

THE FOREST OF PENDLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, PART TWO⁽¹⁾

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I INTRODUCTION

THE period from the accession of Elizabeth to the Civil War is known to have been one of rebuilding throughout England. The number of yeomen's houses in Pendle Forest which still exist, and the number known to have been replaced by smaller ones, is very large. They are a monument to a very real prosperity. Why could the yeomen afford to build and maintain houses of this size? Part of the answer is in the nature of the copyhold tenure started in 1507.⁽²⁾ The rent was fixed then and was not increased as the centuries went by. There was the right of inheritance: the Clitheroe Court Rolls for the Forest of Pendle show that when a copyholder died and the land returned to the king's hands the heir could take over the copyhold on the payment of a fine equal to one year's rent. This was less than the fine received by many less noble landlords. Together, the increase in the value of the land and its products, and the security of tenure from one generation to another, meant that families who had sufficiently large farms were able to increase in wealth if they practised thrift and good husbandry.

Documents exist which prove the increasing value of the land in the Forest of Pendle during this period. Filly Close, an area of land between Higham and New Laund, sloping southwards to Pendle Water, had got its name when it was used as an additional grazing area for the young stock of the stud farm at Ightenhill Park during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Later, cattle were agisted there, that is, other people's cattle were taken in to graze for a money payment. In 1507, when the rest of the forest was being let out by copy of Court Roll to the existing tenants and agisters, Lawrence Towneley and Rauff Askue desired to have the Filly Close by copy of Court Roll, to them and to their heirs.⁽³⁾ The rent fixed was £10 13s. 4d.

⁽¹⁾ For Part One of this paper see TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 113, pp. 65-96.

⁽²⁾ *Clitheroe Court Rolls*, Vol. 2, pp. 373-4.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

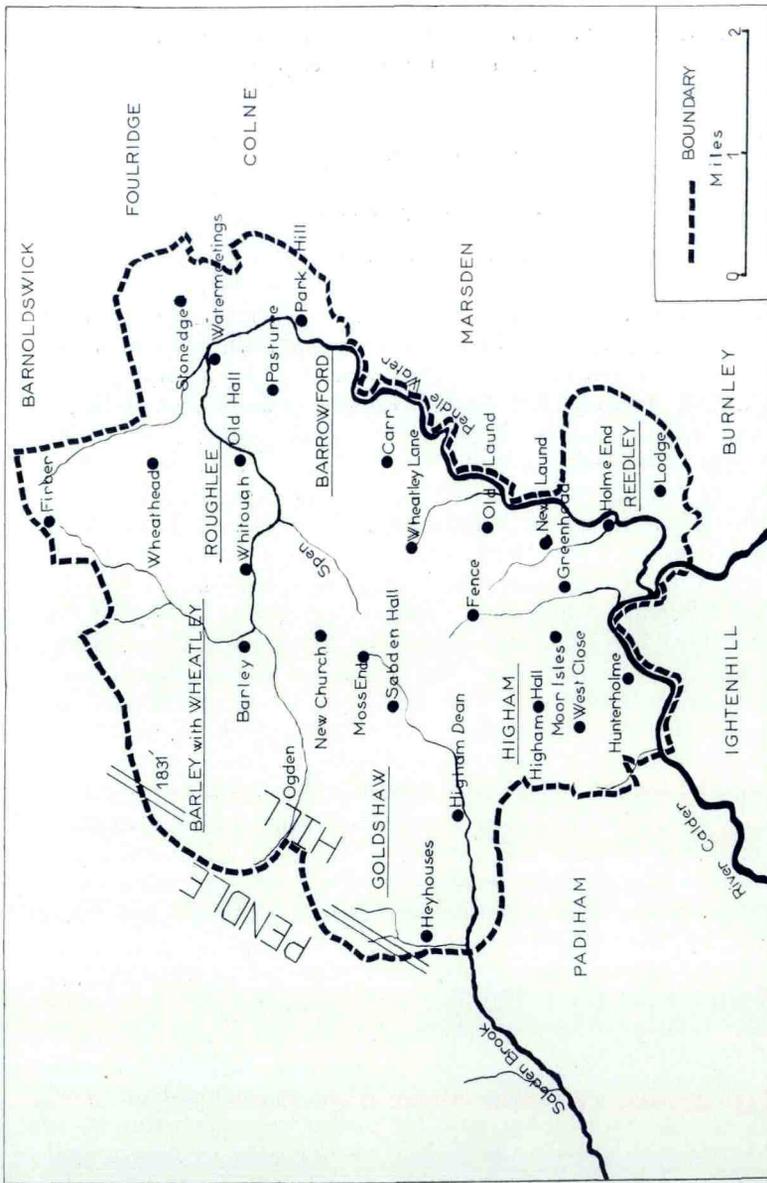


Fig. 4 THE FOREST OF PENDLE

The names of the booths are underlined.

By 1527 it was in the hands of Sir John Towneley, of Towneley and Hapton. His rental for 1 January 1535-6 gave the rent of nine tenants in Filly Close.⁽⁴⁾ The total rent received was £16 11s. 4d., leaving a profit over the "king's rent" of £5 18s. 0d. Amongst the Towneley papers, now in the Lancashire Record Office, is the rental of Filly Close for 1685.⁽⁵⁾ The total rent of nine tenants was then £115 4s. 8d.; the copyhold rent had not changed.

1535-6.		1685.	
"The Fermez off the Fely close.		Rents due to Richard Towneley.	
George Grymshay	£7. 0. 0.	for Morehiles	.. £45. 0. 0.
Thomas watmough	£1.10. 0.	Rich. Stuttard	.. £ 8.10. 0.
John Spenser	.. £1.12. 0.	Jo: Ingham	.. £ 8. 0. 0.
Rycd. Claiton	.. £ .19. 0.	Simeon Ingham	.. £ 9. 0. 0.
William mychell	.. £ .19. 0.	Tho. Addamson	.. £ 8.13. 4.
Jamys Smyth	.. £1.10. 0.	Charles Duckworth	.. £ 8. 0. 0.
George Smyth	.. £1.11. 0.	Widow Spencer	.. £11. 0. 0.
William Tailyer	.. £1.10. 0.	Jo: Smith	.. £11. 1. 0.
Henry Barcroft	.. £ . . 4.	Item for Duckpitts	.. £ 6. 0. 0.
		Mrs Barcroft for	
		Walker Hoile	.. £ . . 4.
Sum	.. £16.11. 4.		
To the King	.. £10.13. 4.		£115. 4. 8.
To Towneley	.. £ 5.18. 0.		

[Roman numerals are used in the original accounts].

This shows the enormous increase in the market value of land, and how much better off the copyholders, farming their own lands, were than tenant farmers. They could improve their land, rebuild their houses and maintain them out of what they saved in rent.

The population of the Forest of Pendle in the seventeenth century cannot be estimated, but the Church Survey made in 1650 gave the approximate number of families in the different chapelries.⁽⁶⁾ The New Church in Pendle had been built and consecrated in 1544 for the benefit of the people living at an inconvenient distance from the existing chapels-of-ease of the mother church at Whalley. The old churchwardens' pew bears the names of the townships, Goldshaw, Roughlee, Barley and Old Laund, which it served. The people of Higham continued to go to Padiham, those of Barrowford to Colne, those of the village of Heyhouses in Sabden to Clitheroe, and those of New Laund, Filly Close and Reedley to Burnley. There were 150 families in the chapelry of New Church, 40 in New Laund,

⁽⁴⁾ *The Rent Roll of Sir John Towneley of Towneley, Knight*, Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 103, (Miscellany VI), pp. 4-5.

⁽⁵⁾ Lancashire Record Office, DDT0/Q17.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lancashire Church Surveys*, Lancs. & Ches. Rec. Soc., Vol. 1, pp. 166-8.

Filly Close and Reedley. Padiham gave a precise return to the Church Survey, indicating that there were 232 families of 1,106 persons, an average of 4.7 persons per family. The hearth tax was first levied in 1662. The assessment for Ladyday 1664 had 304 entries for the Forest of Pendle: that ought to have been the number of houses at that time, for the Act said "every dwelling and other house and edifice shall be chargeable".⁽⁷⁾ If 304 houses represents 304 families, and there was the same average family in Pendle as in Padiham, a rough estimate of the population of the Forest of Pendle after the Restoration would be about 1,400.

II THE HOUSES

Stone is easily obtained in many places in the district, and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century houses were built from local stone with stone slate roofs. The yeomen's houses were built as residences, away from the barns and the work of the farm. They often faced south and had a wide frontage. They were usually only two storeys in height, with a central block and end wings with gabled roofs. The wide mullion windows had as many as nine lights. Roughlee Old Hall, built in the middle of the sixteenth century, has round-headed lights. Bank House and Hargreaves House (now the White Bear) in Barrowford have windows in the gables to light the lofts. Projecting porches with porch chambers above were very fashionable. It was common to have a garden area in front of the house, and in some cases it still exists. Ellis Nutter, of Reedley, who died in 1667, was a typical prosperous yeoman. The inventory of his property is a detailed one and all the twelve rooms in his house are mentioned. On the ground floor was the "house", or central living-room, with its entrance porch, the parlour, the kitchen and buttery. There was also a milk-house and a workshop. On the upper floor was a "white chamber" and chambers over the house, parlour, kitchen, buttery and porch. "The uppermost chamber over the kitchen" may have been a loft, for it was used as a store. Five fire ranges were valued. A more ordinary house, typical of the homes of a larger number of people in Pendle, was that of James Robinson, of Foothouseyeate in Barley-with-Wheatley Booth, in 1637. There was the "firehouse", the parlour, a milk-house and an out-chamber, with a chamber over the house and over the parlour. Only in the house and parlour were "chimneys" valued. Small houses and cottages may only have had a loft over the ground floor

⁽⁷⁾ Public Record Office, E.179/250/11, Part 3, MSS. 21 and 22.

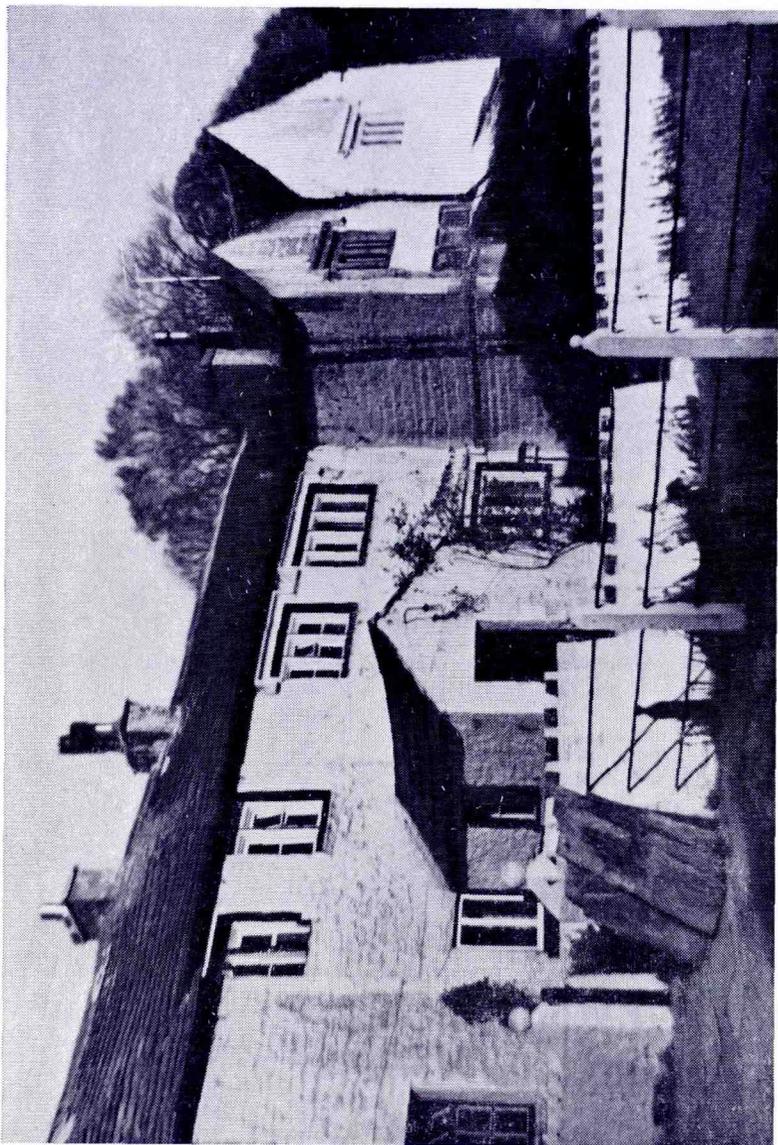


Plate 4. WHITE HOUGH

On the right are the sixteenth-century gables of the house originally built by Christopher Bulcock and Jenet his wife. The wing shows the simple structures common in this area.

rooms. There is an ancient one-storeyed house at Pendle Bottoms.

The hearth tax assessment for Ladyday 1664 augments the information in the inventories about the number of hearths in the houses and on the economic status of the population. Exemptions from payment were made for those who, because of poverty or smallness of estate, were already exempt from paying church and poor rates and those whose houses were valued at less than 20s. per annum and who did not possess goods to the value of £10. Of the 304 entries, 79 were not chargeable on 80 hearths; that is, 26% of the entries were houses occupied by poor people. Any husbandman farming in a very small way, like Nicholas Stevenson of Wheatley Lane in 1665, would be liable to tax, for his goods were valued at £16. Richard Nutter of Goldshaw Booth would be exempt, for his goods totalled only £5 10s. 0d. He had one cow and some hay; the value of all the goods in the house was £1 5s. 0d. The other 225 entries paid on a total of 388 hearths, 126 for only one, the rest for from two to nine each. But this is not a true picture of the number of hearths in these 225 houses. Many walled up hearths which were not much used so as to reduce the amount of tax they had to pay. Fifty-eight of them, a quarter of those chargeable, walled up a total of 85 hearths.⁽⁸⁾ Thirty-seven walled up one each, fifteen walled up two each and six walled up three each. Thomas Banester walled up three, so that he paid only on one, Ellis Nuttér walled up three and still paid on four, Mary Jackson walled up two and paid on two, Christopher Corbridge walled up one and paid on one. Even so, the returns and the inventories prove that over half the houses had only one hearth, and that two-thirds used only one hearth. The other houses were larger, ranging from houses such as Foothouseyeate with its two hearths to Carr Hall which had nine, the home of John More (probably Whitelee) with nine, and The Lodge in Reedley with seven. Eleven paid for four hearths and one for five.

Many of the Pendle inventories were very short and listed neither the rooms nor the items separately. In 1604 the appraisers of the goods of Jane Hargreaves of Higham briefly said:

“in bedstockes	..	..	..	..	£1. 0. 0.
in bedding	..	..	..	..	£6. 0. 0.
in arkes and chistes	..	..	..	..	£2. 0. 0.
in cheares and quissions (cushions)					£ . 6. 8.”

This method made it unnecessary to give a list of the rooms and

⁽⁸⁾ P.R.O., E.179/250/11, p. 7, m.5d.

only fourteen out of 113 named the rooms one by one. Many mentioned some of the rooms incidentally because some special items were in them. In 1678 John Hargreaves of Barley Booth had "Two beds standing in the parlour". The other extreme of brevity was shown in the inventory of John Banester of Park Hill, Barrowford, in 1654. The total amount was £222, yet the inventory took up only twenty-four lines. At least all the rooms were mentioned. The parlour was invariably used as the best bedroom. Only in Carr Hall, owned by the Towneleys of Barnsett, near Colne, and Moor Isles in Filly Close, lived in by minor members of the Towneley family, were staircases mentioned. Moor Isles had been renovated or partly rebuilt by Christopher Towneley in 1668 and in his inventory, 1674, the staircase and the chamber over the stairs were mentioned. In other cases there were probably simple flights or newels leading directly into the room above, sometimes called the stairs chamber or the chamber over the house, where stores, especially of grain or implements that might rust, were frequently kept. There was often a bed in this room from which the other bedrooms opened.

In the seventeenth century many things which we would take for granted as part of the permanent fittings were still looked upon as private, movable property, such as the stone shelves in the milkhouse and the wooden ones in other rooms. "Theyles" and "laws" (loose) boards were valued in nearly half of the inventories. Theales can be either board, plank or deal or the floor made from them. John Higgin, a clothier of Wheatley in 1685, said, "It is my will and mind that whereas there are divers loose boards over the house and Parlour serveing instead of floors and shelves being my proper goods, I will that they shall there remaine and not be divided but continue where they are as long as any of my children have their abode there." Underdrawing upstairs rooms which had been open to the rafters made them warmer. When Adam Martindale moved into the vicarage at Rosthorne in Cheshire he paid "for all the wainscot in the house, flags of the floor, glass in the windows, with all the inner doors . . . or else she would take all these away . . ." ⁽⁹⁾ John Hargreaves of Higham, in his will dated 24 February 1651, said, "I give and bequeeth unto John Hargreaves my eldest son the long table standing in the fyre house and the stone trough in the stable wall. . . ." Many of these water troughs, hewn out of a single block of stone, remain and were in continuous use until piped water was put into shippons and stables this century.

⁽⁹⁾ *Life of Adam Martindale*, Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 4, p. 82.

III THE FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD GOODS

The people of Pendle were primarily farmers; even those who were engaged in other crafts, the blacksmiths, the wallers and the miller, had farms of varying sizes. A high proportion of the value of each inventory was made up of the stock, crops and implements. The value of the household goods varied mainly between 10% and 40% of the totals, though in six cases the value was over 40% and in three less than 10%. The valuations vary greatly:

VALUATIONS OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS FROM 115 INVENTORIES			
2	with over ..	.. ..	£70 worth
2	„ between	.. £60 & £70	„
1	„ „	.. £50 & £60	„
10	„ „	.. £40 & £50	„
11	„ „	.. £30 & £40	„
15	„ „	.. £20 & £30	„
45	„ „	.. £10 & £20	„
29	„ less than	.. ..	£10 „

All those with household goods valued at over £40 were either gentlemen or higher class yeomen. From this it might be inferred that the higher up the social scale the higher would be the value of the household goods in proportion to that of the total inventory, but this is not so in all cases. Of the fifteen people referred to, Robert Bulcock of Whitough had £51 worth of household goods out of a total of £303, and John Hargreaves of Higham had £47 worth out of a total of £276, the percentage in each case being seventeen. They both had a large proportion of their capital tied up in large farming enterprises. In the case of the more modest inventories the percentage could be high where the owner's income did not come solely from agriculture, but from other sources, such as industry or a craft, where the capital required to bring in a satisfactory income and provide a comfortable home was not so high. An obvious example is James Baldwin of Barrowford in 1665, whose household goods were worth £24 out of a total of £55, that is 44%. His livestock consisted of three cows and a heiffer, a mare and a colt. He was concerned with the finishing sections of the textile trade, the stretching of cloth after it had been fulled and cloth dressing. His capital stock for these processes was valued at just over £10. Over £156 was owing to him, mostly by specialty, bill and bond. The two highest valuations were of the goods of John Banester of Park Hill,

Barrowford, gentleman, and John Hargreaves of Barrowford, yeoman. Many yeomen had household goods worth less than twenty pounds: but James Robinson was typical of a substantial yeoman and his were valued at £34 13s. 4d., out of a total of £175. In his house he had:

"Goodes in the Parler viz.		
one stand bed with furniture	£3.	7. 0.
another bed with it furniture	£2.	3. 3.
3 chistes and one table	£1.	0. 0.
chaires and buffett stooles	£.	5. 0.
2 forms and cushiones	£.	10. 0.
Linen and unshapen cloath	£2.	4. 4.
one Iron Chimney	£.	6. 0.

Goods in the Chamber over the Parlour.		
two bedes with their furniture	£2.	10. 4.
4 Coverlettes	£2.	12. 0.

Goods in the firehouse.		
1 table, 2 formes and ? [parchment worn] ..	£.	5. 0.
one great chist	£1.	5. 0.
chaires stoles cussions tables & trestes ..	£.	4. 0.
five laws boardes	£.	5. 0.
[parchment torn] chimney ? tonges spites ? ?		
knives sheares sasers backstone and bagbread	£.	13. 0.
1 board cloath, towel pin	£.	2. 6.

Goodes in the Chamber over the house.		
loose boardes	£1.	5. 0.
4 chests and one arke	£2.	0. 0.
one bed with it furniture	£.	12. 0."
(and a large miscellaneous store of goods including bacon, meal, malt, sieves, wool and scales.)		

In the poorer homes there might have been less furniture, for there were fewer rooms, but it was the quality of the basic furniture as well as the quantity that was less. John Hargreaves of Barrowford, mentioned above, in 1687 had in the parlour "one bed and bedding and hangings belonging", worth £6 5s. 0d. This was more than the value of all the furniture and furnishings that Hugh Hargreaves of Higham Booth possessed in 1675. These were:

"In the parlour: one paire of bedstocks	£.	17. 0.
Other bedding	£.	10. 0.
In Linninge	£.	5. 0.
Chimney tonges Briggs Racken and Tosting Iron	£.	5. 0.
In Pewder (6s. 4d.) In Brasse (10s. 6d.) ..	£.	16. 10.
One chest and meale	£.	7. 4.
One table (3s. 4d.) Three Chistes (6s. 8d.) ..	£.	10. 0.
Spitt and Rackes and spittill	£.	2. 1.
Wooden Vessel	£1.	1. 2.
Earthen Potts	£.	1. 1.
Four chaires	£.	2. 7.
Total	£4.	18. 1."

Among rich and poor the beds and bedding were the most valuable part of the household goods, forming from one-third to one-half of the value of the whole. Frequently there were two beds in each of the upstairs rooms. In ordinary houses they were "pairs of bedstocks". Stand-beds or fourposters were found only in the wealthier ones. They had valence and curtains, though of what material it was not stated except in the inventory taken at Carr Hall in 1630, where everything was far more expensive than the yeomen could afford. There were "five Taffetie Curteynes and three green saye [silk] curteynes, one pair of wrought [embroidered] valence and one Canapie." With the standbed and truckle bed, their feather beds, bolsters, pillows and blankets they were valued at £13. The hangings on the wall were worth £2. The only wall hangings mentioned elsewhere was one painted cloth in Higham. There were more feather beds than chaff ones: for instance Robert Haworth, of Filly Close, had four feather beds and two chaff ones. Every bed seemed to have two blankets and various kinds of coverlets. Ellen Pollard, of West Close in Higham, in 1679 had a "diced hilling", that is a chequered quilt, one ornamented with figures, cubes or squares. The sheets were of fine or of coarse linen, which was called canvas. They were often valued with the other linen, table or bord cloths, napkins and towels. John Stephenson of Moss End in Goldshaw, a husbandman, in 1623 had "linnen sheetes, toweles, napkins, linen and canvasse shapen and unshapen", worth £1 13s. 4d. Smoothing irons were sometimes mentioned separately, though usually included in the "huslement" (householdment) or "huswife geer". At Whitelee there was a smoothing iron with heaters: this would be a box iron, into which the red hot heaters were put, in contrast to the flat iron. The only window curtains mentioned were at Carr Hall and at Moor Isles, and they were in upstairs rooms. Ellis Nutter and Christopher Towneley had "seeing glasses" or mirrors in 1667 and 1674 respectively. John C. Rogers, in *English Furniture*, says that mirrors were not manufactured in England until shortly after the Restoration. Other furniture in the bedrooms consisted of chests, small or round tables, and seats (little forms, stools or chairs) with their cushions. Some had desks and boxes for books or documents.

Not all the furniture was of oak. After the Restoration Christopher Robinson of Barley had an ash table and forms worth 8s. 0d., and also ash trestles; Christopher Towneley had six "hewn" chairs of ash in the kitchen and an ash chest with meal in it, whilst seven of his eight beds were made of ash. Trestle tables were still used, though the long "joined"



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Plate 5. CHRISTOPHER TOWNELEY (1604-1674)

“The great transcriber.”

He lived at Carr Hall after his marriage to Alice Towneley in 1640. On her death in 1657 he moved to Moor Isles in Filly Close.

table was usual in the living-room. The long table with its matching forms owned by Ellis Nutter were worth £1 18s. 0d. All inventories listed chairs, stools and cushions; some of the chairs were "thrown", that is, made by the turner and not by the joiner. Settles and long settles were mentioned ten times, and in 1641 Ambrose Towneley, of Moor Isles, had a settle and seats in the chimney corner. Bernard Parker of New Laund, yeoman, in 1655 had twenty chairs, nine buffets and nineteen cushions. It would be quite possible for these ordinary people to have a larger proportion of chairs in their homes than some of the gentry; the plain ones were valued at sixpence each. The inventory of Jane Towneley of Hapton Tower, widow of Richard Towneley, gave the list of the furniture she still had at Towneley Hall in 1634. In the dining-room was a great chair of green cloth and lace, with six stools with backs, six without, two with wooden backs and two long forms, "all suitable", that is, to match. In addition there were two other chairs and nine stools in the room, giving a total of three chairs and twenty-three stools. Arks and chests were indispensable for storage, and some houses had as many as fourteen. The arks were used for storing meal and malt and seeds, and were found in the barns and stables as well as in the house or kitchen. Some of the chests were "joined"; they varied greatly in size, from those large enough to store the household linen to little chests with writings and money in them. Cupboards, counters, dishboards, sideboards, aumbries and livery cupboards were used for the storage of food and pewter tableware.

Even the poor had some pewter, but the richer the person the greater was the amount. James Hargreaves, of Watermeetings, in 1673 had forty-three pounds weight, worth £2. As early as 1610 Nicholas Stevenson had "pewter of all sorts, candlestick and glasses". Others through the century had glasses, and John Jackson of Reedley in 1662 had a voider which could have been a tray or basket used during a meal or one with ornamental pattern for sweetmeats. Only three families, other than the Towneleys, had anything of silver plate, and £4 was the highest value. Christopher Towneley in 1674 had five small silver salts and a sauce dish, worth 15s. 0d., and a silver tankard, valued at £4. Silver spoons, mentioned in twenty-five inventories, were usually valued at 5s. 0d. each, and were not for everyday use. Jenet Fort, of Heyhouses, had four ordinary spoons, valued at 4d. Hugh More of Higham Deane gave his "twentie silver spoones to be heirloomes". Henry Hartley of Blacko, in 1615, had five silver spoons, one of which he bequeathed to his grand-daughter, Elizabeth.

No clock was mentioned until the second half of the century and then only in six inventories. They all belonged to yeomen of a high standing and to two gentlemen: they were John Jackson, of Reedley, in 1662; John Sutcliffe, of Pasture in Barrowford, in 1664; James Hargreaves, of Watermeetings, in 1673; Christopher Towneley, of Moor Isles, in 1674; John Hargreaves, of Barrowford, in 1687; and Richard Crombock, of New Laund, in 1700. Two of the clocks had cases. (In the mid-Essex inventories the first clock was noted in 1670)⁽¹⁰⁾ John Jackson and John Sutcliffe must really have been the pace-makers in Pendle in the 1660s for the former also had "a pair of virginals", worth £3, and the latter "one paire of virginals standing in the parlour chamber" and an "instrument called a cytheron" (a zyther). In 1697 a widow, Elizabeth Marsden, of Roughlee, bequeathed to her grand-daughter "one paire of virginalles." Finally, Richard Crombock, of New Laund, had in 1700 a table and virginals valued at £1. The two types of virginals were represented, the one on its own four-legged frame and the other like a small box to be placed on a table. The origin of the name has been much disputed but Elizabeth Marsden's will confirms the view that it was the instrument for young ladies. John Jackson had a daughter and John Sutcliffe two. Other yeomen of equal standing had fowling and birding pieces at this time.

During the first half of the century the men of Pendle kept a very miscellaneous collection of arms. John Robinson, of Foothouseyeate, in 1637 had a long bow and a staff, one sword and two daggers, and a musket and its furniture. Nine others had muskets, four had head pieces. It may not be irrelevant to mention that many of the yeomen of Pendle supported Colonel Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe, and the Parliamentarians. Concerning a meeting in Padiham in October 1642 the following names appeared: PENDLE—John Moore, Hugh More, Ellis Nutter, John Hargreaves, James Hargreaves of Barrowford, Christopher Bulcock, Richard Nutter.⁽¹¹⁾ Thomas Jesland in his *True and full relation of troubles in Lancashire . . .*, which he sent to London, told how the local men, up to 8,000 strong, rallied round Shuttleworth and Starkie on Enfield Moor, before going on to attack Sir Gilbert Hoghton in Blackburn. "Now the men of Blackburn, Paduam, Burnley, Clitheroe and Colne, with those sturdy churles in the two forests of Pendle and Rossendale, have raised their spirits and

⁽¹⁰⁾ Francis W. Steer (ed.), *Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex 1635-1749*, p. 20.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Lancashire Lieutenantcy II*, Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 50, p. 285.

have resolved to fight it out rather than their Beefe and fatt bacon shall be taken from them.”⁽¹²⁾ The Robinsons of Old Laund were the exceptions in supporting the royalist cause, for which they forfeited their estate.⁽¹³⁾

IV THE WORK OF THE HOUSE

In the seventeenth century the meaning of the word “house-work” was much wider than it is today: it signified the work of maintaining not only the house but the household as well. Cleaning, cooking over the open fire in the wide hearth, baking oatcakes on the bakestone, sieving the flour and meal into coarse and fine grades, making butter and cheese, salting bacon and beef for winter use, tending the garden to give a supply of herbs and vegetables, looking after the poultry to keep a supply of eggs and fowl, were all part of the daily or seasonal work of housewives. Some did their own brewing. Mention of stocks of yards of feather-bed ticking, cushions “raw” and linen “unshapen” indicates that the women made much of their soft furnishing, which, if they were clever needlewomen, would include embroidered cushions, and tapestry work carpets to put upon their tables and cupboards. Candles and rush lights could be made at home from wax and tallow. Practically all the houses in Pendle had cards, combs and spinning wheels. The women contributed to the earnings of the household by preparing wool or, occasionally, flax, and spinning it into yarn, either for sale or to provide a supply for the husband’s weaving on the handloom. The women’s share in producing home-grown food and preserving it must have helped in getting the full benefit from this long period of inflation. The money received from the sale of surplus dairy and garden produce must have helped to produce the prosperity of which the inventories give evidence.

The inventories provide detailed information about the utensils and equipment used by the seventeenth-century housewives. The iron range or “haes chimney” had its “furniture”; all the iron tools for the fire, tongs, shovels, bellows and also equipment for cooking over the fire. The cooking-pots hung from the “rackentree”, the arms hinged into the back wall of the chimney. The racks, spits and dripping pans were used for roasting. The brandreths and briggs were iron frames that bridged the fire, so that the frying-pan (frequently worthy of special and separate mention) or other pans, and the bakestone,

⁽¹²⁾ *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 2, p. 65.

⁽¹³⁾ *Royalist Composition Papers*, Lancs. & Ches. Rec. Soc., Vol. 72, p. 154.

could be placed upon them. There were toasting-irons and chafing-dishes, the base of the latter containing charcoal for heating the food in the dish above. Jenet Fort of Heyhouses in Goldshaw, in 1670, had "one brasse potte . . . 10s.", and "six brasse pannes . . . 10s.", but John Sharp, the blacksmith in Wheatley Lane, in 1639 had "potes and pans" worth £7. Some housewives had brass or stone mortars.

The fires were of coal or peat. Many owned turf and "fleeing" spades (for skimming off the sod) and turf carts. Coal was near the surface in most of these areas. (Higham has proved to be one of the richest open-cast coal mines; the seventeenth-century house of Moor Isles became uninhabitable many years ago because of subsidence.) Some of the copyholders, such as the Robinsons of Old Laund, had pits on their own land. Others could buy coal cheaply at the pit-head or, like Sybil Nutter of Reedley in 1593, from the "coleman in Marsden", to whom she owed 14d. when she died.

The bakestone was made of iron, the "bagbread", or bake-bread, was a kneading board specially used in the preparation of oatcake, and the spittle was a board with a handle used to turn the dough of the oatcake on to the bakestone. The importance of oatmeal, along with barley, the chief cereal grown in the district, is shown by the references made to it in the inventories. Out of 101 inventories in which food stores of any sort were mentioned, 83 referred to meal and only 21 to wheat. Until recent years it was taken for granted that the word "meal" meant "oatmeal". Oatcakes or oaten bread and porridge would appear to have been the staple cereal food, wheat being used for special occasions or special dishes by the yeoman families. Occasional mention was made of "bread flekes" and bread "cratches": these were frames or racks on which oatcakes were dried and stored.

Even the smallest house had a "milkhouse", or dairy, equipped with wooden vessels, sometimes "girded", and earthen pots. Christopher Varley of Goldshaw, a husbandman, in 1676 had:

"In the milk house,	
In wooden vessell	.. .. . £1. 1. 10.
in butter	.. .. . £ .18. 0.
in earthen pottes	.. .. . £ . 2. 4.
one dishboard, one little square board and one	
hour glass	.. .. . £ . 3. 0."

Wide stone shelving at table height, down at least one side of the room, was used to set the milk on; one appraiser referred

to the "milkbordes of stone". The wooden vessels included piggins and collocks, milk pails, each with a long stave forming an erect handle, basins, damers or shallow tubs, chesettes (chessarts), which were cheese vats or tubs for pressing cheese curd, cheese presses, butter prints and churns. Salting tubs and vats, stocks of salt, and salt chests or coffers were used in many homes.

Only three of the largest houses had a separate brew house but others listed the special brewing equipment. Ellis Nutter had:

"one brewing knopp	.. .. .	..	£ . 7. 0.
a galcarr and mash knop ⁽¹⁴⁾ (in the kitchen)	.. .. .	..	£ . 8. 0.
one long malt chist..	.. .. .	..	£ .16. 0.
malt in it	.. .. .	..	£1. 10.0."

Half the inventories mentioned stocks of malt, and James Hargreaves, of Watermeetings, had a load of malt valued at 10s. The innkeeper, Edmund Hargreaves, of Newchurch in Pendle, in January 1693 had "one brewinge pan, one mash knope, one Cooler, three small tubs, twelve Barrells, five standes, one flaskett,⁽¹⁵⁾ with boottles, pottes . . .", worth £4 10s. 0d. His debts included: "Owing to Severall persons for Malt £27." Ruth Shuttleworth, a widow of Barrowford, when she died in 1679 had brewing vessels and other wooden vessels worth £1 10s. 0d. The 1655 list of all the alehouses in every township within the hundred of Blackburn, gave twelve for Pendle Forest; three of the licensees were women, Ruth being one of them.⁽¹⁶⁾ She paid tax on two hearths in 1664.⁽¹⁷⁾ It is likely that cottagers and small householders bought their ale from such ale-houses, and widows frequently found that this was a way in which to make a living.

V CLOTHES

Raiment for the body and money in the purse were often valued together, but 78 inventories had the apparel valued separately. Three husbandmen's clothes were valued at less than £1. 62% of the 78 inventories referred to valued clothes at between £1 and £2; the rest gave values up to £8 and Christopher Varley had apparel valued at £11 10s. 0d. in 1664. This was the

⁽¹⁴⁾ *knop*: a large wooden tub; *galcarr*: *gal-gyle*, wort in process of fermentation, *carr*—brewing vat, from Old Norse *ker*, a tub.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Flaskett*: a large shallow tub, with two legs standing higher than the others.

⁽¹⁶⁾ L.R.O., QDV/29.

⁽¹⁷⁾ P.R.O., E.179/250/11, Part 3, MSS. 21 and 22.

inventory of the possessions of Christopher Robinson, who died in 1600:

"his beste Dublette and his Jerkynes	.. .. .	£ .16. 0.
his beste howsse [hose]	.. .. .	£ . 6. 0.
his boutes [boots]	.. .. .	£ . 4. 0.
his stockinges	.. .. .	£ . 2. 0.
the rest of his apparell	.. .. .	£1. 4. 0.
his Chiste	.. .. .	£ . 4. 0.
in gold	.. .. .	£4. 0. 0.
in money	.. .. .	£2. 7. 8."

The total value of his clothes was £2 12s. 0d., which was about the value of the clothes of the majority of the men in Pendle. He bequeathed his best clothes to Robert Smith, who was one of the witnesses to his will. In 1664 John Baldwin, of Roughlee, with great forethought gave his clothes to those whom they would fit, "to my brother James, my best apparel, to my brother Nicholas, my boots, and to Henry my ridinge coate." James Robinson, of Foothouseyeate, had a green suit, a grey jerkin and breeches, a brown doublet, a coat with four laps, and also grey cloth waiting to be made up, which last he gave to his uncle along with the coat and two of his "worse hats". His clothes were valued at £8 5s. 0d. That hats were basically the same for men and women is demonstrated by his bequest: to "AElse, wife of William Varley, I give my best hat."

When Ellen Jackson, an unmarried woman of Hunterholme in Higham, died in 1611, the inventory consisted mainly of her clothes.

"one gowne prised to	.. .. .	£1. 0. 0.
one Rede petecote with over bodie and slives of silke	.. .. .	£ .13. 4.
3 other petecotes with an overbodie and slives	.. .. .	£ .17. 0.
3 lower bodies of Cotes	.. .. .	£ . 2. 6.
hose and showne [shoes]	.. .. .	£ . 1. 8.
two hates and bandes	.. .. .	£ . 9. 0.
3 smokes [smocks]	.. .. .	£ . 3. 0.
in aperones and roffe bandes	.. .. .	£ . 2. 6.
other linen clothes	.. .. .	£ . 2. 6."

Most of these clothes had been bequeathed to Ellen by an aunt; she handed on some of her best clothes to her mother, her best red petticoat with overbody and sleeves of silk to her sister, and to her niece, "the best apron but one which was of my Aunte, Robert Hodgson's wife". A dress could be payment for favours asked: in 1616 Rosamund Blakey, of Roughlee, gave to Ellen Smyth, "her green gowne so as she shall be good to her mother". Ellen Pollard gave all her apparel, made both of linen and

wool, to her sister. It may not have been usual in the seventeenth century, but the value of the women's clothes exceeded that of the men's: for instance, in 1602 Richard Hargreaves of Higham, yeoman, had "apparell for his bake . . . £1" (total inventory £90); when his widow, Jane, died two years later, her apparel was worth £5 3s. 4d.

VI BOOKS, EDUCATION AND RELIGION

In twenty-four houses there was a Bible or other books, sometimes both: no titles were given. It is difficult to assess what the appraisers thought was the market value of second-hand books. Christopher Towneley, whom Dr. Whitaker called "the great transcriber", had two book-cases in his study, and "the printed books" in each were valued at 15s. 0d. In 1697 Margaret Crook, of Greenhead, had two books, valued at 2s. 6d. Hugh More, of Higham Deane, a yeoman, in 1602

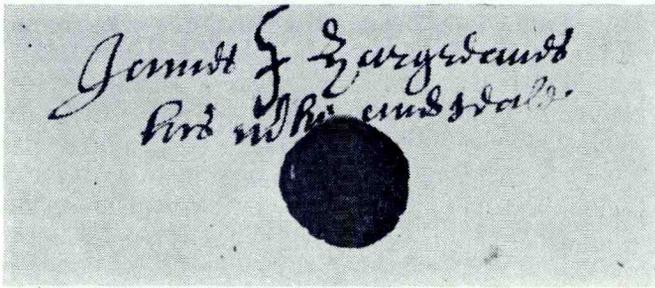


Plate 6 (a)

Mark of a prosperous yeoman (1673), James Hargreaves of Water Meetings, Barrowford.

gave "my little chest wherein my books are" to be heirlooms. In 1614 Edmund Stephenson, another yeoman, made many bequests, among which was: "I give to James Stephenson whom I am uncle unto 3s. 0d. to bye him a booke withall." The majority of the men who owned books were yeomen, but from a financial angle they formed a cross section of the community, their inventories ranging in value from £32 to £303. The facilities for education were near at hand, for there were grammar schools in Colne, Burnley, Whalley and Clitheroe. Local shops were able to provide what scholars required, and at least the Bibles which some might have desired

to have later. In 1598 Lawrence Parker, a mercer of Colne, had a supply of school books including:

"2 psalmes bookes, 4 premers [primers] . . .	..	£ . 2. 4.
4 grameres att 10 [d] . . . . .	..	£ . 3. 4.
8 Fabylls [Aesop's] and Turrances [Terence] . . .	..	£ . 4. 8.
1 dossen Catoes and . . . att . . . . .	..	£ . 2. 0.
1 bybill at . . . . .	..	£ . 6. 8."

Among the eleven boys who proceeded from Burnley Grammar School to St. John's College, Cambridge, between 1651 and 1663 were Robert Hargreaves, of Higham, and John Duxbury, of Higham Deane.⁽¹⁸⁾ The wills add to this information. In 1601 Richard Hargreaves, of Higham, was worried that his

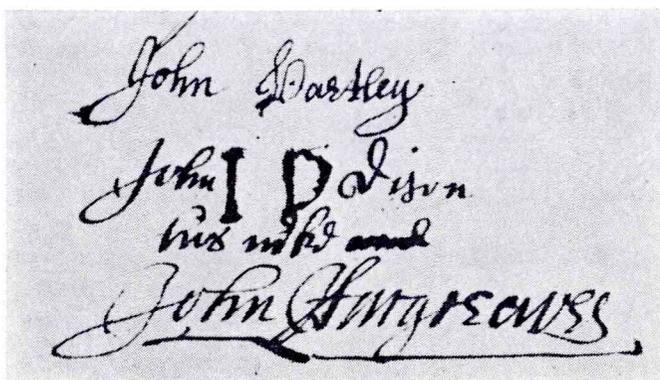


Plate 6 (b)

Signatures of witness to will of James Hargreaves.

bastard son might be "wilful and obstinate in molesting my Executors", and he mentioned the gifts and promises made between them before the son went to the University. John Briercliffe, only a husbandman of Wheathead, father of four sons and two daughters, said in his will that the eldest and youngest had already had their portions because they had been to schools. Upon the eldest he had bestowed a greater portion than on the rest "by maintaining [him] at the Universitie and other cuntry scoles of learning which portion of goodes . . . it shall be his chylde's portion . . ."

Richard Baldwin, of Barrowford, first went to Colne school, and proceeded as a scholar to Trinity College, Dublin. Later he was made a fellow and in 1717 became provost.⁽¹⁹⁾ The best

⁽¹⁸⁾ W. Bennett, *A History of the Burnley Grammar School*, p. 25.

⁽¹⁹⁾ *National Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 3, p. 37.

example of the local boy who made good was Sir Jonas More, who was born at Whitelee, in Higham, on 8 February 1617.⁽²⁰⁾ He was for a short time mathematical tutor to the Duke of York (later James II). In 1649 he was appointed surveyor in the work of draining the Great Level of the Fens by the first Duke of Bedford. In 1661 he drew up a survey, which still exists, of the manor of Woburn.⁽²¹⁾ He was sent by Charles II, in 1663, to Tangier, part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, to advise on its fortification, and he was knighted on his return. Whilst surveyor-general of the ordnance he procured from the king the foundation of the Royal Observatory. He wrote many learned books on mathematics, draining and artillery and became a member of the Royal Society in 1674.

The wills and inventories give some hint of how widespread was the ability to write in a community of this kind. A will had to be signed by the testator and witnesses, and the appraisers often signed an inventory. 72% of those who had occasion to do so wrote their names. There were 270 signatures out of a possible 376, 19 others wrote their initials and 87 made a cross or a mark. Many signatures were beautifully written whereas

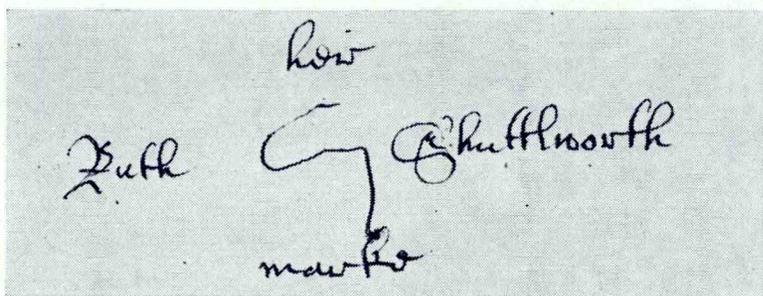


Plate 6 (c)

From Will made in 1678.

others were painstakingly or awkwardly made. This may not have been due to the inability to write well for about one-third of the inventories were made within a fortnight of the date of the wills, many of which must have been made and signed on the death-bed. The inability to write does not necessarily mean an accompanying inability to read. (Though there are sixteen women's wills and occasionally women acted as witnesses there is not one woman's signature.)

That the Bible should have been the only book in some

⁽²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, Vol. 38, pp. 373-4.

⁽²¹⁾ Gladys Scott Thompson, *Life in a Noble Household*, pp. 22, 127.

houses in the seventeenth century is not surprising. There is evidence that many people in the district had a leaning towards Puritanism in the first part of the century and towards non-conformity in the latter. In the church surveys of 1650 Mr. Edward Lappage, curate of the parochial chapel of Newchurch in Pendle, was called "an able divine", Mr. Henry Morris, of Burnley, "an able and orthodox divine"; this, of course, according to the judgment of the presbyterian establishment of Lancashire.⁽²²⁾ In 1672 Thomas Jollie wrote, "We had occasion to begin a new service at Slade (in Padiham) one of our licensed meeting places."⁽²³⁾ In 1681 George Hargreaves, a clothier within the Forest of Pendle, was prosecuted for allowing a meeting for religious purposes, or conventicle, in his house.⁽²⁴⁾ In 1682 conventicles were also held at the house of Thomas Booth, a carpenter, of Heyhouses in Sabden.⁽²⁵⁾ One year after the Toleration Act of 1689 the house of George Green, of Barrowford, was licensed as a meeting place for nonconformists.⁽²⁶⁾ In the following year the house of Henry Sagar, of Roughlee, was licensed as a Quaker meeting house.⁽²⁷⁾ In the

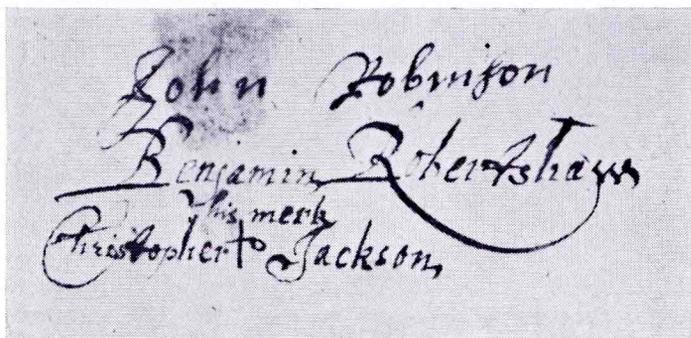


Plate 6 (d)

All signatures in Plates 6a-d are from wills in the Lancashire Record Office.

area east and south of Pendle Forest, from Foulridge to Burnley, twelve other Quaker meetings were licensed in the same year. The formal beginning to any will was to bequeath the soul to God and the body to Christian burial; there were variants

⁽²²⁾ *Lancashire Church Surveys*, Lancs. & Ches. Rec. Soc., Vol. 1, pp. 166, 168.

⁽²³⁾ *Thomas Jollie's Notebook*, Chetham Society, N.S., Vol. 33.

⁽²⁴⁾ *The Farrer Papers* (Manchester Local History Library).

⁽²⁵⁾ L.R.O., QSP/557/6.

⁽²⁶⁾ L.R.O., QSP/685/6.

⁽²⁷⁾ L.R.O., QDV/4.

referring to the hope of being one of "the elect number of them that shal be saved", and this was something which belonged to sectarian doctrine. Richard Baldwin, in 1617, described himself in his will as, "trusting . . . to be one of the Electe number that shall inherit his heavenly and everlasting kingdom . . ."; the innkeeper of Newchurch, in 1693, hoped to ". . . become an Inheritour of that eternal and for ever blessed kingdom prepared for God's elect and chosen."

The funeral expenses were given in the list of debts at the end of seven inventories; the amount ranged from £3 spent on the funeral of Nicholas Stevenson, of Wheatley Lane, in 1665, to £24 3s. 0d. for that of John Hargreaves, of Barrowford, in 1687. How the money was spent was not detailed, but Adam Martindale, when describing his father's funeral, said, "the souls of the auditors feasted with an excellent sermon, . . . there was a rich dinner ready prepared at a tavern for the kindred, and so many more as a great room would receive, with plenty of wine and strong drink . . ."⁽²⁸⁾ Three wills provided for gifts to the poor at the time of the funeral: one said, "the poor to have pennies," another, "I bequeath unto the poor people of the Newchurch parish the sume of 20s. to be devyded amongst them at the descrecon of Lawrence Stevenson within the space of one month after my death." In 1630 Richard Towneley, of Carr Hall, said, "I do give to the poore people of the Towne and Paryshe of Colne £20."

VII PROVISION FOR DEPENDENTS

The men of all ranks made what provision they could for their dependents and there was a genuine desire for fairness. From the gentleman to the husbandman, each affirmed that the widow should have a third of the goods, and the income from a third of the farm or estate, if there was one, for the rest of her life, "in the name of her right, according to the custom of the manor". In the seventeenth century a woman knew that she had this dower by right. A third of the personal goods were set aside for the younger children, and a third was often called "the dead's part" from which expenses, debts and legacies were to be paid. How this division worked out is shown in the wills and inventories of John Baldwin of Wheathead, a substantial yeoman who died in May 1620, and those of his widow, Jenet, who died in the following January. His inventory totalled £180. There were no children; the will said, "Jenet my wyffe shall have the halfe part of all my goodes as the laudable custom . . .

⁽²⁸⁾ *Life of Adam Martindale*, Chetham Society, O.S., Vol. 4, p. 120.

giveth her," and the rest, after expenses and debts and legacies, was to go to nephews and nieces. Jenet's inventory was item by item almost identical with that of her husband:

"the halfe parte of 4 oxen and 3 stiers	£16. 0. 0.
halfe of 8 kyne [cows] and 4 calves	£12. 3. 4.
halfe of 9 yong beastes	£ 7. 0. 0.
halfe of one meare, sadles and other furniture ..	£ 2. 0. 0.
halfe of seaventeen sheepe	£ 2. 0. 0.
halfe of one swyne	£ .15. 0.
halfe of waynes, wheles, yockes and teames and other husbandrie geare	£ 3.16. 8.
halfe of one Ireon Chimney, reckontrie, brandret fyre poate, tonges and spittes	£ .13. 4."

She had evidently continued to live in the same house with the same stock and furniture, but a half part only had been legally hers; she would presumably have received the income only from her share of the farm stock, and not until after her death would the nieces and nephews have received their share.

After her husband's death many a widow continued to farm in her own right. Widows had full responsibility for the upbringing of their children, "without any account to be made to any other person", as Bernard Parker put it. Most of the copyholders had made previous arrangements about their lands by placing them in the hands of feoffees or trustees to hold in trust for their own lifetime and then to be transferred to the heirs when all the obligations of the will had been fulfilled. The younger sons were usually provided for by a money payment on coming of age; occasionally land had been bought for them. The daughters received dowries on marriage or on attaining their majority. If the heir defaulted in his payments, the trustees could let part of the land until enough money had been provided to meet the bequests. Not until all was paid was the copyhold transferred to the heir in the manor court. Ellis Nutter, of Reedley, said in 1667 that each of his four daughters must have £65 within a year of his death from the elder son, and from the younger an annuity of 30s. until they were twenty-one, when each was to receive £30 from him. Christopher Stephenson, with a small copyhold farm in Higham Deane, rent 2s. per annum, stated that his heir, John, should pay £1 13s. 4d. to his brother and sister for eight years for their portions; in default the feoffees were "to stand seized to the use of Christopher and Ann during the term of six years." Seven men made some provision for illegitimate sons. There was no average family: in the 92 wills in which the members of the family were named thirteen had no surviving children, fourteen had only one child, forty-three had from two to four, twenty-one from five to eight,

and the largest was a family of eleven. Of those with children some had no son to inherit.

Sometimes, besides the provision of dowries for daughters, there were special instructions given so that unmarried daughters should be in no way dependent upon their brothers. Richard Baldwin of Wheathead said in 1617 that his three daughters, Elizabeth, Margaret and Mary, "shall have, occupy and quietly possess the east end of my now dwellinge house and a barne there adjoyneing for and during the terme of twelve years next after the decease of me . . ." Jane Hargreaves, a widow of Higham, in 1604 desired her son John and daughter Jane to live together until Jane was twenty-one, but if they could not agree to do so the brother was to pay Jane an annuity of £3 6s. 8d. in place of maintenance. John Banester, gentleman, of Park Hill, Barrowford, made similar provisions for his three daughters and two younger sons: the daughters' annuities were to be £4 each, the sons' £5 10s. 0d. Richard Towneley made a proviso that if his great-aunt "misliked" living with his widow, Alice, she must have an annuity of £10 in place of maintenance. This gives a nicely graded scale of cost for the maintenance of the dependents of a yeoman, a gentleman and an esquire. A high proportion of widows were made the sole executrix of the husband's will; a widower often nominated a daughter in the same way.

The bequests made to relatives and friends were varied: a best sheep, a calf, a heifer, a horse and various amounts of money from one or two shillings for godchildren to £6 for a brother. The husbandry gear or special items of it, the long table or a chest, even the iron range, were mentioned as heirlooms. John Lawe, of Reedley, a husbandman, said in 1630, "I give and bequeath unto Margaret Nutter, my servant, fifteen pounds to be paid her within one whole yeare after my decease and a bed and the bedcloathes belonging to it which she nowe lyeth in." There were fifteen others who gave legacies to servants. Hugh More, of Higham Deane, in 1602 left £3 to be equally divided among five men servants and a woman servant. These could have included the outdoor "servant men" who did the farm work.

VIII CONCLUSION

Arthur H. Johnson, in his book *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner*, said that in many parts of England the houses of the large yeomen testify, by the style of their architecture, that they were built in Tudor and early Stuart times,

evidently belonging to men not of great but of middle estate; but in many cases they passed into the ownership of the rich, often to be occupied by tenant farmers. Since the seventeenth century similar changes have happened in the Forest of Pendle. Later tenant farmers lived in only a part of such houses, the rest falling into ruin, as at Old Laund. Part of Watermeetings is used as farm store; so was Roughlee Old Hall until it was renovated and divided into five cottages. Others, like Sabden Fold, have been divided, or much reduced in size, like Higham Hall, where the manor courts used to be held. Many, many more, like Whitelee, New Laund, Lodge and Moor Isles, have been replaced by smaller houses. Hargreaves House has become the White Bear Inn in Barrowford, and Park Hill a social centre for old age pensioners. Whitough (White Hough) is a youth hostel. Why did this strong yeoman community disintegrate, so that their houses became too large for the succeeding generations of farmers?

The causes for this change in Pendle and the period when it took place have still to be investigated. The wills and inventories of the seventeenth century give a picture of the yeomen and husbandmen of the district at the height of their prosperity. Yet there may be indications here of the future change. There was always the natural development when an only daughter inherited and her estate was added to that of her husband, as when Thomas Barcroft, of the Lodge in Reedley, died in 1670, and his daughter, whose property it became, was married to Nicholas Towneley, of Royle in Burnley. When two or more daughters inherited the copyhold was often divided. There must have been other reasons for the fragmentation of the copyhold between 1527, when there were 98 copyholders, and 1662, when there were 230. The smaller the area of land held the less easy it is to win a good commercial reward from it. Debts can have been another factor: John Jackson, of Reedley, looked upon by his neighbours as a gentleman, had debts when he died in 1612 equal to the whole value of his inventory; fifty years later a descendent's inventory was only half the value and his debts as large. Soon after the Restoration the Banesters of Park Hill mortgaged part of their estate; later it was taken over by the mortgagees and the rest sold.⁽²⁹⁾ What effect did the enforcing of the Clarendon Code against nonconformists and Quakers have between 1662 and 1689? The records of the Marsden Meeting are in the Lancashire Record Office. Local Quakers were imprisoned and their goods distrained for non-payment of fines and tithes. When Henry Hargreaves, of

⁽²⁹⁾ *V.C.H., Lancs.*, Vol. 6, p. 543, n. 29.

Whitough, made his will in 1688, he said his eldest son was in Ireland, but he did not say why. Members of the Barcroft family of Noyna, in Foulridge, were in Ireland at the same time; they were Quakers and had settled on large farms. One son had gone to Pennsylvania to assist in the surveying, to divide the land among "Friends".⁽³⁰⁾ Has anyone estimated how many yeomen or members of their families emigrated at the end of the seventeenth century?

Finally, the will (1742) of another Ellis Nutter, descendant of the Ellis Nutter of Reedley, whose will and inventory have shown how prosperous the family was (he left personal property worth £158 in 1667) may illustrate the change, without explaining it. The later Ellis Nutter was still a copyholder with two messuages and land: he gave instructions that they were to be sold, his debts paid, and the residue lent upon interest to provide income for his wife and younger children. After her death, the money was to be divided equally amongst the surviving children. The inventory does not survive but the total value was given as £32 4s. 8d.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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⁽³⁰⁾ L.R.O., DDB/61/14.