and ally, William Hogarth, published *Second Stage of Cruelty*, depicting a drayman committing precisely the crime which the new act condemned.¹⁴¹¹

Historians have tended to view Hogarth’s dray vignette as a general representation of cruelty and carelessness.¹⁴¹² Yet, as Paulson asserts, the *Four Stages of Cruelty* mirrored Fielding’s *Enquiry* in what would be the pair’s final collaboration.¹⁴¹³ By the time Hogarth’s print was in circulation, Fielding was already using the new traffic legislation to prosecute draymen and carmen. On 15 June 1751, the *London Daily Advertiser* congratulated ‘Magistrate Fielding’ on convicting ‘no less than nine persons for riding on the shafts’ of their carts without anyone guiding the horse.¹⁴¹⁴ Hogarth and Fielding must have been aware of parliament’s progress and of one another’s activities. It was in this context that the metropolitan press increased its reporting of dray and cart accidents. In the two years preceding the enactment, this coverage was aimed at promoting legislative action by identifying both the frequency of incidents and the inadequacy of existing regulation. The earliest indication of this appeared in the autumn of 1748 when the *London Evening Post* called it ‘remarkable’ that a woman was ‘the second person run over by the same drayman within a year past’.¹⁴¹⁵ A few months later, another report blamed the death of an oyster woman on ‘the Villainy of the Driver: He was called to several times, but being sat on the Shafts, could not stop the Horses’.¹⁴¹⁶

In the two years which followed the enactment, the same newspapers evaluated its success and encouraged the public to help enforce the law. Reports celebrated convictions, expressed frustration when offenders evaded arrest and implored readers to be more vigilant in their surveillance of the streets. In April 1751, the *London Daily Advertiser* was pleased to report that ‘two Draymen, who were riding on the Shafts of their Dray in Holborn, were taken from thence by the Populace ... and carried before a Magistrate, the fore Horse having thrown down a Boy who was crossing the way’.¹⁴¹⁷ Soon after, the *London Daily Advertiser* congratulated Fielding

¹⁴¹⁰ Beattie, *Policing and Punishment*, p.420.

¹⁴¹¹ Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Late Increase of Robbers, &c. with some Proposals for Remedying this Growing Evil* (1751).

¹⁴¹² R. Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works* (3rd edn., London, 1989), pp.149-50 & *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 2 vols. (New Haven & London, 1971), vol.2.

¹⁴¹³ R. Paulson, *The Life of Henry Fielding: A Critical Biography* (Oxford & Malden, 2000), p.271 & p.276; one of the most significant achievements of the Fielding-Hogarth collaboration was the passage of the Gin Act of 1751, which dramatically reduced the annual consumption of gin in England.

¹⁴¹⁴ *London Daily Advertiser* (15/6/1751).

¹⁴¹⁵ *London Evening Post* (1/9/1748).

¹⁴¹⁶ *Old England* (19/11/1748).

¹⁴¹⁷ *London Daily Advertiser* (24/4/1751).

on convicting nine men for riding from the shafts and reminded readers that ‘any person has a right to stop such offenders, and carry them before the next Magistrate, or to take the Number of their carts, and give information accordingly’.¹⁴¹⁸ Yet, in February 1752, after the death of another child, the same title implored the public to ‘stop and secure’ offenders.¹⁴¹⁹ In June 1752, the *General Advertiser* triumphantly announced that Justice Lediard had convicted three men ‘for riding on the shafts of their carts, contrary to the Act of Parliament ... [and that] they were obliged to pay the penalty of 20s each’.¹⁴²⁰ This remarkable activity suggests that newspapers may have played an even more powerful role in eighteenth-century society than historians have previously suggested,¹⁴²¹ but it also highlights the remarkable degree to which the horse–human unit was seen to threaten metropolitan order.

The authorities tightened their surveillance further in 1757, when parliament ordered that all waggons, carts and drays must bare the name of their owner and an identification number.¹⁴²² The licensing and marking of carts had been initiated in Elizabeth’s reign but the new legislation compelled all commercial carrying vehicles to register their details with the Commissioners of the Hackney Coach Office for the first time, thus centralising London’s horse-drawn traffic into a single regulatory machine.¹⁴²³ The legislation also gave magistrates the right to lay down their own by-laws and to exact penalties’.¹⁴²⁴ This act not only made the machinery of surveillance more efficient but also promoted the reporting of dangerous driving, public action which Hogarth had endorsed in *Second Stage of Cruelty*. In the shadows of Tom Nero’s hackney carriage, Hogarth depicts a young man noting down the villain’s licence plate number.

In the 1760s, the Westminster and City Paving Acts took further steps to improve the circulation and safety of the streets.¹⁴²⁵ Increasingly, elevated pavements and bollards were introduced on major thoroughfares to protect pedestrians and property from horse-drawn vehicles.¹⁴²⁶ But the

¹⁴¹⁸ *London Daily Advertiser* (15/6/1751).

¹⁴¹⁹ *London Daily Advertiser* (6/2/1752).

¹⁴²⁰ *General Advertiser* (13/6/1752).

¹⁴²¹ P. King, ‘Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime and justice in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century London’, *Continuity and Change*, 22 (2007), pp.73-112; N. Rogers, ‘Confronting the crime wave: the debate over social reform and regulation, 1749-1753’ in L. Davison, T. Hitchcock, T. Keirn & R.B. Shoemaker (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive. The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England 1689-1750* (Stroud, 1992), pp.77-98; E.J. Snell, ‘Discourses of criminality in the eighteenth-century press’ *Continuity and Change*, 22 (2007), pp.13-47.

¹⁴²² Public Act, 30 Geo II, c.22.

¹⁴²³ Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, p.20.

¹⁴²⁴ These fines were to be levied by the JP’s and ‘divided equally between the informer and the poor of the parish in which the offence had occurred’; Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen*, p.106.

¹⁴²⁵ Westminster Paving Acts: 2 Geo III, c.21 (1762); 3 Geo III, c.23 (1763); 4 Geo III, c.39 (1764); 5 Geo III, c.50 (1765); 6 Geo III, c.54 (1766); City of London Paving Acts: 6 Geo III, c.26 (1766); 8 Geo III, c.21 (1768).

¹⁴²⁶ Jenner, ‘Circulation and disorder’, p.43; Jonas Hanway believed these ‘posts’ to be unique to London and ‘an excellent security to the foot passenger,’ *A Letter to Mr John Spranger* (1754), pp.20-21.

paving commissioners also assumed new powers to regulate and arrest drivers. From 1762, parish officers in Westminster were able to seize the vehicles and horses of anyone who ‘may occasion any annoyance, nuisance, or obstruction whatever’.¹⁴²⁷ When the Act was amended the following year, an additional clause was added to punish those who drove any vehicle ‘on any of the foot pavements’ of Westminster.¹⁴²⁸ As well as seeking to protect London’s architectural fabric, such regulations were aimed at preventing accidents involving horses and prosecuting men for dangerous driving.

The growing disruption caused by equine traffic can be seen as a significant spur to advances in metropolitan policing in this period. Yet, these achievements were very far from complete and the problem of equine traffic accidents remained a serious threat into the nineteenth century. London’s newspapers repeatedly complained of drivers escaping and resisting arrest: in 1765, the *Public Advertiser* reported that two draymen had beaten a Lambeth beadle ‘in a very cruel manner’ and escaped after he threatened to have them convicted for riding from their shafts.¹⁴²⁹ Yet, the draymen’s reaction also evinces the growing sense of victimisation felt by the guardians of equine traffic in this period. Because managing horses required skill, drivers developed a ‘proper sense of pride ... in the world of plebeian aristocracy’.¹⁴³⁰ But in the eighteenth century, this pride was exposed to increasingly vitriolic criticism and regulatory harassment. In 1797, when hackney coach proprietors feared that the ‘Office of Police’ might take over from the Hackney Coach Board, they complained that they had ‘always treated us like Criminals’ and ‘with much rigour and hostility have fined us beyond our ability and beyond all reason’.¹⁴³¹

The above suggests that while plebeian recalcitrance certainly contributed to nuisance and disorder on metropolitan streets, the plebeian guardians of horses and livestock were also scapegoats for incidents beyond their control. Nevertheless, the link between human and animal disorder played a powerful role in polite attitudes to the mob in Hanoverian London.

The ‘compassion versus social order’ debate

British animal studies have often suggested that sympathetic attitudes towards animals arose in the late eighteenth century because urbanites were becoming increasingly familiar with the cruelty

¹⁴²⁷ Public Act, 2 Geo III, c.21.

¹⁴²⁸ Public Act, 4 Geo III, c.39.

¹⁴²⁹ *Public Advertiser* (2/10/1765).

¹⁴³⁰ P. Mathias, *The Brewing Industry in England* (Cambridge, 1959), pp.78-9.

¹⁴³¹ PRO, T1/795.

suffered by horses and livestock on their streets.¹⁴³² Recent work has, however, questioned the very notion that opposition to animal cruelty increased in the Hanoverian period.¹⁴³³ Rob Boddice argues that ‘there emerged no rigorous concept of animal rights’ and that ‘the principal concern’ of the animal protection movement was ‘the well-being of men’.¹⁴³⁴ For the accused, he suggests, cruelty represented ‘a charge of ‘unmanliness’, ‘callousness’, or ‘being uncivilised’, while for the accuser, cruelty was a ‘masquerade for class interests, a vehicle for social control, an abhorrence of tradition or custom’.¹⁴³⁵ Emma Griffin also rejects the idea that changes in this period constituted ‘the flowering of a new compassion for animals’, arguing that ‘there is scant evidence that ... philosophical and theological reflections penetrated deep into English society’. Opposition to bull baiting ‘was not really about the animals’ she argues, ‘but about us’.¹⁴³⁶

The above gives further weight to this view. But it also suggests that the link between the treatment of animals and human suffering was strongest in London because its heavily populated urban environment heightened the danger posed by disorderly cattle and horses. This comes into sharp focus in a letter from a self-professed ‘Enemy to Barbarity’, published in the *Public Advertiser* in 1766. Its infuriated author had been provoked into writing by seeing ‘a Post Chaise and an empty Chariot’ being driven ‘furiously thro the Strand for a trifling Wager’. The post-chaise boy had

Exerted his Cruelty, by forcing his Spurs in a shocking Manner into the Sides of his Horse, so aggravated the enraged Beast, that he ... flung his inhuman Rider to a considerable Distance, and kicked down the other Horse, which was near killing some People that were standing on the Curb of the Pavement, and made his Way furiously down the Strand, to the Terror of some Numbers of Men, Women, and Children ... [this] impudent and barbarous Postillion ... ought to be severely handled for his Cruelty: And tis hoped that next Sessions of Parliament will put a Stop to Races in the streets of London.¹⁴³⁷

The post-chaise boy is deemed ‘barbarous’ and cruel not because he injures his horse but because he provokes the animal into causing an accident in a busy thoroughfare. When the second horse

¹⁴³² Donald, “Beastly sights”; Kean, *Animal Rights*, p.13; H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp.125-6.

¹⁴³³ R. Preece, ‘Thoughts out of season on the history of animal ethics’, *Society and Animals*, 15 (2007), pp.365, 368 & 370-71. R. Boddice, *A History of Attitudes and Behaviours Toward Animals in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain. Anthropocentrism and the Emergence of Animals* (Lewiston, NY, 2008).

¹⁴³⁴ Boddice, *A History of Attitudes*, pp.29 & 344.

¹⁴³⁵ Boddice, *A History of Attitudes*, p.15.

¹⁴³⁶ E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (New Haven & London, 2007), pp.142-49.

¹⁴³⁷ *Public Advertiser* (10/10/1766).

is kicked down, it is not this animal's pain which alarms, but the mortal threat posed to 'some People' stood nearby. Rather than meditating on the suffering of the horses, the correspondent is concerned by 'the Terror of ... Men, Women, and Children'.¹⁴³⁸

Little appears to have changed in this regard over the next sixty years. The 1828 parliamentary report into the State of Smithfield Market emphasises that concern for animal suffering was still remarkably underdeveloped in the metropolitan population.¹⁴³⁹ The 1820s were years in which both the treatment of livestock, and the organisation of Smithfield Market, received unprecedented attention. 'The Cruel Treatment of Cattle Act' (3 Geo. IV c.71) was passed in 1822 to 'prevent the cruel and improper Treatment' of horses, cattle and sheep.¹⁴⁴⁰ Two years later, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded and for several years focussed on policing the Act. These developments have generally been interpreted as the culmination of growing compassion for animal suffering but the Smithfield report, published shortly after, complicates this view. The report rejected proposals for removing the livestock market from Smithfield, while recommending a package of relatively modest improvements to its organisation. Of most value to historians, however, are its 78 witness testimonies.¹⁴⁴¹

Three quarters of witnesses gave their work place or home address, the vast majority of which were metropolitan. Just over a third of witnesses worked directly with livestock, mostly as slaughterers, butchers, graziers or salesmen.¹⁴⁴² But the greater part, 50 individuals, had no direct involvement. They included businessmen, Corporation of London professionals, surgeons, engineers, bankers, land agents, clergymen and gentlemen. Businessmen formed the largest group (25%) and included a draper, founder, druggist, cheesemonger, bookseller, cabinet maker and a tea merchant. And at least a fifth of witnesses were part of the bourgeoisie which historians have traditionally associated with the anti-cruelty movement.¹⁴⁴³ The 1828 report does not provide a comprehensive or balanced view of metropolitan attitudes – no women were interviewed and plebeian witnesses are heavily under-represented – but it does allow us to test certain assumptions made by historians.

¹⁴³⁸ *Public Advertiser* (10/10/1766).

¹⁴³⁹ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, Second Report from the Select Committee on the State of Smithfield Market (1828).

¹⁴⁴⁰ Public Act, 3 Geo IV. C.71 (1822).

¹⁴⁴¹ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006.

¹⁴⁴² Drovers were conspicuously under-represented, with only one witness called to give evidence.

¹⁴⁴³ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, p.20; only one witness admitted to being a member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty: John Ludd Fenner, a member of the Royal College of Surgeons; Fenner also gave evidence to a Committee in 1832 on the Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in which he explained his role in opposing baiting; *Reports from Committees, vol. 5: Session 6 December 1831-16 August 1832* (1831-32), pp.29-32.

Around half of witnesses responded to questions about cruelty to animals, while some expressed a view unprompted. Despite half of testimonials coming from the bourgeoisie, only three (4%) expressed a primary concern for cruelty to livestock. They were a surgeon and member of the SPCA; a City ‘bill broker’; and an army officer on half pay. These men complained that ‘drovers inflicted cruelty in a horrible way’, that ‘poor beasts’ came to the market ‘jaded and very much worn out’ and that the slaughtering process was ‘inconceivably dreadful and horrible’ and done ‘in any bungling cruel manner’. Yet, they also expressed concern for the order of the streets and public safety, suggesting that the issue of animal suffering struggled to stand on its own.¹⁴⁴⁴ Nearly a quarter of witnesses expressed some concern for animal suffering but appeared more anxious about nuisance, public safety and commercial interests. These complaints included bullocks breaking shop windows, frightening ladies and creating traffic jams; the loss of business caused by fear of cattle; drovers drinking and swearing; the deterioration of meat caused by drovers beating cattle; and blood from slaughterhouses dirtying the streets. Remarkably, a quarter of witnesses complained about these issues exclusively and expressed no concern for animal suffering. The 1828 Smithfield report emphasises that the anti-cruelty movement had gained relatively little support in metropolitan society. As Kean acknowledges, the ‘threat to order ... in a city defining itself as civilized’ was not just ‘another cause for complaint’, but by far the most important cause.¹⁴⁴⁵

The report also highlights the need to define the meaning of ‘cruelty’ in the Hanoverian period. One of the most striking aspects of the report is the tendency for committee members and witnesses to juxtapose ‘necessary’ and ‘wanton’ cruelty. This distinction jars with modern sensibilities but is central to understanding attitudes in this period. Samuel Johnson’s mid-eighteenth-century definition of ‘Cruelty’ as ‘Inhumanity; savageness; barbarity’ shows that its meaning was flexible. Moreover, Johnson defined ‘wanton’ as ‘Loose; unrestrained’; ‘wantonly’ as ‘carelessly’; and ‘wantonness’ as ‘negligence of restraint’.¹⁴⁴⁶ Thus, to accuse an individual of ‘wanton cruelty’ was to imply that, through carelessness or negligence of restraint, they had exceeded the parameters of ‘necessary cruelty’.

Of the 29 witnesses who expressed a view about the cruelty practised in the livestock trade, 59% described it as wholly ‘necessary’ while 41% described it as ‘necessary’ in some instances and ‘wanton’ in others. By contrast, no witnesses described Smithfield’s cruelty as wholly ‘wanton’. This reveals something fundamental about attitudes in Hanoverian London – a certain amount ‘cruelty’ was justified in the management of livestock. Some witnesses lamented the cruelties

¹⁴⁴⁴ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, pp.19-21; 34-35 & 55.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Kean, *Animal Rights*, p.61.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (1755-56).

inflicted on cattle but could see no way that ordinary men could avoid them as long as they were exposed to such challenging working conditions.¹⁴⁴⁷

The respectable committee member, Edward Protheroe, Esq., asserted that during a visit to the market ‘I saw instances of severity’ but none that ‘[I] considered very censurable, for the drovers were placed in the most harassing situations, in which had I myself been placed I should have acted with greater severity than they did’.¹⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, a land agent from Waterloo Road agreed with the statement that ‘though a humane man would under no circumstances commit ... those cruelties inflicted upon the cattle ... a man with ordinary feelings is almost necessitated by the crowded state of the market to commit them’.¹⁴⁴⁹ And a shoe warehouse keeper asserted that drovers used ‘as little cruelty as they can ... but if you can conceive men compelled to exercise this cruelty, they will not be very delicate of the manner in which they use it, after a length of time’.¹⁴⁵⁰ These views echo an observation made in the 1786 Old Bailey trial of two drovers, discussed above. The judge reminded the jury that ‘to the nature of their business some indulgence should be given; men like them fall into habits of unnecessary severity, very often without much malignity of heart’.¹⁴⁵¹

The above further complicates the idea that Hanoverian London witnessed the flowering of a new compassion for animals but it also asserts the need to move on from a binary approach which sets social relations against animal suffering. As I have suggested throughout this study, historians need to think much more about the complex and shifting dynamics of human-animal cooperation and the temporalities of treatment. This can only be achieved by looking beyond theoretical literature and considering evidence of tangible interactions. Rather than casting animals as passive victims on the one hand and metaphors on the other, this approach would help to unpack the dynamic role which non-human animal lives played in Hanoverian London, and other historical contexts.

¹⁴⁴⁷ It should be noted that many kinds of ‘direct force’ continue to be viewed as essential in the control of bovine behaviour, see Fraser, *Farm Animal Behaviour*, pp.88-96.

¹⁴⁴⁸ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, p.164.

¹⁴⁴⁹ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, p.25.

¹⁴⁵⁰ LMA, CLA/016/AD/02/006, p.16.

¹⁴⁵¹ OBSP, t17861025-37 (25/10/1786).

Abbreviations

- AHR *Agricultural History Review*
- EcHR *Economic History Review*
- GL Guildhall Archives, Guildhall Library, London
- JECS Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies
- LL London Lives (www.londonlives.org)
- LMA London Metropolitan Archives
- OBSP Old Bailey Sessions Papers (www.oldbaileyonline.org)
- P&P *Past & Present*
- PAL Parliamentary Archives, London
- PRO Public Record Office
- RAW Royal Archives, Windsor
- SA Sheffield Archives
- SHC Surrey History Centre, Woking
- SLHL Southwark Local History Library, London
- TAPS Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
- TNA The National Archives, Kew
- TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
- WCA Westminster City Archives

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Primary Sources

Birmingham Central Library

The Boulton & Watt Archive & the Matthew Boulton Papers (Microfilm, Adam Matthew Publications): Part 3: Engineering Drawings – Watt Engines of the Sun and Planet Type c.1775–1802.

British Library, London

BL, Add MSS 39683 Thomas Cooke, *Observations upon Brewing, Fermentation, and Distillation, with sundry remarks and observations upon erection of corn distillhouses, situation, conveniences, repairs, expences, etc* [apparently unpublished, c.1792?].

British Museum, London

Department of Prints & Drawings, Trade cards Banks 44.25, Draft trade card of J. Williams Junior, Coal Merchant (1790).

Department of Prints & Drawings, Trade cards Banks 93.29, Trade card of Charles Lillie, perfumer at 'The City of Barcelona', the corner of Beauford Buildings in the Strand, London (before 1736).

James Basire II, *Plan of the Brewhouse in Liquor-Pond Street* (hand-coloured engraving, 1796).

Essex Record Office, Chelmsford

D/DC 27/821 Indenture of co-partnership between Samuel Liptrap, malt-distiller, and John Milward, salesman (1780).

Guildhall Library, London

MS 4069/2 Cornhill Wardmote Inquest Minute Book, 1652–1733.

Closed Access Broadside 30.74, S.T Janssen, 'A Table Shewing the Number of Sheep and Black Cattle brought to Smithfield Market for the last 40 years' (undated).

CLC/210/E/006/MS22546, Papers relating to the regulation of carmen in the City of London (1690s-1790s).

CLC/210/E/002/MS12830, Volume of memoranda of carrooms (1664–1759).

CLC/210/E/003/MS12831, Carmen's affairs committee book, recording chiefly fines and receipts (1699–1757).

CLC/210/E/004/MS12832/001 & 002, Carrooms receipt books (1665-1716) & (1751–1837).

CLC/210/E/005/MS12833/001-015, Carroom licence books (1665–1837).

Lambeth Archives, London

- P/S/13/3 'Streatham Militia' (1796–98) & IV/161, 'Loyal Lambeth Volunteers Minutes' (26 July 1803–26 June 1804).
- P/S/13/19 St Leonard's, Streatham, Assessments for taxes on houses and Windows...four-wheeled carriages; riding and carriage horses; horses used in husbandry and trade; mules.' (6 April 1800–5 April 1801).
- IV/4/178 Graham Papers, 'Family Chronicle', 1 vol. (1 March 1818–27 February 1819).

London Metropolitan Archives

- ACC/2558/NR1/1 & 2 New River Company Minute Book of Weekly Meetings and General Courts 'A' (1769–78) & (1778–86).
- ACC/2558/MW/C/15/341/010 New River Company, Letter from Richard Cheffins to the Board of Directors (3/4/1806).
- ACC/2305/01/834 Plan of Thrale's Estate, 1774.
- ACC/2305/1/159/1 Courage, Barclays & Simonds Rest Book, 1780.
- ACC/1017/0944 Diary of John Eliot (III) of London, Underwriter (1757).
- ACC/4453/B/12/002 Whitbread Brewery Rest Book (1800).
- B/THB/B/3-11 Truman Brewery Rest Books, 1759–80 & 1790–1813.
- ACC/2305/1/1300 Courage, Barclay & Simonds Stable Book (Sept 1827–April 1839).
- CLA/004/02 Mansion House Justice Room Minute Books (1784–1821).
- CLA/005/001 Guildhall Justice Room Minute Books (1752–96).
- CLA/016/AD/02/011 'Substance of the Cutting Butchers Petition ... for an alteration of Smithfield Market from Friday to Thursday' (20/12/1796).
- CLA/016/AD/01/003 'Substance of Smithfield Market Bill now before Parliament ... for enlarging and improving Market-Place' (1813).
- CLA/016/FN/01/04 Dues Collected at Smithfield Market (1777–1817).
- CLA/016/AD/02/006 'Second Report from the Select Committee on the State of Smithfield Market' (1828).

CLA/016/FN/01/007	Rough Weekly Account: tolls collected (1727–28).
CLA, 041/IQ/02	Coroner's Inquest Papers, City of London & Southwark (1788–1837).
CLA/015/AD/02/032	Warrants for payments to constables and others for the apprehension and prosecution of persons, not being employed to drive cattle, for the 'hunting away' of bullocks (Oct–Dec 1789).
CLA/006/AD/04/004	Minutes of the Commissioners of Sewers and Pavements of the City of London (1766–97).
COL/CCS/PL/02/464	'Rough plan of premises on the West side of Grub Street and South side of Chiswell street adjoining Mr Whitbread's Brewhouse' (undated).
COL/SJ/06/041-69	Transport: records relating to the Fellowship of Carmen, carmen and carts (1600s–1800s).
COL/SP/05/084	Order of Court of Aldermen that persons who bring in stray cattle shall give their true name and address to the Keeper of the Green-Yard and shall not be rewarded until 48 hours later; to prevent vagrant persons from driving cattle from fields to the Green Yard and giving fictitious names (14/3/1731/2).
DL/C/271f.198	London Consistory Court Hearing, John Cotton (11/2/1736).
DL/C/266f.142	London Consistory Court Hearing, William Black (9/6/1729).
F/WHB/001	Diary of William Hugh Burgess (Jan 1788–June 1789).
HFCS / 4 / 18	Holborn & Finsbury Commission of Sewers and Pavements, Minutes (1763–98).
HFCS / 11	Holborn & Finsbury Commission of Sewers: Extracts from minutes, copies of warrants, etc (1683–88).
MJ/SP	Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justice's Working Documents (1550–1903) (see online resources below).
MJ/SP/C/E	Coroner's Inquest Papers, Middlesex East district (1747, 1777–1838; with many gaps).
MJ /SP/C/W	Coroner's Inquest Papers, Middlesex West District (1753–1842; with many gaps).
MR/L/SB/001	Register of licences to slaughter horses and other cattle (Aug 1786–Jan 1822).

- MR/LSB/5 Book kept by Richard Hubbard, inspector for slaughtering horses &c in St John the Evangelist, Westminster (8 July 1799–31 Oct 1801).
- MS/11936-7 Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers (1710–1863).
- P92/SAV/0444 'A survey and valuation of all the lands, buildings, houses, tenements and hereditaments within the parish of Saint Saviour Southwark pursuant to two orders of vestry of the 2nd and 16th days of October 1806 by John Middleton, Lambeth and Thomas Swithin' (1807).
- P97/MRY/49-51 Woolwich Vestry Minutes (1698–1855).
- SC/GL/TCC/Gibbons (W) Memorandum of Southwark cow-keeper, William Gibbons (Sept 1783).
- SC/GL/TCC/Prockter Trade card of Prockter, ass-keeper (1775).
- SC/GL/TCC/Parker Trade card of Parker, ass-keeper (1754).
- SC/GL/TCC/Farr Trade card of George Farr, Grocer, Wood Street, near Cheapside (c.1760).
- THCS/4/014 Tower Hamlets Commission of Sewers Minutes (1749–53).
- Prints collection Charles White after anon, *View of the River Thames from the end of Chelsea* (engraving, 1794).

Museum of English Rural Life, Reading

- SR RASE/B/I-XIII Board of Agriculture, Minute & Letter Books (1793–1822).

Nichols Archive Project, University of Leicester

- Diary of Mary Nichols (1813–1870).

Parliamentary Archives, London

- HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/4 Islington to Paddington Road Bill: 'Petition of inhabitants of Parishes of Saint Andrews Holborn, Saint Georges Bloomsbury and Saint Giles's in the Fields' (6/4/1756).
- HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/5 Islington to Paddington Road Bill: 'Petition of the Inhabitants of Saint George Hanover Square, St James Westminster, Saint Ann Soho, Paddington and Saint Marylebone' (6/4/1756).
- HL/PO/JO/10/3/250/14 Islington to Paddington Road Bill: 'Petition of the Graziers, Salesmen, Butchers, Drovers and Dealers in Cattle who attend Smithfield Market (9/4/1756).

Parliamentary Papers 'Report from the Select Committee on the Hackney Coach Office', vol.10 (1830).

The National Archives, Kew

PRO / T1 / 795 Memorial of Hackney Coach Masters (15/12/1797).

PRO, ADM 112/162 Navy Board: Office of Surveyor of Victuals and Victualling Office: Contract Ledger (1776).

PRO, ADM 110/9 Navy Board: Victualling Office: Out-letters: letter book (1722–1727).

PRO, CUST 48/17 Excise Board and Secretariat: Entry Books of Correspondence with Treasury (1763–68).

PROB, 11/581 Edmund Lydgold, Brick maker (and farmer) of St Leonard Shoreditch (2/9/1721).

PROB, 111273 James Haygarth, Brickmaker of St Pancras (6/4/1796).

PROB 2 Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Inventories compiled before 1661 (1417–1668).

PROB 4 Engrossed Inventories Exhibited from 1660 (1660–1720).

C5/240/16 Court of Chancery: Six Clerks Office: Pleadings, 'Foxley et al v. John Read et al' (1707).

TNA, J90/13 Thomas Bridge, 'Diary', 26 vols. (1760–1809).

TNA, KB/10/ 'Court of King's Bench: Crown Side: London & Middlesex Indictment Files' (1675–1845).

Royal Archives, Windsor (RAW)

Mews/Proc/Mixed King's Mews 'Precedence Book' (1760–1805).

An Account of all the Stables in his Majesty's Mews at Charing Cross and by whom they were occupied in the year 1766.

A List of all the Coach Houses in his Majestys Mews and of the persons by whom they are occupied in the year 1768.

Sheffield Archives (SA)

WWM/R/2A/33 List of horses and Stable Staff (1755).

WWM/A/1228 Inventory & appraisalment (1782–84).

WWM/A/1278 Inventory of Grosvenor Square (5/5/1751).

- WWM/A/1296 Isaac Charlton's London household disbursements (1780–82).
- WWM/A/1391/b Discharges of Cash by Samuel Dutoit, (1766–67).
- WWM/A/1300 Weekly Abstract, tradesmens bills on house and stables, London (1775–82).
- WWM/A/1380 Benjamin Hall's Memoranda Book (1772–84).
- WWM/Stw P/6/1 Correspondence of Benjamin Hall (1772–78).

Surrey History Centre, Woking (SHC)

- QS2/6 Surrey Quarter Sessions: Sessions Bundles (1701–1888).

Southwark Local History Library, London (SLHL)

- 2536 Parish of St Giles Camberwell vestry minutes (29 Oct–5 Nov 1789)

Westminster City Archives, London (WCA)

- STJ/D/1/8/1761 St James's Piccadilly Vestry Minute Book, vol.6 (1750–60).
- CD/MV/362010177 Parish of St Clement Danes Minutes (3/10/1799).
- St Marylebone Rate Books (1777–78).

Online Resources

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, www.oldbaileyonline.org

Old Bailey Sessions Papers (OBSP) (1674–1913).

London Lives (LL), www.londonlives.org

- SM/PS Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justice's Working documents (1690–1799).
- WACW/IC Westminster Coroner's Inquests (1760–99). Archive held by Westminster Abbey Muniments, London.

- SM/GO/400000233 Middlesex Sessions: General Orders of the Court: 'That when the Justices do receive Informations upon Oath that Swine are kept contrary to Law, That then Warrents be made out and given into the hands of the Church wardens, Overseers of the Poor, or Constables to Search for any Such Swine that may be so kept fed or bred within any part

of the houses or beck sides of the Paved Streets in Such Parishes where the houses are contiguous, and such Swine so found to take drive away and Sell, and the Money arising to be applied as the Statute directs' (6/12/1720).

- SM/GO/556030027 Middlesex Sessions: General Orders of the Court: 'order for suppressing and preventing Mischiefs Riots and Affrays occasioned by Bull baiting near the Pound in Old Street' (6/9/1753).
- SM/PS/501900086, Middlesex Sessions Papers, Justices Working Documents: 'An Abstract of the Forfeitures and Penalties to be levy'd upon the Inhabitants and Others, for Offences done, contrary to the Acts of Parliament, now in Force, for Paving and Cleansing the Streets, Etc' (December 1720).
- WR/PP/1784 & 1788 Westminster Quarter Sessions: Enrolment, Registration and Deposit: St. Margaret Westminster and St. John Westminster Poll Books (1784) & (1788).

17th–18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers (British Library; Gale Digital Collections).

Published Primary Sources

Unless otherwise stated, place of publication is London.

Newspapers, Periodicals and Printed Ephemera

Common Sense or The Englishman's Journal (1737–43).

Country Journal or The Craftsman (1727–50).

Daily Advertiser (1731–96).

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser (1754–64).

Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser (1764–96).

General Evening Post (1735–1800).

Lloyd's Evening Post (1762–97).

London Chronicle (1757–1800).

London Evening Post (1727–99).

Post Man and Historical Account (1695–1729).

Public Advertiser (1752–93).

Public Ledger (1761–98).

Read's Weekly Journal (1730–61).

St James's Chronicle (1761–1800).

Whitehall Evening Post (1746–1800).

Morning Post & Fashionable World (1794–97).

Oracle & Daily Advertiser (1798–1800).

World (1787–94).

Penny London Post or the Morning Advertiser (1744–51).

The Examiner (1808–86).

A Collection of the yearly bills of mortality, from 1657 to 1758 inclusive (1759).

The Sportsman, 2nd series, vol.5 (1841).

The Beauties of all the Magazines Selected (1764).

The Bull-Finch. Being a choice collection of the newest and most favourite English songs which have been sett to music and sung at the public theatres and gardens (1760).

The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal, vol.1 (1837–38).

The Gentleman's Magazine (1760).

The London Companion (1773).

The Monthly Magazine and British Register Part I: 1798, vol. v. (1798).

The Penny Magazine Supplement, vol.10 (March 1841).

The Quarterly Review (1854).

The Sporting Magazine or Monthly Calendar (1798).

Sporting Magazine (1792–1870), vol.27 (1806).

The Universal Magazine (1809).

The Westminster Magazine, vol.6 (1/3/1778).

Directories

The London Directory (1776).

Anon, *The Universal British directory of trade and commerce; Comprehending lists of the inhabitants of London, Westminster, and borough of Southwark; and of all the cities, towns, and principal villages, in England and Wales; with the mails, and other coaches, stage-waggons, hoys, packets, and trading vessels, to which is added, a genuine account of the drawbacks and duties chargeable at the custom-house on all goods and merchandize, imported, exported, or carried coastwise with a particular of the public offices of every denomination; His Majesty's court, and minister of state; the peers of the realm, and Parliament of Great-Britain, the court of lord-mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and common-council of London; together with an historical and particular detail of the trade, polity, and the nobleman, the gentleman, and man of business* (1790).

Parliamentary Publications

The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Times, vol. 26 (1812).

Journal of the House of Commons, vol.23: 1737–1741.

Journal of the House of Commons, vol.51: 1795–1796.

Journals of the House of Commons, vol.61: 1805–1806.

House of Commons Papers, vol.14: 1830–31.

Public Acts

5 & 6 Edward VI, c.12 *Against Regrators, Ingrossers and Forestallers* (1552).

31 Eliz I, cap.12 *To avoyde Horse stealinge* (1588).

1 Geo II, Stat.2, c.52 *For better regulating Hackney Coaches, Carts, Dray and Waggon within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the weekly Bills of Mortality* (1715).

13 Geo II, c.19 *To restrain and prevent the excessive Increase of Horse Races* (1740).

14 Geo II, c.6 s.2 *Theft of Cattle* (1741).

14 Geo II, c.34 *Theft of Sheep and Oxen* (1742).

24 Geo II, c.43 *For the more effectual preventing of Mischiefs occasioned by the Drivers riding upon Carts, Drays, Carrs, and Waggon, in the City of London, and within Ten Miles thereof* (1750).

29 Geo II, c.88 *Paddington to Islington New Road* (1756).

30 Geo II, c.22 *To explain and amend an Act made in the eighteenth Year of His present Majesty's Reign, to prevent the Misbehaviour of the Drivers of Carts in the Streets in London, Westminster and the Limits of the Weekly Bills of Mortality* (1757).

2 Geo III, c.21 *Westminster Paving* (1762).

3 Geo III, c.23 *Westminster Paving* (1763).

4 Geo III, c.39 *Westminster Paving* (1764).

5 Geo III, c.50 *Westminster Paving* (1765).

6 Geo III, c.26 *City of London Paving* (1766).

6 Geo III, c.54 *Westminster Paving* (1766).

8 Geo III, c.21 *City of London Paving* (1768).

9 Geo III, c.89 *For making a Road from the South End of Blackfriars Bridge to the present Turnpike Road cross Saint George's Fields* (1768).

- 12 Geo III, c. 71 *Repeal of Certain Laws* (1772).
- 21 Geo III, c.67 *Driving of Cattle, Metropolis* (1781).
- 26 Geo III, c.131 *For making, widening and keeping in repair certain roads in the several parishes of Lambeth, Newington, St George Southwark* (1786).
- 29 Geo III, c.49 *Duties on Horses and Carriage* (1789).
- 42 Geo III, c.89 *Lands for Ordnance Services, Woolwich* (1802).
- 43 Geo III, c.35 *Lands for Ordnance Services, Woolwich* (1803).
- 44 Geo III, c.107 *Purchase for Ordnance Service* (1804).
- 50 Geo III, c.191 *Extinguishing rights of common; improvement of in St. George's Fields* (1810).
- 52 Geo III, c.211 *Improvement of Saint George's Fields* (1812).
- 3 Geo IV, c.71 *The Cruel Treatment of Cattle* (1822).

Acts of Common Council, City of London

'An Act for settling of Lay-Stalls, preventing several Inconveniences to Passengers, and relating also to the cleansing of the Streets and Passages within this City and the Liberties thereof' (27/10/1671) in John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster: Containing The Original, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate and Government of those Cities Written at first in the Year MDXCVIII by John Stow ... Since Reprinted and Augmented ... By John Strype* (1720), Appendix 1: Ch.8, pp.45-50.

Published contemporary works

(Unless otherwise stated, place of publication is London)

Adams, John, *An Analysis of Horsemanship: teaching the whole art of riding* (1805).

Allen, Zachariah, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts ... Or the Practical Tourist*, 2 vols. (1833).

Anderson, Adam, *An Historical & Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, 4 vols. (1787).

Angelo, Henry, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo with Memoirs of His Late Father and Friends*, 2 vols. (1830).

Anon, *Advice to Sportsmen, Rural or Metropolitan* (1809).

Anon, 'A day at a London dairy', *Penny Magazine*, vol.10 (1841).

Anon, *A Dissertation on Mr. Hogarth's six prints lately published, viz. Gin-Lane, Beer-Street, and the Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751).

Anon, *An Essay on hunting. By a Country Squire* (1733).

Anon, *An Impartial Enquiry into the Present State of the British Distillery; Plainly demonstrating the Evil Consequences of imposing any Additional Duties on British Spirits* (1736).

Anon., *The busy bee, or, vocal repository. Being a selection of the most favourite songs &c. contained in the English operas, that have been sung at the public gardens, and written for select societies ...* 3 vols. (London, 1790?).

Anon, *The Corn Distillery, stated to the consideration of the landed interest of England* (1783).

Anon, 'Cows for the supply of London', *Annals of Agriculture*, 21 (1793).

Anon, *Fitz-Stephen's Description of the City of London, newly translated from the Latin original; with a necessary commentary ... By an antiquary* (1772).

Anon, *HORSE and AWAY to St. JAMES'S PARK OR, a Trip for the Noontide Air. Who Rides Fastest, Miss KITTY FISHER, or her GAY GALLANT.* (No publisher, no date).

Anon., *How to Live in London; or, the metropolitan microscope, and stranger's guide ... containing hints to the unwary* (1828).

Anon, *Letters from an Irish student in England to his father in Ireland*, 2 vols. (1809).

Anon, *Monopoly. The cutting butchers appeal to the legislature upon the high price of meat: in which many of the base practices of Smithfield market are exposed* (1795).

Anon, *Museum Rusticum et Commercial: or, select papers on agriculture, commerce, arts, and manufactures*, 6 vols. (1764–66).

Anon., *The Juvenile Adventures of Miss Kitty F---r.*, 2 vols. (1759).

Anon, *The Laird and Farmer. a dialogue upon farming, trade, cookery, and their method of living in Scotland, balanc'd with that of England* (1740).

Anon, *The Red Cow's Speech, To a Milk-Woman, In St. J---S's P----K* (c.1750).

Adams, William Bridges, *English Pleasure Carriages* (1837).

Bacon, Matthew, *A new abridgment of the law by a gentleman of the Middle Temple*, 5 vols. (1736).

Barbauld, Anna Letitia, *The Mouse's Petition* (written, 1771; published 1792).

Bath and West of England Society, *Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting &c. selected from the Correspondence of the Bath and West of England Society for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce* (7 vols., Bath, 1795).

Beighton, H., 'A Description of the Water-Works at London-Bridge, explaining the Draught of Tab. I', *Philosophical Transactions*, vol.37 (1731–32), pp.5-12.

Bell, James, *A System of Geography*, 6 vols. (Glasgow, 1832).

- Bell, Thomas, *A History of British Quadrupeds* (1837).
- Berenger, Richard, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, 2 vols. (1771).
- Blackstone, William, *Commentaries on the laws of England*, 4 vols. (4th edn., Oxford, 1770).
- Booth, David, *An Analytical Dictionary of the English Language* (1835).
- Boswell, James, *The Journal of a tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (Dublin, 1785).
- *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791; Ware, 2008).
- Bosworth, Newton, *The Accidents of Human Life; With hints for their Prevention, Or the Removal of their Consequences* (1813).
- Bracken, Henry, *The traveller's pocket-farrier: or a treatise upon the distempers and common incidents happening to horses upon a journey* (1743).
- *Farriery Improved; or a complete treatise on the art of farriery ... To which is prefixed ten minutes advice to the purchasers of horses* (12th edn., 1792).
- Bradley, Richard, *The Gentleman and Farmer's Guide for the Increase and Improvement of Cattle* (2nd edn., 1732).
- *A General Description Of All Trades, Digested In Alphabetical Order* (1747).
- *The Complete Grazier* (2nd edn., 1767).
- Brewster, David, *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (Philadelphia, 1832).
- Burney, Fanny, *Evelina* (1778; Oxford, 2008).
- Brooke, Richard, *Liverpool as it was During the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century, 1775 to 1800* (1853).
- Brown, Joseph, *The circus; or, British olympicks. A satyr on the ring in Hyde-Park* (1709).
- Brown, Robert, *The Compleat Farmer* (1759).
- Bunbury, Henry, *An Academy for Grown Horsemen* (1787).
- Burdon, William, *Capt. Burdon's Gentleman's Pocket Farrier* (1730).
- Burrow, Reuben, *A companion to The Ladies diary, for the year 1781 containing aenigmas, reburses, &c.* (1781).
- Campbell, Robert, *The London Tradesman* (1747).
- Carter, Charles, *Instructions for Ladies in Riding ... As given at his Riding House in Chapel Street ...* (1783).
- Caulfield, James, *Blackguardiana; or, a dictionary of rogues, bawds, pimps, whores, pickpockets, shoplifters* (1793).

Cavendish, William, *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention, to Dress Horses* (1667).

Cheyne, George, *An Essay of Health and London Life* (5th edn., 1724).

Clarke, Cuthbert, *The True Theory and Practice of Husbandry* (1777).

Clark, James, *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases Incidental to Horses* (Edinburgh, 1788).

Coleman, George, *The Jealous Wife. A comedy, by George Coleman, adapted for theatrical representation, as performed at the Theatres-Royal, Drury-Lane and Covent Garden.* (London, 1792).

Cook, Col. John, *Observations on Fox Hunting and the Management of Hounds in the Kennel and the Field* (London, 1826).

Cowper, William, *The Diverting History of John Gilpin: Showing How he Went Farther than he Intended, and came safe home again* (1782).

——— *The Task* (1785).

Culley, George, *Observations on Live Stock; containing hints for choosing and improving the best breeds of the most useful kinds of domestic animals* (2nd edn., 1794).

Cooke, George, *The Complete English Farmer* (c.1775).

Cumberland, Richard, *The observer: being a collection of moral, literary and familiar essays ...*, 5 vols. (1786).

Cunningham, Peter, *Hand Book of London* (1849).

Curwen, John Christian, *Hints on Agricultural Subjects and on the Best Means of Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes* (2nd edn., 1809).

Daniel, Rev. William, *Rural Sports* (1802).

Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year: Being Observations or Memorials, Of the most Remarkable Occurrences, As Well Publick as Private, Which happened in London During the last Great Visitation In 1665. Written by a citizen who continued all the while in London* (1722).

——— *The complete English tradesman in familiar letters* (1726–27).

Dickens, Charles, *Household Words: A Weekly Journal*, vol.2 (New York, 1851).

Dodd, George, *The Food of London* (1856).

The Domestic Enclopaedia; Or, A Dictionary of Facts, And Useful Knowledge, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1803).

Dunster, Charles, *St. James's Street, a poem, in blank verse. By Marmaduke Milton, Esq.* (1790).

D'Urfey, Tom, *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1719).

Earwaker, J.P. (ed.), *The Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester*, 12 vols. (Manchester, 1884–90).

——— *The Constables' Accounts of the Manor of Manchester from the year 1612 to the year 1647 and from the year 1743 to the year 1776*, 3 vols. (Manchester, 1891–92).

Egan, Pierce, *Sporting anecdotes, original and selected; including numerous characteristic portraits of persons in every walk of life, who have acquired notoriety from their achievements on the turf, at the table, and in the diversions of the field* (1820).

——— *Life in London: or, the day and night scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, esq. and his elegant friend Corinthian Tom, accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in their rambles and sprees through the metropolis* (1821).

Ellis, William, *The practical farmer: or, the Hertfordshire husbandman: containing many new improvements in husbandry* (1732).

——— *The second part of the timber-tree improved* (1742).

——— *The London and Country Brewer* (1744).

Elmes, James, *Metropolitan improvements: or, London in the nineteenth century, displayed in a series of engravings of the new buildings, improvements, &c* (1829).

——— *A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs* (1831).

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Edinburgh, 1842).

Farey, John, *A Treatise on the Steam Engine, historical, practical and descriptive* (1827).

Feltham, John, *The Picture of London for 1807* (1807).

Fielding, Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Late Increase of Robbers, &c. with some Proposals for Remedying this Growing Evil* (1751).

Gaspey, William, *Tallis's illustrated London* (1851).

Gavin, Hector, *Sanitary Ramblings: Being Sketches and Illustrations of Bethnal Green* (1848).

Gay, John, *Trivia: or, the art of walking the streets of London* (1716).

Goldsmith, Oliver, *The Disserted Village* (1770).

——— *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature*, 8 vols. (1774).

Gordon, William J. *The Horse World of London* (1893; Gloucester, 2009).

Great Britain Coal Commission, *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the several matters relating to coal in the United Kingdom*, vol.1: general report and twenty-two sub-reports (London, 1871).

Gregory, George, *New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, 3 vols. (1819).

Grose, Francis, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785).

Gwynn, John, *London and Westminster Improved, illustrated by plans* (1766).

Hall, Philippina, *Portraits, characters, pursuits, and amusements of the Present Fashionable World, interspersed with poetic flights of fancy* (London, 1785?).

Hanway, Jonas, *A Letter to Mr. John Spranger, On his excellent Proposal for Paving, Cleansing, and lighting the Streets of the Westminster, and the Parishes in Middlesex* (1754).

Harris, George, *The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwick; with selections from his correspondence, diaries, speeches, and judgements*, 3 vols. (1847).

Hawkins, William, *A Treatise of the Pleas of the Crown; or, a System of the Principal Matters relating to that subject*, 2 vols. (4th edn., 1762).

Holman, J.G., *Abroad and at Home. A comic opera, in three acts. Now performing at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden* (1796).

Horne, Thomas Hartwell, *Crosby's complete pocket gazetteer of England and Wales* (1815).

Houghton, John, *A collection for the improvement of husbandry and trade* (1st published, 1692–1703; 1727–28).

Hughson, David, *London; being an accurate history and description of the British Metropolis and its neighbourhood*, 6 vols. (1809).

Hughes, Charles, *The Compleat Horseman; Or, The Art of Riding Made Easy* (1772).

Jacob, Giles, *Every man his own lawyer; or, a summary of the laws of England in a new and instructive method* (2nd edn., 1737).

James, William & Malcolm, Jacob, *State of the Agriculture of Surrey* (1794).

Jenner, Charles, *Town eclogues* (1772).

Johnson, Samuel, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1771).

Jones, Erasmus, *The Man of Manners: or, Plebeian Polish'd*, (2nd edn., 1737).

J.T. of Bristol, *An Impartial Inquiry Into The Benefits and Damages Arising to the Nation from the present very great Use of Low-priced Spiritous Liquors* (1751).

Kearsley, George, *Kearsley's annual eight-penny tax tables, for the year 1795* (1795).

Kemble, Frances Anne, *Records of a Girlhood* (New York, 1879).

Knight, Charles, *Knight's cyclopaedia of London* (1851).

Knox, Vicesimus, *Winter evenings: or, lucubrations on life and letters*, 2 vols. (1790).

Lawrence, John, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses, and on the moral duties of man towards the brute creation*, 2 vols. (1796–98).

——— *The Horse in all his Varieties and Uses; his breeding, rearing, and management, whether in labour or rest; with rules, occasionally interspersed, for his preservation from disease* (1829).

Leclerc, Georges-Louis, comte de Buffon, *Natural history, general and particular*, trans. William Smellie, 9 vols. (2nd edn., 1785).

- Legg, Thomas, *Low Life: or, one half of the world, knows not how the other half live* (3rd edn., 1764).
- Lewis, Samuel, *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, 4 vols. (1831).
- Lisle, Edward, *Observations in Husbandry*, 2 vols. (1757).
- Llandover, Lady (ed.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delaney*, 6 vols., (1862).
- Locke, John, *An essay concerning human understanding* (1690).
- The London Encyclopaedia or universal dictionary of science, art, literature and practical mechanics*, 22 vols. (1829).
- Lucas, Joseph (trans.), *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his way to America in 1748* (1892).
- Luckombe, Philip, *The beauties of England comprehended in a pocket volume* (1788).
- Lysons, Daniel, *The Environs of London: being an historical account of the towns, villages, and hamlets, within twelve miles of that capital; interspersed with biographical anecdotes*, 4 vols. (1795–[96]).
- Masson, David (ed.), *The Collected Writings of Thomas de Quincey*, 14 vols. (Edinburgh, 1889–90).
- McCulloch, J.R., *A Statistical Account of the British Empire*, 2 vols. (2nd edn., 1839).
- Magnae Britannia, *The Whole Being More Comprehensive and Instructive than Camden or any Author on the Subject* (1738).
- Maitland, William, *The History and Survey of London From its Foundation to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (3rd edn., 1760).
- Mandeville, Bernard, *The Fable of the Bees: or, private vices publick benefit* (3rd edn., 1724).
- Marshall, William, *Minutes of Agriculture; with experiments and observations concerning agriculture and the weather* (1783).
- *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire. Comprizing the management of landed estates, and the present practice of husbandry in the agricultural districts of that county*, 2 vols. (1788).
- Martin, Benjamin, *The general magazines of Arts and sciences, philosophical, mathematical, and mechanical*, 14 vols. (1765).
- Massie, J[oseph], *An Essay on the many Advantages accruing to the Community, from the superior neatness, Conveniences, Decorations and Embellishments of Great and Capital Cities* (1754).
- Matthews, William, *Hydraulica, an historical and descriptive account of the water works of London* (1835).
- Mayhew, Henry, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. (1851–62).

Middleton, John, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex; with observations on the means of its improvement* (1798).

Misson, Henri, *Memoirs and observations in his travels over England*, trans. John Ozell (1719).

Mortimer, John, *The whole art of husbandry, or, the way of managing and improving of land. Being a full collection of what hath been writ, either by ancient or modern authors: with many additional of new experiments and improvements, not treated of by any others. As also, an account of the particular sorts of husbandry used in several counties; with proposals for its farther improvement* (1707).

Moser, Joseph, *The Adventures of Timothy Twig, Esq. in a series of poetical epistles*, 2 vols. (1794).

Nelson, John, *The History, Topography, and Antiquities of the Parish of St. Mary Islington* (1811).

Nichols, John Bowyer (ed.), *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: with Essays on His Life and Genius* (1833).

Nightingale, Joseph, *London and Middlesex; or, an historical, commercial & descriptive survey of the metropolis of Great Britain*, 3 vols. (1815).

Nimrod [C.J. Apperley], *The Chace, The Turf, and the Road* (1843).

Grosley, Pierre Jean, *A Tour to London: or, new observations on England, and its inhabitants. By M. Grosley, F.R.S. Member of the Royal Academies of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*, (trans.), Thomas Nugent, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1772).

O' Keefe, John, *The farmer: a comic opera. In two acts. As it is performed at the Theatres Royal in London and Dublin* (Dublin, 1789).

Parker, George, *A view of society and manners in high and low life; being the adventures in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France &c of Mr. G. Parker* (1781).

Parkinson, Richard, *Treatise on the breeding & management of livestock*, 2 vols. (1810).

Pennant, Thomas, *British zoology. Class I. quadrupeds. II. birds*, 4 vols. (1768).

——— *Of London* (1790).

Philo-Pegasus, *Eclipse Races, (addressed to the Ladies:) Being an impartial account of the celestial coursers and their riders* (1764).

Pictet, Marc-Auguste, *Voyage de Trois Mois, en Angleterre, en Écosse et en Irlande* (Geneva, 1802).

Pigot & Co, *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1826-27* (1827).

Primatt, Humphry, *The Duty of Mercy and the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals* (1776).

Ralph, James, *A Critical Review of the Public Buildings, statues and ornaments in, and about London and Westminster* (1734).

The Repertory of Arts, Manufactures, And Agriculture. Consisting of original communications, specifications of patent inventions, practical and interesting papers, selected from the philosophical transactions and scientific journals of all nations. Monthly intelligence relating to the useful arts, proceedings of learned societies, and notices of all patents granted for inventions, 1st series, vol. 10 (1799) & 2nd series, vol.15 (1805).

Rich, George A., 'Leather-Making', *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York, 1892).

Richardson, Charles, *A New Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, 1839).

Rimell Dunbar, J., *Park Riding with Some Remarks on the Art of Horsemanship* (1859).

Rothwell, Arthur, *Arthur Rothwell, per-fumer, at the Civet-cat and Rose. In New Bond Street, Lon-don (Late partner with Mr. James Smyth). Imports, makes and sells ... all sorts of perfumes, snuffs, &c.* (1740).

Salmon, Thomas, *Modern history: or, the present state of all nations*, 11 vols. (1732).

Saunier, Jean de, *A Guide to the Perfect Knowledge of Horses: Wherein Every thing necessary for the Choice, Management and Preservation of that Noble and Useful Animal are clearly laid down* (1769).

Simond, Louis, *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain, during the Years 1810 and 1811*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1817).

Sinclair, Sir John, *The History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire, Part 3* (1790).

——— 'Observations on the means of enabling a cottager to keep a cow', *Annals of Agriculture*, 37 (1801), pp.225-45.

Smith, Charlotte Turner, *Marchmont: a novel*, 4 vols. (1796).

Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, *The transactions of the Society, instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, vols.1-45* (1783-1843).

Speed, Adolphus, *The Husbandman, Farmer and Grasier's Compleat Instructor* (1697).

Stephen, Sir George, *The Adventures of a Gentleman in Search of a Horse, by Caveat Emptor* (1835).

Strype, John, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster: Containing The Original, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate and Government of those Cities Written at first in the Year MDXCVIII by John Stow ... Since Reprinted and Augmented ... By John Strype* (1720).

Stuart, James, *Critical Observations on the Buildings and Improvements of London* (2nd edn., 1771).

Surtees, Robert Smith, *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities: the hunting, shooting, racing, driving, sailing, eccentric and extravagant exploits of that renowned sporting citizen, Mr. John Jorrocks* (1838; 2nd edn., 1843).

Swift, Jonathan, *Travels into several remote nations of the world, in four parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, first a surgeon, and then a captain of several ships* (1726; revised 1735).

- *Directions to Servants* (1745; London, 2003).
- Taplin, William, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory: or, modern system of farriery*, 2 vols. (1788).
- *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery* (1796).
- The Annual Register, or a view of the history, politicks, and literature, of the year 1760* (1761).
- The Druid' [H.H. Dixon], *Scott & Sebright* (London, 1862).
- Thicknesse, Ann, *A letter from Miss—d, addresses to a Person of Distinction* (1761).
- Thompson, James, *The seasons* (1726-30, revised 1744).
- Thornton, William, *A New, Complete and Universal History, Description and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1784).
- Timbs, John, *Curiosities of London: exhibiting the most rare and remarkable objects of interest in the metropolis* (1868).
- Trusler, John, *The Progress of Man and Society* (1791).
- Wallis, Thomas, *The Farrier's and Horseman's Dictionary* (1767).
- Watkins, George, *The Complete English Brewer; or, the whole art and mystery of brewing* (2nd edn., 1770).
- John Wesley, *The Character of a Methodist* (3rd edn., 1766).
- *A Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation or a Compendium of Natural Philosophy*, 3 vols. (1770).
- *Sermons on Several Occasions* (1788).
- *Primitive Physic: or, An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases* (24th edn., 1792).
- *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, 4 vols. (1827).
- Whittaker, G. B., *The History of Paris from the earliest period to the present day* (3 vols., 1827).
- Williams, John, *An Historical Account of Sub-ways in the British Metropolis, for the flow of pure water and gas into the houses of the inhabitants, without disturbing the pavements including the projects in 1824 and 1825* (1828).
- Wilson, Thomas, *Distilled Spiritous Liquors the Bane of the Nation: being some considerations humbly offer'd to the legislature* (1736).
- Youatt, William, *The Horse; with a treatise on draught* (1831).
- *Cattle; Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases* (1834).
- Young, Arthur (ed.), *Annals of Agriculture*, 45 vols. (1784–1809).

Edited Primary Sources

Allen, John, *Leaves from the Past: The Diary of John Allen Sometime Brewer of Wapping 1757–1808* (ed.), Charles Young Sturge (Bristol & London, 1905).

Aspinall, A. (ed.), *The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770-1812*, 8 vols. (London, 1963–71).

Bentham, Jeremy, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789; Oxford, 1907).

Berg, Torsten & Berg, Peter (trans.), *RR. Angerstein's Illustrated Travel Diary, 1753–1755: Industry in England and Wales from a Swedish Perspective* (London, 2001).

Bond, Donald F. (ed.), *The Spectator*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1987).

Boswell, James, *Boswell's London Journal, 1762–1763* (ed.), Pottle, Frederick A. (London, 1985).

Cobbett, William, *Rural Rides* (ed.), Ian Dyck (1830; Harmondsworth, 2001).

Coke, Lady Mary, *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke* (ed.), J.A. Home, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1889–96).

Defoe, Daniel, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (ed.), Pat Rogers (1724–26; Harmondsworth, 1986).

Engels, Friedrich, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (ed.), Victor Kiernan (1st published in German, 1845; Harmondsworth, 1987).

Foakes, R.A. & Rickett, R.T. (eds.), *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge, 1961).

Hardy, William J. (ed.), *Middlesex County Records. Calendar of the Sessions Books 1689 to 1709* (London, 1905).

Herbert, Lord (ed.), *Pembroke Papers, 1780-1794: Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle* (London, 1950).

Hodgkinson, Richard, *A Lancashire Gentleman: The Letters and Journals of Richard Hodgkinson, 1763–1847* (eds.), Florence & Kenneth Wood (Stroud, 1992).

Kielmansegg, Countess (trans.), *Diary of a Journey to England in the Years 1761–1762* (London, 1902).

Neville, Syllas, *The Diary of Syllas Neville, 1767-1788* (ed.), Basil Cozens-Hardy (London, 1950).

Oldham, James, *The Mansfield Manuscripts and the growth of English law in the eighteenth century*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1992).

Place, Francis, *The Autobiography of Francis Place, 1771–1854* (ed.), Mary Thale (Cambridge, 1972).

Power M. (ed.), *Liverpool Town Books 1649–1671*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol.136 (1999).

Savile, Gertrude, *Secret Comment, The Diaries of Getrude Savile, 1721–1759* (ed.), Alan Savile, Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire Record Series, vol.41 (Nottingham, 1997).

Sharpe, Reginald R. (ed.), *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258–A.D. 1688, preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London, at the Guildhall*, 2 vols. (London, 1889).

Smollett, Tobias, *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* (ed.) Lewis M. Knapp, revised by Paul-Gabriel Boucé (1771; Oxford, 1998).

Walpole, Horace, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford: Including Numerous Letters now First Published from the Original Manuscripts*, (ed.) Anon, 6 vols. (London, 1840).

——— *Letters of Horace Walpole*, (ed.) Charles D. Yonge, 5 vols. (New York, 1890).

——— *Horace Walpole and His World: Select Passages from His Letters* (ed.), Leonard B. Seeley (1895; Whitefish, MT, 2005).

Wordsworth, William, *The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind*, (ed.), De Selincourt, Ernest, corrected by Stephen Gill (1805; Oxford, 1970).

Secondary Sources: Published Books

- Ackroyd, Peter, *London: The Biography* (London, 2000).
- Albert, William, *The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663-1840* (Cambridge, 1972).
- Aldcroft, Derek H. & Freeman, Michael J., *Transport in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1983).
- Allen, Robert C., *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Andrew, Donna T., *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1989).
- Anthony, Sian, *Medieval Settlement to 18th-/19th-Century Rookery; Excavations at Central St Giles, London Borough of Camden, 2006-8*, Museum of London Archaeology Studies Series, 23 (London, 2011).
- Arnold, Dana (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London* (Oxford, 1999).
- Ashton, T.S., *The Industrial Revolution 1760–1830* (Oxford, 1948).
- *An Economic History of England: The Eighteenth Century* (London, 1955).
- & J. Sykes, *The Coal Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929).
- Ayres, James, *Building the Georgian City* (New Haven & London, 1998).
- *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition, 1500-1850* (New Haven & London, 2003).
- Bairoch, Paul; Batou, Jean & Chevre, Pierre, *The Population of European Cities from 800–1850* (Geneva, 1988).
- Barker, Theo & Sutcliffe, Anthony (eds.), *Megalopolis: The Giant City in History* (London, 1993).
- & Gerhold, Dorian, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport, 1700–1990* (Cambridge, 1995).
- & Robbins, Michael, *A History of London Transport, vol.1: The Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963).
- Barnett, David, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution: A Revisionary History 1775–1825* (London, 1998).
- Barton, Nicholas J., *The Lost Rivers of London: A Study of Their Effects Upon London and Londoners, and the Effects of London and Londoners on Them* (1962; London, 1998).
- Beattie, John M., *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1986).
- *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660–1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford, 2001).

Beck Alan & Katcher, Aaron, *Between Pets and People: The Importance of Animal Companionship* (Revised edn., West Lafayette, IN, 1996).

Beier, A.L. & Finlay, Roger (eds.), *London, 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London & New York, 1986).

Belich, James, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo World, 1783-1939* (Oxford, 2009).

Bennett, Eric, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen of London* (1952; London, 1982).

Bennett, Tony & Joyce, Patrick (eds.), *Material powers: cultural studies, history and the material turn* (Abingdon, 2010).

Berg, Maxine, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700–1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain* (2nd edn., London & New York, 1994).

——— *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005).

——— & H. Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650–1850* (Manchester, 1999).

Berry, Helen M. & Gregory, Jeremy (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North East England* (Aldershot, 2002).

Black, Jeremy, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1987).

Blake, Robin, *George Stubbs and the Wide Creation: Animals, People and Places in the Life of George Stubbs, 1724–1806* (London, 2005).

Boddice, Rob, *A History of Attitudes and Behaviours Toward Animals in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain. Anthropocentrism and the Emergence of Animals* (Lewiston, NY, 2008).

Bohstedt, John, *The Politics of Provisions: Food Riots, Moral Economy, and Market Transition in England, c.1550-1850* (Farnham & Burlington, VT, 2010).

Bonser, Keith, *The Drovers: Who They Were and How They Went: An Epic of the English Countryside* (London & Basingstoke, 1970).

Borsay, Peter (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1688–1820* (London, 1990).

——— *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989).

Boulton, Jeremy, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (1987; Cambridge, 2005).

Bourne, Larry S. (ed.), *Internal structure of the City: Readings on Urban Form, Growth, and Policy* (New York, 1982).

Bowden, Mark; Brown, Graham & Smith, Nicky, *An Archaeology of Town Commons in England: A Very Fair Field Indeed* (Swindon, 2009).

- Braudel, Fernand, *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15th-Century-18th-Century, 2: The Wheels of Commerce* (London, 1979).
- Braybrooke, Neville, *London Green: The Story of Kensington Gardens, Hyde Park & St. James's Park* (London, 1959).
- Brewer, John, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997).
- & Porter, Roy (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993).
- Bristow, Ian C. *Interior House-Painting Colours and Technology, 1615–1840* (New Haven, 1996).
- *Architectural Colour in British Interiors, 1615–1840* (New Haven & London, 1996).
- Brown, Les, *Cruelty to Animals: The Moral Debt* (London, 1988).
- Brown, R., *Society and Economy in Modern Britain 1700–1850* (London, 1991).
- Burney, Ian A., *Bodies of Evidence: Medicine and the Politics of the English Inquest, 1830–1926* (Baltimore, 2000).
- Burrows Edwin G. & Wallace, Mike, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999).
- Burton, Neil & Guillery, Peter, *Behind the Façade: London House Plans, 1660–1840* (Reading, 2006).
- Caras, Roger, *A Perfect Harmony: The Intertwining Lives of Animals and Humans Throughout History* (New York, 1996).
- Carrier, James G., *Gifts & Commodities: Exchange & Western Capitalism Since 1700* (London, 1995).
- Carter, Philip, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society 1660-1800* (Harlow, 2001).
- Castonguay, Stéphane & Dagenais, Michèle (eds.), *Metropolitan Natures: Environmental Histories of Montreal* (Pittsburgh, 2011).
- Chambers, Jonathan D. & Mingay, Gordon E., *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750–1880* (London, 1966).
- Chivers, Keith, *The Shire Horse: A History of the Breed, the Society and the Men* (London, 1976).
- Clark, Peter (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800* (London, 1984).
- (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.2: 1540–1840* (Cambridge, 2000).
- *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2001).
- Clarke, Linda, *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment* (London & New York, 1992).

- Clapham, John H., *An Economic History of Modern Britain: The Early Railway Age, 1820–1850* (Cambridge, 1926).
- Clemens, Rudolph Alexander, *The American Livestock and Meat Industry* (New York, 1925).
- Cockayne, Emily, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England 1600–1770* (New Haven & London, 2007).
- Collins, E.J.T. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.7, 1850–1914: Part 1* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1701–1837* (New Haven & London, 1992).
- Colquhoun, Kate, *Taste: The Story of Britain Through its Cooking* (London, 2008).
- Cronon, William, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York & London, 1991).
- Crosby, Alfred W., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, 1972).
- *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York, 1986).
- Cruikshank, Dan & Burton, Neil, *Life in the Georgian City* (London & New York, 1990).
- Cunningham, Hugh, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c.1780–c.1880* (London, 1980).
- Darlington, Ida (ed.), *Survey of London, vol.25: St George's Fields (The Parishes of St. George the Martyr Southwark and St Mary Newington)* (London, 1955).
- Daunton, Martin J. *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700–1850* (Oxford, 1995).
- Davis, M., *Dead Cities and Other Tales* (New York, 2002).
- Davis, Natalie Zemon, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 1990).
- Davis, John, *Reforming London: The London Government Problem, 1855–1900* (Oxford, 1988).
- Davison, Lee; Hitchcock, Tim; Keirn, Tim & Shoemaker, Robert, B. (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive. The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England 1689–1750* (Stroud, 1992).
- Deane, Phyllis M., *The First Industrial Revolution* (1965; Cambridge, 1979).
- Deuchar, Stephen, *Paintings, Politics & Porter: Samuel Whitbread and British Art* (Exhibition Catalogue, Museum of London, 1984).
- *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England* (1988).
- De Grazia, Victoria. & Furlough, Ellen (eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1996).

- DeJohn Anderson, Virginia, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford & New York, 2004).
- Denenholz Morse, D. & Danahay, M.A. (eds.), *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Aldershot, 2007).
- Dillon, Patrick, *Gin, the Much-Lamented Death of Madam Geneva: The Eighteenth-Century Gin Craze* (Boston, 2003).
- De Vries, Jan, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Dewhurst, Kenneth, *Dr Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689): His Life and Original Writings* (London, 1966).
- Donald, Diana, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750–1850* (New Haven & London, 2007).
- Dowdell, Eric G., *A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions: The Government of Middlesex from 1660 to 1760* (Cambridge, 1932).
- Drayton, Richard, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven & London, 2000).
- Dyos H. J. & Aldcroft, D. H., *British Transport: An Economic Survey from the Seventeenth Century to the Twentieth* (Harmondsworth, 1974).
- Earle, Peter, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London, 1650–1750* (London, 1994).
- *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London* (London, 1989).
- Edgerton, David, *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History Since 1900* (London, 2006).
- Einberg, Elizabeth, *Manners & Morals: Hogarth and British Painting 1700–1760* (Exhibition catalogue, Tate, London, 1987).
- Ekesbo, Ingvar, *Farm Animal Behaviour: Characteristics for Assessment of Health and Welfare* (Wallingford, 2011).
- Ellis, Markman, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London, 2004).
- Ellsworth, Lucius F., *Craft to National Industry in the Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of the Transformation of the New York State Tanning Industry* (New York, 1975).
- Estabrook, Carl B., *Urban and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces 1660-1780* (Manchester, 1998).
- Everitt, Alan (ed.), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London, 1973).
- Fletcher, Anthony, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood 1600–1914* (New Haven & London, 2008).
- Floud, Roderick & Johnson, Paul (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Vol.1, Industrialisation, 1700–1860* (Cambridge, 2004).

Foulkes, Nicholas, *Gentlemen and Blackguards or Gambling Mania and the Plot to Steal the Derby of 1844* (London, 2010).

Fisher, Frederick J., *London and the English Economy 1500–1700*, (ed.) Penelope J. Corfield & Negley B. Harte (London, 1990).

Fox, Celina, *The Arts of Industry in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven & London, 2009).

Fraser, Andrew F., *Farm Animal Behaviour* (London, 1974).

——— *The Behaviour of the Horse* (Wallingford, 1992).

Freeman, D.B., *A City of Farmers: Informal Urban Agriculture in the Open Spaces of Nairobi, Kenya* (Montreal, 1991).

Fudge, Erica, *Animal* (London, 2002).

——— *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (Houndmills, 2002).

Gandy, Matthew, *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* (Cambridge, MA, 2002).

Gatrell, Vic, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2006).

Gauci, Perry, *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660–1720* (Oxford, 2001).

——— *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660–1800* (London & New York, 2007).

Gee, Sophie, *Making Waste: Leftovers and the Eighteenth-Century Imagination* (Princeton & Oxford, 2009).

George, M.D., *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (2nd edn., London, 1930).

Gerhold, Dorian, *Road Transport Before the Railways: Russell's London Flying Waggons* (Cambridge, 1993).

Gilbey, Walter; Babbage, F., *Animal Painters of England from the Year 1650: A Brief History of Their Lives and Works*, 3 vols. (2nd edn., London, 1911).

Gilje, Paul A., *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Williamsburg, Va., 1987).

Girouard, Mark, *The English Town* (New Haven & London, 1990).

Goodman, David. & Chant, Colin. (eds.), *European Cities & Technology: Industrial to Post-Industrial City* (Abingdon, 1999).

Gough, John W., *Sir Hugh Middleton: Entrepreneur and Engineer* (Oxford, 1964).

Gourvish Terry R. & Wilson, Richard G. *The British Brewing Industry 1830–1980* (Cambridge, 1994).

- Graham-Leigh, John, *London's Water Wars: The Competition for London's Water Supply in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 2000).
- Grainger, Ian & Phillpotts, Christopher, *The Royal Navy Victualling yard, East Smithfield, London* (London, 2010).
- Gray, Drew, *Crime, Prosecution and Social Relations. The Summary Courts of the City of London in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2009).
- *London's Shadows: The Dark Side of the Victorian City* (London & New York, 2010).
- Gregory, Roy, *The Contribution of the Windmill to the Industrial Revolution* (London, 2002).
- *The Industrial Windmill in Britain* (Chichester, 2005).
- Griffin, Emma, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660–1830* (Oxford, 2005).
- *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (New Haven & London, 2007).
- *A Short History of the British Industrial Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2010).
- Griffiths, T. & Robin, L. (eds.), *Ecology & Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies* (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Grigg, David B., *The Agricultural Systems of the World: An Evolutionary Approach* (Cambridge, 1974).
- Guillery, Peter, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven & London, 2004).
- Hallett, Mark & Riding, Christine, *Hogarth* (London, 2006).
- Hamlin, Christopher, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800–1954* (Cambridge, 1998).
- Hammond, John L. & Barbara B., *The Village Labourer, 1760–1832* (1911; Stroud, 1995).
- Hanbury, Buxton & Company Limited, *Trumans the Brewers 1666–1966* (London, 1966).
- Hancock, David, *Citizens of the World. London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–85* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Haraway, Donna, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago, 2003).
- Harris, Michael, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Cranbury, NJ, 1987).
- Harwood, Dix, *Love for Animals and How it Developed in Great Britain* (New York, 1928).
- Haywood, Ian & Seed, John (eds.), *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 2012).

- Hecht, J. Jean, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1956).
- Henderson, A.J., *London and the National Government, 1721–1742: A Study of City Politics and the Walpole Administration* (Durham, 1945).
- Hietala, Marjatta & Vahtikari, Tanja (eds.), *The Landscape of Food: The Food Relationship of Town and Country in Modern Times* (Helsinki, 2003).
- Hill, Bridget, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (1989; London, 1994).
- *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1996).
- Hills, Richard L. *Power in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1970).
- *Power from Wind: A History of Windmill Technology* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Hinch G.N. & Adams, D.B., *The Behaviour of Sheep: Biological Principles and Implications for Production* (Melbourne, 1992).
- Hitchcock, Tim & Stone, Heather (eds.), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London, 2003).
- Hitchcock, Tim, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London & New York, 2004).
- Hoage, Robert J. & Deiss, William A. (eds.), *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore & London, 1996).
- Holderness, B.A. & Turner, Michael (eds.), *Land, Labour and Agriculture, 1700–1920: Essays for Gordon Mingay* (London, 1991).
- Horkheimer Max & Adorno, Theodor W. *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (1947; Stanford, 2002).
- Haupt, Katherine A., *Domestic Animal Behaviour for Veterinarians and Animal Scientists* (2nd edn., Ames, Iowa, 1991).
- Hudson, Pat, *The Industrial Revolution* (London, 1992).
- (ed.), *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Huggett, Frank, *Carriages at Eight: Horse Drawn Society in Victorian & Edwardian Times* (New York, 1980).
- Huggins, Mike, *Flat Racing and British society 1790–1914: A Social and Economic History* (London, 2000).
- Humphries, Jane, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010).
- Hunt, Tristram, *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* (London, 2004).
- Innes, Joanna, *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2009).

- Inwood, Stephen, *A History of London* (London, 1998).
- Isenberg, Andrew C. (ed.), *The Nature of Cities: Culture, Landscape, and Urban Space* (Rochester, NY, 2006).
- Jacob, Margaret C., *Scientific Culture and the Making of the Industrial West* (Oxford, 1997).
- Jones, Gareth. S., *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford, 1971).
- Jones, Peter M., *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760–1820* (Manchester & New York, 2008).
- Jones, Philip E., *The Butchers of London: A History of the Worshipful Company of Butchers of the City of London* (London, 1976).
- Jordan, Wilbur K., *The Charities of London, 1480–1660* (London, 1960).
- Judd, Dennis R. & Simpson, Dick (eds.), *The City Revisited: Urban Theory from Chicago, Los Angeles, New York* (Minneapolis, 2011).
- Kalof, Linda, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London, 2007).
- Kaplan, Steven L., *Provisioning Paris: Merchants and Millers in the Grain and Flour Trade During the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca & London, 1984).
- Kenyon-Jones, Christine, *Kindred Brutes: Animals in Romantic-Period Writing* (Aldershot, 2001).
- Kean, Hilda, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800* (London, 1998).
- Kete, Kathleen, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley, 1994).
- Klinge, W., *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven, 2007).
- Kowaleski-Wallace, Elizabeth, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997).
- Lambton, Lucinda, *Beastly Buildings: The National Trust Book of Architecture for Animals* (London, 1985).
- Landes, David, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge, 1969).
- Landers, John, *Death and the Metropolis: Studies in the Demographic History of London, 1670–1830*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, vol. 20 (Cambridge, 2006).
- Landry, Donna, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking, and Ecology in English Literature, 1671–1831* (New York, 2001).
- *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore, 2009).

- Lane, Maggie, *Jane Austen and Food* (London, 1995).
- Langford, Paul, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989).
- *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650–1850* (Oxford & New York, 2000).
- *The First Rockingham Administration, 1765–1766* (Oxford, 1973).
- Lasdun, Susan, *The English Park: Royal, Private & Public* (New York, 1992).
- Latour, Bruno, *Reassembling the Social – An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford, 2005).
- Lemire, Beverly, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford, 1991).
- *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade Before the Factory, 1660–1800* (Basingstoke, 1997).
- Lindner, R., *The Reportage of Urban Culture: Robert Park and the Chicago School* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Linebaugh, Peter, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Lloyd, Christopher. & Barron, Karyn, *The Quest for Albion: Monarchy and the Patronage of British Painting* (London, 1998).
- Loche Renée. & Sanger, Colston, *Jacques-Laurent Agasse 1767–1849* (Exhibition catalogue, Tate, London, 1988).
- London Topographical Society, *The A to Z of Georgian London* (London, 1982).
- *The A to Z of Regency London* (London, 1985).
- Longrigg, Roger, *The History of Horse Racing* (London & Basingstoke, 1972).
- *The History of Foxhunting* (London, 1975).
- *The English Squire and his Sport* (London, 1977).
- Longstaffe-Gowan, Todd, *The London square: Gardens in the Midst of Town* (New Haven & London, 2012).
- Mabey, Richard, *The Unofficial Countryside* (London, 1973).
- Macdonald, Janet, *Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era* (London, 2006).
- Macgregor, Arthur, *Animal encounters: Human and Animal Interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War One* (London, 2012).
- Maclean, Gerald, Landry Donna & Ward, Joseph P. (eds.), *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 1999).

- Madden, Deborah, *'A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine': Religion, Medicine and Culture in John Wesley's Primitive Physic* (Amsterdam & New York, 2007).
- Mbiba, B., *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe: Implications for Urban Management and Poverty* (Aldershot, 1995).
- McShane, Clay & Tarr, Joel, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the 19th Century* (Baltimore, 2007).
- Maidment, Brian, *Dusty Bob: A Cultural History of Dustmen, 1780–1870* (Manchester, 2007).
- Malcolmson, Robert & Mastoris, Stephanos, *The English Pig: A History* (London, 1998).
- Malcolmson, Patricia E., *English Laundresses: A Social History, 1850–1930* (Urbana, 1996).
- Manché, William H., *The Westminster City Fathers (The Burgess Court of Westminster) 1585–1901: Being Some Account of their Powers and Domestic Rule of the City Prior to its Incorporation in 1901* (London, 1924).
- Mantoux, Paul, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: An Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England* (1st edn. in English, 1928; revised edn., London, 1961).
- Mathias, Peter, *The Brewing Industry in England* (Cambridge, 1959).
- May, Trevor, *Gondolas and Growlers: The History of the London Horse Cab* (Stroud, 1995).
- Maza, Sarah, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, 1983).
- Metcalf, Robyn S., *Meat, Commerce and the City: The London Food Market, 1800–1855* (London, 2012).
- Mizelle, Brett, *Pig* (London, 2011).
- McKellar, Elizabeth, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1600–1720* (Manchester & New York, 1999).
- McKendrick Neil, Brewer, John & Plumb, J. H. (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, IN, 1982).
- Meldrum, Tim, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, 2000).
- Melosi Martin V. & Pratt, Joseph A. (eds.), *Energy Metropolis: An Environmental History of Houston and the Gulf Coast* (Pittsburgh, 2007).
- Mingay, Gordon E. *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London & Toronto, 1963).
- (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.6, 1750–1850 (Cambridge, 1989).
- Mintz, Sidney W., *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985).
- Mitchell, Sally, *The Dictionary of Equestrian Artists* (Woodbridge, 1985).

Mokyr, Joel, *The Lever of Riches. Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (New York & Oxford, 1990).

——— *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700–1850* (New Haven & London, 2009).

Moncrieff, Elspeth; Joseph, Stephen & Joseph, Iona, *Farm Animal Portraits* (Woodbridge, 1996).

Morison, Stanley, *The English Newspaper: An Account of the Physical Development of Journals Printed in London 1622–1932* (1932; Cambridge, 2009).

Morris, Derek & Cozens, Ken, *Wapping 1600–1800: A Social History of an Early Modern London Maritime Suburb* (Brentwood, 2009).

Morris, Derek, *Whitechapel 1600–1800: A Social History of an Early Modern London Inner Suburb* (London, 2011).

Mui, Hoh-Cheung & Mui, Lorna H., *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal, 1989).

Muldrew, Craig, *Food Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550–1780* (Cambridge, 2011).

Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938).

——— *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations and its Prospects* (New York, 1961).

Murphy, Anne, *The Origins of the English Financial Markets: Investment and Speculation Before the South Sea Bubble* (Cambridge, 2009).

Musson, Albert E. *The Growth of British industry* (London, 1978).

Neeson, Jean M., *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700–1820* (Cambridge, 1993).

Norton Green, Ann, *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America* (Harvard, 2008).

Novak, Maximillian, E. (ed.), *The Age of Projects* (Toronto, 2008).

Ogborn, Miles, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680–1780* (Guildford, 1998).

Olsen, D.J., *Town Planning in London: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven, 1982).

Orchard, Vincent, *Tattersalls: Two Hundred Years of Sporting History* (London, 1953).

Osborn, Helen, *Britain's Oldest Brewery: The Story Behind Young's of Wandsworth* (Guildford, 1999).

Outram, Dorinda, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2013).

Pacey, Arnold. *The Maze of Ingenuity: Ideas and Idealism in the Development of Technology* (1974; 2nd edn., Cambridge, Mass & London, 1992).

Palmer, Marilyn & Neaverson, Peter, *Industry in the Landscape, 1700–1900* (London, 1994).

- Palmeri, Frank (ed.), *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British culture: Representation, Hybridity, Ethics* (Aldershot, 2006).
- Park, Robert, Burgess, E.W. & McKenzie, R.D., *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment* (Chicago, 1925; reprint, 1967).
- Pate, J'Neil L., *Livestock Hotels: America's Historical Stockyards* (Fort Worth, 2005).
- Paulson, Ronald, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (London, 1989).
- *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 2 vols. (New Haven & London, 1971).
- *The Life of Henry Fielding: A Critical Biography* (Oxford & Malden, 2000).
- Pearson, Lynn, *British Breweries: An Architectural History* (London, 1999).
- Pearson, Robin, *Insuring the Industrial Revolution: Fire Insurance in Great Britain, 1700–1850* (Aldershot & Burlington, VT, 2004).
- Pemberton, Neil & Worboys, Michael, *Mad Dogs and Englishmen: Rabies in Britain, 1830–2000* (Basingstoke, 2007).
- Perkins, David, *Romanticism and Animal Rights* (Cambridge & New York, 2003).
- Picard, Liza, *Dr Johnson's London* (London, 2001).
- Podberscek, Anthony L. Paul Elizabeth S. & Serpell, James (eds.), *Companion Animals & Us: Exploring the Relationships Between People & Pets* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Pointon, Marcia, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665–1800* (Oxford, 1997).
- Porter, Roy, *London: A Social History* (London, 1994).
- Powell, E.J., *History of the Smithfield Club from 1798–1900* (London, 1902).
- Preece, Rod, *Brute Souls, Happy Beasts and Evolution: The Historical Status of Animals* (Vanvouver, 2005).
- *Awe for the Tiger, Love for the Lamb: A Chronicle of Sensibility to Animals* (New York & London, 2002).
- Prothero, I.J., *Artisans and Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Folkestone, 1979).
- Raber, Karen & Tucker, Treva J. (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (Houndmills & New York, 2005).
- Reid, J.C., *Bucks and Bruisers: Pierce Egan and Regency England* (London, 1971).
- Reynolds, Elaine, A., *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720-1830* (Stanford, 1998).
- Reynolds, Terry S., *Stronger Than a Hundred Men: A History of the Vertical Water Wheel* (Baltimore & London, 1983).

- Richards, Sarah, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester, 1999).
- Ritvo, Harriet, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).
- Roberts, Sir Howard & Godfrey, Walter H. (eds.), *Survey of London, Vol.23: Lambeth: South Bank and Vauxhall* (London, 1951).
- Roberts, Sonia, *The Story of Islington* (London, 1975).
- Robinson, Gavin, *Horses, People and Parliament in the English Civil War: Extracting Resources and Constructing Allegiance* (Aldershot, 2012).
- Robson, W.A., *The Government and Misgovernment of London* (London, 1939).
- Roche, Daniel, *La Culture Équestre de l'Occident XVI-XIX Siècle: l'ombre du cheval, tom premier, le cheval moteur: essai sur l'utilité équestre* (Paris, 2008).
- Rodger, N.A.M., *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London, 1996).
- *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, vol. II, 1649–1815* (London, 2004).
- Rogers, Ben, *Beef and Liberty: Roast Beef, John Bull and the English Patriots* (London, 2003).
- Rogers, Nicholas, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, 1998).
- Rosoman, Treve, *London Wallpapers: Their Manufacture and Use, 1690–1840* (London, 1992).
- Rosen, Barbara & Zuckermann, Wolfgang, *The Mews of London* (Exeter, 1982).
- Rothfels, Nigel, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore & London, 2002).
- Rowlands, Marie B., *The West Midlands from AD 1000* (Harlow, 1987).
- Rude, George, *Hanoverian London 1714–1808* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1971).
- Russell, Gillian, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Russell, Nicholas, *Like Engendering Like: Heredity and Animal Breeding in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Ryan, Susannah E., *Coming to the Whip: Horsemanship and the Politics of Victorian Empathy* (Michigan, 2002).
- Saint, Andrew & Guillery, Peter, *Survey of London, Vol.48: Woolwich* (New Haven & London, 2012).
- Saumarez Smith, Charles, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London, 1993).
- Saunders, Ann (ed.), *The Royal Exchange* (London, 1997).

- Saunders, Gill, *Wallpaper in Interior Decoration* (London, 2002).
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Leamington Spa, Hamberg & New York, 1986).
- Schofield, Robert E., *The Lunar Society of Birmingham: A Social History of Provincial Science and Industry in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford, 1963).
- Schwarz, Leonard D., *London in the Age of Industrialization: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700–1850* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Scola, Roger, *Feeding the Victorian city: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770–1870* (eds.), W.A. Armstrong & P. Scola (Manchester & New York, 1992).
- Sekora, John, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore & London, 1977).
- Serpell, James., *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Shamas, Carole, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990).
- Shawe-Taylor, Desmond, *The Conversation Piece: Scenes of Fashionable Life* (London, 2009),
- Shepard, Paul, *The Others: How Animals Made Us Human* (Washington, D.C., 1996).
- Shepperd, William, R. *Historical Atlas* (New York, 1911).
- Sheppard, Francis, H.W., *Local Government in St Marylebone, 1688–1835* (London, 1958).
- (ed.), *Survey of London, Vol. 39: The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1: General History* (London, 1977).
- (ed.), *Survey of London, Vol. 40: The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2: The Buildings* (London, 1980).
- (ed.), *Survey of London, Vol.26: Lambeth: Southern Area* (London, 1956).
- Shevelov, Kathryn, *For the Love of Animals: The Rise of the Animal Protection Movement* (New York, 2008).
- Shoemaker, Robert B., *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, c.1660–1725* (Cambridge, 1991).
- *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth Century England* (2004; London & New York, 2007).
- Soja, Edward W., *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (New York, 2000).
- Spence, Craig, *London in the 1690s: A Social Atlas* (London, 2000).
- Steedman, Carolyn, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Stewart, Rachel, *The Town House in Georgian London* (New Haven & London, 2009).

- Steinfeld, H.; Gerber, P.; Wassenaar, T.; Castel, V.; Rosales M.; & de Haan, C., *Livestock's long shadow* (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, Rome, 2006).
- Stobart, Jon, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650–1830* (Oxford, 2012).
- & Hann, Andrew & Morgan, Victoria (eds.), *Spaces of Consumption and Leisure in the English Town, 1680–1830* (London, 2007).
- Styles, John & Vickery, Amanda (eds.) *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (New Haven, 2006).
- Summerson, John, *Georgian London* (London, 1945).
- Sweet, Rosemary, *The English Town, 1680–1840: Government, Society and Culture* (Harlow, 1999).
- & Lane, Penelope (eds.), *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England* (Aldershot & Burlington, 2003).
- Tarlow, Sarah, *The Archaeology of Improvement in Britain, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Taylor, Humphrey R., *The Old Surrey Fox Hounds* (London, 1906).
- Teich, Mikuláš, Porter, Roy & Gustafsson, Bo (eds.), *Nature and Society in Historical Context* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Tester, Keith, *Animals & Society: The Humanity of Animal Rights* (London, 1991).
- Thick, Malcolm, *The Neat House Gardens: Early Market Gardening Around London* (Totnes, 1998).
- Thirsk, Joan, *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, For Pleasure, For Power*, The Stenton Lecture, 1977 (University of Reading, 1978).
- Thomas, Keith, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (1983; Harmondsworth, 1984).
- Thompson, Edward P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963).
- *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (Harmondsworth, 1977).
- *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (London, 1993).
- Thompson, Francis, M.L., *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society* (Inaugural Lecture, Bedford College, University of London, 1970).
- Thomson, Gladys S., *The Russells in Bloomsbury 1669–1771* (London, 1940).
- Thrift & Nigel & Amin, Ash, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Tobias, John J., *Crime and Police in England, 1700–1900* (London, 1979).
- Trentmann, Frank (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012).

- Trow-Smith, Robert, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry, 1700–1900* (London, 1959).
- Valenze, Deborah, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven & London, 2011).
- Vamplew, Wray. & Kay, Joyce. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of British Horse Racing* (Abingdon & New York, 2005).
- Velkar, Aashish, *Markets and Measurements in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Velten, Hannah, *Cow* (London, 2007).
- Verdon, Nicola, *Rural Women Workers in 19th-Century England: Gender, Work and Wages* (Woodbridge, 2002).
- Vickery, Amanda, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1998).
- *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven & London, 2009).
- Vogel, Steven, *Against Nature: The Concept of Nature in Critical Theory* (New York, 2006).
- Voth, Hans-Joachim, *Time and Work in England, 1750–1830* (Oxford, 2000).
- Wagner, Tamara S. & Hassan, Narin, *Consuming Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century: Narratives of Consumption, 1700–1900* (Lanham, MD, 2007).
- Wahrman, Dror, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2004).
- Walvin, James, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660–1800* (New York, 1997).
- Ward, Robert, *London's New River* (London, 2003).
- Warde, Paul, *Energy Consumption in England & Wales, 1560–2000* (Naples, 2007).
- Waring, Goerge H. (ed.), *Horse Behaviour* (Norwich, NY, 2003).
- Warner, Malcolm & Blake, Robin, *Stubbs & the Horse* (New Haven & London, 2004).
- Waterhouse, Ellis, K., *Painting in Britain, 1530–1790* (Harmondsworth, 1978).
- Watts, Sydney, *Meat Matters: Butchers, Politics, and Market Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Rochester, 2006).
- Weatherill, Lorna, *Consumer behaviour & material culture in Britain 1660–1760* (London, 1988).
- Webb, Sidney & Beatrice, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: Part I: The Parish and the County* (London, 1906).
- *English Local Government, Part 4: Statutory authorities for Special Purposes* (London, 1922).

- Welcome, John, *The Sporting World of R.S. Surtees* (Oxford & New York, 1982).
- Wells, Roger A.E., *Wretched Faces: Famine in Wartime England, 1793–1801* (Gloucester, 1988).
- Whatmore, Sarah, *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces* (London, 2002).
- White, Jerry, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London, 2012).
- Whitehead, George K., *The Deer of Great Britain and Ireland: An Account of their History, Status and Distribution* (London, 1964).
- Whyman, Susan, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660–1720* (Oxford & New York, 1999).
- Wilkinson, Lise, *Animals and Disease: An Introduction to the History of Comparative Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Williams, G.R., *London in the Country: The Growth of Suburbia* (London, 1975).
- Williams, Raymond, *The Country and the City* (London, 1973).
- Wilson, Charles, *England's Apprenticeship 1603–1763* (London, 1965).
- Wilson Cindy C. & Turner Dennis C. (eds.), *Companion Animals in Human Health* (Thousand Oakes, CA, 1998).
- Wise, Sarah, *The Blackest Streets: The Life and Death of a Victorian Slum* (London, 2009).
- Wolch Jennifer & Emel, Jody, *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (New York, 1998).
- Wolf, Ernest S., *Treating the Self: Elements of Clinical Self Psychology* (New York, 1988).
- Worsley, Giles, *The British Stable: An Architectural and Social History* (New Haven & London, 2004).
- Worster, Donald, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York, 1992).
- Wrigley, Edward A., *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010).

Secondary Sources: Chapters in Books and Articles in Journals

Alberella, Umberto, 'Pig husbandry and pork consumption in Medieval England' in Christopher M. Woolgar, Dale Serjeantson & Tony Waldron (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford, 2006), pp.72-87.

Allen, Robert C., 'Agriculture during the industrial revolution, 1700–1850' in Roderick Floud & Paul Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain vol.1* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.96-116.

Arnold, Dana, 'Rationality, safety and power: the street planning of later Georgian London', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 5 (1995), pp.37-50.

Atkins, Peter J., 'London's intra-urban milk supply, circa 1790-1914', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series 2 (1977), pp.383-99.

——— 'Is it urban? The relationship between food production and urban space in Britain, 1800-1950' in Marjatta Hietala & Tanja Vahtikari (eds.), *The Landscape of Food: The Food Relationship of Town and Country in Modern Times* (Helsinki, 2003), pp.133-44.

Baer, William C., 'Housing for the lesser sort in Stuart London: Findings from certificates, and returns of divided houses', *London Journal*, 33 (2008), pp.61-88.

Baldwin, Olive & Wilson, Thelma, '250 Years of Roast Beef', *The Musical Times* (1985), pp.203-7.

Barker, Theo C., 'London: a unique megalopolis?' in Theo Barker & Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *Megalopolis: The Giant City in History* (London, 1993), pp.43-60.

Beier, A.L. 'Engine of manufacture: the trades of London', in Beier & Roger Finlay (eds.), *London, 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986), pp.141-67.

Bennett, Charles F., 'Cultural animal geography: an inviting field of research', *Professional Geographer*, 12 (1960), pp.12-14

Berg, Maxine, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth-century England', *Journal of Social History*, 30 (1996), pp.415-34.

——— 'From Imitation to invention: creating commodities in eighteenth-century Britain', *ECHR*, 55 (2002), pp.1-30.

Berger, John, 'Vanishing Animals', *New Society*, 39 (1977), pp.664-5.

——— 'Why look at animals' in Berger, *Why Look at Animals?* (essay 1st published, 1980; London, 2009).

Berry, G.C. 'Sir Hugh Myddleton and the New River' in Denis Smith (ed.), *Water Supply and Public Health Engineering* (Aldershot, 1999), pp.46-78.

Berry, Helen, 'Polite consumption: shopping in eighteenth-century England', *TRHS*, 6 (2002), pp.375-394.

——— ‘Prudent luxury: the metropolitan tastes of Judith Baker, Durham gentlewoman’ in Rosemary Sweet & Penelope Lane (eds.), *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England*, Aldershot & Burlington (Aldershot & Burlington, 2003), pp.131-56.

Birke, Lynda, ‘Talking about horses: control and freedom in the world of “natural horsemanship”’, *Society and Animals*, 16 (2008), pp.107-26.

Botham F.W. & Hunt, E.H., ‘Wages in Britain during the industrial revolution’, *EcHR*, 40 (1987), pp.380-99.

Braun, Bruce, ‘Environmental issues: writing a more-than-human urban geography’ *Progress in Human Geography*, 29 (2005), pp.635-50.

Broad, John, ‘Cattle plague in eighteenth-century England’, *AHR*, 32 (1983), pp.104-15.

Broglio, Ron, “The best machine for converting herbage into money”: romantic cattle culture’, in Tamara S. Wagner & Narin Hassan (eds.), *Consuming Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century: Narratives of Consumption, 1700–1900* (Lanham, MD, 2007), pp.35-48.

Bromehead, Cyril E.N., ‘The early history of water-supply’, *The Geographical Journal*, 99 (1942), pp.142-151 & 182-196.

Brown, D., ‘Reassessing the influence of the aristocratic improver: the example of the fifth Duke of Bedford (1765-1802)’, *AHR*, 47 (1999), pp.172-95.

Brown, Susan E., “‘A just and profitable commerce’”: moral economy and the middle classes in eighteenth-century London’, *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), pp.305-32.

Brown, Sue-Ellen, ‘The human-animal bond and self-psychology: toward a new understanding’, *Society & Animals*, 12 (2004), pp.67-86.

Bruland, Kristine, ‘Industrialisation and technological change’, in Roderick Floud & Paul Johnson, (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, vol.1* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.117-46.

Brunt, Liam, ‘Rediscovering risk: country banks as venture capitalist firms in the first industrial revolution’, *Journal of Economic History*, 66 (2006), pp.74-102.

Burnett, John, ‘History of food adulteration in Great Britain in the nineteenth century’, *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, 32 (1959).

Cadwalladr, C. ‘Urban farms: can you source a complete meal from inside the M25?’, *The Observer* (20/6/2010).

Chartres, John A., ‘The eighteenth-century English inn: a transient ‘Golden Age?’ in Beat Kumin & B. Ann Tlusty (eds.) *The World of the Tavern* (Aldershot, 2002), pp.205-26.

——— ‘Road Carrying in England in the seventeenth century: myth and reality’, *EcHR*, 30 (1977), pp.73-94.

——— ‘The capital’s provincial eyes: London’s inns in the early eighteenth Century’, *London Journal*, 3 (1977), pp.24-39.

——— ‘Food consumption and internal trade’ in A.L. Beier & Roger Finlay (eds.), *London, 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986), pp.168-96.

——— ‘City and towns, farmers and economic change in the eighteenth century’, *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), pp.138-55.

Clark, Gregory, ‘Book review: *Time and Work in England, 1750–1830*. By Hans-Joachim Voth’, *Journal of Economic History*, 61 (2001), pp.1123-1124.

Clarke, Ernest, rev. Peach, Annette, ‘Wolstenholme, Dean, the elder (1757–1837)’, *ODNB* (2004).

Clarkson, Lesley A., ‘The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England’, *AgHR* 14 (1960), pp.25-39.

——— ‘The organization of the English leather industry in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’, *EcHR*, 13 (1960), pp.245-53.

Cohen, Michele, ‘Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England’ in Tim Hitchcock & Michèle Cohen (eds.) *English Masculinities 1660–1800* (London & New York, 1999), pp.44-62.

Corfield, Penelope, ‘Walking the city streets: the urban odyssey in 18th century England’, *Journal of Urban History*, 16 (1990), pp.132-74.

Cox, Alan, ‘A vital component: stock bricks in Georgian London’, *Construction history*, 13 (1997), pp.57-66.

Crane, Mary T., ‘Illicit privacy and outdoor spaces in early modern England’, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 9 (2009), pp. 4-22.

Crafts, Nick F.R., ‘English workers’ real wages during the industrial revolution: some remaining problems’, *Journal of Economic History*, 45 (1985), pp.139-44.

——— ‘Steam as a general purpose technology: a growth accounting perspective’, *Economic Journal*, 114 (2004), pp.338-51.

Daunton, Martin J. ‘Industry in London: revisions and reflections’, *London Journal*, 21 (1996), pp.1-8.

Davis, John, ‘The progressive council, 1889-1907’ in Andrew Saint (ed.), *Politics and the People of London. The London County Council, 1889–1965* (London, 1989), pp.27-48.

De Vries, Jan, ‘The industrial revolution and the industrious revolution’, *Journal of Economic History*, 54 (1994).

Donald, Diana, ‘“Beastly sights”: the treatment of animals as a moral theme in representations of London c. 1820-1850’ in Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London* (Oxford, 1999), pp.48-78.

Earle, Peter, ‘The female labour market in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries’, *EcHR*, 42 (1989), pp.328-53.

Edwards, Peter, ‘Supply of horses to the parliamentary and royalist armies in the English Civil War’, *Historical Research*, 68 (1995), pp.49-66.

Epstein, H. & Mason, I.L., 'Cattle' in Mason (ed.) *Evolution of Domesticated Animals* (London, 1984).

Feinstein, Charles H., 'Pessimism perpetuated: real wages and the standard of living in Britain during and after the industrial revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 58 (1998), pp.625-58.

Finklestein, Jacob J., 'The ox that Gored', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 71 (1981), pp.73-81.

Finn, Margot, 'Men's things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution', *Social History*, 25 (2000), pp.133-55.

Fisher, F. J., 'The development of the London food market', *EcHR*, 5 (1935), pp.46-64.

Fogel, Robert W., 'The conquest of high mortality and hunger in Europe and America: timing and mechanisms' in Patrice L.R. Higonnet; David S. Landes & Henry Rosovsky (eds.), *Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth, and Economic Development Since the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1991), pp.33-71.

——— 'New sources and new techniques for the study of secular trends in nutritional status, health, mortality, and the process of aging', *Historical methods*, 26 (1993), pp.5-43.

French, Henry R., 'Urban common rights, enclosure and the market: Clitheroe Town Moors, 1764-1802', *AHR*, 51 (2003), pp.40-68.

——— 'The common fields of urban England: communal agriculture and the politics of entitlement, 1500–1750' in R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *Custom, Improvement and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2011), pp.149-74.

Fudge, Erica, 'A left-handed blow: writing the history of animals' in N. Rothfels (ed.), *Representing Animals* (Bloomington, IN, 2002).

Fuller, F., Tuan F. & Wailes, E., 'Rising demand for meat: who will feed China's hogs?' in F. Gale (ed.), 'China's food and agriculture: issues for the 21st century', *U.S. Department of Agriculture. Agriculture Information Bulletin*, 775 (2002).

Fussell, G.E., 'Science and practice in eighteenth-century British agriculture', *Agricultural History*, 43 (1969).

Garnier, Bernard, 'Des boeufs pour Paris: commercialisation et élevage en Basse-Normandie (1700-1900)', *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 106 (1999), pp.101-20.

Gaynor, Andrea, 'Regulation, resistance and the residential area: the keeping of productive animals in twentieth-century Perth, Western Australia', *Urban Policy and Research*, 17 (1999), pp.7-16.

Girardet, H., 'Cities, people, planet', *Liverpool Schumacher Lectures: Urban Sustainability* (April 2000).

Goldstone, Jack A., 'Efflorescences and economic growth in world history: rethinking the "rise of the West" and the industrial revolution', *Journal of World History*, 13 (2002), pp.323-89.

Gomersall, Helen M. 'Departed glory: the archaeology of the Leeds tanning industry 1780–1914', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 22 (2000), pp.133-44.

Greig, Hannah, 'Leading the fashion: the material culture of London's Beau Monde' in Jon Styles & Amanda Vickery (eds.) *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (New Haven, 2006), pp.293-313.

——— & Riello, Giorgio, 'Eighteenth-century interiors – redesigning the Georgian: introduction', *Journal of Design History*, 20 (2007), pp.273-89.

Griffin, Carl J., 'Animal maiming, intimacy and the politics of shared life: the bestial and the beastly in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England', *TIBG*, 37 (2012), pp.301-16.

Hamlin, Christopher, 'Nuisances and community in mid-Victorian England: the attractions of inspection', *Social History*, 38 (2013), pp.346-79.

Hann Andrew & Stobart, Jon, 'Sites of consumption: the display of goods in provincial shops in eighteenth-century England', *Cultural and Social History*, 2 (2005), pp.165-88.

Harding, Vanessa, 'The population of London, 1550–1700: a review of the published evidence', *London Journal*, 15 (1990), pp.111-28.

——— 'City, capital, and the metropolis: the changing shape of seventeenth-century London' in Julia F. Merrit (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.117-43.

——— 'Housing and health' in Virginia Berridge & Martin Gorsky (eds.), *Environment, Health and History* (Basingstoke, 2011).

Hartwell, Robert M., 'The rising standard of living in England, 1800-1850', *EcHR*, 13 (1961), pp.397-416.

——— 'The standard of living. An answer to the pessimists', *EcHR*, 16 (1963), pp.135-46.

Hayes, David, "'Without parallel in the known world": the chequered past of 277 Gray's Inn Road', *Camden History Review*, 25 (2001).

Hays, Samuel P., 'From the history of the city to the history of the urbanized society', *Journal of Urban History*, 19 (1993), pp.3-25.

Hellman, Mimi, 'Furniture, sociability, and the work of leisure in eighteenth-century France', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 32 (1999), pp.415-445.

Helmore, K. & Ratta, A., 'The surprising yields of urban agriculture', *Choices (UNDP)*, April 1995).

Herman, B., 'City and nature and nature in the city', in U. Lehmkuhl & H. Wellenreuther (eds.), *Historians and Nature: Comparative Approaches to Environmental History* (Oxford, 2007), pp.226-56.

Hipkin, Stephen, 'The structure, development, and politics of the Kent grain trade, 1552–1647', *EcHR*, 61 (2008), pp.99-139.

Hobsbawm, Eric J., 'The British standard of living, 1790–1850', *EcHR*, 10 (1957), pp.46-68.

——— 'The standard of living during the industrial revolution: a discussion', *EcHR*, 16 (1963), pp.119-34.

Holderness, B.A., 'Prices, Productivity and Output', in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. 6: 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.84-189.

——— 'Intensive livestock keeping' in Collins (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol.7:1850–1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.487-96.

Horowitz, Roger, Pilcher, Jeffrey, M. & Watts, Sydney, 'Meat for the multitudes: market culture in Paris, New York City, and Mexico City over the long nineteenth century,' *American Historical Review*, 109 (2004), pp.1055-1083.

Horrell, Sara & Humphries, Jane, 'Old questions, new data, and alternative perspectives: families' living standards in the industrial revolution,' *Journal of Economic History*, 52 (1992), pp.849-80.

Huang, J. & Bouis, H., 'Structural changes in the demand for food in Asia: empirical evidence from Taiwan', *Agricultural Economies*, 26 (2001), pp.57-69.

Humphries, Jane, 'Enclosures, common rights, and women: the proletarianization of families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Journal of Economic History*, 50 (1990), pp.17-42.

Ingram, Darcy, 'Horses, hedges, and hegemony: foxhunting in the countryside' in Stéphane Castonguay & Michèle Dagenais (eds.), *Metropolitan Natures: Environmental Histories of Montreal* (Pittsburgh, 2011), ch.12.

Jenner, Mark S.R., 'From conduit community to commercial network? Water in London, 1500–1725', in Paul Griffiths & Jenner (eds.), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester, 2000), ch.12.

——— 'Circulation and disorder: London streets and hackney coaches, c.1640–c.1740' in Tim Hitchcock and Heather Stone (eds.), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London, 2003), pp.40-58.

——— 'Nauceous and abominable'? Pollution, plague and poetics in John Gay's *Trivia*', in Clare Brant & Susan E. Whyman (eds.), *Walking the Streets of Eighteenth-century London: John Gay's Trivia* (Oxford, 2007), pp.90-104.

Johnson, Paul, 'Economic development and industrial dynamism in Victorian London,' *London Journal*, 21 (1996), p.27-37.

Jones, Clyve, 'The first printed 'directory' of British politicians: a note on the residential topography of the peers, bishops and MPs in London in 1729', *London Topographical Record*, 28 (2001), pp.56-69.

Jones, Eric L., 'Agriculture and economic growth in England, 1660–1750: Agricultural Change', *Journal of Economic History*, 25 (1965), pp.1-18.

Jones, Helen, 'Conservatives and the LCC after 1934' in Andrew Saint (ed.), *Politics and the People of London. The London County Council, 1889–1965* (London, 1989), pp.237-50.

Joyce, Patrick, 'Maps, blood and the city: the governance of the social in nineteenth-century Britain' in Joyce (ed.), *The Social in Question: New Bearings in History and the Social Sciences* (London, 2002), pp.97-114.

——— & Bennett, Tony, 'Material powers: introduction', in Bennett & Joyce (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon, 2010), pp.1-22.

- Judd, Mark, "'The oddest combination of town and country': popular culture and the London fairs, 1800-60' in J.K. Walton & J. Walvin (eds.), *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939* (Manchester, 1983).
- Katz, C., 'Whose nature, whose culture?' in Bruce Braun & Noel Castree (eds.), *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millennium* (London, 1998), pp.46-63.
- Keene, Derek, 'The setting of the Royal Exchange: continuity and change in the financial district of the City of London, 1300-1871' in Ann Saunders (ed.), *The Royal Exchange* (London, 1997), pp.253-271.
- Kidd, Aline H. & Kidd, Robert M., 'Seeking a theory of the human/companion animal bond', *Anthrozoös*, 1 (1987), pp.140-57.
- King, Peter, 'Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime and justice in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth- century London', *Continuity and Change*, 22 (2007), pp.73-112.
- Klein, Lawrence E. 'Politeness for plebes: consumption and social identity in early eighteenth-century England' in A. Bermingham & J. Brewer (ed.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600- 1800: Image, Object, Text* (London & New York), pp.362-82.
- Lachiver, Marcel, 'L'approvisionnement de Paris en viande au XVIIIe siecle', in *La France d'Ancien Regime: etudes reunites en l'honneur de Pierre Goubert. 2 vols.* (Paris, 1984), vol.1, pp.345-54.
- Landry, Donna, 'Learning to ride in early modern Britain, or, the making of the English hunting seat' in Karen Raber & Treva J. Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York & Houndmills, 2005), pp.329-49.
- Lassiter, Unna & Wolch, Jennifer, 'From barnyard to backyard to bed: attitudes towards animals among Latinas in Los Angeles', in Greg Hise & William Deverell (eds.), *Land of the Sunshine: The Environmental History of Greater Los Angeles* (Pittsburgh, 2005).
- Lawrence, Henry W., 'The greening of the squares of London: transformation of urban landscapes and ideals', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 83 (1993), pp. 90-118.
- Leitner, Helga. & Sheppard, Eric, 'Unbounding critical geographical research on cities: the 1990s and beyond', *Urban Geography*, 24 (2003), pp.510-28.
- Li, Chien-hui, 'A union of Christianity, humanity, and philanthropy: the Christian tradition and the prevention of cruelty to animals in nineteenth-century England', *Society & Animals*, 8 (2000), pp.265-85.
- Lindert, Peter H. & Williamson, Jeffrey G., 'English workers' living standards during the industrial revolution: a new look', *EcHR*, 36 (1983), pp.1-25.
- Malcolmson, Patricia E., 'Getting a living in the slums of Victorian Kensington', *London Journal*, 1 (1975), pp.28-55.
- Mandelbaum, S.J., 'Thinking about cities as systems: reflections on the history of an idea', *Journal of Urban History*, 11 (1985), pp.139-50.
- Mathias, Peter, 'Agriculture and the brewing and distilling industries in the eighteenth century', *EcHR*, 2 (1952), pp.249-57.

McManus, Ruth, 'Windows on a hidden world: urban and social evolution as seen from the mews', *Irish Geography*, 37 (2004), pp.37-59.

Maclachlan, Ian, 'A bloody offal nuisance: the persistence of private slaughterhouses in nineteenth-century London', *Urban History*, 34 (2007), pp.227-54.

McGreevy, Paul & Mclean, Andrew, 'Behavioural problems with the ridden horse' in D.S. Mills & S.M. McDonnell (eds.), *The Domestic Horse: The Origins, Development and Management of its Behaviour* (Cambridge, 2005).

McKay, Elaine, "'For refreshment and preservinge health': the definition and function of recreation in early modern England", *Historical Research*, 81 (2008), pp.52-74.

McKellar, Elizabeth, 'The suburban villa tradition in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London' in B. Arciszewska (ed.), *The Baroque Villa: Suburban and Country Residences c.1600-1800* (Warsaw, 2009), pp.197-208.

McNeur, Catherine, 'The "Swinish Multitude": controversies over hogs in antebellum New York City', *Journal of Urban History*, 37, pp.639-660.

Meikle, J., 'Pigs in the city', *The Guardian* (11/8/1999).

Melosi, Martin V., 'The place of the city in environmental history', *Environmental History Review*, 17 (1993), pp.1-23.

Metcalfe, Robyn S., 'The death of Smithfield market: urbanization and the meat markets of 19th-century London', *Appetite*, 47 (2006).

Mitchell, Ian, 'The development of urban retailing, 1700–1815', in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600–1800* (London, 1984), pp. 259-83.

Mitchison, Rosalind, 'The Old Board of Agriculture (1793-1822)', *The English Historical Review*, 74 (1959), pp.41-69.

Newman, Jon, 'An Insurrection of Loyalty': the London Volunteer regiments' response to the invasion threat', in Mark Philp (ed.), *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797–1815* (Aldershot & Burlington, 2006), ch. 4.

Newsome, Sarah & Williams, Andrew, 'Woolwich Common, Woolwich, Greater London: an archaeological survey of Woolwich Common and its environs', *English Heritage Research Department Report*, 98 (2009).

O'Byrne, Alison F., 'Composing Westminster Bridge: public improvement and national identity in eighteenth-century London' in M.E. Novak (ed.), *The Age of Projects* (Toronto, 2008), pp.243-70.

Ogborn, Miles, 'Ordering the city: surveillance, public space and the reform of urban policing in England, 1835-1856', *Political Geography*, 12 (1993), pp.505-21.

Otter, Christopher, 'Civilising slaughter: the development of the British public abattoir, 1850–1910' in Paula Y. Lee (ed.), *Meat, Modernity, and the Rise of the Slaughterhouse* (Lebanon, NH, 2008), pp.89-106.

Park, Robert, E. 'The city: suggestions for the investigation of human behaviour in the city environment', *American Journal of Sociology* (1915).

Pelling, Margaret, 'Skirting the city? Disease, social change and divided households in the seventeenth century', in Paul Griffiths & Mark S.R. Jenner (eds.), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester, 2000), pp.154-75.

Pennell, Sara, 'The material culture of food in early modern England, c.1650–1750', in Sarah Tarlow & Susie West, *Familiar Pasts? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain 1650–1860* (London, 1999), pp.35-50.

——— 'Consumption and consumerism in early modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), pp.549-564.

——— "'Great quantities of gooseberry pie and baked clod of beef": victualling and eating out in early modern London', in Paul Griffiths & Mark S.R. Jenner (eds.), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester, 2000), pp.228-49.

Perren, Richard, 'Markets and marketing' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. 6: 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.190-274.

Philo, Chris 'Animals, geography, and the city: notes on inclusions and exclusions', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1995), pp.655-81.

Pointon, Marcia, 'The lives of Kitty Fisher', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27 (2004), pp.77-98.

Porter, Roy, 'Enlightenment London and urbanity' in T.D. Hemming, Edward Freeman & David Meakin (eds.), *The Secular City: Studies in the Enlightenment* (Exeter, 1994), pp.27-41.

——— 'Material pleasures in the consumer society', in Porter & Marie M. Roberts (eds.), *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century* (Houndmills & London, 1996), ch.1.

——— 'The urban and the rustic in Enlightenment London' in Mikulas Teich, Porter & Bo Gustafsson (eds.), *Nature and Society in Historical Context* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.176-192.

——— 'Accidents in the eighteenth century', in Roger Cooter and Bill Luckin (eds.), *Accidents in History: Injuries, Fatalities and Social Relations* (Amsterdam, 1997), pp.90-106.

Phythian-Adams, Charles, 'Milk and soot: the changing vocabulary of a popular ritual in Stuart and Hanoverian London' in Derek Fraser & Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983).

Raber, Karen, 'From sheep to meat, from pets to people: animal domestication 1600-1800' in Matthew Senior (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals, vol.4: In the Age of Enlightenment* (Oxford & New York, 2007), pp.73-99.

Reed, Michael, 'London and its hinterland 1600-1800: the view from the provinces', in Peter Clark & Bernard Lepetit (eds.), *Capital Cities and Their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), pp.51-83.

——— 'The transformation of urban space 1700–1840' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.2: 1540–1840* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.615-640.

Ritvo, Harriet, 'History and animal studies', *Society and Animals*, 10 (2002), pp.403-6.

Roberts, Marie M., 'Preface', in Roy Porter & Roberts (eds.), *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1996).

Roberts, Susan, 'A critical evaluation of the city life cycle idea', *Urban Geography*, 12 (1991), pp.431-49.

Roche, Daniel, 'Equestrian culture in France from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century', *P&P*, 199 (2008), pp.113-45.

Rock, Howard B., 'A delicate balance: the mechanics and the city', *The New-York Historical Quarterly*, 63 (1979), pp.93-114.

Rogers, Nicholas, 'Popular protest in early Hanoverian London', *P&P*, 79 (1978), pp.70-100.

——— 'Crowd and people in the Gordon Riots' in Eckhart Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990), pp.39-55.

——— 'Confronting the crime wave: the debate over social reform and regulation, 1749-1753' in Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn and Robert B. Shoemaker (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive. The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England 1689-1750* (Stroud, 1992), pp.77-98.

Rosen, Christine M. & Tarr, Joel A., 'The importance of an urban perspective in environmental history', *Journal of Urban History*, 20 (1994), 299-310.

Rowe, David J., 'The Culleys, Northumberland Farmers, 1767-1813', *AHR*, 19 (1971), pp.156-74.

Samuel, Raphael, 'Workshop of the world: steam power and hand technology in mid-Victorian Britain' in Julian Hoppit & E.A. Wrigley (eds.), *The Industrial Revolution in Britain: II* (Oxford & Cambridge, Mass., 1994), pp.197-250.

Schwarz, Leonard D., 'London 1700-1840' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.2: 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.641-671.

Shaw-Taylor, Leigh, 'Labourers, cows, common rights and parliamentary enclosure: the evidence of contemporary comment c.1760-1810', *Past & Present*, 171 (2001), pp.95-126.

Shoemaker, Robert B., 'The London "Mob" in the early eighteenth century', in Peter Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1688-1820* (London, 1990), pp.188-222.

Short, Brian M., 'The south-east: Kent, Surrey and Sussex', in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol.5: 1640-1750* (Cambridge 1984), pp.270-313.

Sigsworth, Michael & Worboys, Michael, 'The public's view of public health in mid-Victorian Britain', *Urban History*, 21 (1994), pp.237-50.

Smith, Colin, 'The wholesale and retail markets of London, 1660-1840' *EcHR*, 55 (2002), pp.31-50.

- Smith Ginnie, 'Prescribing the rules of health: self-help and advice in the late eighteenth century', in R. Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society* (Cambridge, 1985), pp.249-82.
- Smith, Neil, 'The production of nature' in G. Robertson, L. Tickner, J. Bird, M. Mash & B. Curtis (eds.), *Future Natural: Nature, Science, Culture* (New York, 1996), pp.35-54.
- Snell, Esther, J., 'Discourses of criminality in the eighteenth-century press', *Continuity and Change*, 22 (2007), pp.13-47.
- Spiller, Brian, 'The Georgian Brewery', *Architectural Review*, 122 (1957), pp.310-322.
- Spence, Craig, 'Accidentally killed by a cart: workplace, hazard, and risk in late seventeenth-century London', *European Review of History*, 3 (1996), pp.9-26.
- Stanhill, Gerald, 'An urban agro-ecosystem: the example of nineteenth-century Paris', *Agro-Ecosystems*, 3 (1977), pp.269-84.
- Stobart, Jon, 'Shopping streets as social space', *Urban History* 25 (1998), pp.3-21.
- Styles, John, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern London', *P&P*, 168 (2000), pp.124-69.
- Tague, Ingrid H., 'Eighteenth-century English debates on a dog tax', *The Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), pp.901-20.
- 'Companions, servants, or slaves? Considering animals in eighteenth-century Britain', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 39 (2010), pp.111-30.
- Taylor, Miles, 'John Bull and the iconography of public opinion in England c.1712–1929', *P&P*, 134 (1992), pp.93-128.
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'Nineteenth-century horse sense', *EcHR*, 29 (1976), pp.60-81.
- Thwaites, Wendy, 'Oxford food riots: a community and its markets', in Adrian Randall & Andrew Charlesworth (eds.), *Markets, Market Culture and Popular Protest in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool, 1996), pp.137-62.
- Turner Michael E., 'Agricultural productivity in England in the eighteenth century: evidence from crop yields', *EcHR*, 34 (1982), pp.489-510.
- Tyson, Blake, 'Transportation and the supply of construction materials: an aspect of traditional building management', *Vernacular Architecture*, 29 (1998), pp.63-81.
- Vickery, Amanda, 'Women and the world of goods: a Lancashire consumer and her possessions' in John Brewer & Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1991), pp.274-301.
- "Neat and not too showy": words and wallpaper in Regency England' in Jon Styles & Amanda Vickery (eds.) *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (New Haven, 2006), pp.201-225.
- Voth, Hans-Joachim, 'Going short and working little? Labour intensity and energy availability in eighteenth-century England', *Cambridge group for the history of population and social structure working paper series*, No.4 (1996).

——— ‘Time and work in eighteenth-century London’, *Journal of Economic History*, 58 (1998), pp.29-58.

Walker, R.B., ‘Advertising in London newspapers, 1650–1750’, *Business History*, 15 (1973), pp.112-30.

Walsh, Claire, ‘Shop design and the display of goods in eighteenth-century London’, *Journal of Design History*, 8 (1995), pp.157-176.

Watts, Sydney, ‘Boucherie et hygiène a Paris au XVIII^e siècle,’ *Révue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 51 (2004), pp.79-103.

Welch, Evelyn S., ‘Sites of consumption in early modern Europe’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), pp.229-50.

Williams, Laura, ‘“To recreate and refresh their dulled spirites in the sweet and wholesome ayre”: green space and the growth of the city’, in Julia F. Merritt (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.185-217.

Willis, John E., ‘European consumption and Asian production in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’, in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), pp.133-147.

Wolch, Jennifer, ‘Anima urbis’, *Progress in Human Geography*, 26 (2002), pp.721-42.

Wrigley, Edward A., ‘A simple model of London’s importance in changing English society and economy’, *P&P*, 37 (1967), pp.44-70.

Wyett, Jodi L., ‘A horse is a horse ... and more: some recent additions to early modern animal studies’, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10 (2010), pp.148-62.

Wykes, David L., ‘Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) of Dishley: farmer and livestock improver’, *AHR*, 52 (2004), pp.38-55.

Zemon Davis, Natalie, ‘Women on top: symbolic and sexual inversion and political disorder in early modern europe’, in Barbara A. Babcock (ed.), *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca, NY & London, 1978), pp.147-90.

Unpublished Theses

Atkins, Peter J. 'The milk trade of London c.1790–1914' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1977).

Balch-Lindsay, Virginia Suzanne, 'An orderly metropolis: the evolution of criminal justice in London, 1750–1830' (PhD thesis, Texas Tech University, 1998).

Bowers Isaacson, Lisa M., 'The building society: speculative building in the West End of London, 1660–1760', (PhD thesis, Princeton, 1992).

Brantz, Dorothee, 'Slaughter in the city: the establishment of public abattoirs in Paris and Berlin, 1780–1914' (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 2003).

Brown, Susan E., 'Politics commerce and social policy in the City of London 1782–1802', (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1992).

Greig, Hannah, 'The Beau Monde and fashionable life in eighteenth-century London, c. 1688–1800' (Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 2003).

Heller, Benjamin, 'Leisure and pleasure in London Society, 1760–1820: an agent-centred approach' (PhD thesis, Oxford, 2009).

Jackson, Gordon, 'The economic development of Hull in the 18th century' (PhD thesis, Hull University, 1959).

McKay, Michael H., 'The Rise of a medical specialty: the medicalisation of equine care, c.1680–c.1800' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2009).

Martindale, Lawrence, 'Demography and land use in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Middlesex' (PhD thesis, London University, 1968).

O'Byrne, Alison, 'Walking, rambling, and promenading in eighteenth-century London: a literary and cultural history' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2003).

Plumb, Christopher, 'Exotic animals in eighteenth-century Britain' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2010).

Robinson, Gavin, 'Horse supply in the English civil war, 1642–1646', (PhD thesis, University of Reading, 2001).

Sachs, Carolyn, 'Rural women and the environment' in Bettina B. Bock & Sally Shortall (eds.), *Rural Gender Relations: Issues and Case Studies* (Wallingford & Cambridge, MA, 2006), pp.288-302.

Shaw-Taylor, Leigh, 'Proletarianisation, parliamentary enclosure and the household economy of the labouring poor, 1750–1850' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1999).

Shoemaker, Robert B., 'Crime, courts ad community; the prosecution of misdemeanours in Middlesex County, 1663–1723' (PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1986).

Williams, Laura, 'Rus in urbe: greening the English town, 1660–1760' (PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1998).

Online Secondary Sources

www.oxfordartonline.com

www.canalmuseum.org.uk/history

www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/s.php.

Hilda Kean, 'Review of a history of attitudes and behaviours',
www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/789 (accessed 27/4/2011).

www.sky.com/home/article/13569871, 'Townie children think cows lay eggs' (Published 28/2/2007)

www.thepigsite.com/swinenews/13561 (published 1/3/2007).