

HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES OF THE LANCASHIRE GENTRY, 1550-1700

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THE inventories of "goods, cattels and chattels" taken for purposes of probate and originally deposited with the wills in the diocesan registry at Chester for Lancashire south of the Ribble and with the archdeaconry records of Richmond for Lancashire north of the Ribble⁽¹⁾, but now generally available in the Lancashire Record Office at Preston, throw a great deal of light on the lives and circumstances of the local gentry in the Tudor and Stuart periods. The detailed and reliable record which they provide, not only of rooms, household arrangements and furnishings, but also of clothes, cattle, horses, crops and agricultural implements, is a much more satisfactory basis for an account of the country houses of the time than the literary evidence on which accepted notions are often based. Besides making possible a reconstruction of the physical features of the houses, the inventories help us also to form some idea of the wealth of the local families, of the way in which they spent their incomes and of the contrast between the smaller landowners, not much removed above the level of the yeoman and gentleman farmers, and the greater gentry like the Stanleys or Molyneux with their much more obvious emphasis on conspicuous consumption.

The wills and inventories examined for the purpose of this paper are a sample of those with the rank of esquire and above, and represent a fair cross-section of the most important class in the county during the period: a full list is given in the appendix. Naturally, they vary in the detail they provide. Some, like those of Sir Edmund Trafford in 1620 or Sir Richard Hoghton in 1630, are mere summaries of the main types of goods held at the time of death: others, especially the inventory of Robert Hesketh in 1620 or that of Sir Cuthbert Clifton in 1634, provide full details room by room and enable us to make a complete reconstruction of the house as it existed at the time. Occasionally, one can find two or three inventories of the same house at different dates, like the Scarisbrick inventories of 1599,

⁽¹⁾ There are exceptions to this division: the will and inventory of Sir Cuthbert Clifton of Lytham who died in 1634 were deposited at Chester.

1608 and 1673 or the two Walmesley inventories of 1679 and 1702, which help to trace the changes that were taking place in furnishings and household arrangements.

A comparison of the values recorded by the "praisers" with current prices taken from such sources as the *Shuttleworth Accounts*⁽²⁾ and the Walmesley papers⁽³⁾ shows a fair correspondence between the two: thus the Walmesleys in 1617 paid £12 15s. for "one yoke of oxen for draught", and the "xvj great oxen at the Cow barnes" at Croston in Robert Hesketh's inventory of 1620 were valued at £96. At least, there appears to be nothing to suggest widespread, deliberate undervaluing in the inventories. The comparison with modern prices is more difficult. To suggest a simple multiple may help to give some sense of proportion and counteract the popular astonishment at the supposed cheapness of things in the past.⁽⁴⁾ It is bound also to mislead, because some commodities, like materials and textiles of all kinds, were relatively much more expensive then than now; others, like wooden furniture, relatively cheaper. Much, moreover, depends on what people "demanded" and a properly weighted cost-of-living index for different social classes would be needed to produce an accurate picture. If we think, however, that the wages recorded in the *Shuttleworth Accounts* during the building of Gawthorpe Hall between 1600 and 1605 vary from 2d. a day for an unskilled worker to 6d. for the more skilled, to which should be added perhaps 4d. or 6d. for food provided, we can get some idea of contemporary purchasing power.⁽⁵⁾ Wages in the later part of the seventeenth century would probably be somewhat higher, but usually no more than 1s. a day for the ordinary workman. Calculating on this sort of basis, the lord's bed at Rufford in 1620, valued at £24, represents something like two years' work for a member of the wage-earning classes.

I. LAY OUT OF THE HOUSES AND ROOMS

The Lancashire manor houses of the period show a considerable similarity in plan and internal arrangements. A typical

⁽²⁾ *House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe*, ed. C. S. Harland, Chetham Society, Old Series, Vols. 35, 41, 43, 46.

⁽³⁾ Lancashire Record Office, DDPt/1.

⁽⁴⁾ For a rough guide, I would suggest that early seventeenth century prices should be multiplied by at least thirty to arrive at 1959 equivalents, prices of the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign by rather more—forty perhaps—and those of the later seventeenth century by rather less—twenty or twenty-five.

⁽⁵⁾ Thus stone getters were paid 2d. a day, masons who dressed the stone 4d.: if they provided their own food the rates were 6d. and 8d. respectively. The wrights who worked on the timber were paid 3d. or 4d. a day and were allowed 6d. a day for food. (*Shuttleworth Accounts*, Vol. 1, pp. 126 ff.)

example would include anything from twenty to forty bed-chambers—there were thirty-seven at Dunkenhalgh in 1679, twenty-eight at Lytham in 1634, twenty-four at Rufford in 1620—a dining hall or dining room, one or possibly two parlours, sometimes a study or library, a gallery and closets. In the working part of the houses there was invariably the kitchen, buttery and cellar, larder, brewhouse, bakehouse, and dairy or deyhouse as it was more commonly called. Outside were the farm buildings: stables, barns, cowhouses, wain-houses, workhouses, kilns and, in many cases, a mill. The impression is of a self-contained community with its own staff living on the spot and providing to a very considerable extent for its own needs. The overall pattern appears to remain much the same throughout the period, though there are modifications in detail which will be discussed under the appropriate headings.

An examination of the bedrooms suggests something about the nature of the community. A few rooms, always well-furnished, were occupied by the members of the family: thus there were *My Lord's Chamber*, *Mr. Henry Hesketh's Chamber* and *Mr. Hesketh's Bedchamber* at Rufford in 1620. At Lytham in 1634 there were, in addition to *My Ladies Chamber* and *Mr. Clifton's Chamber*, three nurseries and a children's chamber with three beds. Three generations must commonly have been represented and brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles often lived in the houses as well: thus the Moore inventory of c. 1670 refers to *my Unkell Rob. Chamber* and *my Brother Chamber*. There were often one or two other well-provided rooms which may not have been used by the family but by their guests: *Cloath Chamber* at Rufford for example with its two beds valued at £11 and "Hingings of Arrowswarpe", or *Ould Chamber* with a "Crimson silke coveringe" on the main bed and "5 bleue silke hingings" round the second bed. The great chamber at Lytham Hall had a "rich coveringe with needleworke quishions for chares, stooles, curtains and valences" valued at £50, and the best room at Dunkenhalgh was furnished with Arras hangings, a "carpet suitable to the bed" and a looking glass.

The majority of the rooms, however, must have been occupied by the servants and members of the staff. *Mr. Stanley's Chamber* and *Mr. Ralph Hoult's Chamber* at Rufford in 1620 were no doubt the rooms of senior officials like the steward or butler: similarly at Lytham Hall there was a *Mr. Bradshagh's Chamber* and *Mr. Walton's Chamber*, and Sir Cuthbert Clifton in his will left "five pounds apiece" to "everie one of the servinge men which shall serve mee in my house in anie office as Steward, Chamberleyne, Horsekeeper, Butler or in my own bedchamber".

At Rufford again, *Pickerings Chamber*, *John Stopforths Chamber*, *Waterhouse Chamber*, *Tristram Chamber*, *Charles Youngs Chamber* and *William Tompsons Chamber* were certainly servants' rooms, while *Maidens Chamber* with four beds, *Footmans Chamber* with two and *Cooks Chamber* speak for themselves. At Dunkenhalgh in 1679 there was a *Porters Ward*, *Groomes Chamber* (2 beds), *Sadlers Chamber* (2 beds), *Maids Chamber* (4 beds), *Servants Garner* (5 beds), *Yeomans Garner*, *Old Carters Chamber* and *New Carters Chamber*. It seems reasonable to presume that some of the other rooms in the houses were also used by servants to judge by their situations or description: at Rufford, for example, *Chamber of Fellowship*, *3-bed Chamber*, *Deyhouse Chamber* and *Stable Chamber*; at Dunkenhalgh *Great and Little Stable Chambers*, *Mealehouse Chamber*, *Great and Little Dairy Chambers*, *Salt Loft Chamber*, and the *Room under the Kiln*. Assuming one person sleeping in each bed (possibly a rash assumption, at least before the Civil War) the impression is of a staff of between twenty and thirty servants living on the premises at Rufford in 1620, and rather more than thirty at Dunkenhalgh in the latter part of the century. This sort of calculation accords fairly well with evidence from other sources: the Walmesleys made payments to twenty-four servants in May 1617—five women and nineteen men.⁽⁶⁾

Many bedrooms, of course, were described either by their position or by the scheme of interior decoration and it is often not possible to say who occupied them. There was a *Purple Chamber*, *Green Chamber*, *Red Chamber* and *White Chamber* at Bradshaw Hall near Bolton in 1694; at Lytham in 1634 a *Blue Chamber* and *Green Chamber*, *Little Matted Chamber*, *Boarded Chamber* and *Seeled Chamber*. There were bedrooms everywhere: in the gatehouses, for example, at Bank Hall, Scarisbrick, Trafford, Dunkenhalgh and Martholme. These were often well-furnished and one of the rooms in the gatehouse at Martholme in 1620 was listed as *me ladies Chamber*, Martholme being used by the Heskeths as a dower house. There were *Seller Chambers*, *Clock House Chambers*, *Chappell Chambers*, *Porch Chambers*, *Back Door Chambers*, *Pentise Chambers*, *Garrett Chambers*, *Chambers over the Compasse Window*—even a chamber in the “Fals roof” at Scarisbrick.

Living rooms were on a more modest scale. At Rufford, apart from the dining chamber which can be identified as the present half-timbered hall by the description in the inventory of “the compasse windowe”, there was a parlour, which was, however, used as a bedroom, two studies and a gallery.

⁽⁶⁾ L.R.O., DDpt/1.

The gallery, like many others, seems to have been used as a general store place, not to say junk room, the praisers in 1620 finding "one stone & a pounce of feathers 10^s"; a quantity of hops, twenty-five stone of wool, a stone and a half of tallow, two baking dishes, and two beds. Similarly the inventory of John Bradshaw of Bradshaw who died in 1694 records "in the Gallerie wheat and floure and other things". It seems a far cry from the usual impression of the gallery as one of the most elegant rooms in the house where the best furniture and ornaments were displayed and where the ladies of the house took their exercise, an impression perhaps based too much on these rooms as we see them now rather than as they were three hundred years ago. Certainly anyone promenading in the gallery at Dunkenhalth would have had to pick a careful path among the "old Billiard table with port and strikers, two douzen and seaven new chaires uncovered . . . three paire of oaken stand bedsteads, two frames for pallet beds, a feather bed, quilt and bolster for one of them, another feather bed and two feather bolsters . . . hanging for a bed of ashcoloured bayes . . . eight buckskines . . ."

Sometimes it is possible to reconstruct the physical appearance of a house on the not-too-safe assumption that the praisers proceeded from room to room in some kind of logical order. This is naturally much easier where the house still exists, as at Rufford. The inventory of Robert Hesketh taken in 1697 refers to the "West End of the House" which contained a number of bedrooms, two parlours and two garretts, and also to "the Kitchen End of the House" where, besides the working rooms were the *Chamber over the Kitchen*, nursery and several bed chambers. This certainly suggests that the wing on the west side of the great hall, now gone, was still standing when the east wing was built after the Restoration, and would appear to confirm the idea that the room which now functions as the entrance hall was originally the kitchen.

In addition to the ordinary rooms found in nearly every house, there are occasional references to others with special functions. A number of the houses, especially in the earlier part of the period had chapels: Scarisbrick, Samlesbury Hall, Bank Hall, Trafford and Wardley Hall for example. The inventory of Thomas Tyldesley of Wardley taken in 1556 records "chapell stufte with on [one] Challis, on Cover, on Albe, and all other suche necessaris For a preeste to say Masse wythall", while the Moore Inventory of c. 1670 strikes a more Protestant note with its "Communion Table and tow great Church Bibles with the great book of Marters with all necessary belonging to a



By courtesy of Hon. Rachel Kay-Shuttleworth

Plate 3. JACOBEOAN OAK STANDING BEDSTEAD
WITH EMBROIDERED COVERING, CURTAINS AND VALANCE
GAWTHORPE HALL, BURNLEY

Church". There were schoolrooms at Speke in 1700 and at Worden Hall, the Farington house, in 1692. Holmeswood, another of Robert Hesketh's houses in 1620 had a Dancing School, and Rufford itself an "Armor House", where the equipment included three cannons and four demi-cannons.

II. BEDS AND BEDROOM FURNITURE

Beds and bedding certainly formed an important item of any gentleman's possessions, and in many cases represented a high proportion of the total value of household furnishings. The figures for five houses at different dates suggest that at least half is not an unusual proportion: Thurstan Tyldesley of Wardley, 1554, £83 out of £148; Richard Assheton of Middleton, 1618, £150 out of £312; Robert Hesketh of Rufford, 1620, £190 out of £350; Sir Cuthbert Clifton of Lytham, 1634, £260 out of £520; and Thomas Norris of Speke, 1700, £130 out of £270. Of course, beds were numerous enough: in fact there were more beds than chairs at Rufford in 1620, and one must envisage the bedrooms being used much more as living rooms than present-day bedrooms.

The well-established fact of bequeathing beds by will can be illustrated from Lancashire, for in 1633 Sir Cuthbert Clifton bequeathed "six of my best bedstids or bedstocks and six of my best fether beds, bouldsters, coverings, blancketts, pillows and all other my best furniture for six of my said best beds" as heirlooms "for the better enabling . . . to keepe . . . hospitallitie and to entertaine and intreate . . . kinredd and frends." Thomas Leyland of Morleys left three beds in his will in 1562 including "unto Thomas Woodhouse my bed which standes in my Chamber neare unto my Chapell with two coverletts, ij blankets, ij sheets, the Fether bed and the bolster." Dame Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas Mosley, left in her will of 1617 "to my said servant Elizabeth Tatton my beste bedd with the vallences, Crimson coveringe and all the furniture thereunto belonginge."

Some of the individual beds in which the master or mistress of the house slept were worth a great deal of money, Robert Hesketh's bed at Rufford in 1620 for example: "One downe bed, one boulder, 2 pillowes, 4 blanketts, one silke quilte coveringe, 5 silke curtaines, bedstead and valance 24⁸".⁽⁷⁾ The

⁽⁷⁾ For the sake of clarity, prices are quoted throughout in Arabic numerals, although in many inventories, especially before the Civil War, Roman numerals were used. To distinguish the two, dashes are printed instead of noughts in quotations where the original figures were Roman. Also for clarity's sake the sign £ has been substituted for the far more usual l found in the documents.

standing bed in the *Egle Chamber* at Bank Hall in 1632 was valued at £20 5s., Dame Elizabeth Mosley's "best bedd and Furniture except bedstocks" at £12.

About a third to a half of the bedsteads would usually be the oak standing beds, often with "sellers and testers",⁽⁸⁾ and decorated with curtains and valance and sometimes with a canopy. These one would expect to find in the family and guest rooms and also in the rooms of the more senior members of the staff. The rest of the household slept on plain wooden beds, or pairs of bedstocks, or on the truckle, trundle, or trindle beds mounted on wheels, which could be pushed under the high, standing beds during the daytime. At Lytham in 1634 there were truckle beds additional to the standing beds in *Mr. Bradshaghe's Chamber, The Great Chamber, Seeled Chamber, Green Chamber, Seller Chamber and My Ladies Chamber*. Lady Clifton's room, indeed, had two standbeds and two truckle beds. It is comparatively rare to find a room with only one bed in it. The list of beds at Middleton Hall in 1618 shows a typical distribution:

iiij standing beds with testers, valence curtains and twist bottomes	16 ^l	11 ^s	8 ^d
iiij bedsteads with canopies and curtains	4	12	-
v standinge bedds with curtaynes and valence	9	8	8
xvij paire of plaine bedstocks ⁽⁹⁾	3	7	6

Of the beds themselves, comfort was the keynote. The most favoured members of the household slept on down: there were two down beds at Rufford in 1620, one in *My Lord's Chamber*, the other in *Mr. Hesketh's Bed Chamber*, and two at Richard Assheton's house at Middleton in 1618. The majority slept on feathers: of the fifty beds recorded in the 1620 Rufford Inventory, forty were feather and not more than eight chaff. Similarly, at Lytham Hall in 1634 there were forty-one feather beds out of a total of forty-eight: at Dunkenhalgh in 1679 two beds were down, forty-five feather and only eight chaff. Moreover, where the chaff beds occur, it is clear that they were occupied by junior members of the staff and outdoor servants. Thus at Dunkenhalgh five of the chaff beds were in the servant's garner, two in the little dairy chamber and one in the room under the kiln. At Lytham Hall there were two chaff beds in

⁽⁸⁾ Seller: old form of celure, a canopy covering a bed.

Tester: formerly vertical part at head of bed which ascends to and sometimes supports canopy; a wooden framework supporting canopy and curtains.

(*Oxford English Dictionary*: hereafter referred to as *O.E.D.*).

⁽⁹⁾ Bedstocks: earlier name of bedstead or of front and back parts between which the cross staves or rungs were laid. (*O.E.D.*).

the chamber over the work stable and two more in the chamber over the oxhouse. The chaff beds at Rufford were in *Pickerings Chamber*, *Waterhouse Chamber* and *Footman's Chamber*: the last had one chaff bed and one feather, so that probably it was a page or boy who slept on the chaff. The majority of servants clearly slept on feather: the cook and the maids for example at Rufford, the cook and the brewer at Lytham, the porters, cook, grooms, keeper and coachman at Dunkenhalgh in 1702. There were often stores of feathers in the house: in the Little Storehouse at Lytham "feathers 2 stone and 2 pounds", while a "chest for feathers" was recorded at Mawdesley, another of the Hesketh houses, in 1620. In some cases featherbeds were recorded by weight: thus, in *The Great Chamber* at Lytham "one featherbed, one boulder and three pillows in weight 8 stones 12½ pounds 3[£] 6^s 8^d". Compare this with the featherbed and bolster in the *Chamber of Goodfellowshippe* "weight 3 stone and ½ pound 1[£] 0^s 0^d".

The impression of comfort is further confirmed by the supply of pillows and bolsters, usually also filled with feathers, though there were four down pillows among the sixteen recorded at Middleton in 1618. Over half the beds at Rufford in 1620 had at least a bolster and one pillow, if not more, while everyone except the humblest members of the staff could lay their heads on a feather bolster at night. The list in Thurstan Tyldesley's inventory in 1554, for about forty beds, gives the same impression: 40 bolsters @ 3s. 4d., £6 13s. 4d.; 16 pillows covered with fustian @ 1s. 8d., £1 6s. 8d.; 25 other pillows @ 9d., 18s. 9d.

Linen was also plentifully provided. There were very few beds at Rufford without a pair of sheets; even the people who slept in the chaff beds in *Pickerings Chamber* and *Waterhouse Chamber* had a pair. In the closet or linen store the lady of the house kept considerable quantities in reserve: in Mrs. Hesketh's closet at Rufford in 1620 there were 61 pairs of sheets:

xvj paire of flaxen sheets	8 [£]	—	—
x paire of newe canvasse sheets		53 ^s	4 ^d
vj paire of flaxen sheets and v paire of canvasse sheets	3 [£]	—	—
viiij paire of canvasse sheets with two yards of newe cloath		43 ^s	4 ^d
xv paire of fyne sheets and an odd one	12 [£]	—	—
one faire paire of sheets		20 ^s	—

In the linen chest at Speke in 1700 there were 75 pairs—45 new at 10s., 12 flaxen at 5s., 18 coarse at 2s. a pair. Similarly with pillowcases, or pillowbeares as they were commonly called. The Clifton inventory of 1634 records in *My Lady's Closet* 51 pillowbeares at an average value of 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. each. Occasionally there are signs of something more elaborate: at

Scarisbrick in 1599 for instance "one payre of pyllow beares spotted with black silke". And, of course, the earl of Derby could rise to something more splendid still—"12 pillowes covered with yellow damaske".⁽¹⁰⁾ It is clear too that in many cases the yarn or cloth was purchased and then made up locally into sheets and pillowcases. Sometimes there were stocks in hand as at Scarisbrick in 1599:

xxxvij poundes of canvas yarne in the closett in the Great Chamber	26 ^s	—
xx ⁱⁱ di teare ⁽¹¹⁾ of hempe yarne at 12d pounce	20 ^s	6 ^d
xxxvij ^l of Coarse yarne at 8d the pounce	26 ^s	1 ^d
xvj yarde of new flaxen cloth iij quarters broad	14 ^s	9 ^d
xix yarde of fyne flaxen cloth at 18d the yarde	28 ^s	6 ^d

Warmth was not neglected either and most of the beds were well provided with blankets. The Assheton inventory of 1618 records 69 blankets (for about 40 beds) valued at £13.10.10, an average of 3s. 11d. each; as well as "xvij yarde and a halffe of newe blanketinge 42s.". The blankets at Sefton in 1623 were valued at £80 and the list given in Thurstan Tyldesley's inventory of 1554 indicates the different materials: 4 fustian blankets @ 5s. 10d., £1 3s. 4d.; 72 woollen blankets @ 1s. 8d., £6 0s. 0d.; 9 fledge blankets @ 12d., 9s. 0d. At Rufford there were little short of a hundred blankets for the fifty beds and many of the better beds had three or four. Servants' beds, which were not so well provided, often had rugs, coverlets or rough woollen cadows instead. For comfort in bedding it would be hard to beat the bed in the *Best Chamber* at Dunkenhalth in 1679: "One downe bed and boulder, two pillows, a Quilt nailed to the bed bottom, another Quilt above two Fustian blanketts, two good woollen blanketts, a Callico Quilt and a large Quilt of Skey Coloured [sky-coloured] Silke".

The covers and hangings of the beds provided the best opportunity of display. Only a minority of the beds, of course, were furnished in this way: less than twenty at Rufford for example in 1620 had curtains and valance, and of these, only very few would be made of expensive materials. There were often tapestry coverings on the best beds: two, for example, at Middleton Hall in 1618 valued at 56s. 8d. At Rufford there were "arrowswarpe coverings" in the *Cloath Chamber* and on one of the beds in *My Lord's Chamber*. Geoffrey Holcrofte in 1590 had "twoe coverings of Arras 3[£] 6^s 8^d", and the "wrought coveringe for the standinge bed" in the *Egle Chamber* at Bank Hall in 1632 was worth £5. Quilts and silk covers were also

⁽¹⁰⁾ Royalist Composition Papers, Lancashire, Vol. 2, ed. J. H. Stanning (Record Society of Lancs. and Cheshire, Vol. 26), p. 199.

⁽¹¹⁾ teare, tear: the finest fibre of flax or hemp. (O.E.D.).

used: there were quilts on about twenty beds at Dunkenhalgh in the later part of the seventeenth century, quite often matching the hangings. Thus there was a "silk quilt suitable to the hangings" in the master's chamber in 1702, and "two green counterpanes suitable to the hangings of the Roome and Bed Curtaines" in the green ground chamber at the same date. In 1679 there were quilts of stained calico, of canvas, fustian and taffeta, a "quilted coveringe of greene silke", and "one large Quilt the one side leather the other linnen". At Sefton in 1623 there were "Quilts for beds with Cupboard Clothes suitable for the same 54[£]".

Similarly with the hangings, the best beds had curtains and valance of silk or such materials. There were silk curtains round the beds in the *Cloath Chamber*, *Ould Chamber* and *My Lord's Chamber* at Rufford in 1620; in *My Lord's Chamber* and *Ould Chamber* at Samlesbury in 1623; in the *Master's Chamber* at Scarisbrick in 1599. The "silk vallence and fyve silke curtaines with Roddes" round the standing bed in the *Egle Chamber* at Bank Hall in 1632 were priced at £4 10s., and Dame Elizabeth Mosley had "one paire of crimson [silk ?] curtaines and valances 3[£] 6^s 8^d". The "Testers, Valence and Curtaines for Bedds" at Sefton in 1623 totalled £152. Sometimes, bedcovers, hangings and room decorations all matched, for instance at Dunkenhalgh in 1679, where the *Nearer Ground Chamber* was "hanged round with green Bayes" and had "two stand beds with hangings of the same". This same inventory provides an interesting picture of the different materials used for covers and hangings: "haire Camlett lined with skey-coloured silke", "sad-coloured Camlett lined with yellow sarsnett", "Ash coloured Bayes", "sad-coloured half thick lined with straw-coloured sarsnett", "ash-coloured Paragon lined with Sarsnett", "sad-coloured serge lined with greene Taffeta", "red clothe trimmed with yellow lace", "sad coloured cloth trimmed with guilded leather".⁽¹²⁾ The Derby possessions,

⁽¹²⁾ Bay[e]s: a coarse woollen stuff having a long nap now used chiefly for linings, coverings, etc. Originally a fabric of a finer and lighter texture. (*O.E.D.*).

Camlett: name originally applied to some beautiful and costly Eastern fabrics, afterwards to imitations and substitutes. Originally made of silk and camel's hair. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made of hair of Angora goat. (*O.E.D.*).

Sad-coloured: dark, deep, sober coloured. (*O.E.D.*).

Sarsnett: a very fine and soft silk material made both plain and twilled in various colours, now used chiefly for linings. (*O.E.D.*).

Half thick: a woollen fabric of the seventeenth century classed with Penistones, Linseys, Welseys, etc. for purposes of taxation. (*Mercury Dictionary of Textile Terms*).

Paragon: kind of double camlett, stuff used for dress and upholstery in the seventeenth century. (*O.E.D.*).

of course, reveal much greater richness and elegance: "1 rich red velvett bedd laced with gold and silver lace, with curtains and vallence belonging thereunto; 1 yellow damask bedd with silver fringe, curtains, vallence and furniture thereunto belonging, and two window curtains suitable . . . 1 blew velvett bedd with gold fringe, with curtains and vallence and furniture thereunto with 8 chayres and 6 stools suitable and 4 taffetic curtains for the windowes suitable".⁽¹³⁾

Beds apart, the furnishings of the bedrooms tended to be fairly sparse, especially in the earlier part of the period. In many of the rooms and especially in the servants' rooms there was nothing but the beds and perhaps a chest or trunk for the storing of clothes: at Rufford in 1620 there were at least ten rooms furnished in this way and in many of the others there was little beyond an odd chair or stool. The best rooms, of course, were less bleak: *My Lord's Chamber* had "one chaire, one stocle, one little table with a table cloathe and 2 velvet Cushions . . . one cloase stoole". In the *Egle Chamber* at Bank Hall there were:

a Courte Cupboard with a steyned Coveringe	21 ^s	-
a wrought cheare and three wrought stools whereof one hath a back	35 ^s	-
two Frenche stools and two joynd stools more	7 ^s	-
a twiggen cheare with a backe	7 ^s	-
a scryne	4 ^s	-
four windowe cushens	8 ^s	-
a bigg lookinge glasse	13 ^s	4 ^d
two brushes	2 ^s	6 ^d
two close stools with pannes in	16 ^s	-
fourteene picktures	23 ^s	4 ^d
grate, a paire of tonges and a fyreshovell	6 ^s	-
two newe Chamberpotts	3 ^s	4 ^d

Lady Clifton's room at Lytham Hall in 1634 had two large hangings on the wall, two window curtains, "one twigg chaire", four buffet stools, a table, two trunks, "two little cabonets", a looking glass and "one boxe for keepinge of sweet meats".

Some of the bedrooms had expensive hangings on the walls: the "5 hangings of Arrowswarpe worke" in Robert Hesketh's room in 1620 were valued at £22 and the "Hanginges of all sortes, as of Arras gilt lether and dornip"⁽¹⁴⁾ at Sefton in 1623 at £262. There was "A suite of Arras hangings, five pieces" in *The Best Chamber* at Dunkenhalgh in 1679 and two sets at Bank Hall after the Restoration—in the *Egle Chamber* and *My*

⁽¹³⁾ *Roy. Comp. Papers*, pp. 193-195.

⁽¹⁴⁾ dornick: the name of a Flemish town (Tournai in French) applied to certain fabrics originally manufactured there. A silk, worsted, woollen or partly woollen material used for hangings, carpets, etc. (*O.E.D.*).

Wife Chamber. The Derby list gives us a glimpse of the kind of subject—"8 peece of Arrice hangings of Sampson storye".⁽¹⁵⁾

In the post-Restoration period there are signs of increasing elaboration and new fashions. The two inventories of Dunkenhalth taken in 1679 and 1702 provide interesting evidence. The furnishings of the *Best Chamber* in 1679 included "four chaires and four stools with a Carpett suitable to the Bed. Two tables two stand.s. A Paragon skreen of four leaves, a large lookinge glasse, a Chimney grate with brasses, fire shovell, tongs and forks". There were dressing tables in two or three of the rooms: at Spoke in 1700 the *Lord's Chamber* had "a set of boxes and a glass for a dressing table". Also at Dunkenhalth ten or more of the rooms had window curtains, which were much less common before the Civil War. There were at least a dozen looking glasses, whereas it would be unusual to find more than three or four before 1640. There are signs that plate glass was coming into use, for in the *Over Parlour* there was "One Looking Glasse fixed with brasse skrewes another moveable". The earlier looking glasses would either be hand glasses or else mounted in oak stands. In the *Master's Chamber* in 1702 there were "five black Caine Chaires with Qeshions, one large Chaire covered with Red Plush, one table and stand . . . one large Chimney piece and two small pictures with gould frames" and in the *Parlour Chamber* "one chimney piece with a gould frame".

Provision for sanitation seems crude and inadequate in modern eyes. Close stools were part of the furnishings of many of the bedrooms, although some of the inventories record remarkably few: there were only two apparently at Rufford in 1620, one in *Mr. Stanley's Chamber* and the other in the *Inner Chamber* to Robert Hesketh's own room. It may, of course, be that such items were ignored by the praisers as being of no value or included in such phrases as "other furnishings of the room". At Bank Hall, on the other hand in 1632 there were close stools or chamber pots in ten of the rooms: in the well-furnished *Egle Chamber* there were two close stools and two chamber pots, and both *Upper* and *Lower Gatehouse Chambers* each had a close stool and two chamber pots. At Dunkenhalth in 1679, there were close stools in at least seven of the rooms: in four cases these were in the closet or inner chamber of the main room itself—in the *Best Chamber*, *Great Gatehouse Chamber*, *Cooler House Chamber* and *Great Cellar Chamber*. Chamber pots were commonly made of pewter and were quite often listed with the pewter table ware. There were

⁽¹⁵⁾ Roy. Comp. Papers, p. 194.

“v pewter chamber potts 5^s” at Scarisbrick in 1608, and the 1634 Lytham inventory records “Chamber pote metle at 8^d the pound 0-17-6”. Even here the differences of rank might count: the earl of Derby in 1651 had a “red velvett close stoole”.⁽¹⁶⁾

III. MY LADY'S CLOSET

Nearly every mistress of the house had a closet, where in addition to the stores of household linen, there was a variety of other things which provide a fascinating glimpse into the life of the ladies of the period. Pieces of material and odds-and-ends of clothing were kept in the closet: in Mistress Hesketh's at Rufford in 1620, for example, there were:—

in Hollande Cloath and Scottish cloath	8 [£]	—	—
1 yard of sattine and other short pieces		16 ^s	—
in blacke silke xliiij knotts		40 ^s	—
of twill xxj yards		7 ^s	—
xiiij yards of white woolen cloath		26 ^s	—
one yard of base		2 ^s	—
two yards of cottonn		—	20 ^d
one yard and a half of peropus		5 ^s	—
4 yards and a half of cambricke		20 ^s	—
8 yards and a half of Lawne		40 ^s	—
one Cushion cloath		10 ^s	— ⁽¹⁷⁾

and in lace:

gould lace xxv yards	6 [£]	—	—
xv yards and a half of gould silke and silver lace		30 ^s	—

There was also some small thread, a quantity of starch, some whale bone and “one dagger with a silke button”.

Most closets, too, had an array of bottles and glasses, which at Rufford included “5 Venice glasses,⁽¹⁸⁾ 2^s 6^d . . . one guilt box with fower glasses in it, 2^s —: 26 glasse bottles and earthen potts, 5^s —”. Similarly, Lady Clifton in her closet at Lytham had “one dozen of Venice glasses, 5^s 6^d: therty eight glasse bottles, 16^s 6^d: eight stone Juggs and bottles, 14^s 0^d”. The purpose of them all is not stated: some for wine no doubt, some for the contemporary equivalent of smelling salts, some perhaps for cosmetics.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Roy. Comp. Papers, p. 194.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Holland cloth: originally a very fine white linen used, e.g., for shirts. (*Mercury Dictionary of Textile Terms*).

Twill: woven fabric characterised by parallel diagonal ridges in ribs. (*O.E.D.*).

Cottonn: an interesting early reference, if it were pure cotton cloth.

Peropus: fabric used in the early part of the seventeenth century similar to paragon (see above).

Cambric: fine white linen originally made at Cambrai in Flanders. (*O.E.D.*).

Lawn: fine linen cloth used for dress purposes. (*Mercury Dictionary*).

⁽¹⁸⁾ Venice glass: a very fine and delicate kind of glass originally made at Murano near Venice. (*O.E.D.*).

The sweetmeats department of the household was also very much centred in the lady's closet. Lady Clifton, for example had "26 stone plats for sweet meats, 9^s 4^d: 12 glasse plats for sweet meats, 3^s 0^d". In Mistress Moore's closet at Bank Hall in 1632 there were "oversea [*i.e.* imported] dishes with little banquettinge dishes, 5^s -: dyvers oversea juggs with covers and without, 4^s -". At Rufford the sweetmeats themselves were recorded: "x quarts of honie, 10^s - . . . 3 pound weight of liccorice, 12^d . . . banquettinge stuffe and grocerie, 14^s - . . . one box of Shrowsburie Cakes,⁽¹⁹⁾ 12^d . . . one suger loafe, 10^s -". Similarly, at Middleton Hall in 1618 there were four sugar loaves valued at 40^s and spices worth 47^s 9^d. The later Bank Hall inventory of about 1670 suggests something of the new fashion for porcelain: "a pare of Porsly Pots. Cheny and other things to a very great value". Mistress Hesketh also had a "box, wax and candles in it", some soap, a pound of swines grease, a "syde sadle, one pillowe with furniture", two crossbows and a quiver with arrows. Moreover, there was £38.6.6 in gould and money in her closet: the equivalent of what an ordinary workman would earn in two or three years.

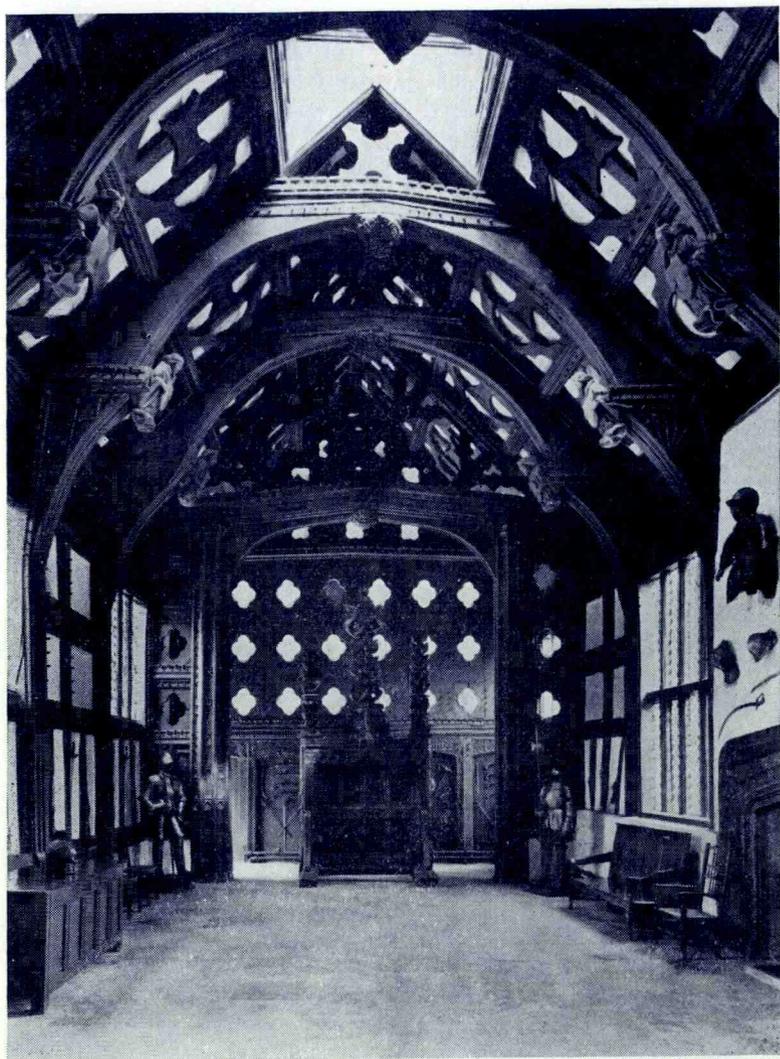
IV. LIVING ROOMS

The dining hall or dining room was still very much the centre of the living accommodation in most Lancashire houses. With the Rufford inventory of 1620 before us and a picture in mind of the hall as it still exists, we can bring it back to life:

Goods praised in the Dyninge Chamber			
29 Pictures		5 [£]	- -
one longe table, 2 Formes and a greene carpett coveringe		33 ^s	4 ^d
one table in the Compasse window with a Cloath		6 ^s	8 ^d
a drawinge table with a carpett cloath & 2 Formes		30 ^s	-
a cupboard cloath, a table and 2 Formes		13 ^s	4 ^d
16 Cushions		50 ^s	-
7 stooles & 3 chaires		46 ^s	8 ^d
one greene hinginge upon a curtaine rod		3 ^s	4 ^d
another picture			12 ^d
one paire of tables		4 ^s	-
one skreene			6 ^d
one paire of snuffers			12 ^d

The Asshetons of Middleton in 1618 could boast a "tapestry carpet with the Armes of the house upon it" for their dining table and "ij great Mappes" on the wall. The main table in the hall at Worden in 1643 was eight yards long and there was also a "Servants table". Sideboards and cupboards were

⁽¹⁹⁾ Shrewsbury cake: a flat, round biscuit-like cake (*O.E.D.*). No doubt like the modern Shrewsbury biscuits.



Copyright: *Country Life*.

Plate 4. RUFFORD OLD HALL: THE DINING CHAMBER

common articles of dining room furniture: there were "two longe tables or sydebords in the hall" at Dame Anne Langton's house in 1573 and "2 long syteboards" in the hall at Wardley in 1554.

In some of the later inventories, one can detect the movement towards greater privacy and intimacy as well as towards more elaborate furnishings. The Walmesleys at Dunkenhalth had a *Greate Dineing Room* and *Little Dineing Room* quite apart from the hall, which was clearly not used for eating, but had become an entrance room. At Middleton in 1665 there was a dining chamber and a dining parlour in addition to the hall; the dining parlour can be identified by the furnishings with the parlour in the 1618 inventory, and even at the earlier date the furniture suggests that it might have been used for eating. There was a *Little Dyninge Roome* as well as a hall at Scarisbrick in 1673, a room which does not appear in the two earlier inventories.

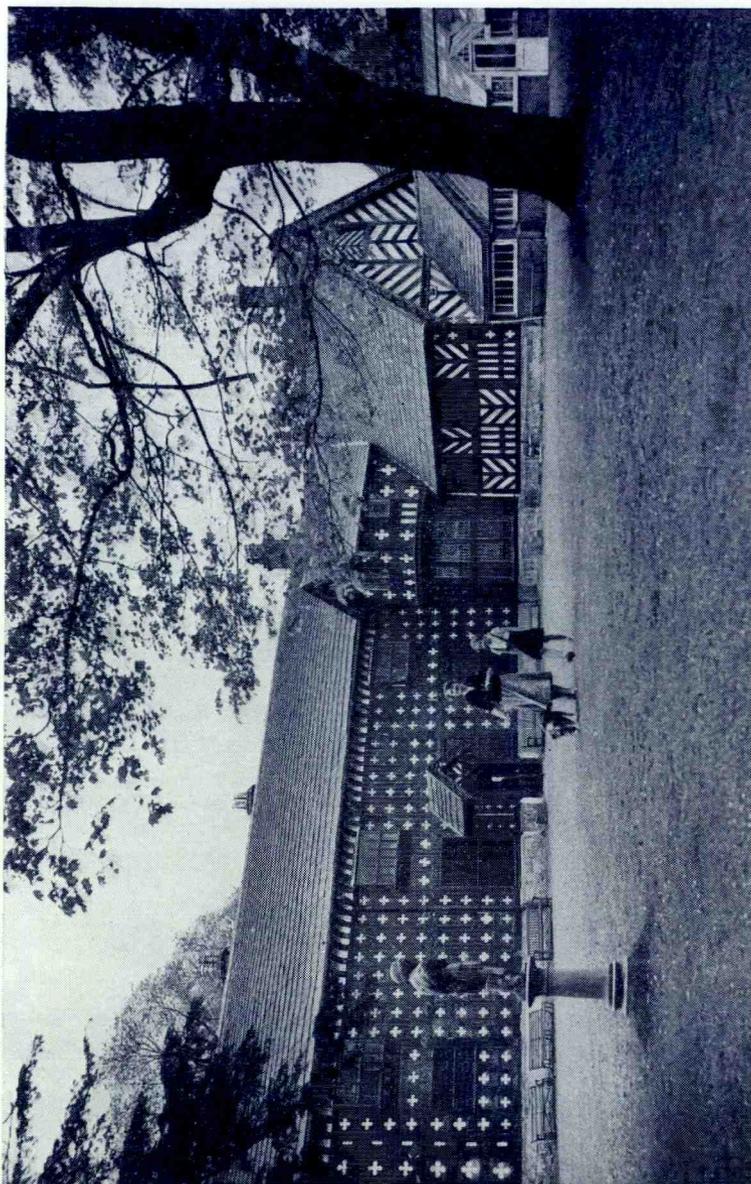
The more elaborate furnishings can also be illustrated from Dunkenhalth where the *Greate Dineing Room* in 1679 was furnished, among other things, with "three Turkey carpets . . . twelve chaires and twelve stooles of settworke,⁽²⁰⁾ five window curtains of red serge, a Harpsichord and frame, seaventeen Pictures, a Chimney Grate with an iron back, fireshovell and forke". In the dining room at Bank Hall in c. 1670 the furniture included: "A good suite of Arise Hangengs: with tow dozen of Torkey worke cheres and stoles belonging to them, One great looking glase, tow Pictors of relations over the Chimney . . . one iron grat which cost 5[£] and one statly pare of Han-irons: tow Spanish tables with a very good Torkey carpet over them . . . one statly Sister [*i.e.* cistern] of great size with our Armes on it for to set Pottles in".⁽²¹⁾

For tableware, pewter was the material for everyday use throughout the period, both in the kitchen and the dining room: the 1632 inventory of Bank Hall, for example, refers to "Kitchine pewter dailie used 81^{lb}—3[£] 14^s". Thomas Southworth of Samlesbury in 1623 had "126 pieces of pewter beinge in weight 117 pounds at eightpence the pound . . . 3[£] 18^s". The 1634 Lytham inventory indicates where it was obtained: "London pewtter at 13^d a pound, 11[£] 8^s 0^d: Wigan pewtter at 11^d a pound, 5[£] 11^s 0^d". The list in the buttery at Beconsall, another of the Hesketh houses, in 1620 illustrates the kind of

⁽²⁰⁾ settwork: kind of embroidery. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽²¹⁾ Turkey work: Turkish tapestry work. (*O.E.D.*).

Spanish tables: made of Spanish mahogany. Another post-Restoration change.



Copyright: *Tilloitsons Newspapers Ltd., Bolton*

Plate 5. **SAMBESBURY HALL: SOUTH AND WEST WINGS**

The Compass Window in the centre marks the position of the Dining Hall. Considerable additions have been built onto the west wing on the right since this photograph was taken.

vessels which one would usually find. There were six plates, fifty-two dishes, some smaller dishes, two voiders, a basin and two ewers, five salts, twenty-two saucers, three pottingers and pewter cups, valued in all at 30^s 10^d—cheap enough. Right at the end of the period at Speke Hall there was still a substantial amount of pewter including eleven and a half dozen pewter plates, thirty-six pewter dishes, two cullenders, a basin, a pie plate, a flagon and five stands for dishes.

The older wooden ware was also used, especially before the Civil War. There was a considerable stock at Lytham in 1634 which included in the buttery “fyve dozen and a halfe of trenchers of the best sort, 3^s 4^d: one dozen of decayed trenchers, 0^s 3^d: two dozen of case trenchers, 2^s 0^d”, and in the store house “14 dozen of square trenchers, 7^s 0^d: one dozen of round trenchers and one case for trenchers, 1^s 0^d: one hundreth and three score tree dishes, 6^s 0^d”. In the period after the Restoration this wooden ware tends to disappear from the inventories, though in a modest household like that of John Bradshaw there were still “two dozen of trenchers” in the buttery as late as 1694. Leather drinking vessels were also used: there were nine leather jacks at Rufford in 1620, and three in Dame Anne Langton’s buttery in 1573.

For more auspicious occasions and for a display of wealth typical of the time, there was silver plate, which often amounted to a considerable proportion of a man’s possessions. At Rufford in 1620 there was nearly £150 worth of silver out of a total of about £1,200, and the figure can be compared with that for the household furnishings—£350 approximately. Sir Edmund Trafford in the same year had silver worth £500 out of an inventory totalling £2,354 and Sir Richard Molyneux in 1623 had: “in gilt plate 450[£] white plate 424[£] and plate at London 138[£]”—in all £1,012 out of possessions worth just over £3,800. The general run of the local gentry could not, of course, rise to such heights as these, but £40 to £50 worth of silver was quite usual in such families, for example, as the Blundells of Ince Blundell, the Scarisbricks, the Leylands, the Southworths or the Tyldesleys. The fact that Sir Richard Hoghton had only £7 in plate in 1630 may mean that he was still suffering from the after-effects of James I’s visit in 1617, for a yeoman farmer might well have silver plate of that value.

The list of plate recorded at Rufford in 1620 represents an average collection and includes most of the usual items:

2 basons and ewers of silver	27 [£] 15 ^s	-
2 bowls with covers gilt	9	15 -
2 Cans	21	9 8

2 guilt cups with covers	5	17	6
3 guilt bowles	11	17	6
2 duble salts guilt	6	7	6
one whyte duble salt		40	—
6 whyte bowles	15	10	—
3 Tunns ⁽²²⁾	5	4	—
one pawnst [paunched, big-bellied] bowle		51	4
one beaker		44	6
6 candlesticks	15	5	—
one suger box	3	19	4
6 guilt spoones		40	—
other spoones 2 doosine and one	6	15	—
another bowle partiall guilt	6	5	—

Many pieces of plate were heirlooms handed down in the family: Sir Cuthbert Clifton in 1633 left all his silver plate in this way including “one guilt salt with a cover which was given mee by my granmother” and “one silver sugar box which was given to mee by my mother-in-lawe”. Silver apostle spoons were popular: Thurstan Tyldesley in 1554 had 13 silver spoons “with the image of God upon one of them and the image of the 12 apostells upon the others”. A family like the Stanleys had something more elaborate altogether: the list of 1651 includes three fruit baskets, twenty fruit dishes, a great salt with three branches which could be used as candlesticks and “2 greate peeces of Plate fastened like unto a shelve with 12 pillars, 4 double socketts, 7 smale peeces that belong to the socketts, 5 branches and 5 boules, 5 branches and 12 knobes all which together makes one hanging candlestick”.⁽²³⁾ They also had a “tea-cup guilt”—a glimpse of the early adoption of a new fashion by the leading family of the county.

For eating utensils, the earlier inventories include only spoons, both of pewter and silver, and knives. Dame Anne Langton in 1573 had “two dozen of tynne spoones, 2^s - . . . 8 sylver spoones, 56^s - . . . butterye knyves, 16^d”—not many knives by the sound of it, but no doubt people carried their own. After the Restoration, the new-fangled forks appeared in Lancashire: in the buttery at Dunkenhalgh in 1679 there were “two dousin of knives one dozen of Forkes” and at Speke in 1700 “fifteene knives and a dozen of forks in 3 cases”.

Table linen, like bed linen, was plentifully supplied: the closets or linen stores were full of table cloths, cupboard cloths, towels and napkins. Cloths of cheaper quality seem to have been used for the dining tables: there were nine such cloths at Rufford in 1620 valued at 1s. 6d. each compared with 8s. 7d. each for the seven flaxen cloths and 25s. each for two of the

⁽²²⁾ tunn; a kind of cup or small drinking vessel. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽²³⁾ *Roy. Comp. Papers*, p. 191.

diaper cloths in Mrs. Hesketh's closet. At Middleton in 1618 there is a specific reference to "9 coarse table cloaths for the hall". Some of these were very long, to fit the great dining tables, like those at Bank Hall in 1632 where, among the "Lynnens Damaske" was "a broade table cloath six yards longe" and among the "Lynnens Diaper" "fyve table cloaths six yards longe, 50^s -: fyve more table cloaths four yards longe, 33^s 4^d: one more table cloath fyve yardes longe, 6^s 3^d". The Walmesleys in 1679 had over sixty table cloths of different materials: damask, diaper, huggaback, flaxen and canvas.⁽²⁴⁾

Similarly with napkins: there were about 130 in all at Rufford in 1620—including forty-three of diaper in Mrs. Hesketh's closet valued at 1^s each, another twelve dozen in the buttery of plainer material at 3d. each. At Dunkenhalgh in 1679, fifty dozen napkins were recorded: ten dozen damask, fourteen dozen diaper, twenty dozen huggaback, six dozen canvas, while in the same house there were more than sixty towels made of the same kinds of material. There were forty-three and a half-dozen napkins and forty-three towels at Lytham in 1634, and an entry in this same inventory suggests that the mistress of the household would buy the material and get the napkins made up since it refers to "forty nyne yards of new cloth napkin bredth". A more modest household like that of the Southworths at Samlesbury had six dozen napkins: two dozen of diaper at 1s. 0d. to 1s. 4d. each, nine of linen at about 5d. each and forty of canvas at 4d. each. All this suggests perhaps a greater refinement of table behaviour than is often attributed to the Tudors and Stuarts: or is it that the use of fingers in place of forks necessitated a proportionately greater provision of napkins and towels?

Besides the dining room or rooms, the living accommodation usually included one or two parlours which were often well furnished and comfortable. There was a *Great Parlour* and *Little Parlour* at Bank Hall in 1632, but the *Little Parlour* was also used as a bedroom. The Scarisbrick inventory of 1599 refers to *Parlors* in the plural and there were two at Middleton in 1618. The use of the term *Drawing Room* instead of *Parlour* is characteristic of the changes of the later seventeenth century: there were drawing rooms at Dunkenhalgh in 1679, at Haigh

⁽²⁴⁾ Damask: twilled linen fabric richly figured in weaving with designs which show up by opposite reflections of light from the surface—used chiefly for table linen. (*O.E.D.*).

Diaper: fine quality of linen fabric, woven in ornamental patterns. (*O.E.D.*).
Huggaback [huckaback]: stout linen fabric with weft threads thrown alternately up so as to form a rough surface, used for towelling and the like. (*O.E.D.*).

Hall in 1684 and at Worden in 1694. Lest we generalise too readily, however, there is an interesting reference to a *Drawing Chamber* in Sir Edmund Trafford's inventory in 1620: a case perhaps of a wealthier family adopting newer fashions earlier, though it was also used as a bedroom.

The main parlour at Middleton Hall in 1618 provides a good example of the furnishings:

j longe table	16 ^s	—
j square table	13 ^s	4 ^d
ij longe formes	6 ^s	8 ^d
vij plaine buffet stooles	10 ^s	6 ^d
vj covered stooles	10 ^s	—
ij blacke lether chaires	12 ^s	—
ijj lowe buffett stooles	4 ^s	—
j carpet for a table and j cupbord carpett	10 ^s	—
j paire of virginalles	20 ^s	—
eight settworke quishons [cushions]	16 ^s	—
j large quishon with Mullett ⁽²⁵⁾		20 ^d
xv picktures	10 ^s	—
j Mapp of Lancaster towne [Speed's map of 1610?]	6 ^s	—
j cheare for a child		20 ^d
j fire shovell		18 ^d
Sume of these goods 6 [£] 19 ^s 4 ^d		

This was not a large sum when one considers that the two down beds recorded in the same inventory together with two bolsters and four feather pillows were valued at £11 10s. 0d. The leather chairs strike an unusual note so early in the seventeenth century. They are plentiful enough in later inventories, for example at Speke in 1700 where there were two leather chairs in the *Parlours*, or at Rufford in 1697 where there were six leather chairs in the *Black Roome*. Middleton Hall, indeed, in 1618 gives an impression in several respects of being somewhat ahead of the general run of manor houses of the time in Lancashire. More generally the coverings were of textiles of one kind or another like the "two buffet stooles covered with black tuftaffetie laid with silver lace and fringe" at Middleton itself, or the "six settworke chaires" in the *Drawing Room* at Dunkenhalth in 1679. Of course, there were great variations according to the wealth and resources of the owner. The seating in the living rooms at Sefton in 1623 included: "Chaires, stooles and formes covered with velvett, needleworkes, damaske, saten, Arras, Turkie worke and other stufes with some quishions in all, 81[£] . . . a Couche cheare covered with cloth of silver, a great boulder for the same covered with cloth of sylver, fower gylte chaires, fower high stooles, fower lowe stooles, all covered with Watchett⁽²⁶⁾ Taffata . . .". The earl of Derby in 1651 had

⁽²⁵⁾ Mullett: heraldic, a figure of a star with five straight points. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽²⁶⁾ Watchett: a light blue colour, cloth or garment of this colour. (*O.E.D.*).

chairs and stools covered with red and black velvet, a great chair with "yellow damask furniture . . . laced and fringed with rich silver lace . . ." and two chairs of state with canopies one of "orringe culler cloth of Tushie . . . laced with rich plate lace . . . fringed with large silver fringe", the other of "Crimson Velvet . . . laced and fringed with gold lace . . ." (27)

Let us think too much of the discomfort of sitting on plain oak chairs, we should remember that cushions were plentifully provided even in the time of Elizabeth. The inventory of Thomas Leyland of Morleys in 1562 records "xxvj quysshons 50^s". There were twenty-eight of settwork or needlework at Middleton in 1618: a house which had twenty-two chairs and thirty-two stools in all, about half of which were covered with material of one kind or another. Cushions were also used for window seats like the "needleworke cushions for windowes" mentioned in Sir Cuthbert Clifton's will in 1633 and the "five long window quishions 30^s" at Hoghton Tower in 1630. Sometimes, as with chair and stool coverings, there were more elaborate materials: the "three velvett quissions" in the *Great Parlour* of Percival Harrington's house at Huyton Hey in 1609, for example. The earl of Derby also had a number of velvet cushions besides "two cushions of Cloth of Gold" and "4 window cushions of Crimson Sattin imbroidred in branches of silver and gold". (28) At Speke in 1624 were "2 long quishons for the windowes, the one of cloth of gold, the other cloth of silver."

In the later inventories there are the same signs of increasing comfort and newer fashions as with bedroom furniture. Oval tables, for example, appear at Speke and Dunkenhalgh, and a writing table in the *Little Parlour* at Rufford in 1697. More chairs were provided: there were 127 chairs at Dunkenhalgh in 1679 compared with just over twenty at Rufford in 1620 and rather less than twenty at Lytham in 1634. Stools became correspondingly less numerous and there were new kinds of chairs—cane chairs at Dunkenhalgh and "chairs of ease" in one or two rooms at Speke. Throughout the period carpets continued to be used as table and cupboard covers: no doubt more like modern runners. There are two interesting references, however, to a change of purpose: the earl of Derby in 1651 had "1 silke quilt carpett of divers cullers for a foote carpett" (29) and the Moore Inventory of c. 1670 includes "a Trunke full of Fote Caperts which cost in Long Lane on the second hand 61[£]".

(27) *Roy. Comp. Papers*, p. 194. Tushie: tissue, cloth inter-woven with gold.

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 195.

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 194.

There is no evidence to make us suppose that pictures represented any very lavish expenditure by the local gentry: certainly they were used to decorate the walls of the main rooms, like the "fifteene little loose picktures with a large pickture of the Armes of the house 20^s" in the *Great Parlour* at Bank Hall in 1632. After the Restoration, there is some evidence of the use of the staircase and gallery for hanging pictures: there were "seaven large Mapps and fifteen Pictures" in the *High Gallery* at Dunkenhalgh in 1679 and "Two large pictures and two little ones" at the stairhead by the *Great Dineing Roome Dore* in 1702. Occasionally, we have glimpses of the subject, often family portraits like the "pycture of the said Mr. Scarysbricke 10^s" at Scarisbrick Hall in 1599 or the "Fifteen pictures of the family with gold frames" in the *Greate Dineing Room* at Dunkenhalgh in 1702. "The Picture of Cockin the Horse and Ryder 1[£]" at Rufford in 1697 suggests another theme appropriate enough to the time. The use of maps for wall decorations illustrates the topographical interests which had developed in the reign of Elizabeth, a fashion which has had a revival in our own time. In addition to those previously quoted, there was "A mapp of London" in the *Over Parlour* at Dunkenhalgh in 1679, and "A mapp of England, Scotland and Ireland" in the *Low Parlour* of the same house twenty-three years later.

Clocks were common enough and there are references even in the earliest inventories: that of Thomas Tyldesley in 1556 records "on Clocke 20^s". Sometimes these seem to have been more like Church clocks: for example, the "one clock ij quarter bells and one great bell 40^s" at Scarisbrick in 1608 or "the clocke and bell 53^s 4^d" in the *New House* at Middleton in 1618. The clock at Scarisbrick may well have been in the gatehouse to judge by a reference in the later inventory of 1673. The same impression of large outside clocks is given by the reference to a *Clock House Chamber* at Lytham in 1634 and a *Clock Chamber* at Rufford in 1696. There were also clocks in the living rooms: like the one in the little parlour at William Radcliffe's house in Manchester in 1608⁽³⁰⁾ or the "fourre klokcs for the house 11[£] 6^s 8^d" mentioned in Sir Edmund Trafford's inventory in 1620. Sir Edmund indeed also had "on laram kloke 13[£] 6^s 4^d"—an exceptional entry. Many of the gentry had watches: there was one in Sir Cuthbert Clifton's trunk in 1634 valued at £3. Edward Moore had a watch worth 53s. 4d. in 1632 and at Rufford in 1697 there were "two silver watches

⁽³⁰⁾ Inventory of William Radcliffe of Manchester, gent, 14 June 1608, Lancs. Record Office, WCW.

03 £ 00^s 00^d". Representing a newer fashion and reflecting the scientific developments of the seventeenth century are the weather glasses recorded at Speke and Dunkenhalgh at the end of the period.

Other items of furniture indicate something of the use of leisure and cultural pursuits. Musical instruments, for example: pairs of virginalls are common in the earlier inventories and harpsichords in some of the later ones. The two are indeed much the same and it is probably more a matter of difference in name than in the instruments themselves. Both had strings plucked by a jack, and, while the harpsichord might have up to three keyboards, it seems likely that the household instrument would normally only have one. The word "virginall" was used up to about 1650, from which date "harpsichord" tended to replace it. In some cases there is sufficient to suggest more elaborate performances, like the "Chist with Instruments of Musique" at Lytham in 1634 or the more famous collection at Rufford in 1620, which included:

Vyolls and vyolents with Chist for them	7 [£]	-	-
2 paire of virginalls	50 ^s	-	
a chist of wind instruments Sagbutts, Howboies [oboes] and Cornetts	3 [£]	-	-
more Vyols, violen, Cithron flute in velvet case, taber, pipes	3 [£]	-	-
a chist with Musique bookes in	6 ^s	8 ^d	(81)

But it is easy to make much of what is exceptional: the statistics of musical instruments as a whole are far from confirming the traditional literary picture of music as the elegant entertainment in which everyone could take part—nine pairs of virginalls and two harpsichords among the thirty-five inventories examined. Many houses had nothing at all, few had more than a single instrument. The organs recorded at Trafford Hall in 1620 and at Sefton in 1623 were no doubt for the chapels and probably the trumpet in Edward Moore's closet at Bank Hall in 1632 represented a music more to the taste of many of the gentry.

Games are occasionally mentioned: dice, shuffleboard, chess and billiards among indoor games. There was a "pair of playing

(81) Viol: stringed musical instrument, played with a bow, of the same form as a violin but larger. Usually with six strings. (*O.E.D.*).

Sackbut: an early English name for the trombone, originally of boxwood. (*Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*).

Cithron flute: instrument of guitar kind but strung with wire and played with plectrum or quill. (*O.E.D.*).

Tabor: small side drum, slung from the wrist or the shoulder of left arm and beaten by a stick held in the right hand. Pipe and tabor might be played simultaneously by one person. (*Grove*).

tables with tablemen" in each of the parlours at Bank Hall in 1632 and in the hall at Speke in 1700 a "Shuffleboard table and form . . . also a pair of tables, dice and men." John Bradshaw had a "shuffling table and shillings" in his hall in 1694 and there is still one of these tables for the earlier version of shove ha'penny to be seen in the gallery at Astley Hall, Chorley. In the *Little Dining Room* at Dunkenhalgh in 1702 there was a "Chesse Board and men thereunto" and a billiard table in the gallery which was also recorded in the 1679 inventory. An earlier reference to chess occurs in the Speke inventory of 1624. Another traditional English game of the period is illustrated by the "three pairs of bowls" in Sir Cuthbert Clifton's chest at Lytham. He obviously used his own woods.

Books were often recorded by the praisers, but rarely with any details given. At least there is some evidence that some of the gentry had fairly substantial libraries. Robert Hesketh's "librarie of bookes" in 1620 was valued at £50, Sir Roger Bradshaigh's in 1684 at £40 and Richard Assheton had books worth £22 16s. 4d. in his closet in 1618. The earl of Derby's collection in 1651 included "265 bookes of great vollomes wherof gilded 54".⁽³²⁾ At Dunkenhalgh in 1679 there was a *Library Chamber* with "one seeled presse for bookes" and two studies adjoining with "the bookes in the two presses and upon the shelves in the closetts"—total value £60. There is a tantalising glimpse of titles at Bank Hall in 1632 where there were "two Cronacles, fyve Statute bookes"—both seem appropriate enough for a landowner of the time. The list recorded in the inventory and account book of Alexander Rigby of Wigan, Esq. in 1621 indicates the kind of thing we would expect. Rigby was a lawyer and therefore a good many titles are of legal text books which cannot be regarded as typical, but there are also works of classical authors, religious books and histories. The classical works include: Lucan, "1 large book called Demosthenes", "Dionitius Roman History", "Aristotles Politics in English". Among histories, were "The History of the Muscovytes", "History of Man" and "2 cronicle Books". Besides a bible and a Latin bible, there was a "Concordants of the Bible", "Erasmus Colloquium" and a Hebrew grammar. Rigby also had a French grammar and dictionary, one or two medical books—"Barrowes Method of Phisicke", for example—two books of computation and the "Accidens of Armory". There were eighty titles in all, valued at £157 10s. 1d.⁽³³⁾

There are occasional glimpses, too, of the children, never

⁽³²⁾ *Roy. Comp. Papers*, p. 199.

⁽³³⁾ L.R.O., DDKe/15.

very prominent in Tudor and Stuart records. Apart from the nurseries, other rooms in the houses sometimes included children's furniture; thus in the *Green Parlour* at Middleton in 1618 there were "iij cheares for children", and a "lowe turne table for children" in the *Newe Silled Chamber*. There were high chairs, too, for the younger end to judge by the "tall child's chaire" at Dunkenhalgh in 1702; at the same house the praisers recorded some toys—"a going cart and horse for a child" in 1679, "2 wooden horses for children" in 1702. For the later age-group, there were "schoolebooks for children 6s." at Scarisbrick in 1599.

In some houses, for example Bank Hall, Speke and Dunkenhalgh, there is evidence that cage birds were kept as pets. The cage at Speke in 1700 was at the stairhead and was mounted on a "cord and pullice".

Rooms were lighted by candles which could be carried about as required and were either made on the spot or purchased from a nearby chandler. Candle rushes were still used in the earlier part of the period: there were "candle rysshes 3^s" at Scarisbrick in 1599 and a "shelf for candle Rushes" in the deyhouse at Middleton in 1618. Tallow candles, however, were the most common form of lighting and the Asshetons had 85 lbs. of tallow in store in 1618, while there were 512 pounds in the storehouse at Lytham in 1634. In the storehouse at Lytham were "Candles 17 dozen and ten pounds 4[£] 0^s 0^d: Candle weekes 8½ pounds 0[£] 2^s 6^d". Many houses had candle chests for storage: Scarisbrick, Wardley, Lytham and Dunkenhalgh for example. At the last mentioned house, the inventories provide evidence for the making of candles, because there was a "tallow trough and matchett to chop tallow" in 1679, and a "Copper for makinge wax candles with" in 1702. Some houses bought candles outside, as did the Shuttleworths at Gawthorpe, who in August 1612 paid "to Robert Butterfield, changler in Hallifaxe, for xiiij dozen and a halfe of candles (at 3s. 8d.) 53s.", and in September 1617 "to the candle maker, for makeinge of xxxij dozen and twoe pounce of canvis cotton weeke candles (after 6d. the pound). 16s. 1d."⁽³⁴⁾ Wax candles were rarer and are usually found in the best rooms or ladies' closets: there were some in Mrs. Hesketh's closet in 1620 and "foure wax candles with floweres" in the *Great Parlour* at Bank Hall in 1632.

Candlesticks were of pewter or brass, and sometimes a few of silver. Thurstan Tyldesley had 24 brass chandeliers at 1s. each in 1554, and his son, Thomas, "xviij candylsticks of

⁽³⁴⁾ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, pp. 202 and 223.

brasse and iij of tyne 23^s” in 1556. At Rufford in 1620 there were six silver candlesticks, twenty-one of pewter and one of brass; the silver candlesticks were valued by the praisers at £2 10s. each, the pewter at 1s. each. At Wardley in 1554 we can see where some of them were placed: one “at the goinge uppe into the chamber over the hall”, another “at the kychn doore” and a “brasen candilsticke with three lights” in the hall. The earl of Derby in 1651 had three wall candlesticks with branches and sockets and an elaborate “great candlestick” decorated with “6 rich buttons and six tassells of silver with a silke and silver cord”.⁽³⁵⁾

In houses with so many rooms, heating must have been difficult. Many rooms, especially servants’ rooms, had no fireplace particularly in the earlier part of the period. There were fireplaces in six of the bedrooms at Lytham in 1634; at Dunkenhalth in 1679 in twenty of the bedrooms, in the two dining rooms, drawing room and two parlours, as well as in the kitchen, wash house, meal house and old cooler house. Both turf and coal were generally used and sometimes wood: at Middleton in 1618 there were “fire wood and coales 20^s” and “turffe in the turffe house 26^s 8^d”. William Farington in 1610 had “Turffe and coale 10^z 6^s 8^d”, and Sir Richard Molyneux in 1623 “Coales and turves 20^z”. Worden and Sefton were both near the coalfield and areas of mossland, but in the western parts of the county, especially north of the Ribble, turf often predominated. Sir Cuthbert Clifton’s turf at Lytham and Westby in 1634 was valued at £21 and he had thirteen turf wains for carting it: there is no mention of coal. Thomas Leyland, living in the Chat Moss area, had “iij hundrethe loade of turves 40^s” in 1562, and, in the same part of the county, in 1573, Dame Anne Langton had “Fyftene score loads of black turves” in store, while her equipment included “two turffe spades with irens”. On the other hand, Richard Walmesley, living on the north-east Lancashire coalfield, had “5 coal waines and 3 coale carts” compared with only one turf wain. The Walmesleys were working a coal mine at Rishton in the early seventeenth century⁽³⁶⁾ and at the same time the Shuttleworths were mining at Padiham: in October 1605, for example, “Fyve score quarter of colles for the howse (le quarter 6^d) and given to the collyers for ther paynes, 12^d, soe in all 51^s”.⁽³⁷⁾ Some of the gentry had a more considerable commercial interest in the exploitation of coal. In 1639 Dame Dorothy Legh of

⁽³⁵⁾ *Roy. Comp. Papers*, pp. 191 and 195.

⁽³⁶⁾ L.R.O., DDpt/1.

⁽³⁷⁾ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 168.

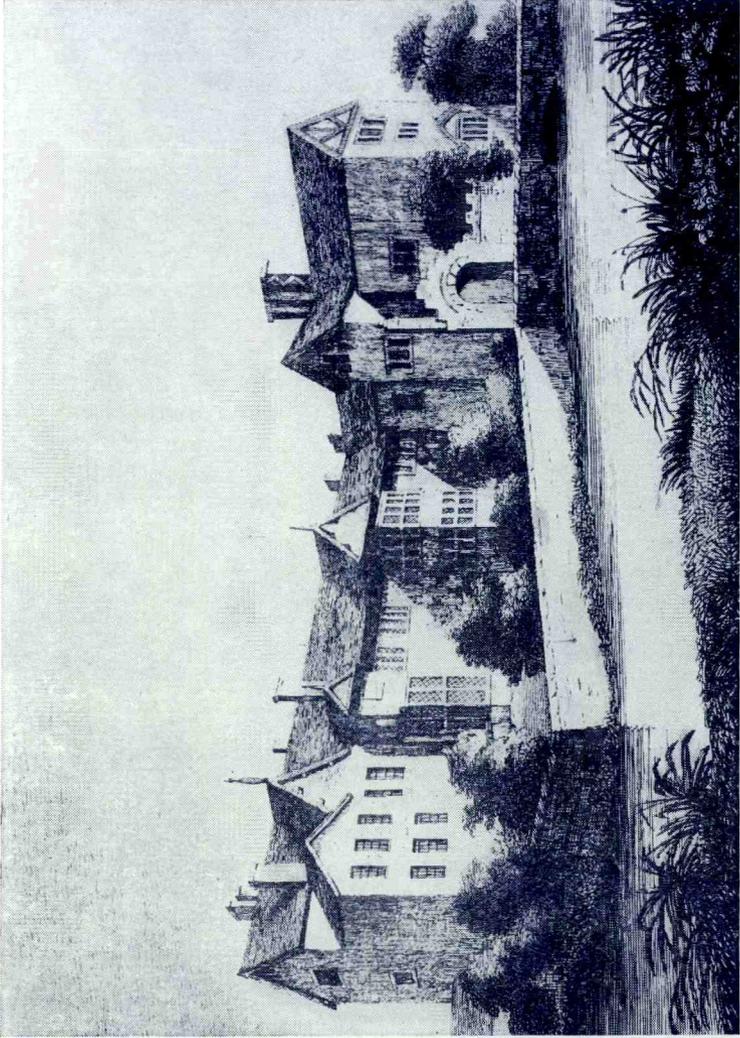
Worsley had "coales, cannell and basse upon the banke at Hulton 106[£] 3^s 2^d." Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh in 1684 left stocks of cannell valued at £250 and his inventory also records "Cannell Pitt Toolles 5[£] 00^s 00^d". The receipts for sales of goods after the death of Robert Hesketh in 1696 include: "... for coales gotten in the said deceased's lands in Wrightington 40[£] 03^s 05^d". The earlier Robert Hesketh had left his Wrightington property in 1620 to his wife for the term of her life "with all cole mynes . . . and to search for any coles or other mynes in . . . Wrightington . . . and to make her best proffitt thereof . . ."

V. CLOTHES

The praisers often recorded clothes only in total, and some of these are modest enough: John Bradshaw's clothes "and money in his purse" came to only £7 when he died in 1694 and there are others which suggest no very lavish expenditure—Thomas Southworth in 1623 £10, Sir Richard Hoghton in 1630 £13 6s. 8d., Henry Blundell in 1688 £20, Edward Moore in 1632 £30. At the other end of the scale, there is evidence of much greater display: the clothes of Sir Edmund Trafford and his wife in 1620 were valued at £400, those of Dame Anne Radcliffe in 1551 at over £100.

Occasionally, more detail is given and we can see something of the fashions of the time. Thomas Leyland in 1562 counted among his possessions "a damaske gowne, a saten gowne and a velvet cote 10[£]; ij saten dubletts and one velvet gyrkyn 20^s; one velvett hatt and one velvett cappe 13^s 4^d; ij wolsted gownes ij cloth gownes ij cloth cotes ij payre of hose one dublet and one cloke 5[£]; iiij carchaffes xij shirts and iiij napkennes 44^s 4^d". This gives a good picture of a gentleman's wardrobe at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, which we can compare with Robert Hesketh's some sixty years later:

. . . eight Caps wrought with gould & 4 ould ones	30 ^s	—
7 paire of silke stockins	7 [£]	—
17 gould buttons	8 [£]	10 ^s —
Jerkin & breeches gingerlyne cullor with a whyte stuffe dublett	3 [£]	— —
Jerkin & breeches russet cullor	5 [£]	— —
dublett & breeches of ould stuffe	20 ^s	—
peropus dublet, cloath jerkin & breeches	20 ^s	—
one ould paire of breeches	6 ^s	8 ^d
dublet Jerkin & breeches	13 ^s	4 ^d
vj cloaks	26 [£]	— —
2 gownes furred	6 [£]	13 ^s 4 ^d
one paire of Wachett silke garters		18 ^d



By courtesy of the Manchester Libraries Committee

Plate 6. ORDSALL HALL, SALFORD, c. 1800

From a drawing by John Ralston. The Hall is viewed from the north-east.

He also had "breeches of greene", breeches with "gould lace", breeches of "whyte sattine" and "blacker sattine", and "breeches with silver twist on" worth in all £27 3s. 4d.

It is easy to see that the men went in for colour and display as much as their wives. Dame Anne Radcliffe provides a good picture of a lady's wardrobe at the beginning of the period: "ij velvet gowns 20[£]; ij gowns of damaske 10[£]; ij satten gownes 6[£] 8^s 8^d; ij cloth gownes ij velvet kyrtles⁽³⁸⁾; ij satten kyrtles; ij damaske kyrtels 3[£] 6^s 8^d; one kyrtell of taffeta 20[£]; iiij petycots of scarlet 5[£]; ij borders for french howds of goldsmythe worke 50[£]". Sixty-six years later, Dame Elizabeth Mosley had three scarlet petticoats worth £6 10s., "one crimson sattin petticoate 5[£]", "one damaske petticoate imbroidred 5[£]", a velvet hood, a velvet cloak and a "velvet muffle imbroidred with bugle".⁽³⁹⁾

Money was also spent on jewellery: Mrs. Hesketh had in her closet in 1620 "2 hoopings of gould, one gould ringe with a stone and one jewell of gould 5[£]" as well as a "pictured jewell 20^s". Dame Anne Radcliffe, whose clothes have been quoted above, had eight gold rings, five of them with stones, three gold brooches, and two "tablets of gold" valued together at £7 10s. Dame Elizabeth Mosley in 1617 left two pairs of gold bracelets worth £10 and £4 respectively to her daughter and to her cousin, "Oswald Mosleyes wife of the Ancoats". Nor was jewellery confined to the ladies: Thomas Leyland of Morleys left in his will a "houpe of goold", "a ringe of golde with a diamond in it" and "a ryng of gold with a turke stone in it" and many of the gentry had gold sealing rings. Gold chains were a fashionable form of investment: Dame Elizabeth Mosley had one weighing 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. valued at £60 and Dame Anne Radcliffe had three in 1551 worth £40. There was another, valued at £17, in Robert Hesketh's study at Rufford in 1620.

VI. THE WORKING ROOMS OF THE HOUSE

The kitchens in all the houses were of the traditional type with big open fireplaces and an array of iron equipment for cooking, nor is there much sign of change during the period. Compare, for example, the fireplace recorded in Dame Anne Langton's inventory of 1573:

one dryppynge panne and one Fryinge panne	2 ^s	8 ^d
Fyve broches or spyttes great and small	8 ^s	-
two gawbeirons, two brandereths and two rackentethes of iren	12 ^s	-

⁽³⁸⁾ kirtle: skirt or outer petticoat. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽³⁹⁾ bugle: a tube-shaped glass bead, usually black, used to ornament wearing apparel. (*O.E.D.*).

two payre of pottackes [pot hooks] and two gyrde irens	20 ^d
Four paire of tongs and a fyer shoole [shovel]	2 ^s 4 ^d
one iren for rostyng of aples	12 ^d
one chaffynge dyshe	20 ^d ⁽⁴⁰⁾

with that taken more than a century later at Dunkenhalgh:

One jack with rope weight and two chaines, two racks; seaven spitts.
 one gridiron.
 Grate Frame for a cinder fire, three standing chafing dishes.
 Two briggs to sett kettles on, two iron frames for dripping pans.
 Three iron stands to sett dishes before the fire.
 Three paire of potthookes, three racken crooks.⁽⁴¹⁾

The jack may represent a more advanced mechanical device than would be usual at the earlier date,⁽⁴²⁾ like the "jack, cord and pullice with chains" recorded in the kitchen at Speke in 1700. The grate frame also suggests novelty, but otherwise the equipment in each case is what one might expect to find in any Lancashire kitchen between 1550 and 1700. Quite a wide variety of cooking irons were in use: toasting irons, apple irons, cheese irons, cockle irons, and bread irons. The wafer or waffle irons noted at Lytham in 1634 and Speke in 1700 illustrate a taste in food which has had a revival more recently.

Every kitchen had its array of brass pots and pans often recorded by weight and quite possibly made in the metal working area of south-west Lancashire. Thus the Rufford praisers in 1620 recorded "pottbrasse 100^{li} waight 3[£] 10^s -: panne brasse 100^{li} waight 6[£] 13^s 4^d". And those at Lytham in 1634: "187 pounds of pott metle at 7d. a pound 5[£] 9^s 0^d: fyve and twenty pound of flanders metle at 20d. a pound 2[£] 1^s 8^d: fyfthe fyve pound weight of tincker metle at 12d. the pound 2[£] 15^s 0^d". Dripping pans and frying pans were also universal: the dripping pans at Lytham were of copper and weighed twenty-nine pounds. Then there were a variety of more

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Broach: another word for spit. (*O.E.D.*).

Gawbeirons: this might either mean the gaubert or iron rack in a chimney which supported the pot hooks, the iron on which the spits turned, or the endirons or fire dogs.

Brandereth: gridiron, tripod of iron. (*O.E.D.*).

Rackenteth, racken crook, recken crook, reckontree: apparatus by which cooking vessels were suspended over a fire. (*O.E.D.*).

Gridiron: cooking utensil made of parallel bars of iron, usually supported on short legs and used for broiling flesh over a fire. (*O.E.D.*).

Chafing dish: portable grate. A vessel to hold charcoal or other fuel for heating anything placed on it. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽⁴¹⁾ Jack: machine for turning the spit in roasting meat: wound up like a clock or actuated by draught. (*O.E.D.*).

Rack: bar or set of bars of iron used to support a spit or other cooking utensil. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽⁴²⁾ In *Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex*, p. 26, F. W. Steer gives 1638 as the date when jacks are first noticed there.

specialised pots and pans: skillets or skellets, pans with a long handle and three or four feet on which they could be stood over the fire; posnetts, a smaller version of the same thing. In the kitchen at Scarisbrick in 1673 there were "two little pannes with eares" and "one other pann with eares to seeethe fish in". There were three fish kettles in the kitchen at Dunkenthalgh in 1679, and cockle pans were almost indispensable. That shell-fish like cockles formed a regular item on the menu we know from the *Shuttleworth Accounts* where frequent purchases are recorded: in March 1604/5 for example "halfe a pecke of mussles and cockles 12^d".⁽⁴³⁾

Among the kitchen implements, the mortar and pestle must be given pride of place. Every kitchen had at least two, made of either stone or brass, and often of considerable size and weight. The two at Scarisbrick weighed 49 lbs. and 26 lbs. respectively. At Lytham in 1634 there was a "great mortar and pestle 4[£] 10^s 0^d" as well as a "mortar and pestell weighinge two stone and nyne pounds 0[£] 15^s 0^d". Grating or grinding was obviously very much a part of the culinary processes of the time and graters of various kinds were recorded in the kitchens, including a "bread grater" at Rufford in 1620. There were mustard stones or querns at Scarisbrick, Wardley and Middleton and a pepper mill at Rufford. The "dredging box" in the kitchen at Dunkenthalgh in 1679 was used for sprinkling sugar, spice or flour and the "coffee mill" recorded in the same house in 1702 typifies a change in drinking habits of the post-Civil War period. Most kitchens also had a range of knives for different purposes like the "two mynsynge knyves two choppynge knyves and two other knyves for the kytchen 2s" belonging to Dame Anne Langton in 1573 or the dressing knife, two hacking knives, 2 mincing knives, and 3 other small knives in the Tyldesley kitchen in 1554. Brass skimmers and ladles were in general use and there was a cullender in the kitchen at Dunkenthalgh in 1679.

Adjoining the kitchen and often inventoried with it was the larder with its salting equipment and stores of salted meat, fish and bacon. Some houses, like Trafford, Scarisbrick and Dunkenthalgh, had both a dry and wet larder, the latter being used for the salted food. Always there was a collection of tubs, barrels and other equipment used in the salting process: seven tubs, for example, in the larder at Rufford in 1620 and at Lytham in 1634: "six saltinge tubbes 7[£] 10^s 0^d: five sousinge tubbes 0[£] 11^s 0^d". In the larder at Dunkenthalgh in 1679 were "three large powdering tubbs, two lesser beefe tubbs, two

⁽⁴³⁾ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 160.

souse tubbs". Salt barrels or chests were often recorded, for example at Middleton, Beconsall or Lytham, where there was salt in the deyhouse valued at £1 5s. 0d. The Shuttleworths made regular purchases of salt from Cheshire: in June 1586, for example: "two Krennekes and a halfe of salte at the Northe wyche, 35s.; spent in feching the same and for that which was payed for towle, 3s. 4d."⁽⁴⁴⁾

Sometimes the praisers noted the stores of food. Richard Assheton in 1618 had "powthered beefe, brane, bacon, suett 6[£] 13^s 4^d", while the beef in stock at Rufford in 1620 was worth £4. The fullest detail comes from Lytham in 1634:—

the best beeffe in the great tubb	18 [£]	0 ^s	0 ^d
beeffe in a lesser tubb	1	13	4
six barrells of Irishe beeffe or the like quantity	8	0	0
six quarters more of beeffe	4	0	0
seaven fitches and a halfe of pickled bacon	4	10	0
ten stone and a half of bacon	2	2	0

The inventory was taken on 25 April and therefore represents the state of the larder at the leanest time of the year for fresh meat: the Hesketh and Assheton inventories were both taken in November.

Most houses brewed their own beer and invariably had a brew house sometimes with subsidiary departments, like the mealhouse at Middleton or the cooler house at Dunkenhalgh. In many cases, there would be a full time brewer on the staff—the Stanleys had two on the checkroll of servants in 1587⁽⁴⁵⁾—and brewer's chambers are frequently recorded among the bedrooms, as at Lytham. On the other hand, some of the entries in the *Shuttleworth Accounts* suggest that they brought a man in from time to time to brew a quantity; in September 1596, for example, the steward paid "Brian Lever for bruinge of towe bruinges, 2s."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Inside the brewhouses were the great wooden tubs and vats for the different processes: the mash vats or combs in which the malt was mixed with hot water to make the wort; the gyle keyres, gyle vats or gellfatts in which the wort was allowed to ferment, the brewing combs, keyres or knops, the stills and coolers. There were arks or chests for the storage of meal and malt and bolting tubs in which they were sifted, besides a range of smaller vessels for handling the liquid after brewing: eshons, kimblins, piggins,

⁽⁴⁴⁾ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 29.

Krenneke, crennock, crannock: name of a dry measure which varies greatly in different places and according to the commodity. For corn two or four bushels is mentioned: for salt it appears to have been much larger. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *Stanley Papers*, Part 2., Chetham Society Old Series, Vol. 31., p. 26.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 32.

and tundishes.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The brewhouse at Rufford in 1620 is characteristic: "4 cawmbes, one lesser cawmbe, 2 eshons, one kimblin, one piggine and one pecke 3[£] 6^s 8^d . . . One cawmbe, 2 booting tubbs, 4 eshons and one piggine 4^s - . . . One still with a bottom 4^s 6^d . . . One other longe still 5^s -: 2 eshons, 2 piggins and a little tubb 2^s -". Or that at Scarisbrick in 1599: "ij greate leades standinge in frames 6[£] 13^s 4^d, a greate pott in a frame 30^s, iij greate keyres or combes 45^s, viij greate standes 10^s and viij lesser 8^s, one lyttle brewinge keyre 4^s, ij esshines, one pyggen, one can, and one lyttle gyle combe 8^s, fyve hogsheads 12^s 6^d, xxvij barrrells 40^s 6^d, iij firkins 3^s". The picture is very much the same at the end of the period at Dunkenhalgh where the equipment included "One mash fatt and large tubb for the liquor . . . One cooler, two gellfatts, two tubbs for ale . . . two collocks, six stopes [stoops], two lading dishes. Two barme canes, one tunndish, eight drippers".⁽⁴⁸⁾

Beer was, of course, the usual daily drink of the household and consumption was considerable: the Derby household in 1561 used nearly £250 worth of oat and barley malt for brewing⁽⁴⁹⁾ and the weekly consumption of beer at Gawthorpe in November 1616 was three hogsheads of small beer and a barrel of strong beer.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Once brewed, the beer passed under the control of the butler and was stored in the cellar: at Dunkenhalgh in 1702 there were two beer cellars, one for small beer, the other, whose name in the inventory is obliterated, presumably for strong beer. There were thirty-four hogsheads and barrels in Henry Blundell's cellar in 1688, forty-eight hogsheads in the buttery at Lytham in 1634: often they were mounted on frames or stands like the "two stands, four iron hoopoes with screws for hogsheads" at Dunkenhalgh in 1679. At Lytham the praisers recorded the beer itself: "tenn hogs-

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Wort: infusion of malt which after fermentation becomes beer.

Gyle: wort in process of fermentation.

Keyre, keare, kier, kyre: brewing vat. From Old Norse *ker*, a tub.

Knop: a large wooden tub.

Eshon: wooden pail or shallow tub.

Kimblin: tub used for brewing, kneading, salting meat, *etc.*

Piggin: small pail, especially wooden one with one stave longer than the rest to serve as a handle.

Tundish: funnel-shaped vessel used for filling barrels, hogsheads and ferkins. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽⁴⁸⁾ pecke, peck: vessel used as a peck measure, *i.e.* two gallons. (*O.E.D.*).

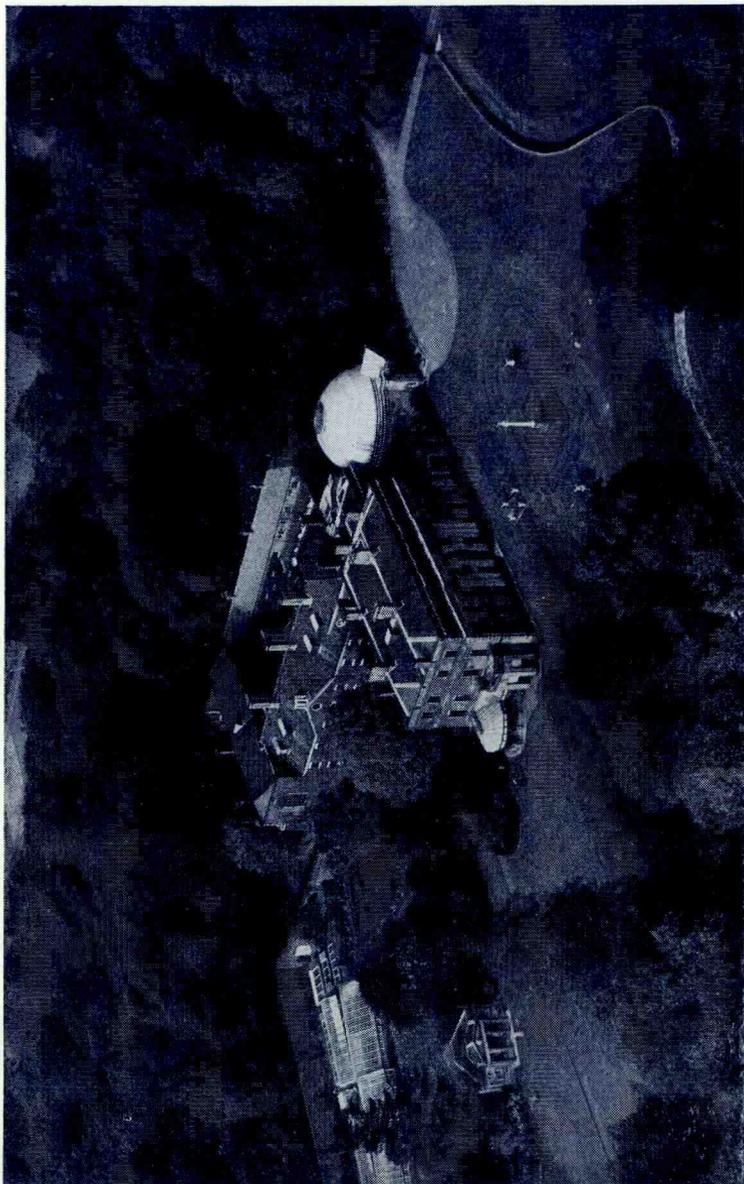
hogsheads, barrels, firkins: a hogshead of beer contained fifty-four gallons, a barrel thirty-six gallons and a firkin nine gallons. Butts containing 108 gallons were also recorded.

collock: tub, large pail. (*O.E.D.*).

dripper: vessel to catch the drips. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽⁴⁹⁾ *Stanley Papers*, p. 2.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 215.



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Plate 7. INCE BLUNDELL HALL

The Hall was restored and enlarged in the later nineteenth century. The circular room on the eastern corner of the Hall is the Pantheon, which Henry Blundell built at the end of the eighteenth century as a gallery for his collection of classical sculptures.

heads of strong beere 4[£] 10^s 0^d: tenn hogsheds of small beere 2[£] 16^s 0^d".

Wine was also purchased by the Lancashire gentry of the period and some of them had separate wine cellars: the Moores at Bank Hall in c. 1670, the Blundells at Ince Blundell in 1688, the Walmesleys at Dunkenhalgh in 1679. Sir Edmund Trafford had a stock of wine worth £9 in 1620 and at Bank Hall in 1670 there were "in the Wine Seller 10 doz. of glasse botles full of wine: 3 little ferkins full of wine". More specific still is the information from Lytham in 1634, where the cellar included "two hogsheds of claret wyne 9[£] 0^s 0^d: halfe a hogshed of vinacre 2[£] 5^s 0^d". We know from the *Shuttleworth Accounts* that they were making regular purchases of wine from Chester in the time of Elizabeth I, for example, in April 1590, "towe hogsheds of wyne, the onne of clared and the other of whitte, 10[£]; 8 gallones of seke, 25^s 0^d".⁽⁵¹⁾ At about the same date, Lord Morley's servant from Hornby went to "Westchester" and Liverpool "to see and buy wine for the lord's use".⁽⁵²⁾

Normally adjoining the brewhouse and not always distinguished from it was the bakehouse, where the household bread was made. Of the ovens themselves there is little detail, though a "frenche oven" is mentioned at Rufford in 1620. The baking equipment usually included a backstone or baxton, a girdle or round metal plate on which the bread was placed for baking (sometimes suspended over a fire), and a spitle or peel of wood or iron with a broad flat disk at the end of a pole for putting loaves into the oven and taking them out. The dough was prepared in wooden tubs like those at Middleton in 1618: "j knedinge tubb & j stand 7^s -: j knedinge Runge, j eshon & j boule 2^s -: . . . j deshon for Cakes & j baxton 4^s 4^d". At Dunkenhalgh in 1679 there is some indication of the kind of bread that was made: "One kneading tubb for Jannocks: one Jannock Bason: two little tubbs for kneading manchett". No doubt the wheaten bread was for the "lord's table" and the majority of the servants would, like most of the local population, feed on bread made of oats or barley.⁽⁵³⁾

The houses had their own supply of milk from the home farm and made their own cheese and butter. There was always

⁽⁵¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 57. A hogshed of wine was usually 63 gallons.

⁽⁵²⁾ *A Sixteenth Century Survey and Year's Account of the Estates of Hornby Castle*, Chetham Society, New Series, Vol. 102, p. 115.

⁽⁵³⁾ Runge: a long tub. (*English Dialect Dictionary*: hereafter referred to as *E.D.D.*).

Deshon, dashin, deashin: a tub for kneading oat meal dough. (*E.D.D.*).

Jannock: loaf of leavened oaten bread. (*O.E.D.*).

Manchett: the finest kind of wheaten bread. (*O.E.D.*).

a deyhouse equipped for the purpose, sometimes two as at Middleton, or Dunkenhalth where there was an inner and outer dairy as well as a milkehouse. Lytham also had a milkehouse in addition to the dairy in 1634. Nearly every house would have a full time "dey" or dairy maid on the staff: *Deyhouse Chambers* or *Chambers over the Deyhouse* occur commonly in the inventories, usually furnished with one or two beds. The dairy equipment included firstly, the wooden tubs, troughs and pails, and the stone or earthenware vessels for handling the milk. In the *Milkehouse* at Lytham there were "seaven Milkinge pales and tenn piggines 0[£] 13^s 0^d: one and twenty milke troughes 0[£] 16^s 8^d . . . seaven kimblings for milke 0[£] 6^s 0^d". At Middleton in 1618 there were "xxvj milke basens" as well as "iij stone panns & iij creame potts". The "viij earthen potts" in the dairy at Rufford in 1620 no doubt served the same kind of purpose. At Dunkenhalth in 1679 the "six milk panns of lead" were "sett in frames".

Butter was sometimes made in the older long churns, in which a stave was moved up and down inside, sometimes in the new turning churns, where the whole vessel was revolved by means of a handle. The Middleton dairy in 1618 had both: "j turneing Churne with frame 18^s . . . j longe churne & curdle . . ." At Lytham in 1634 there seems to have been only the older type: "three charnes with lidds and charne staves". When made, the butter was stored in tubs and mugs in the cellar or larder, and the stock was sometimes recorded by the praisers. There were "x tubbs of butter & xij muggs more butter" in the cellar at Rufford in 1620 and at Middleton in 1618 "vj score pounds of butter in iij potts 37^s 8^d: xx pound of butter in another pot 6^s 8^d: j tubb of butter vij score & xⁱⁱ 56^s -". The weekly consumption at Gawthorpe in November 1616 was a stone and a half,⁽⁵⁴⁾ so that the stock at Middleton on this basis would represent twelve to fifteen weeks' supply. The price averaged between 3³/₄d. and 4¹/₂d. a pound—dear enough.

There was also special equipment for cheese making: cheese vats or chessotts, cheese presses and shelves for storage. There were "xij chessotts 11^s: 2 cheese presses 10^s" at Rufford in 1620 and "x cheesefatts 6^s: j cheese presse & frame 6^s" at Middleton two years earlier. Considerable quantities were kept in store: 107 cheeses at Middleton in 1618 valued at £7 5s. 10d., or about 1s. 4¹/₄d. each, 72 at Rufford in 1620 valued at £3 12s. 0d. or 1s. each. The cheese recorded by weight at Lytham (58 pounds) works out at about 3d. a pound. The

⁽⁵⁴⁾ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 215.

Shuttleworths were consuming two cheeses a week in November 1616.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Many families also had washhouses and it would be a mistake to exaggerate too much the uncleanliness of the period. There were wash houses at Lytham, Ince Blundell, Haigh Hall and Dunkenhalth, for example, and the equipment at Lytham included "one longe table, 5 wiskets, one knopp, 3 kimblings, one skeele, one piggin, one girdle, one brandreth, tongs and spitle, one smoothing iron with other things . . ." ⁽⁵⁶⁾ There was a barrel of soap in the storehouse and Lady Clifton had another half firkin in her closet. Dunkenhalth had a laundry as well as a washhouse in 1679 with "two smoothing tables" and, in 1702, "six smoothing irons". At Speke in 1700 there was also a *Foulding Room* with a "clothes maiden". Household accounts of the period contain both regular purchases of soap and payments for washing. In October 1610 the Shuttleworths' steward paid "the cow man's wife for a quarter's washing to Leighe 6^d" and in July 1620 for "six dozen of sope bought at Hallifax 6^s". In the Hornby accounts for 1581 to 1582 there is a payment for "soap . . . bought for washing and laundering xxx table cloths, napkins, sheets and other necessary things of the Lord and Lady for themselves and their house, 7s. 6d." ⁽⁵⁷⁾ Information about personal cleanliness is less readily forthcoming, but there was a "bathing tubb leaded" in the closet at Dunkenhalth in 1679. Water supply was usually from a well or pump: the "well bucket and cheane" was recorded by the praisers at Scarisbrick in 1599 and at Bank Hall in 1632 "iron geare belonginge to the Pumpe with a trough for the same".

VII. OUTSIDE THE HOUSE

Everyone was a farmer in Tudor or Stuart Lancashire, whatever his other occupation or occupations, and the gentry were no exception. Some of them farmed on a very considerable scale and their "quicke godces" and corn formed a very considerable proportion of their possessions. Sir Cuthbert Clifton of Lytham is an outstanding example: when he died in 1634, he had about 200 head of cattle, 450 sheep and lambs, 30 horses, 23 pigs, 54 hens, 8 turkeys and 156 geese and goslings worth altogether approximately £920. There was corn growing

⁽⁵⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Wisket: local name for various kinds of basket. (*O.E.D.*)

Skeele: a wooden bucket, pail or tub used chiefly for milk or water, and usually having a handle or handles formed by staves rising above the rim. (*O.E.D.*)

⁽⁵⁷⁾ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, pp. 191 and 242. *Hornby Accounts*, p. 111.



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By courtesy of Mrs. Violet Clifton

Plate 8. (Top) SIR CUTHBERT CLIFTON, 1582-1634
From a portrait in Lytham Hall

(Bottom) LYTHAM HALL AND PARISH CHURCH
From an undated fragment of manuscript in the
Lancashire Record Office, DDCI/1056: probably
early seventeenth century.

on his lands at Lytham, Ballam and Westby worth £272 19s. 9d. (this might represent 100 to 150 acres, depending on what crops he was growing), and stocks of corn, meal and malt in the barns and garner worth another £250. His inventory also records sales of corn before and after his death totalling over £700, so that the final value of his outside goods was well over £2,000 out of possessions worth altogether about £3,100. Another big farmer was Sir John Radcliffe of Ordsall whose goods when he died in 1590 included:

drawen oxen xljx	130 [£]	-	-
kyne and bulls cxx	250 [£]	-	-
steares, hefferes, twinters and starkes cx	157 [£]	-	-
calves lxxxiiij	66 [£]	6 ^s	8 ^d
fatt oxen iij	9 [£]	10 ^s	-
sheepe cccclxxjx	80 [£]	-	-
horses geldings mares and coults xlj	85 [£]	-	-
swine geese and pullen	15 [£]	-	-
in corne hay and graines in the barnes	10 [£]	-	-
in corne and graines growinge	37 [£]	-	-
in malte and corne in the garner	5 [£]	-	-

—not far short of £1,000 in an inventory which totals £1,468. Robert Hesketh in 1620 had about 180 cattle at his different houses—Rufford, Holmeswood, Mawdesley, Croston, Becconsall, Martholme—valued in all at nearly £700. Sir Richard Molyneux's corn in 1623 "wheate, barley, oats, blendings and mault", amounted to £512 while Sir Edmund Trafford in 1620 had "corne growinge on the ground" worth £346.

Some of the gentry, of course, farmed on a more modest scale than this. For instance, Henry Farington of Worden, who, when he died in March 1692, had:

twenty cows & 1 bull	64 [£]	09 ^s	00 ^d
14 oxen	57	10	00
8 twinter bullocks & 4 twinter heifers	26	00	00
8 stirks	12	00	00
4 suckink calfs	02	00	00
1 stoned horse & white gelding	14	00	00
7 draught horses & mares	21	00	00
4 old mares & colts	10	10	00
15 sheep	03	15	00
4 swine	03	05	00
1 field of wheate on the ground	08	00	00
in winnowed corne in the Garner Barne	19	00	00
in wheate, oats, barley & beans unthreshen and unwinnowed in the barne & wainehouse	38	00	00
in Malt in the Barn Ark	06	00	00
in Hay	07	10	00

For purposes of comparison, it may be said that the ordinary working farmer or husbandman in Lancashire at this time would rarely have as many as twenty cattle: ten or twelve

would be nearer the average. He might also have a few sheep, not often as many as twenty, one or two horses, a pig and a few hens, ducks or geese, and might grow corn on four, five or six acres of land. A yeoman farmer would naturally have more: Robert Molyneux of Sefton, yeoman, who died in 1616 had twenty cattle, seven mares and horses, six swine and twenty-nine sheep worth about £70, together with another £17 in barley, oats, rye, wheat, beans, peas, vetches and hay⁽⁵⁸⁾

Everywhere there were farm buildings adjoining the houses: typical are those at Middleton in 1618: great stable, work stable, barn, great barn, garners, workhouse (where the tools and agricultural equipment were kept), wainhouse, slaughterhouse, mill and two kilns. The range of agricultural equipment which a landowner of the period might have cannot be better illustrated than from the inventory of that active farmer, Sir Cuthbert Clifton:—

In husbandrie geare

	£	s.	d.
fowre new plooes and five ould plooes	1	7	0
twentie fowre yokes whereof 18 have bowes	2	0	0
six new yokes without iron	0	4	0
seaven harrowes furnished with teeth	1	0	0
ten new horse collars and 12 ould ones	0	16	0
fiftene paire of holmes with traces	0	8	0
nyne single horse draughts	0	6	0
three paire of swayes for the plow and two paire for the harrowe	0	6	0
six paire of waine ropes	0	15	0
thirteen iron teames	0	17	6
three paire of axle tree pines and other lose iron	0	4	8
sixteen paire of clamors	0	4	8
wheeles bands, plow showes, warthinge for wheels and other lose iron	0	13	0
. . . . three tethers and ten wamptees	0	6	6
new halters and traces	0	7	8
two Iron crowes	0	7	6
eleaven forkes ironed	0	7	4
twelve foote spaidis	0	9	0
six mucke crookes	0	4	0
4 hackes	0	4	0
ten pich forkes ironed	0	6	8
seaven pitchforke shaftes	0	3	6
twelve paire of grypes and 12 rakes	0	2	6
thirtie stilts and staples	0	2	6
three paire of iron traces with holmes	0	4	6
27 plowe reests, 13 neither heads, 48 harrow boles and 18 goads	0	8	0
. . . . fyve master swingletrees	0	2	9
. . . . two paire of sheares, two marking irons and a dripping pan	0	1	6
12 new wayne clouts	0	2	0
ten wimbles, three sawes, and 2 wimble braces	0	8	0

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Will and inventory of Robert Molyneux of Sefton, L.R.O., WCW.

three chisells, one gourage, and two iron wedges, one spocke shave, two hand knyves, one square and one latt [lath] axe	0	2	6
3 plaines with two bits	0	1	6
three hatchets and one Tenet	0	2	8
. . . . six sickles	0	1	6
. . . . six sleads	0	5	0
five corne waines with wheels and furniture	6	13	4
four ladders	0	10	0
two new wayne chests and one pair of cart rathes	1	13	4
thirteen turffwaynes with wheels and axltrees	8	13	4
six ould wheels and a windglasse [windlass]	0	8	0
one corne carte and a paire of shodd wheels	2	13	4
three dozen and three felighs and sixteen axltrees	1	2	6
. . . . water cart with its apurtenances	0	4	0 ⁽⁵⁹⁾

There were mills at several houses: Winstanley, Middleton, Ince Blundell, Lytham, Scarisbrick, Becconsall, Martholme and Speke, for example. In the west of the county they were usually windmills: the inventory of the mill at Ince Blundell in 1688 included "salle rods" and "one webb of sayle cloths", and "4 sale cloaths" were recorded at Becconsall in 1620. In many cases the landowner would still exercise the customary right

⁽⁵⁹⁾ bowe, bow: curved piece of wood to fit over back of draught animal. (*O.E.D.*).

holme, hame, haume: each of two curved pieces of wood forming the collar of a draught horse or animal. (*O.E.D.*).

sway: pole of a cart (*O.E.D.*). Here probably refers to poles attached to two ends of the swingletree, sometimes known as a sway-tree (see *swingle-tree* below).

team: part of the gear by which oxen or horses were harnessed to a plough, harrow or wain. (*O.E.D.*). A chain to which oxen are yoked in lieu of a pole. (*E.D.D.*).

clamor: obsolete form of clam, anything that holds tight. Chain: instrument for clasping rigidly, pincers. (*O.E.D.*).

plow show, shoe: name of appliances for covering, protecting or supporting plough share. (*O.E.D.*). Casing of iron at nose of part of plough which enters ground. (*E.D.D.*).

wamptee, wamtowe, wame-tow: belly band for a horse. (*O.E.D.*).

hack: variously applied to instruments of mattock and pick-axe type. (*O.E.D.*).

grypes: pincers. (*O.E.D.*).

stilt: handle of a plough. (*O.E.D.*).

plowe reest: share beam of plough, mould board. (*O.E.D.*).

neither head: lower end of front part of plough which bears the share. (*O.E.D.*).

harrow bole, bull: one of pieces of wood which form the frame of a harrow. (*O.E.D.*).

swingletree: in a plough, harrow, or carriage, a cross bar pivoted at the middle to which traces are fastened, giving freedom of movement to the shoulders of draught animal. (*O.E.D.*).

waine clout: iron covering for axletree of wagon. (*O.E.D.*).

wimble: gimlet. (*O.E.D.*).

tenet: probably tenon saw.

sleds: in general use on Lancashire farms of the period for transport.

rathe: cart-rail. (*O.E.D.*).

felighes, felloes, felghes: curved pieces of wood, which, joined together form circular rim of wheel. (*O.E.D.*).

to compel the tenants to bring their corn to be ground at his mill and to take a certain proportion in payment. Thus Richard Assheton in 1618 had "multure corne of all sorts" worth £3 11s. 0d. and there were "2 moulter chests" in the mill at Martholme in 1620. Parts of the mill equipment were also recorded: stones, ropes, posts, for example. At Middleton in 1618 there were "v paire of trindle heads" and "one newe Milne stone 16^s 8^d". The kilns which are found at nearly all the houses were used for drying corn and preparing malt. The equipment usually included sieves and hair cloths on which the grain was placed for the process. At Ince Blundell in 1688 there were "one tryall, one haire cloath, twilsheets, sives"⁽⁶⁰⁾ and at Scarisbrick in 1608 the praisers recorded "barley in the kylne 7[£] 10^s -".

Some of the gentry, whose situation favoured it, seem to have interested themselves in fishing. The goods of Edward Scarisbrick in 1599 included:

xviij bowe netts for the mayre in Thomas Yats kepeinge	6 ^s	-
the same Thomas xij pyke netts & others	6 ^s	-
ij boats with a sayle in his kepeinge also	23 ^s	4 ^d
John Sumner hath xxiiij bowe netts & xij pyke netts	14 ^s	-
he hath also ij boats with one sayle & ij heare teythers	43 ^s	4 ^d
a greate nett for the mayre	20 ^s	-(⁶¹)

Also in the Martin Mere area were the Heskeths, who had a boat at Holmeswood in 1620 and "vj oweres" to row it.

In addition to the farm animals, all the gentry had their stables of riding horses, whether for hunting or for the numerous journeys which a man so prominent in local society and local government would have to make. In the *Great Stable* at Middleton Hall in 1618 there were "ij rydinge geldinges & j mare 29[£] 6^s 8^d: j stoned horse & j gray nagg 9[£] 10^s", besides the four draught horses in the *Work Stable* which were valued at £23 6s. 8d. There were five geldings worth £25 in the stable at Rufford in 1620, and Sir Cuthbert Clifton had thirteen riding horses including "one gray stoned horse, one bay colt, one graye mare and Sir Cuthbert's ryding geldinge 46[£] 0^s 0^d": one black stoned horse 13[£] 6^s 8^d: one blacke nage 8[£] 0^s 0^d". At Speke in 1700 we can even learn what some of the horses were called: "Old White Betty", "the horse called Diamond", "the Yorkshire Gelding", "the bay stoned horse called Miller".

The praisers also listed the saddles and furniture: in the stable at Dunkenhalgh in 1679 were "four padd saddles, two

⁽⁶⁰⁾ tryall: sieve or sifting screen. (*O.E.D.*).

⁽⁶¹⁾ bow net: a kind of net attached to a bow or arch of wood. Alternatively a kind of trap used for lobsters, crayfish, etc. (*O.E.D.*).

portmantle saddles,⁽⁶²⁾ four hunting saddles, two side saddles, two pelions [pillions], one troop saddle"—a ready illustration of the different ways in which the horses were used. Some saddles were elaborately trimmed and decorated like those in the *Best Stable* at Bank Hall in c. 1670—"tow velvet sadles richly last [laced]: one great wane sadle of velvet richly last". There was a "velvet saddle with gould lace" at Lytham in 1634 and Sir Cuthbert's best saddle and bridle were treasured possessions kept in his closet and listed with his clothes.

Some of the gentry had their own coaches especially after the Civil War: the Asshetons, Blundells, Bradshaighs, Heskeths, Moores, Norrises, Scarisbricks and Walmesleys all had coaches in the later years of the seventeenth century. The Moore inventory of c. 1670 speaks of "3 suits of coch & harnist" in the *Best Stable* and Sir Ralph Assheton's "Foure coach horses, coach and harnish for them" were valued at £85 in 1665. He also retained an older form of transport in the "horse litter and harnish" recorded in the same inventory. At Haigh Hall, Dunkenhalgh and Speke there were coach houses among the outbuildings, with a bedroom for the coachman in the one at Haigh. Coachman's chambers appear quite commonly among the bedrooms listed in the later inventories, as at Speke and Dunkenhalgh. Before the Civil War, coaches were less common, though some of the local gentry possessed one in the time of James I, and Sir John Radcliffe had one as early as 1590. Dame Elizabeth Mosley had what was described as an "old coach" even in 1617, and Sir Edmund Trafford had "two kolches and furniture" in 1620. There was one at the same date at Rufford, but while there was a coach house listed in the earlier Middleton inventory of 1618, no coach was mentioned. The contrast of the earlier and later periods in this matter is well illustrated at Scarisbrick, where a coach was recorded in the 1673 inventory but none in the two earlier ones of 1608 and 1599.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The majority of the inventories on which this article is based are in the Lancashire Record Office at Preston, and I am greatly indebted to the county archivist and his staff, especially Mr. Bruce Jones and Mr. B. G. Awty, for their assistance and

⁽⁶²⁾ A portmantle or portmanteau was a case or bag for carrying clothing, etc. when travelling, originally of a form suitable for carrying on horseback. A portmantle saddle was one with something behind the seat to keep the portmantle off the rider's back. (*O.E.D.*).

for bringing to my notice inventories which I might not otherwise have seen. I am also indebted to the editor of the *TRANSACTIONS* for many helpful suggestions and for the reference to Alexander Rigby's inventory.

APPENDIX

LIST OF WILLS AND INVENTORIES USED IN COMPILING THE ARTICLE
AND REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT.

Unless otherwise stated the inventories are available among the probate records at the Lancashire Record Office.

ASSHETON	Richard of Middleton, Esq. Sir Ralph of Middleton, Bt. Dame Anne of Middleton	24 November 1618 13 July 1665 4 December 1684
BANKES	James of Winstanley, Esq.	11 August 1617
BRADSHAIGH	Sir Roger of Haigh, Bt.	10 June 1684
BRADSHAW	John of Bradshaw, par. Bolton, Esq.	12 April 1694
BLUNDELL	Henry of Ince Blundell, Esq.	18 April 1688
CLIFTON	Sir Cuthbert of Lytham, Kt.	25 April 1634
FARINGTON	William of Worden, Esq. Henry of Worden, Esq.	5 July 1610 15 March 1692
HARRINGTON	Percival of Huyton Hey, Esq.	8 December 1609
HESKETH	Robert of Rufford, Esq. (Robert Hesketh's will is not in the probate records at Preston, but is printed in <i>Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories</i> , ed. J. P. Earwaker, Chetham Society, N.S., Vol. 28, pp. 21-4.) Robert of Rufford, Esq.	16 November 1620 27 January 1697
HOGHTON	Sir Richard of Hoghton, Bt.	9 December 1630
HOLCROFTE	Geoffrey of Hurst-within-Culcheth, Esq.	20 July 1590
LANGTON	Dame Anne, widow of Sir Thomas Langton, Kt. Baron of Newton. (Printed in <i>Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories</i> , ed. J. G. Piccoper, Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 54, pp. 58-62.)	21 May 1573
LEGH	Dame Dorothy of Worsley, late wife of Sir Peter Legh of Lyme, Kt. (Printed in <i>Lancs. and Chesh. Wills and Inventories</i> , Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 54, pp. 201-12.)	15 April 1639
LEYLAND	Thomas of Morleys, Esq. (The date given is the date of the will as the inventory is not dated. Printed in <i>Lancs. and Chesh. Wills and Inventories</i> , Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 33, pp. 162-167.)	2 April 1562
MOLYNEUX	Sir Richard of Sefton, Bt.	14 March 1623

MOORE	Edward of Bank Hall, Esq. Sir Edward of Bank Hall, Kt. (A private inventory in Picton Reference Library, Liverpool, Moore Deeds and Papers, No. 1857.)	10 December c. 1670	1632
MOSLEY	Dame Elizabeth, widow of Sir Nicholas Mosley, Kt.	24 May	1617
NORRIS	Sir William of Speke, Kt. (Printed in TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 97, pp. 114-143). Thomas of Speke, Esq. (Printed in TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 96, pp. 120-135.)	30 September 9 July	1624 1700
RADCLIFFE	Dame Anne, late wife of Sir William Radcliffe of Ordsall, Kt. (Printed in <i>Lancs. and Chesh. Wills and Inventories</i> , Chetham Society, N.S., Vol. 3, pp. 17-18.) Sir John of Ordsall, Kt. (Printed in <i>Lancs. and Chesh. Wills and Inventories</i> , Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 51, pp. 68-72.) Neither of these inventories is in the probate records at Preston.	28 December 24 February	1551 1590
SCARISBRICK	Edward of Scarisbrick, Esq. Henry of Scarisbrick, Esq. James of Scarisbrick, Esq. (The last two are printed in TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 89, pp. 126-138. The originals are in L.R.O., DDSc/19/16 and 23.)	4 October 21 October 13 May	1599 1608 1673
SOUTHWORTH	Thomas of Samlesbury, Esq. (The day of the month is illegible on this inventory.)	March	1623
TRAFFORD	Sir Edmund of Trafford, Kt.	12 May	1620
TYLDESLEY	Thurstan of Wardley, Esq. (Printed in <i>Lancs. and Chesh. Wills and Inventories</i> , Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 33, pp. 97-114.) Thomas of Wardley, Esq. (Printed in <i>Lancs. and Chesh. Wills and Inventories</i> , Chetham Society, N.S., Vol. 3, pp. 13-15. Not in the probate records at Preston.)	4 July 20 July	1554 1556
WALMESLEY	Richard of Dunkenthalgh, Esq. Bartholemew of Dunkenthalgh, Esq. (The day and month at the heading of this inventory are illegible.) Both the above inventories are with the Walmesley Papers, L.R.O., DDpt./27.	1 October	1679 1702

