

## THE RENTAL AND ACCOUNTS OF SIR RICHARD SHIREBURN, 1571-77

BY W. F. REA, S.J.

Read 20 February 1958

**S**IR RICHARD SHIREBURN whom this paper concerns was an Elizabethan who left an enduring monument in Lancashire, for, in 1592, towards the end of his life, he began to demolish his most important mansion, Stonyhurst Hall, and in its place to build the residence which he seems to have designed to be the wonder of northern Lancashire. He must have died before most of the work was done, but his plans were continued by his son and so by the year 1606 half the west front had been built, together with the south front, the Great Hall which ran along the east side of the quadrangle, and the lower part of the Eagle Towers, which are the most prominent feature of the building.

All this forms the old part of the present College of Stonyhurst, that is to say the main entrance and the part of the west front which is to the right of it as the College is approached from Preston along the avenue and between the ponds which were laid out by Sir Nicholas Shireburn, Sir Richard's descendant, about a hundred years later. Another monument to Sir Richard is the famous bridge over the Hodder, the so-called Cromwell's Bridge, by the side of the present modern one, on the main road between Preston and Clitheroe. Three of the Shireburns and two others of the local gentry combined to pay £70 for the building of the bridge, and Sir Richard in addition promised to provide the materials.

Sir Richard was energetic and self-assertive, and was prominent under Edward, the third earl of Derby, and Henry, his successor, in the government of Lancashire. He was master forester of Bowland. I do not think that there can be any doubt that he was a "church papist", in other words that he sincerely believed in the old religion, but was not prepared to allow his convictions to bring him to great financial loss. So he went to the Anglican church sufficiently frequently to escape the fine of £20 a month which after 1581 was levied on absentees, but at the same time he would make it clear that his attendance was only to avoid the penalty. A report to the government in

1591 said that he and his family were recusants, that they seldom went to church, and that when they did so, they stopped up their ears with wool to prevent themselves hearing the service. It was also said that Sir Richard had brought a priest to hear his wife's confession when she was ill.<sup>(1)</sup>

His descendants remained Catholics. The last male one in the direct line, Sir Nicholas Shireburn, died in 1717 and the estate then passed first to his daughter, who had married Thomas, the eighth duke of Norfolk, and on her death to the heirs of her aunt, Sir Nicholas Shireburn's sister, who had married William Weld. It was their great-grandson, Thomas, who in 1794 gave the property to his old masters, the English Jesuits, who had just been driven from the continent by the French Revolutionary wars. So the Catholic country house of the sixteenth century became the Catholic school of the twentieth.

#### I. ESTATES AND RENTS

In 1571 Sir Richard decided to make a Rental of all the lands he owned, and for that purpose he chose a massive book, about twelve inches by eight, about three inches thick, strongly bound in leather, and with pages made of tough and rather coarse paper. As is said inside the cover, it was bought 6 December 1571 in Paternoster Row for four shillings. When he finished his Rental, he continued to use the same book for his accounts, which extend from 1571 to 1576, with a few overlapping into 1577, and it is on this book that the present paper is largely based.

Sir Richard's great house was of course Stonyhurst Hall, which was situated on the slopes of Longridge Fell about fourteen miles north-east of Preston. It lies in the triple township of Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, Aighton being the part round Stonyhurst and stretching south and east to the Hodder and the Ribble, northwards to the top of Longridge Fell, and westwards to the stream now called Dean Brook which is crossed by the Preston-Clitheroe road just on the Preston side of Hurst Green; Bailey is to the west of this and is considerably smaller, while Chaigley is north of Longridge Fell, and stretches from there to the Hodder and so to the Yorkshire border.

This property in the triple township had the highest rent roll of all the family estates, amounting to £77.4.2½ a year. To discover the Shireburn's second most important property we have to cross the county boundary into Yorkshire, where

<sup>(1)</sup> Cal. State Papers, Dom. Eliz., 1591-4, p. 159.

they possessed the manor of Wigglesworth, about two and a half miles west of the present railway junction of Hellfield on the old Midland line. The lands here brought in rents of £71.1.10 which was only a few pounds less than Stonyhurst. Wigglesworth Hall, like Stonyhurst Hall, Sir Richard kept in his own possession, though it seems to have been smaller: the manor house, demesne and park were valued at £21 a year, Stonyhurst at £36.13.4.

Another important estate was Leagram near Chipping, which Sir Richard had bought in 1563 from the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite, for £1,618.10.0.<sup>(2)</sup> Though Sir Richard's rents here only brought in £35.15.6 a year, and so less than half those of Stonyhurst or Wigglesworth, the manor house itself which was in his own possession was valued at £26.13.4 a year, considerably more than Wigglesworth, though of course less than Stonyhurst. Finally he had his town house in Lancaster, New Hall as he called it, which he assessed at the surprisingly small sum of £5 a year.

These then were the properties in Sir Richard's own hands. Leagram would probably be best situated for carrying out his duties as master forester of Bowland, though some of these seem to have been delegated to an uncle, Robert Shireburn, who was allowed to live there rent free. Wigglesworth would be best from which to supervise his two estates near the woollen towns and villages of the West Riding, and also those further north, round Ingleborough, which I am about to mention, while at Stonyhurst he was in closest touch with his Lancashire properties, and was near the main road, which came through the Ribble-Aire gap, and along Longridge Fell to Preston, his chief business centre, and so to London and the south.

If Sir Richard's life centred round these three properties, others which he possessed were much more extensive, but more purely a source of income. He was a prosperous man when he began his Rental, and there is abundant evidence that he was rapidly buying land. In fact the next property to be described is one that had thus come to him recently by purchase, namely Twistleton manor and demesne, near Ingleton, on the south side of Ingleborough. The Hall itself, with orchard, garden and demesne, was rented out for £30 a year, the name of the tenant surprisingly not being mentioned.

Though the Shireburns are naturally enough associated with Stonyhurst, they were originally a Fylde family. The actual property of Stonyhurst is first heard of as being granted in 1103 to Ralph le Roux, whose descendants took the name of

<sup>(2)</sup> Chetham Soc. N.S., Vol. 72, p. 27.

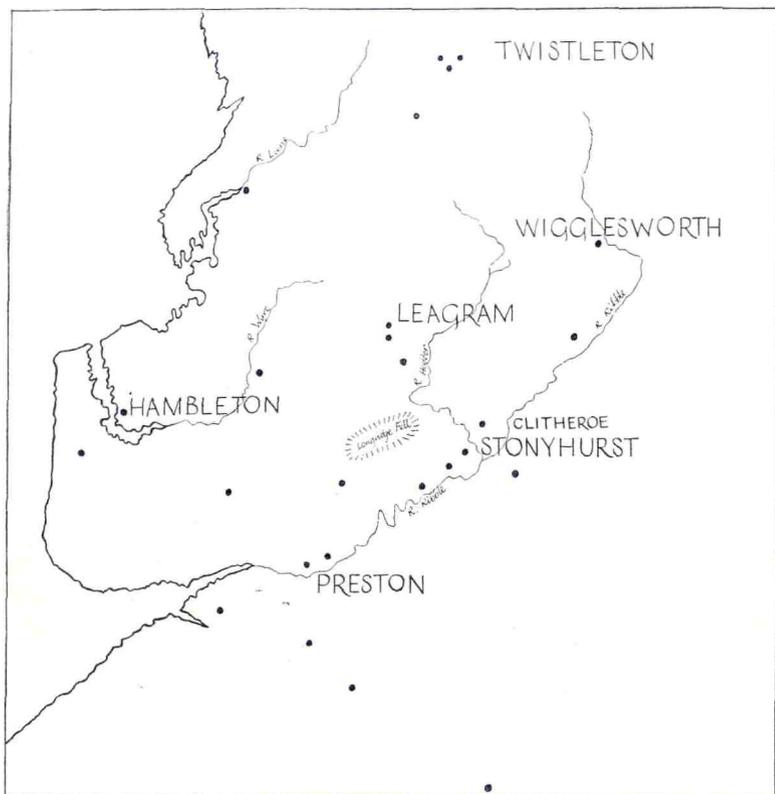


Fig. 2. THE SHIREBURN ESTATES

Map of their distribution in North Lancashire and North-west Yorkshire.  
Drawn by Margaret Hulme.

Mitton from the village on their lands between the lower Hodder and the Ribble. Ninety years later a younger branch of the family was given lands in Bailey and adopted that name. This younger branch in time acquired Stonyhurst, and in 1377 Richard Bailey of Stonyhurst married Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Shireburn from the Fylde. Whereupon the Bailey family changed its name to Shireburn, and so this name first became connected with Stonyhurst.

With her marriage Margaret Shireburn seems to have brought fairly extensive Shireburn property to the Baileys, which in course of time was inherited by Sir Richard, and his Rental records him as getting £15.15.10 from Hambleton and £14.17.6 from Carleton. In 1572 he added to his property in the Fylde the quarter of an estate which he bought from Lancelot Bold, and which is described as being in "Great Carleton, Horseholm and Sauerby". We are able to find out some of the negotiations by which Sir Richard obtained these lands by supplementing the evidence of the Rental with that of the Accounts, which actually take up the greater part of the book. These show him paying in instalments. On 29 July 1572 he paid £40 which he had received from his rents. On 21 August another £20 followed, but he had to borrow the money from a Mr. Dalton. In October however he managed to satisfy all obligations. On the 6th his debt to Dalton was repaid, and on the 29th he handed over the final £25.17.8½ to Bold, and wrote in his ledger, no doubt thankfully, if not grammatically, "my bills is delivered and cancelled".

Incidentally on 3 October we find him paying to his servant, Wilding, who was commissioned to supply him with fish and fowl, the sum of 6s. 8d. for supplying fowl to Stonyhurst on the two occasions on which Bold was there. So the financial transaction seems to have been eased by Shireburn hospitality. The rent of the lands, however, only amounted to £1.8.4 a year, and the Accounts give no explanation as to why so good a business man as Sir Richard took such trouble in purchasing lands which only gave him 1½% on his outlay.

However, Sir Richard made an even more surprising purchase over the Wyre in Hambleton, where on 5 June 1572 he gave £20 as part of a larger sum to Nicholas Sumner for five acres called Holmclose, which brought in £1.13.4 a year, for another acre and a half for which William Gaunt had to pay him a red rose a year for an unspecified number of years, for half an acre of meadow for which a red rose was also due, and for a croft for which William Whiteside for a number of years was to pay no rent at all. The whole transaction is obscure,

for although £20 is mentioned as part of a larger sum, no further payment to Nicholas Sumner appears. But the purchase of this land in addition to that of Lancelot Bold, shows that Sir Richard was very much alive to his interests in the Fylde, though it was two hundred years since it had been the site of his family's principal residence.

The most interesting name among Sir Richard's thirty-two tenants in Carleton is *Allen*, namely Hugh and George Allen. This George was the elder brother of William, Cardinal Allen, who had begun his seminary at Douai three years before Sir Richard began his Rental. George died in 1579 holding lands in Poulton, Thornton, Norbreck, Great Bispham and Marton. He had also, like Sir Richard, bought lands in Hambleton from Nicholas Sumner.

In Hambleton Sir Richard had twenty-seven tenants there headed by Edward, earl of Derby himself, who paid through two of his tenants 3s. a year for freehold land in addition to the obligation resting on all the inhabitants of Hambleton to pay in common £21 a year for 30½ acres and 75 fauls called Shireburn Heyes.<sup>(3)</sup> In Hambleton today there is a row of ugly twentieth-century council houses called Sherbourne Road, and though the spelling has changed, and the inhabitants seem unable to give any information, this looks as if it might be a survival of Shireburn Heyes, or to have some connection with the family which was once so prominent there.

It is interesting to find "a chamber lately builded in the town of Hamelton letten at will to the priest of Hamelton." No rent is mentioned. On the other hand every year from 1572 to 1576 (16 October 1572; 15 October 1573; 23 October 1574; 14 July 1575 and 16 July 1576) Sir Richard gave 2s. in alms to the priest of Hambleton. Though the Anglican church of St. Mary at Hambleton goes back to the Middle Ages, no incumbent is listed in the *Victoria County History* before 1699. But Catholicism remained strong there, papists being registered there in 1717. Here we perhaps touch on a problem which goes beyond Lancashire, namely the number of lower clergy who refused to accept the religious settlement at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The figure which has generally been accepted, from Camden in the sixteenth century to Henry Gee on the threshold of the twentieth, is about 200. But this was challenged about fifty years ago by Dom H. N. Birt of Downside in his *Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, who argued from the disproportionate disappearance of names from the registers

<sup>(3)</sup> Fall or faul is given by the *O.E.D.* as 1/160th of an acre, and so it is the same as a rod, pole or perch.

at the time and put the numbers as high as 1,700 or 1,800. Professor Pollard objected to Birt on the ground that it was difficult to know whither the vanished clergy went, since they were not sent to the English prisons and there is no evidence to suggest that great numbers went abroad. But this entry in the Rental perhaps suggests a partial answer to Pollard's difficulty. The vanished clergy eked out an existence under the protection of the same class which was later to welcome the Jesuits and the seminary priests, namely the landed gentry. A clearer example than this one at Hambleton is contained in the Rental under Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, where in 1571 Richard Gradell, clerk, is found paying 2s. 4d. a year for a cottage, a garden and two paddocks which had lately been enclosed by the side of the lane leading to Lower Hodder Bridge. In the course of the next year, 26 April 1572, Sir Richard gave him £1, partly in return for services in the past, and partly out of charity. A year later, 19 March 1573, he gave him 19s. and remitted his rent, and the entry of that year makes it clear that the donation was a regular one. After 1573 Gradell's name vanishes from the accounts. However, the Yorkshire Chantry Surveys throw further light on his earlier life, and show that he was the last priest of the Shireburn chantry in Mitton church, founded by Sir Richard's grandfather, Hugh Shireburn. In 1546 the commissioners who visited the chantries prior to their dissolution reported that he was fifty-one years old and "indifferently learned."<sup>(4)</sup> So when he received the last donation mentioned in the Accounts he was nearly eighty, and it is not surprising that he did not need Sir Richard's material help much longer.

Sir Richard inherited one more Fylde manor, namely Catforth, near the main road from Preston to Lancaster. Catforth Hall was rented out to William Ambrose for £4.6.8 a year, while the whole manor brought in £6.5.0. Two other Lancashire manors, which had been in the possession of the family for some time, also brought in a comparatively large income, namely Longton, where the rents amounted to £23.8.4, and Wiswell where they amounted to £19.6.8½. There was a Longton Hall, let with 43 acres to Richard Walton for £3.8.8 a year, and a Wiswell Hall, let to John Paslew, of the family of the last abbot of Whalley, who was Sir Richard's bailiff there, and who paid him for the house £3.10.0 a year. Some of the land which Sir Richard held in Longton he had recently purchased and he was getting 4s. a year for it from Thurstan Mawdesley.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, Surtees Society Publications, Vol. 91-2, Part II, pp. 247, 405.

Sir Richard also got rents from some property near Preston, which he calls the Fishwick lands. These take up one page of the Rental, but internal evidence, together with that of the later accounts, shows that the entry was a later addition and that it was not part of the Rental as it was drawn up in 1571-2. The main residence in these Fishwick lands was Fishwick Hall by the Ribble, about three-quarters of a mile above the bridge between Preston and Walton-le-Dale. The actual owners of the property were the Molyneux of Sefton, but the Fishwick family had a lease of it. In the early part of Elizabeth's reign, however, they seem to have fallen on hard times. In 1567 there was an action before the duchy court in which Gregory Fishwick tried unsuccessfully to dispossess the then occupiers, his relative, Adam Fishwick, and Thurstan Southworth. Actually the Fishwicks were losing possession altogether of the property from which they took their name, for it seems to have been mortgaged to the second of the two defendants in the case, namely Thurstan Southworth, and the rents were paid to him. Such was the state of affairs when Sir Richard's Rental was drawn up.

To understand how the Rental came to include the Fishwick lands we have to go into the later accounts. On 29 March 1575 we find Sir Richard paying Thurstan Southworth £10 for a holding in Woodplumpton, four miles north of Preston, which yielded in rent 8s. a year, and also £20 for his mortgage on Fishwick Hall, and other lands in Newsham, Whittingham, Comberhalgh, Ashley, Haighton, Goosnargh and Grimsargh. Finally in 1576 he paid £163.6.8 for the outright possession of the lands. The payment had to be made on Whit Sunday or within twenty days of it, in the parish church of Wigan between nine in the morning and three in the afternoon. By this transaction Sir Richard got, besides Fishwick Hall, scattered lands forming more or less a quarter of a circle some four miles from the centre of Preston, stretching from Woodplumpton north-eastwards and then south-eastwards, through Newsham, Goosnargh, Whittingham and Haighton to Grimsargh on the Preston-Longridge road, with Ashley about a mile outside the circle to the north-east.

Apart from these larger Lancashire properties Sir Richard also drew £2.11.7 a year from lands in Dutton, just west of Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, £1.7.8 from those in Clitheroe, £5.2.0 from Chipping, £8.13.11 from Whittingham, £2.12.3 $\frac{3}{4}$  from Leyland, £12.4.4 from Chorley, £3.2.10 from Bolton, £7.17.8 from Lancaster and Ellel and £2.3.6 from Thornley which is at the foot of Jeffrey Hill on the north side of Long-

ridge Fell. This gives a total of £245.0.3 $\frac{3}{4}$  for Sir Richard's Lancashire rents.

Though he had fewer properties in Yorkshire than in Lancashire, the rents which Sir Richard derived from them were not very much less, namely £178.19.10, as against the above mentioned £245.0.3 $\frac{3}{4}$ . This considerable sum came chiefly from Wigglesworth and Twistleton, to which reference has already been made. Sir Richard also possessed in Yorkshire, West Esholt and Guiseley, which are about eight or ten miles north-west of Leeds, and Auckley and Finningley about six miles east of Doncaster. I am unable to say how Sir Richard came to have these lands in West Esholt and Guiseley, so far away from his main estates. The lodge and park of Esholt were rented to a William Arthington for £9.15.8 a year, while the two manors together brought in £27.17.10. Sir Richard's possession of Auckley and Finningley is much easier to explain, for on 6 November 1556 Robert Clitheroe of Bailey Hall in Bailey, whose family had held the hall for two hundred years, sold it to him. The deed of sale is still at Stonyhurst. With Bailey Hall, Clitheroe sold Comforth Hall in Whittingham, and other properties there, and his much larger possessions in Auckley and Finningley. The rents of these two manors were £22.14.2, though Sir Richard was only entitled to half of them.<sup>(5)</sup>

Sir Richard had also Yorkshire estates at Dent, near Sedbergh, which brought in £7.1.4 a year, and at Greystonegill near Bentham and at Bolton-by-Bowland, which respectively brought in £8.4.4 and £1.4.0. Adding together the receipts of both counties we get £424.0.1 $\frac{3}{4}$  as the sum total of all his rents.

From this account of Sir Richard's properties it can be seen that, even if we confine ourselves to Lancashire, his interests were most extensive, ranging from Lancaster in the north of the county to Bolton in the south, and from the Fylde coast in the west to Clitheroe in the east.

## II. PAYMENTS IN SERVICE AND IN KIND

Sir Richard's Rental has another interest in that it portrays a money economy shaking off an earlier feudal one, based on services, traces of which, however, still remain. There are three groups of manors in which we see the old system to some extent in force. The first is Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley and

<sup>(5)</sup> For the purchase of the Clitheroe lands see TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 68, p. 118.

so the immediate neighbourhood of Stonyhurst. With this may be grouped Dutton, which is the immediate manor to the west. The second is Wigglesworth, and the third is the Yorkshire property round Ingleton which Sir Richard had recently bought from the Redmaynes.

The services generally took three forms; what Sir Richard calls "shearing in harvest time", in other words reaping, "turf graving", in other words digging for peat, and "turf leading", in other words its transport. We find, for example, that Richard Walker of Chaigley, besides an annual money rent of £4.0.10, had to carry twenty cartloads of peat, and do six days' reaping during harvest time, though Sir Richard could, if he willed, demand money in place of the services.

Of the 80 tenants at will in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, 36 had this obligation of reaping in harvest time, and between them they contributed to Sir Richard 126 days' labour. Only 8 were burdened by having to transport peat, the number of days' labour involved being 21. Finally 5 tenants owed "fathers of turf", in other words cartloads of peat; for 2 of these the number laid down was 10, but for the others no number was specified. In short, boon works provided Sir Richard with about 50 cartloads of peat which were dug for him by 5 of his tenants, transported for him by another 8, who had to spend 20 days' labour on the work, and finally, in harvest time 36 tenants contributed 126 days' labour. In the adjacent manor of Dutton, to the west, 4 out of his 8 tenants owed him boon works in the form of reaping. One of them, James Bushell, in addition to an annual money rent of 8s., contributed 2 days' reaping and no less than 60 cartloads of peat. In Whittingham, some six or seven miles to the west, 4 tenants out of 15 had to reap for 2 days a year, and no other labour services are mentioned.

However, it was in two of the Yorkshire manors that the old order maintained itself most steadfastly. In Wigglesworth, out of 58 tenants at will, only 13 had no labour obligations: 28 owed a day's ploughing a year, 41 a day's harrowing, 41 a day's digging for peat, 41 a day for the carriage of the peat, and 42 owed three days' reaping in harvest time. This gives a total of 277 days' work which had to be provided for Sir Richard. Finally, in the newly-purchased property at Twistleton, Thornton, Westhouse and Bentham, we find labour services almost universal. In Twistleton each of Sir Richard's 16 tenants had to give a day's reaping, 2 days' harrowing and 3 days' mowing each year, and each was responsible for 6 cartloads of peat. In Thornton, Westhouse and Bentham the same universal

obligations are found, but they are lighter, each of the 11 tenants having a day's reaping, harrowing and mowing each year, and also having to transport 6 cartloads of peat.

Parallel to these labour services and part of the same feudal economy are payments in kind, and, of these, that which occurs most frequently is payment in hens. This we again find frequent in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley where 28 out of the 80 tenants-at-will owed a total of 98 hens a year. At Whittingham 4 tenants contributed 2 hens each. None were contributed by the Yorkshire manors of Wigglesworth, Twistleton and the others, where in other respects feudal services remained so comparatively strong; but on the other hand, at Longton, about five miles south-west of Preston, where all the rest of the rent was paid in money, 15 out of the 42 tenants had to contribute hens, the total number of birds amounting to 47 a year. It is interesting to find that as early as 1571 Longton was thus conspicuous for its yield of poultry, for to this day it is one of the great poultry regions of Lancashire. In all, the total number of hens thus contributed to Sir Richard was 153, the same as that of the miraculous draught of fishes of the twenty-first chapter of St. John's gospel, though I doubt whether the coincidence ever struck Sir Richard.

One other payment in kind made by tenants-at-will to Sir Richard was salt. The only manor where this form of payment was in force was that of Hambleton. Richard Bradshaw of that manor owed for his lands 35s., and for his salt-cote 14 "Preston measures" of salt, which were to be delivered at Stonyhurst. John Carter of Hambleton had to pay and deliver 18 measures. These are the only two who are mentioned with the obligation of delivering the salt. Four others had merely to pay measures of salt, one 6, two others 14, another 18 and a peck, a peck, as is clear from the Rental, being half a measure.<sup>(6)</sup> In the accounts there is no mention of wages paid for the conveyance of the salt to Stonyhurst, but on 25 August 1574 Sir Richard is recorded as having given a shilling, "to the men who brought my rent salte acordyng to the anchonde coustom."

All the labour dues and payments in kind which I have mentioned so far were owed by those whom Sir Richard refers to as tenants-at-will, but some of them should probably more correctly be called copyholders.

Most of the freeholders paid a small money rent, but some

<sup>(6)</sup> I have been unable to discover how much a Preston measure was. Diversity of local weights and measures is a frequent source of difficulty. cf. G. H. Tupling in *Trans. of the Lancs. and Ches. Antiquarian Soc.*, Vol. 58, pp. 1-34; Vol. 59, pp. 1-34.

had other picturesque obligations attached. Some had obligations without a money rent. Thus John Holden paid for the Greens in Chaigley a penny and a pair of gloves a year; Richard Houghton, also of Chaigley, 6d. and two pairs of gloves; John Bradley of Chaigley, suit of court and mill, and also 4s. in alms to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which presumably had been going to the crown, at least since 1559. Richard Shuttleworth had to pay a barbed arrow, Robert Loud three grains of pepper and suit of court. Richard Lackes owed a red rose a year. These freehold obligations affected tenants round Stonyhurst in the manor of Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, but also at Wigglesworth the heirs of Sir Thomas Talbot owed suit of court, as did four other tenants in the other Yorkshire manor of Guiseley. One of the latter also paid a pound of pepper or 3s. 4d. in its place, and another a pair of spurs.

Payments in services and kind were therefore varied and picturesque. But what did they amount to in practice? We must say—very little; even in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, in Wigglesworth and round Twistleton, the manorial economy, though sufficiently evident to show that it once formed the basis of land tenure, was a survival of a passing age, though not an entirely useless one. Perhaps we can say that it occupied the place in the Shireburn land system that horse traction plays in modern life. It is useful but not common, and survives from an older economy. We can form some idea of the importance of labour duties and of payments in kind by seeing their value in terms of money. Sir Richard reckoned a day of unskilled work, such as reaping or digging for peat as worth 2d. At Wigglesworth some payments were higher, 8d. for a day's ploughing, 4d. for a day's digging peat, and 8d. for a day's carriage of peat. But when all the boon works and payments in kind are added together, we find that at Wigglesworth they only amounted to £4.0.8, compared with money rents of £71.1.10; in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley £2.1.10 compared with £77.4.2½; at Twistleton 17s. 4d. compared with £48.5.3; at Longton 15s. 8d. compared with £23.8.4; at Dutton 11s. 2d. compared with £2.11.7, and at Whittingham 2s. 8d. compared with £8.13.11. The only exception was Hambleton, where salt contributions amounted to £4.17.6 compared with money payments of £15.15.10, and so to nearly a quarter of the entire rent of the manor, a higher proportion than boon works or payment in kind anywhere else.

## III. OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

If we turn to the Accounts as opposed to the Rental, we find that they are arranged under various estates, so that revenue and expenditure on Sir Richard's scattered properties during each of the five years can be found with little difficulty. But one large source of income was composed of certain rents which are not in the Rental. The lands concerned were not family estates, but were held by Sir Richard for life or on some shorter tenure. The most important was "my farm at Kirby Malzard and Thirsk." This was in the North Riding, and was owned by the earl of Derby to whom rent was paid. The profits which Sir Richard made on this were very large; his rents to the earl and other items of expenditure from Pentecost 1571 to Pentecost 1572 amounted to £78.2.0, his receipts to £155.5.11, leaving him £77.3.11 to the good. This is a higher figure than any yielded by an estate recorded in the Rental, except Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, and Wigglesworth. Moreover, profits continued to increase, rising by the year 1575-6 to £171.1.6½, the vast growth being almost entirely due to reduced expenditure rather than to increased revenue.

Another property which Sir Richard held of the earl of Derby was Greenhalgh Park, just east of Garstang, whose castle was later battered down by the Parliamentarians during the civil war, though part of one corner still stands. This had been granted to him for life. Incidentally when recording his revenue of £12 a year from this source, Sir Richard also referred to himself as deputy steward and forester of Her Majesty's forest of Amounderness. Sir Richard also rented the parsonage of Ribchester, but on much less advantageous terms than Kirby Malzard and Thirsk, for, though revenue amounted to between £30 and £41 a year, expenses were almost as high. In 1571-2 they almost balanced, and for the next three years the surplus was respectively £10.16.7, £16.4.4 and £11.9.3. No figures are given for the year 1575-6.

Wardships were a very profitable source of income. Some of these were not of great importance, such as that of the Crossdale daughters of Wiswell, on whose behalf Sir Richard received on 23 April 1572 40s., out of which he had to pay 2s. to each of the three daughters and 3s. to their mother. There is no further mention of this in the Accounts, so presumably this was the last year of Sir Richard's guardianship. But two other wardships were very important. One was that of Thomas Talbot of Bashall, of his younger brother, John, and his sisters, Mary and Anne. Bashall is only about four miles from Stony-

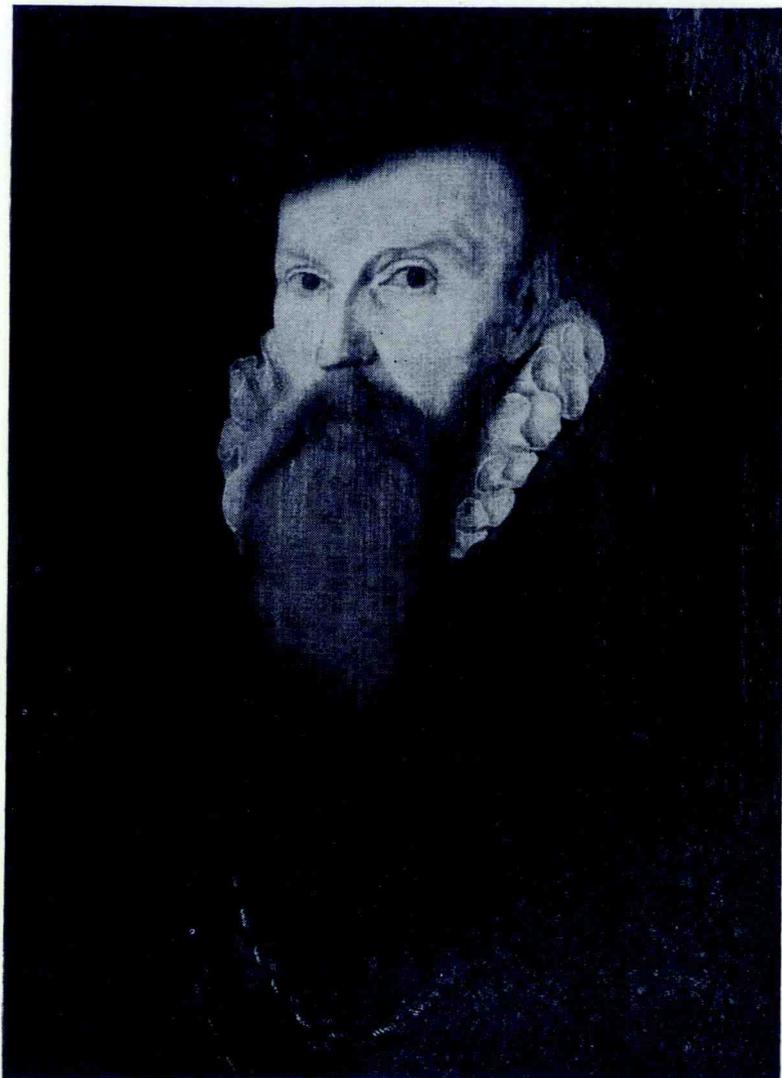


Plate 2. SIR RICHARD SHIREBURN, 1523-94  
From a portrait now at Stonyhurst College.

hurst, across the Hodder to the north, and so in the Craven district of Yorkshire. Sir Richard's grandfather, Hugh, had married Anne Talbot, so that he was related to his wards. The profits from the Bashall estates amounted to £169.19.5½, £90.19.9½, £83.1.10½, £138.5.11½ and £140.18.7, respectively each year from 1572 to 1576. From this must be subtracted about £15 a year for clothes for the family, which Sir Richard enters elsewhere (under *Foreign Payments*), but the profit was still quite large enough to show why wardships were so eagerly sought after by the landed classes in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The other wardship was that of Thomas Langton whose family had much property both in Newton-in-Makerfield and in Walton-le-Dale. Thomas Langton succeeded to his lands in 1569 when only eight years old, and his guardian, Sir Richard, realised the possibility of a profitable marriage for his daughter, Margaret, and the two were promptly engaged. The *Victoria County History* speaks of them as having married, and Sir Richard on 16 September 1571 and on other occasions certainly referred to Langton's marriage, but presumably no more was meant than a solemn betrothal. Langton broke this off when he was nineteen years old. Later in life, in 1589, he received some unfortunate publicity when he and eighty of his tenants clashed with Thomas Hoghton of Hoghton Tower and thirty of his tenants. In the skirmish, which arose over the ownership of some cattle, Langton was wounded and Hoghton was killed. In recompense the Langton family surrendered all their lands in Walton-le-Dale to the Hoghtons.

The accounts of Newton and of Walton appear to be incomplete. No figures at all are given before the year 1573-4, though Sir Richard's guardianship must have begun before then, and the figures for Walton-le-Dale are incomplete for 1573-4. But the total profits for the Langton wardship for the three years 1573-6 were none the less greater than those received from the Talbot one, £548.5.3¾ as compared with £453.6.2½. Admittedly Sir Richard had to pay £160 into the Court of Wards, for the guardianship of Thomas Langton, but it was money well invested.

The Accounts throw some light on the way Sir Richard managed his estates. He acted through bailiffs, the more important ones generally being members of his own family.<sup>(7)</sup> One such bailiff was Edmund Shireburn, probably of Shireburn House in Bailey, which still exists about a quarter of a mile

<sup>(7)</sup> I have been unable to find out the relationship of these Shireburn bailiffs to Sir Richard. Information about some of them will be found in *A History of the Family of Sherborn* by Charles Davies Sherborn (1901).

north of the present Preston-Clitheroe road, and about a mile west of Hurst Green. In his will, dated 1591, he gave instructions that he was to be buried near St. Nicholas choir in Mitton church, and he left his dappled grey mare to "my master, Sir Richard Shireburn, knight."<sup>(8)</sup> With Sir Richard, Richard Shireburn of Bailey Hall and two other local landlords, he contributed the money for the building of Lower Hodder Bridge in 1561.<sup>(9)</sup> This Edmund was bailiff for Chorley and Bolton, and a general idea of his duties may be gained if we describe what he did during the course of the year 1572. He paid in the rents for these two properties on 16 January, 29 July and 16 November. On each of these days he received 66s. 8d. to be passed on as an annuity charged on the Chorley and Bolton estates to Sir Richard's half-brother, Charles Shuttleworth. On 22 April he paid to Sir Richard some dues not connected with Chorley and Bolton, namely the tithes of calves, tithes of corn and Easter roll of Ribchester, which amounted to £38.3.3. On the same day he received from Sir Richard £29 which he had paid on his behalf in the preceding January for the rent of the Ribchester parsonage. On this same day of April he was re-imbursed for the money he had spent on deponents in a legal case, providing them with bread and ale at Hacking and with dinner at Whalley. Finally, besides handing in his own Chorley rents on 29 July, he also on that day handed in those of Wiswell, the Fylde, Esholt and Guiseley, which on this occasion the bailiffs of these estates paid through him, though generally they seem to have paid them in person.

The bailiff of Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley when the Accounts open was Charles Shireburn, who had some property at Wardsley-in-Bowland, on the Lancashire side of the Hodder, about a mile upstream from Doeford Bridge, for which he paid rent to Sir Richard. Besides paying in the rents of Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, he was also in 1572 responsible for those of the *arbyge land in Bowland* (a term which will be explained later), and for collecting Sir Richard's dues as master forester of Bowland. Also Sir Richard paid through him to Ralph Assheton Esq., "Receiver of the Duchy within the County of Lancaster", £15.6.8 as six months' *arbyge* rent due to the Queen. He also paid through him rent for Bashall, and lent 40s. to a certain Mr. Lennox whom the Accounts seem to show Sir Richard treated with considerable generosity. Charles Shireburn received a wage of 40s. a year, which is startlingly low. After 1573 he ceased to be bailiff, but he continued to do

<sup>(8)</sup> Chetham Soc., N.S., Vol. 28, p. 159.

<sup>(9)</sup> Gerard, J., *Stonyhurst Centenary Record*, p. 57.

services for Sir Richard. On 2 April 1574 he and fourteen others accompanied Sir Richard and his second son, Hugh, to the Lancaster Assizes, and shortly afterwards he was sent to Sir Ralph Sadler's house in London on some legal business for Sir Richard.

His place as bailiff in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley was taken by Thomas Shireburn, son of the previously mentioned Edmund, who only outlived his father by a year, dying in 1592 and asking to be buried near his father.<sup>(10)</sup> The work he did was similar to that of his predecessor, though perhaps more varied. Apart from being responsible for the rents, and being the intermediary for a further loan to Robert Lennox, he also sometimes paid the weekly wages for some buildings which Sir Richard was putting up at Stonyhurst in 1574 and 1575. He also paid Wilding who supplied Sir Richard with fish, and on 15 December 1576 he handed over 53s. for the repair of the pale round the orchard.

Leagram was occupied by Sir Richard's uncle, Robert Shireburn, apparently rent free.<sup>(11)</sup> He acted as bailiff, though he is not so called, nor is he given any wages. He paid in the rents for Leagram and Chipping, the money for gyste in both properties, and also with Edmund Shireburn on 2 April 1573 the £15.6.8 owed to the Queen as *arbyge* rent of Bowland. He also attended to the Leagram estate, paying workmen in July and August 1573 for marling the lower end of the Park, and in the previous April he had indicted men at Lancaster for cutting wood in the same park. The work of Richard Ainsworth, bailiff of Newton, and of Anthony Witter of Bashall was similar to that of these Shireburn bailiffs. Wigglesworth, however, was unique in having the offices of bailiff and reeve combined in one man, Edmund Lathes. In the remaining properties the bailiffs were almost entirely concerned with the handing in of rents, for example George Ross in Thirsk and Kirby Malzard, John Woodcock in Walton, John Holden in the Fylde, Christopher Brown in Esholt and Guiseley, Richard Walton in Longton, Christopher Waller in Twistleton, Thomas Canfeld in Burton-in-Lonsdale, John Paslew in Wiswell and John Wender in Lancaster and Ellel. There was some slight variety from year to year and from place to place, as with John Wender who on 24 April 1574 spent 46s. 8d. on Sir

<sup>(10)</sup> Chetham Soc., N.S., Vol. 28, p. 159.

<sup>(11)</sup> The Rental, in an entry under Chipping, describes Robert as having received some land as a gift from his father, Hugh, Sir Richard's grandfather, which would make Robert and Sir Richard uncle and nephew respectively. He is mentioned by Weld, *History of Leagram*, p. 15, who apparently did not know what the relationship was.

Richard's behalf buying twenty loads of slate at Gressingham, eight miles north-east of Lancaster, "the lode to be a yerde square everye waye."

Reeves are only mentioned on the larger estates of Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, of Leagram and of Wigglesworth, but they were the most important officials after the bailiffs. Sometimes their duties overlapped with theirs. In general these duties consisted of taking cattle to market, in attending to necessary repairs, laying in agricultural equipment and to some extent paying wages. Thus on 23 April 1572 John Loud, the reeve of Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, was re-imbursed for his purchase of two pack saddles, four girths, eight plough clouts, four pairs of traces, four halters and six plough 'sheers', and also for the expense of thatching the tith barn in Bailey, and for 1s. 4d. which he had paid James Marshal for making hay in Aighton Bank. On the following 15 August he was given 2s. 8d. to cover the expenses of himself and a companion in taking eleven steers to Preston Fair, and on the same day he and Edmund Lathes of Wigglesworth vouched that Robert Gregson of Leagram had spent 3s. 4d. at the same fair on his own behalf and on that of his two companions when bringing there twelve of Sir Richard's cattle. John Loud's wage was 40s. a year, the same as Sir Richard's bailiffs' wage. On 19 September 1574 he paid £20 as a fine for being granted a house in Wiswell, which he was to hold for the yearly rent of 20s., so the profits of his office had been sufficient to establish him in modest affluence.

In Leagram, Robert Gregson's work was similar to that of John Loud, but in Wigglesworth, Edmund Lathes had far more varied duties, partly, as has been said, because he combined the offices of bailiff and reeve. Thus he paid in the Wigglesworth rents and also the money for the cattle sold at various fairs, for sheep sold, for agistment, for the sale of grass, hay and of wool. An unusual item is £4 spent at York on 3 October 1571 on flax, which was sent to Stonyhurst to be made into sheets, while almost exactly two years later, on 13 October 1573, we again find him at York buying glass for new windows at Leagram. However, it was only exceptionally that Lathes had business with Stonyhurst, for almost all his work concerned Wigglesworth. Besides being responsible for rents, and supervising the sale of stock and the cultivation of the property, he was on 15 October 1573, 20 October 1574, 11 October 1575 and 22 October 1576 given rather more than £12 to pay the Wigglesworth servants. Included in this was £2 a year for his own wage.

Sir Richard got some revenue from offices which he held.

What he got as master forester of Bowland was small, only amounting to a total of £23.1.4 for the four years 1572-5, but apparently associated with the office is another and larger income which he calls *arbyge land in Bowland*. *Arbyge* is his rendering of *herbage*, the right to pasture animals, but here it seems to mean the renting out of pasture land. It brought him in an average of between £9 and £10 a year, and included more than just pasture, for example, proceeds of the sale of wool, and in 1575 that of cattle, corn, sheep, and even of two cheeses, which earned him 2s. 2d. Expenditure included some unusual items, such as a scythe, a pair of shears, a chisel, three basins, two cheese vats and three ale pots. Tar cost him 1s. 4d., and he paid 6d. for "shoeing the grey mare." A fairly large rent had, however, to be paid to the Queen, which kept profits fairly low.

Sir Richard had rights over the fair at Bolton in the Moors, the modern cotton town of Bolton. He was entitled to a wyke-toll of 1s.; also there was a fair oven for which he exacted a toll, and he could exact a toll from those doing business at the fair. All this brought in £6.2.6 in 1571-2 and the amount did not vary much in subsequent years, but the wages of twelve toll keepers for exacting the toll on the oven and six for exacting that on the fair, the fees of the steward and of the bailiff of the fair, and—a picturesque touch—6d. for the minstrels ran away with half the income.

Apart from actual rents from land, Sir Richard drew some income from fines exacted when it changed hands. For example, Richard Ash of Stockbridge in Aighton, about half a mile north-west of Stonyhurst, on 20 April 1572 paid the first part of a fine of £26.13.4 for a holding which had been previously held by his father. Such fines were also exacted at Bolton (6 June 1574, £13.6.8; 14 April 1576, £6.13.4; and 22 October 1576, £10.0.0), in the Fylde (6 October 1575, £2.14.8 and £3.6.8; 18 September 1576, £4.0.0), at Kirby Malzard (13 July 1576, £26.13.4 as part payment of £40) and at Twistleton (between 24 October 1573 and 2 July 1575, £16.10.0).

The principal commodities which Sir Richard sold from his estates were corn, cattle, wool and timber. He also drew a good income from agistment. This does not mean, as it does on the Bowland *arbyge land*, the letting out of pasture land, but payments to Sir Richard for allowing beasts to come into his own pastures. Most of his income under these headings is produced by the estates in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, in Wigglesworth and in Leagram, and also by the property of his wards in Bashall and in Newton-in-Makerfield. In Aighton,

Bailey and Chaigley cattle realised the highest figure between 1571 and 1576, namely £145.9.1, nearly half of this (£71.12.0) coming in one year, namely 1573-4. Wool during the same period brought in £85.9.4 and corn £36.12.3. Figures in Wigglesworth were higher, and indeed Wigglesworth at this time was the most lucrative of all the Shireburn estates. The revenue from wool was £65.11.3 and so slightly less than in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, but that from cattle and corn was very much greater, namely £156.3.6½ and £249.15.8½ respectively. Moreover agistment which realised a mere £2 in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley here brought in £148.18.8. In Leagram wool only brought in £17.6.8, but the sale of cattle earned £92.1.11 and agistment £113.4.9. No corn was sold in Leagram. In Bashall, the property of Sir Richard's Talbot wards, and in Newton and Walton, that of his ward Thomas Langton, agistment was the chief source of income after rents.

The comparative rarity with which sheep were sold is surprising. On 19 October 1572 Edmund Lathes sold three fat Wigglesworth ewes to John Sargantson for 10s., and almost a year later he sold sixteen ewes for 3s. each. Nine more were sold on 3 January of the next year, 1574, again for 3s. each. At Settle market on 17 April 1575 Lathes found readier buyers, and disposed of thirteen wethers for 6s. each and four ewes for 4s. each. On 11 October 1575 Fletcher, the Wigglesworth shepherd also sold twenty lambs for 36s. No sheep are recorded as sold in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley, or in Leagram. But in Whitendale-in-Bowland three wethers were sold for 21s. in October 1575. The prices obtained by Sir Richard were less than those prevailing in the country at large. A table given by R. H. Tawney in his *Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* gives 6s. 4d. as the average price of sheep from 1541 to 1582. Prices on the Shireburn estates, as we have seen, rarely touched this. In the sale of cattle the story is the same. Two steers from Wigglesworth were sold at the spring fair at Preston for £2.9.6 each, and at the next winter fair for £2.16.8. In the previous spring fair at Preston eleven Stonyhurst heifers, or whyes as Sir Richard calls them, after being taken to the park at Walton-le-Dale to be fattened, were sold for 37s. 4d. each. Going back a year earlier to the Preston spring fair of 1573, we find that two steers from Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley were sold for £3.10.0 each, two for £2.13.4½ each, and two for £2.10.0 each. The average price for the country was £3.10.0¼ which was well above the general level of the Shireburn estates. On the other hand, the relative price of corn was higher. What was sold is usually described as groats, which

generally meant hulled and coarsely crushed oats. These groats fetched 2s. 6d. or 3s. a mette, which seems to have been about a bushel, in other words 20s. to 24s. a quarter. The average price of oats as given by Tawney is 20s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a quarter, so that Shireburn prices were rather higher than those of the country at large.

It will be noticed that Wigglesworth cattle were sold at Preston, which is surprising, since Preston is about thirty miles away, and one would have expected the cattle to have been disposed of at some nearer market, such as Gisburn or Skipton. Possibly they were brought down from the high country round Wigglesworth to be fattened for market on the Shireburn lands in the lower Ribble valley. Or perhaps better prices could be expected there than in the rich cattle country of Craven. Incidentally Sir Richard's reeves travelled fairly widely to dispose of their cattle. Apart from the fairs at Preston and Settle which have already been mentioned, we hear of sales at Gisburn, Burnley, Colne, Blackburn, Clitheroe, Newton-in-Bowland, Garstang, and even Wigan, while in October 1574 six Stonyhurst steers were sold as far away as Warrington. For his wool Sir Richard also sometimes found distant buyers. In 1572 he sold his Stonyhurst wool to Thomas Marshall of Esholt; in 1574 he sold it to a Mr. Bridges of Halifax, and in 1576 again to Thomas Marshall. Wigglesworth and Leagram wool on the other hand seems to have been sold locally.

The sale of timber too brought in a certain amount in Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley and considerably more in Esholt, where £21. 7. 10 was realised during the five years. Oaks brought in about 15s. each and ashes as little as 3s., these being the only kinds of timber specifically mentioned. One oak in particular was sold for £1 on 6 June 1577 and was obviously an object of pride, being spoken of as *The Great Oak*. It is recorded that the trunk was nine yards long, four yards in circumference at the bowl and about two and a half at the top.

#### IV. FOREIGN AND HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES

One important part of Sir Richard's expenditure must still be dealt with, namely what he calls *Foreign Payments*. These are not attached to any particular estate, and are perhaps best described as miscellaneous expenses. During the five years they amounted to the large sum of £858.16.7 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The largest item in the Foreign Payments was for the purchase of land, such as the £85.16.7 $\frac{1}{2}$  spent on buying Lancelot Bold's lands in Great Carleton, and the £20 on Nicholas Sumner's lands in

Hambleton. A much larger purchase than these, however, was that of lands in Chorley from the third Lord Monteagle, for which on 8 April 1575 Sir Richard handed over £200; but on the previous 23 January, he had paid another £200 for them, and on the following 22 December he paid another £300, though the two last mentioned payments were entered under *Chorley* and not under *Foreign Payments*.

Another important item in *Foreign Payments* was legal expenses, which were fairly frequent since Sir Richard was concerned in litigation almost continuously from March 1572 till December 1575. At times he was involved in several suits at once. From March 1572 to April 1574 we find him supporting his half-brother, Charles Shuttleworth, who was claiming some lands in Billington near Whalley and in Simonstone near Padiham. Sir Richard's costs amounted to £10.11.8, but the Accounts give no evidence as to how the case went. At the same time at the request of Charles Shuttleworth he gave Thomas Walmesley of Lyng Colneson £3 towards his suit in the Star Chamber. Between March and July 1572 when Charles Shuttleworth's case was in its early stages, Sir Richard was bringing an action for damages on his own behalf against Anthony and Nicholas White, about some lands in Woodplumpton. Sir Richard was awarded £4.18.0 and his expenses in the case were £1.0.6.

The year 1573 saw two cases concerned with Leagram. On 2 April Sir Richard's uncle, Robert Shireburn, was allowed his expenses for going to Lancaster to indict some offenders who had been cutting wood in Leagram Park; on the following 15 October two men who had taken a swarm of bees from Stotteclose-in-Bowland had to pay a fine of 3s.

In 1574 Sir Richard was also involved in two cases. The Accounts give us little light about one of them, but it involved a forged deed and a journey by Charles Shireburn to London to the house of Sir Ralph Sadler, who besides other offices was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. The case cost Sir Richard £2.10.11. The second case of this year is of permanent importance as showing the rights of the Shireburns from time immemorial to fish from both banks of the Ribble. A leather boat, used by Sir Richard's employees for fishing, together with the paddle and nets had been left on the further bank of the Ribble from Stonyhurst, where they were impounded by Thomas Walmesley, the future judge and builder of Hacking Hall, who owned the land. Sir Richard sent a man to Manchester for a replevin, which cost him 2s 4d., for the recovery of his property. The foundation of Sir Richard's case is best

given by citing the entry in the Accounts. "Itm the xv day of Julye 1574 payed for a replewe iis. iiiid. for the charges of my mane and hys horsse from Stonyhorste to Manchester the space of two dayes xvid. for my lether botte padelle and netts that Thomas Wamsseley cawessed hys mane to take upon the warthe near Rebelle beyng hys lande but where the sayd Sir Rychard and hys ansetores hathe allwayes ben acustomed to fesse as lords of alle wayteres in the maner of Aghton Baley and Chagley." That Sir Richard considered the decision important is shown by his paying Charles Shireburn 3s. 4d. on 25 October 1576, for getting copies of the replevin.

His Yorkshire estates in Esholt and Guiseley involved Sir Richard in two actions in 1575, in one of which he was awarded £56 in damages from Sir John Constable, on account of breach of covenant. The other case was against Sir William Calverley and concerned the parsonage and tithes of Otley. He seems to have won that too. So the Accounts give the impression that Sir Richard was very willing to invoke the law but that he did so with success.

Other items in the Foreign Payments include family and household expenses, and building costs, mostly at Stonyhurst. Sir Richard's family expenses really demand a paper to themselves, but a general idea of them can be gained by describing some of them during the first year of the Accounts, 1571-2. During this year they include £3.10.0 for *batelments* for his sons, Richard and Hugh, at University (spelt *eunvarsate*) College, Oxford, "from the time of their first going up till Easter last." We are not told when they went up, but they must have been up for two terms, and the battels for the two of them only amounted to £3.10.0! Clothes for himself, his wife, his sons and his wards cost the comparatively large sum of £13.19.10. An example of this expenditure is 18s. 10d. spent at Preston on 13 October 1571, for 20 yards of black Kendal frieze to make a gown for his wife, and gowns and jerkins for his sons and wards. On 15 January of the next year his expenses again at Preston, were greater and included £1.5.6 for 2½ yards of black satin to make sleeves for his doublet, and to put a border on his hose, and to make a pair of *scallynges*. This word puzzled the editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary* who rendered it *scalings*, and described it non-committally as *some kind of a garment*. But a later payment in the Accounts on 20 September 1576 for a yard of black fustian to line the *skelings* of Sir Richard's breeches, enables us to be slightly more precise than this. The expenditure at Preston on 15 January 1572 also included 3s. 4d. for two ounces

of black Spanish silk, 1s. 6d. for a yard of linen cloth, and 3s. 9d. for 3 yards of Norman canvas. On the following 3 September he also paid Maggs, the shoemaker, £3.11.10 for making boots and shoes for himself, his family and his wards.

Stonyhurst supported itself in most articles of food and continued to do so till the second world war. In Sir Richard's time the most expensive article of food which had to be brought in was wine, which in this year amounted to £8.1.11. For example, on 26 February 1572 he spent £5.10.0 on a pipe of sack and £2 on a hoghead of claret.

The next most expensive food, strangely enough, was fish, and Sir Richard includes among his Accounts the agreement he made on 9 August 1572 with one, Wilding, for supplying him with fish and fowl, "to be my carter for fish and wild fowl, to be brought weekly, and for the same he must have 20 shillings in money yearly and a livery coat . . . and I to have the fish and wild fowl, as he buys the same at the sea side, and now at first I must give him a horse, and then he afterwards to find himself a horse upon his own charges." One reason for the high expenditure on fish was the old Catholic practice of not eating meat during Lent. Thus, some months before Sir Richard engaged Wilding, we find him on 26 February 1572 spending £3.6.8 on seven mazes of herrings and a dozen white fish for Lent. A maze of herrings is 500, so on this occasion he laid in 3,500. On 14 March he added to these another 550, and also flukes, 7 eels, 2 tenches, a peck of mussels and a peck of cockles. The herring were bought at Whalley, and the rest at Preston, and the whole cost him £1. Two days later he paid Thomas Gardiner 4s. 8d. for a fresh salmon which was sent to Stonyhurst. As he had to pay such a comparatively large sum for it, spring salmon do not seem to have been very plentiful in the Ribble and the Hodder in those days. Moreover the price was not exceptional. Half a salted salmon, bought thirteen days later, cost him 2s., and three-quarters of a fresh salmon as much as 5s. The total amount spent on fish during the year was £6.1.9.

In Sir Richard's agreement with Wilding he also mentions wildfowl, but this is a much less important item, only amounting to 18s. 7d. However the varieties of food which he purchased have a certain interest, for example on 23 December 1571 he spent 11s. 1d. on 3 barnacle geese, or what he calls *barnacres* or *tree geese*, 5 curlew, 6 teal, 3 snipe, a snypecrow, 109 larks, 6 sparrows, a yolbringe, which seems to be a yellowhammer, 4 plovers, a fat dove and other birds.

Soap cost 8s. 4d. during the year: 1s. was spent on black

soap at 4d. a pound, and the rest on various kinds of white soap, including two pounds of what he calls *asselle soap* for 2s. 4d. and a pound of castle or Castile soap for 1s. One final purchase is of what at the time would have been considered luxuries. Generally they were bought at Preston, though on one occasion they were sent from London. They included cloves, cinnamon, ginger, isinglas, aniseed, dates, almonds, prunes, rice, raisins, nutmeg, figs, four boxes of biscuits (spelt *bexketts*) and a box of *marmylade*, the latter costing 1s. 4d. One such purchase was made on 23 December 1571, presumably for Christmas, and another in the next February, which is specifically referred to as *Lent stuff*. But presumably it was for the Shrovetide festivities that preceded Lent.

As wages, if paid by the year, Sir Richard's workmen got 40s. or less, this actually being the wage of Thomas Bold, the gardener, and of George Monk, the cook. Robert Coke, the hunter, or what we would call the gamekeeper, got £1 a year, John Wilson, who was employed in the kitchen got 16s., while the usual wage for women servants was about 10s. a year. From these figures it seems clear that a wage economy played a fairly small part in Shireburn domestic affairs. As builders and masons doing work by the day at Stonyhurst got about 5d., brickmakers and carpenters 4d., and quarrymen and mortar makers about 3d. a day, in other words since they got from £6 to about £3.12.0 a year, the regular domestic wages must appear hopelessly inadequate. The truth would seem to be that those employed at Stonyhurst Hall, and some of those employed on the estate were fed, housed and given perquisites of varying kinds and quantities by Sir Richard, and so their wages played a comparatively small part in their lives. Perhaps we may see an indication of the kind of recompense they were given in the grant on 6 June 1574 to George Monk the cook, of a tenement in Chorley for a fine of £13.6.8 in addition to the annual rent of 12s. Sir Richard had been offered a £20 fine for it, but rejected it in consideration of the services his cook had rendered him.

This book of accounts was written twenty years before Sir Richard's great building works at Stonyhurst were begun, but there are references to improvements and repairs both at Stonyhurst and at Leagram. The most important of these concerns a new brew house at Stonyhurst, a garner salt house, a "room for turfs", a wood yard and a place for coal which were built between October 1574 and the end of 1575. £54.15.4 was spent on the work, and about 53 men were employed; they were paid by the week, something most unusual in these

Accounts, in which most payments are by the day or by the year.

As a parenthesis in this paper there may be inserted what Sir Richard puts as a parenthesis in his Accounts, namely a few paragraphs on the coal, iron and lead found on his estates. These included "a rybe of lead ure" in Radom Park, which is described as four inches thick, and as lying seven fathoms under the ground and on the north side of Hall Hill. Radom, which is on the Yorkshire side of the Hodder, about opposite White-well, is on Bowland shales in which metallic ore is relatively uncommon. The nearest point at which lead is likely to be found is in the sandstone, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the north east; and on the north side of what is now called Crag Hill on the sandstone there are some disused lead mines, which may well be the deposits Sir Richard knew about and perhaps worked.

Another entry concerns coal in Chipping, "in one closse, near to the Outlone toures Wolff House." The coal is nine fathoms deep, and its bed is three-quarters (of a fathom?) thick. Outland Farm and cottages are over a mile to the west of Chipping, and in a field a hundred yards or so in front of them there are so called quarries, long filled up and called by the local children Ant Hill Quarry and Burglars' Quarry, but which resemble the pits from which Sir Richard would have got his coal. Sir Richard also mentions coal in Wiswell, on the demesne, "through the lane upon the east side of Wiswell Shay." He speaks too of ironstone by Parlick, "a fathom deep." "And of the stone grete store and better stone than Staffortheshyre stone." All the coal deposits mentioned were to a greater or lesser extent removed from the great fields of later times. They seem to have been small, local and fairly quickly worked out. But there is mention of Sir Richard purchasing two loads of coal on 29 July 1576 from parts of the country nearer to the present coal fields, thirteen quarters being bought from the colliers of Padiham, and two quarters from those of Henfield, which is a mile and a half north-west of Accrington. Since this is the only reference in the Accounts to the purchase of coal, and since Sir Richard's mention of a place for coal among the new buildings which he put up in 1574-5 testifies to its being generally used, he would appear to have drawn most of his supplies from these small local deposits.

Was Sir Richard a rich man or a poor one? The answer is that he was very well off indeed. Between 1571 and 1576 he spent no less than £1,068.10.2½ in buying land, including the

Monteagle lands in Chorley, the Fishwick lands, the Bold lands in the Fylde, and also some lands in Thornley near Leagram, which cost him £66. In spite of this, his revenue each year greatly exceeded his expenditure, in the first three years more than doubling it. Taken year by year his profits to the nearest pound were £643, £470, £897, £779 and £570. His best year was perhaps 1573-4, when he received £1,313.18.1 $\frac{3}{4}$  and only spent £416.8.5, and this at a time when wages were 2d. to 5d. a day. But this does something to explain Stonyhurst as it can now be seen. For fifteen years after he wrote the last date in these accounts, Sir Richard continued to amass wealth, and then he decided to spend it by building a lasting memorial to himself. And very well he succeeded. How well you can see by approaching Stonyhurst from the west, and by seeing its Quadrangle, its Upper Refectory and its Long Room. There you see his rents, his money for steers, for wool, for agistment transformed into walls and towers and mullioned windows, and in that form they have stood four square to all the winds that have swept across Longridge Fell for the last three hundred and sixty years.

