

THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE DURING
THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A.P.C.	Acts of the Privy Council of England, ed. J. R. Dasent.
<u>B.I.H.R.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.</u>
B.I.Y.	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.
B.L.	British Library.
Chet. Soc.	Publications of the Chetham Society.
Child. Accs.	Churchwardens' Accounts of Childwall Parish, ed. R. Stewart-Brown.
C.R.O.	Cheshire County Record Office, Chester.
C.R.S.	Catholic Record Society.
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review.</u>
<u>Ec. H.R.</u>	<u>Economic History Review.</u>
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
Harl. Mss.	Harleian Manuscripts.
<u>L.P.S.</u>	<u>Local Population Studies.</u>
L.R.O.	Lancashire County Record Office, Preston.
<u>L.T.B.</u> I and II.	<u>Liverpool Town Books, Volumes I and II, ed. J. A. Twemlow.</u>
Liv. R.O.	Liverpool City Record Office.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London.
<u>Pres. Accs.</u>	<u>Churchwardens' Accounts of Prescott Parish 1523-1607, ed. F. A. Bailey.</u>
<u>Pres. Recs.</u>	<u>Selection from the Prescott Court Leet and other Records 1447-1600, ed. F. A. Bailey.</u>
Rec. Soc.	Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
S.P.	State Papers.
<u>T.H.S.L.C.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.</u>
<u>T.L.C.A.S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.</u>

T.R.H.S.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.

V.C.H.

The Victoria History of the Counties of England -
Lancashire.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

1. Original spelling has been retained in quotations, except for rationalization in the use of i and j, u and v. Contractions have been expanded and capitalization has been inserted. Place names and surnames have been standardized, and modernized where appropriate.
2. Units of money are retained as in their original form.
3. Dates conform to the Old Style (Julian) calendar, except the year has been taken to begin on 1st January.

ABSTRACT

THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Childwall, Huyton, Prescott and Walton, four contiguous parishes in south-west Lancashire, provide an area small enough for a variety of sources to be studied and for individuals at all levels of society to be identified. Yet this area with its thirty-eight townships is large enough for some diversity to be present and for some community interaction to be perceived. Many of the sources are incomplete and unsuitable in isolation, but used in conjunction with each other can produce valuable material.

Section A deals with the identifiable social and economic groups in the area: the well documented and nationally significant Earl of Derby, the local gentry, the farmers whose activities dominated the four parishes, the craftsmen who serviced that economy, and the industrialists who sought to modify it. Merchant activity, confined mainly to Prescott town and Liverpool, remained limited in scale and success. In a remote location cultural activities were restricted but some schools were maintained with local men providing most of the teachers and many of the clergymen required in the four parishes - both for the Catholic faith and for Elizabeth I's established church. Women and the poor were ever present but ever less prominently documented.

Section B deals with the interaction of these various individuals and groups within society and the economy. Participation in local administration was substantial, but so too was the influence of the Earl of Derby and the gentry. This influence extended also to the local churches, their clergy and their services at a time of diversity in religious opinion. Opportunities were available for some members of the population of south-west Lancashire to travel both in England and abroad, yet there was little to bring 'outsiders' into the four parishes. Even by the end of the sixteenth century south-west Lancashire was largely self-contained, self-supporting and remote.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

- a) The riots?
- b) The method.
- c) The sources.
- d) The area.
- e) The population.

H. Finberg may have done much to promote his thesis that history is the biography of "Little Places" as well as of "Great Men", but the biography of these small villages, towns and communities can be elucidated only with a myriad of other biographies of their inhabitants.⁽¹⁾ In small scale pre-industrial settlements institution orientated and source orientated investigations are inappropriate for various reasons; the focus of attention should be the people and their lives.⁽²⁾ The choice of area to be studied has to be small enough to permit the use of the widest possible range of sources whilst sufficiently large to allow for small scale local mobility and local diversity. The 'biography' of the area, however, is not the end in itself; accurate knowledge of "little places" can contribute much in both regional and national contexts.

(1) M. W. Beresford, "Herbert Finberg: An Appreciation" in ed. J. Thirsk, Land, Church and People, Reading 1970, p. vii.

(2) M. J. Bennett, "Late Medieval Society in North-West England, Cheshire and Lancashire 1375-1425", Ph.D. Lancaster University 1975, p.p. 5-8.

a) The Riots?

In 1595, 1599 and 1600 several incidents occurred in south-west Lancashire which were brought to the attention of the highest authorities in England. In this way these events assumed a national significance, and certainly they were events of considerable local moment - but also they were events that are open to various interpretations.

Edward Tarleton, Gentleman, had been sufficiently prominent in his religious opinions to be accused of being an obstinate recusant in 1593.⁽¹⁾ He held a capital messuage and tenement of fifty acres of land in Fazakerley in Walton parish together with other land in Garston in Childwall parish of thirty acres in extent.⁽²⁾ Because of his persistent recusant activity in 1594 and 1595 a substantial proportion of this land was leased to one Richard Bradshaw, Gentleman, of Turton in central Lancashire. The new tenant tried to gain possession of his property and put thirteen beasts valued at sixty pounds onto the pasture at Fazakerley, but these animals were "mangled" and driven off at night. It was claimed that they had to be rounded up from seven or eight parishes!⁽³⁾ Some cattle and a horse were put back on the pasture and again they were maimed with the ears cut on the gelding and the tails cut off the cattle.

(1) F. O. Blundell, Old Catholic Lancashire, London 1925, p. 91.

(2) Ibid.

(3) This seems highly unlikely in view of the size of parishes in Lancashire. See p.33.

Richard Bradshaw sought redress through a Star Chamber petition and named six offenders.⁽¹⁾

Four years later, on 4th February, 1599, a "notorious outrage" was committed on two royal messengers sent by the Bishop of Chester to apprehend recusant defaulters of payments for assessments of service in Ireland. The incident occurred in Sutton township in Prescott parish so presumably the officials were on their way to Edward Eccleston Esquire, or Henry Lathom Gentleman, or Peter Wetherby Gentleman.⁽²⁾ In 1593 Edward Eccleston had spent some time in Lancaster gaol and the Gatehouse gaol at Westminster for his recusancy⁽³⁾ and by 1598 because of his persistent activity his lands had been leased.⁽⁴⁾ When the Bishop had tried to have him apprehended in January 1599 Edward Eccleston could not be found.⁽⁵⁾ When the two messengers were intercepted a month later they were struck from their horses, beaten, wounded with swords, daggers, long pikes, staves, pitchforks, forest bills and other weapons and left for dead. Eventually the two men were taken to Prescott to

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- (1) P.R.O., Records of the Court of Star Chamber, STAC 5 B 50/36, B 52/20. Richard Bridge, John Guye, Roger Tyrer, Robert Webster, Richard Garston and Robert Tarleton were named. See p.742.
- (2) See Table LXI.
- (3) B.L., Harleian Manuscripts 6998/fo 52.
- (4) P.R.O., Exchequer Queen's Remembrancer: Special Commissions, E 178/1218, E 178/1219.
- (5) P.R.O., State Papers Queen Elizabeth I, Domestic, SP 12/266/18.

recover!⁽¹⁾

Some days later the Privy Council was urging the local Justices to apprehend the parties involved and send them to the Assizes.⁽²⁾ On 19th March 1599 Sir Richard Molyneux J.P. wrote to Sir Robert Cecil from his house at Croxteth in Walton parish referring to his receipt of the February instructions and explaining that he had called a Privy Sessions at Prescot at which fourteen individuals had been indicted for riot and battery.⁽³⁾ Some weeks later the indictments were presented at the Ormskirk Quarter Sessions.⁽⁴⁾ The processes of law continued to move slowly and by November 1599 the Bishop of Chester was complaining to Robert Cecil that, although the Lancaster Assize had finally met, the judges feared that felony could not be proved "or that no special jury in so corrupt a county could be found to convict" and so the accused had been sent to Chester castle.⁽⁵⁾ Three months later, in January 1600, the Bishop was still appealing for a decision and action against the "bloody recusants" who had mistreated his messengers. According to the Bishop eight

(1) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 43/14. Their exact fate is uncertain.

(2) A.P.C., Vol. XXIX, p. 605.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/270/60.

(4) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 43/14.

(5) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. IX, p. 398.

men had been apprehended and another six indicted although so far they had not been found. Many more, he believed, were guilty of conspiracy and he cited four local gentry as recusants and despisers of authority and harbourers of priests.⁽¹⁾

In May 1600 the third incident began with what has been called a "recusant riot" in Childwall parish.⁽²⁾ William Brettergh, one of the few gentlemen of Puritan sympathy in the area, had become High Constable for West Derby Hundred in April and a month later he received warrants from the Bishop of Chester to apprehend recusants including Ralph Hitchmough of Much Woolton township, who had previously refused arrest by a Queen's messenger and struck him under a barred door with a pitchfork.⁽³⁾ On the 16th May Ralph Hitchmough's wife was buried at Childwall churchyard with a ceremony conducted by a group of recusants.⁽⁴⁾ Four days later William Brettergh, with the aid of two servants, tried to seize Ralph Hitchmough whilst he was at work in Woolton. Hitchmough resisted, struck William Brettergh with a staff and drew a knife. The ensuing scuffle was witnessed and

- (1) P.R.O., SP 12/274/25.
P.R.O., STAC 5 A 8/38.
Edward Eccleston Esquire, Henry Lathom Gentleman, Henry Travers Gentleman and William Blundell Esquire were mentioned. See Table LXI.
- (2) R. G. Dottie, "The Recusant Riots at Childwall in May 1600: A Reappraisal" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. CXXXII, 1983, p.p. 1-23.
- (3) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 38/31.
- (4) Ibid.

enlarged by "four score or more" who heard the incident whilst accompanying a recusant funeral procession to the church. In the confusion Ralph Hitchmough was allowed to escape and William Brettergh's two servants were beaten. William Brettergh retired to summon the two local constables and pursued Ralph Hitchmough to his barred house in Much Woolton. The crowd returning from the burial allowed Hitchmough to escape a second time and to take refuge at a house in Speke.⁽¹⁾

Two nights later, on 22nd May, William Brettergh's cattle were attacked and maimed.⁽²⁾ By 28th May the local Justices had reported the incident to the Privy Council and Bishop Vaughan of Chester had written to Sir Robert Cecil with his personal opinion of the event - "the cause of these disorders and bold attempts tending to sedition is doubtlesse noe other, but the countenance of certaine principall gentlemen recusants, spitefull enemyes to religion, whose houses and lands ... are so linked together and have such comand in this corner that the vulgar people are not, though they wold, professe religion". The Bishop specifically blamed Edward Norris, Esquire, of Speke because the rioters were mostly his tenants and he was known to be a harbourer of popish priests.⁽³⁾

Presumably prompted by this renewed activity in south-west

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, CP 180/100.

Lancashire, the Privy Council intervened and on 17th June issued warrants to have seven Lancashire gentlemen brought to London. One messenger was to bring Edward Norris and Edward Eccleston together with Henry Lathom Gentleman of Prescott parish and William Blundell Esquire of Sefton parish, and another messenger was to bring Henry Travers and Peter Wetherby - Gentlemen - of Prescott parish, and Edward Stanley Esquire of More Hall.⁽¹⁾ The response, however, was somewhat limited and by the end of July only three gentlemen (Edward Norris, Edward Stanley and Peter Wetherby) had appeared before the Council and had taken bonds to appear before the Bishop at any time. The sheriff was asked to apprehend the missing four gentlemen.⁽²⁾

Edward Eccleston was singled out for special attention and the Attorney General brought charges against him in Star Chamber.⁽³⁾ Edward Eccleston was accused of not only having been implicated with the attack on the two messengers in Sutton township, but also with harbouring the seminary priest Thurstan Hunt. Sixteen individuals from Prescott parish were interrogated and, although some details of the attack emerged, all denied any knowledge of Thurstan Hunt.⁽⁴⁾

(1) A.P.C., Vol. XXX, p.p. 368-370.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 542-543.

(3) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 18/31 and A 43/14.

(4) Ibid.
See p. 755.

One witness actually named seven men he had heard were involved in the attack.⁽¹⁾

Whilst this case was continuing another cattle maiming occurred at Wrightington near Wigan. Possibly this event had nothing to do with the previous incidents, or perhaps it was connected because John Wrightington J.P. had been proceeding against the Woolton attack.⁽²⁾ At Lancaster Assize at the end of July Ralph Hitchmough was gaoled for riot and the cattle maiming.⁽³⁾ On 15th August William Brettergh's cattle were again abused - geldings and oxen were cut, hurt, hooked and spoiled.⁽⁴⁾ Three days later various houses in Speke and Garston townships were searched by Sir Richard Molyneux J.P., William Brettergh, Gabriel Lancaster of Rainhill, Gentleman, and the Dean of Chester. Depositions were made by these searchers before the sheriff and three Justices at Prescot. In the houses of five suspected persons no-one was found at home but billhooks and pitchforks "suspiciouslie spotted and sprinkled with blood" were recovered and put into safe custody of four men from Wavertree and Everton. Precise details were recorded by Sir Richard Molyneux's clerk, although the Dean did comment that at one house he was on horseback in

(1) John Wolfall, Robert Gellibrand, Robert Derbyshire, John Hayward, John Tyrer, Adam Hayward, Richard Wolfall. See Table LIX.

(2) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 8/31.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

a lane away from the house and not near enough to "hear any speech at all".⁽¹⁾ By 22nd August a number of those involved were being examined by the Bishop at Hawarden Castle.⁽²⁾

Again the Privy Council demanded action of the Bishop, the sheriff and five Justices. On 22nd September the Council wanted "some extraordinarie course of remedie" taking and ordered Edward Norris, his second son Edward, and four of the chief persons in prison for the outrage to be sent to London for examination.⁽³⁾ This instruction was received on 24th September but not until late October did the sheriff and Justices meet at Prescot to hear details of the incident. (On the last day of September two priests including Thurstan Hunt had been arrested near to Preston and sent to the Gatehouse) Altogether the Justices summoned twenty-four people they considered to be involved but only seven appeared and the others fled. They decided to send Ralph Hitchmough as the principal rioter to London and had him brought from Lancaster gaol to Wigan, but then returned him because the Queen's messenger was not available. They chose an alternative, but the messenger left him behind and took finally four men to the Privy Council - John Hitchmough, Hugh Hey, James Pilkington and Edward Hitchmough.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Liv. R.O., Norris Deeds, 920 NOR 17/6.

(2) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 38/31.

(3) A.P.C., Vol. XXX, p.p. 662-663.

(4) P.R.O., SP 12/275/102.
Liv. R.O., 920 NOR 17/6.

The Bishop of Chester meanwhile wrote to Sir Robert Cecil blaming the priest Thurstan Hunt who had "plotted and performed all the outrages in these partes."⁽¹⁾ The Privy Council was prepared to accept Edward Norris' denials of any involvement in the cattle maiming and allowed him to return home with the promise that he would "reduce his tenants and followers to be conformable."⁽²⁾ However, action against the perpetrators was demanded and the Attorney General was ordered to proceed in Star Chamber.⁽³⁾ In December 1600 testimony was heard in Star Chamber with reference to twenty individuals from Childwall parish.⁽⁴⁾ Further evidence was heard in May and June 1601 involving three witnesses. In August 1601 the case resumed in Wigan before Commissioners for Star Chamber and with this venue it was possible to hear from thirty-three individuals from Childwall parish as well as a number of other involved parties such as the sheriff, the Dean and the Justices. In October the evidence appears to have been brought to a conclusion with an additional forty-six people from the parish appearing at Prescot before the Commissioners. In all this weight of evidence little seems to have been added to the detail of the incidents in Much Woolton. Most deponents testified like Edward

(1) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. X, p. 373.

(2) A.P.C., Vol. XXX, p. 746.
A.P.C., Vol. XXXI, p. 137.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/275/115.

(4) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 8/31.

Norris the younger and claimed that they were at home in bed at the time of the cattle attacks and that they had heard of them from various people during the few days afterwards. Just two men thought that Ralph Hitchmough had been involved in the first attack and three men claimed to have seen Edward Norris the younger with his long red beard and wearing a black satin doublet out and about on the night of the second attack.⁽¹⁾

Whilst all this material was being gathered the two priests had been returned to Lancaster Assize and Thurstan Hunt had attempted to implicate Bishop Vaughan, the Dean of Chester and Sir Richard Molyneux in a Puritan conspiracy in Lancashire involving the Earl of Essex. Hunt may have been trying to discredit his enemies but if his claims had any credence this could explain the Bishop's desire to blame him for all the south-west Lancashire disturbances. In April 1601 the two priests were executed.⁽²⁾

A further aside on the incident occurred with the death and burial of William Brettergh's wife Katherine in mid 1601. She died on 31st May and her funeral on 3rd June was the occasion for two lengthy sermons to be preached at Childwall church by eminent Puritans attempting to vindicate the religious stand she and her husband had made in this Sodom of a place amongst "Popish Recusants,

(1) Ibid.

(2) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. XI, p.p. 160-166.
Dottie, "Recusant Riots", p.p. 14-15.

Church Papists, prophane Atheists, and carnall Protestants ". It was claimed that the Brettergh family lived amongst "inhumane bands of brutish Papists" who had killed their horses and cattle on two recent occasions.⁽¹⁾ In 1602 these two sermons were published and the introduction claimed that this was done "to cleare her (Katherine Brettergh) from the slanderous reports of her popish neighbours, who will not suffer her to rest in her grave, but seeke to disgrace her after her death "⁽²⁾

These three incidents occurring in south-west Lancashire over a period of only a few years highlight a variety of questions. Were they really events of any national significance or were they strictly local matters with local explanations which were misinterpreted by those in positions of authority outside the area? The role of the gentry appears to be of considerable importance, but also very large numbers of the rest of the community were involved. Who were these people and what proportion of the community did they represent? Was there really a riot and a high level of local lawlessness? South-west Lancashire may have been distant from London, but was it

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- (1) W. Leigh, The Soules Solace against Sorrow, London 1602, Edition 1612, p.p. 1-6.
William Leigh was vicar of Standish.
- (2) W. Harrison, Deaths Advantage Little Regarded, London 1602, Edition 1612, p. ii.
William Harrison was the Queen's Preacher sited in Huyton parish.

actually beyond close central control and supervision? Why in these three incidents was the Earl of Derby never mentioned, written to, nor referred to? Was Catholic and Puritan sentiment really so strong in this area or were other factors behind these separate but related incidents? Explanation can come only from a myriad of biographies and from accurate knowledge of "little places".

b) The Method.

D. G. Hey's study of Myddle during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries examines one fairly remote Shropshire parish.⁽¹⁾ The time span was influenced by the survival of suitable records, and the parish chosen as a conscious local unit. However, the population of the seven parochial townships and four chapelry townships met together only at the parish church - should they have attended - so that the concept of a community of Myddle remains debateable.⁽²⁾ Yet an isolated parish does have advantages for the study of its population and economy in some considerable detail. (Myddle's population was about 340 in 1563.)⁽³⁾ In other parts of England other parishes have been studied for similar reasons, although rarely in quite such a comprehensive manner - for instance Foxton in Cambridgeshire.⁽⁴⁾ With suitable surviving archives clearly

(1) D. G. Hey, An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts, Leicester 1974.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 2-4.

(3) Ibid., p. 41.

(4) R. Parker, The Common Stream, St. Albans 1975.

substantial local detail is recoverable and open to interpretation, but it remains confined within the boundaries of an ecclesiastical division. The best of what can be achieved is demonstrated by the study of the parish of Terling in Essex from 1525-1700, where records of a particularly good quality remain.⁽¹⁾ An integrated community did not exist, but rather the villagers functioned within a "social area" and village society was "highly stratified".⁽²⁾

These studies demonstrate what is possible, given suitable archives, for some sixteenth century parishes; but at this time records are frequently insubstantial and fragmentary, and the use of a parish unit does present its own limitations (as well as advantages!). Other local studies have coped with these restrictions by taking wider county areas and analysing particular themes and/or sections of society. R. B. Manning's Sussex study has county-wide comments on society and its attitude to the late sixteenth century church.⁽³⁾ However valuable the interpretation of religious sentiments and sympathies, the study cannot see this aspect in its widest context of all sections of society in such a large area. The author admits that at this time "England was still a collection - almost a federation - of communities", but in a county study has to concentrate to some extent on the better

(1) K. Wrightson and D. Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700, London 1979.

(2) Ibid., p. 75 and p. 174.

(3) R. B. Manning, Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex, Leicester 1969.

documented higher levels of society.⁽¹⁾ A somewhat similar approach has been employed in Kent using a county-wide study to highlight the impact of religious changes and Tudor politics on society.⁽²⁾ In other parts of the country particular sections of society - obviously those which tend to be better recorded - have been studied over a limited area.⁽³⁾ Valuable as these studies are in themselves, they can concentrate only on their chosen strata of society, possibly in relative isolation from other elements in that same society around them.⁽⁴⁾

The choice of a study based on four fairly large Lancashire parishes hopes to keep some of the advantages of a small scale area where "the lives of real people whose individuality has not been snuffed out by abstractions" can still be identified and where all sections of society can be included.⁽⁵⁾ The four contiguous parishes of Walton, Huyton, Childwall and Prescott form an area of 93,262 acres - or about 146 square miles - and comprise thirty-eight townships.⁽⁶⁾ At the same time it is hoped to avoid some of the

- (1) Ibid., p. xiii.
- (2) P. Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640, Hassocks Sussex 1977.
- (3) H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640, Cardiff 1968.
J. T. Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War, London 1969.
- (4) See K. Wrightson, "The Social Order of Early Modern England: Three Approaches" in L. Bonfield, R. Smith and K. Wrightson, The World We Have Gained, Oxford 1986, p.p. 177-202.
- (5) Manning, Religion and Society, p. xvii.
- (6) See p. 32 and maps III, IV, V and VI.

limitations of a single parish or village study where local community interaction is necessarily observed from a restricted viewpoint. In the area of the four south-west Lancashire parishes most people have a unique identity from the surviving records, and cohesion as well as conflict within society can be observed. Community interaction is the most elusive of concepts and cannot be easily quantified - only seen through actual individuals reacting in their locality and their environment. In the sixteenth century family and community reconstitution is essentially impossible, but it might be that its outline can be perceived, if not its every detail.

By the second half of the sixteenth century individuals can have left behind them identifying information in a variety of records; these can be linked to bring together all available detail on any one individual and his family.⁽¹⁾ In the first instance this has been done throughout the four parishes by surname groups, and then reconstitution attempted as far as it was possible. For many individuals identification was fairly certain because of a unique forename and surname, and because many records stipulated the parish and/or township of residence. For some individuals one reference only is known; for many multiple references are available. (In the seventeenth century it has been estimated that only 2.5 per cent

(1) I. Winchester, "The Linkage of Historical Records by Man and Computer" in Journal of Interdisciplinary History, Vol. I 1970, p.p. 107-8.
A. MacFarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities, London 1977, passim.

of the population in suitable areas leave no trace.)⁽¹⁾

In this way a fund of population detail has been accumulated for the four parishes; in themselves many aspects are incomplete because of partial recording in the first place and poor survival since, but together the value of the whole outweighs its parts. As a small example of this the determination of occupations can be cited. Male occupations are recorded in this area at this time in probate records, churchwardens' accounts, manorial rolls, leases, town books, witness depositions and examinations. Once identified from any or several of these sources the knowledge of occupations can be invaluable in many types of analysis, together with the reconstituted biographies. Clearly this system of identification has its weaknesses - not least from unsuitable records - but duplication of names in this area is relatively limited and even noted by contemporaries.⁽²⁾ The greatest weakness is that "it is the wealthy and males who crowd onto the stage" and that some sections of society were only sporadically documented at all - for instance women, children, servants and the poor.⁽³⁾ Nonetheless large numbers of the population who lived at some time during the second half of the sixteenth century in these

(1) MacFarlane, Reconstructing Communities, p. 131.

(2) For example, L.T.B. I p.p. 232-234 Thomas Rose Senior and Junior; L.T.B. II p.p. 156-157 Richard Robinson butcher and Richard Robinson tanner.

(3) MacFarlane, Reconstructing Communities, p.p. 206-207.

four south-west Lancashire parishes can be identified.⁽¹⁾ Once this is achieved further analysis of society is possible.

K. Wrightson speaks of most English people as statistics and demographic units - "faceless and passive: deprived of identity, divorced from any meaningful cultural context, denied any recognition".⁽²⁾ In the late sixteenth century this need not remain true for many areas. Many individuals may appear only in the gloom or in poor light, but they can appear individually - and some in surprisingly bright light.

c) The Sources.

Sources for any local study in any period can be immensely varied, and found in a number of repositories. Those used in this present work have been located mainly in the Lancashire County and Liverpool City Record Offices and in the Public Record Office in London. However, significant collections of material have been found at the Cheshire County Record Office, the City of Manchester Record Office, Warrington Reference Library, Liverpool University archive collection and the British Library. Other smaller collections of material have been made available on microfilm or by photocopying techniques from the archives of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House, King's College Cambridge University and the Henry E. Huntington Library in California.

(1) For example, the 1563 Bishops Survey listed 187 households in Huyton parish - see p. 41. In about 1563 57 households can be identified in Tarbock, 55 in Knowsley, 12 in Wolfall, 16 in Roby and 41 in Knowsley, making a parish total of 181 excluding the Earl of Derby's household at Knowsley.

(2) K. Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, London 1982, p. 11.

Varied as these repositories and archives are, two collections are notable for their value in underlying the entire study - the available parochial registers from Lancashire and the probate records from the four parishes of south-west Lancashire.

It has been claimed that the Anglican parish registers form "a peculiarly tantalizing body of information" in that they hold out the promise of a great deal whilst at the same time presenting many difficulties.⁽¹⁾ On a national basis it has been concluded that from 1538 to 1640 the general quality of parish registration was relatively high and that deficiencies are usually caused by later physical damage and loss rather than failure to record in the first place.⁽²⁾ This general assertion is probably borne out by the register quality in the four parishes in question. The Huyton registers survive only from 1578 for baptisms and from 1587 for burials and marriages, but without any chapels in this small parish the available registers are, with reservations,⁽³⁾ most likely a reasonable reflection of the events in the parish. The Childwall registers date from the late 1550 s, but are obviously incomplete until 1560 onwards. Thereafter until the end of the century they are reasonably recorded except for two or three individual years and for marriages during the 1570 s. The registers of the parish church are supplemented by those of the chapel

(1) E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, The Population History of England 1541-1871, London 1981, p. 15.

(2) Ibid., p. 153.

(3) See p. 22.

at Hale. Here registration is somewhat variable; it begins in 1572 but during much of the 1580 s is clearly incomplete whilst marriages cease altogether from 1590 onwards. In this chapelry recording is, therefore, suspect whilst the presence of Garston chapel elsewhere in the parish creates further uncertainty. The chapel should have been closed, but was used as a rent receiving location and its refounding was attempted early in the seventeenth century.⁽¹⁾ Possibly throughout the reign of Elizabeth I some unofficial use was made of the chapel, but no records survive.

Certainly the worst survival of registration in this area is Walton parish. Here the parish register remains, but only from 1587. The great difficulty, however, is the absence in this period of the chapelry registers for the three chapels which were undoubtedly functioning at Kirkby, West Derby and Liverpool.⁽²⁾ The largest parish in south-west Lancashire - Prescott - does not fare so badly. At the parish church the registers are effective from 1573 although 1587-9 and in several years in the 1590 s they are probably incomplete. Best of all, however, are the chapel registers from Farnworth in Prescott parish. The chapel actually served almost half of the parish and the registers remain from 1538. Mostly during the sixteenth century they were kept quite faithfully except during the 1550 s. Thereafter they appear consistent. Unfortunately in Prescott parish no registers from this period survive from the other two chapels at Rainford and St. Helens.⁽³⁾

(1) See Chapter X.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

For the second half of the sixteenth century, therefore, register information is available for the four parishes in question - but in an incomplete manner. Information is found in the four parish registers and in two chapelry registers, but only for some decades, and not at all for some chapelries.⁽¹⁾ This area undoubtedly contained many Catholic sympathizers and actual recusants and, therefore, their appearance in the marriage and baptism registers is extremely doubtful after the implementation of the Elizabethan religious settlement.⁽²⁾ However, there does seem good reason to suppose that most of these types of people continued to use their parish churches and local chapels for burials.⁽³⁾ There remains, in consequence, substantial register material from the four parishes, but it is incomplete for the period and clearly unsuitable for the standards required by full reconstitution. However, what remains can be of great value when associated with other local sources; nothing else identifies so many individuals on at least one and possibly more occasions in life and death. The partial information from the four parishes can be augmented by such detail as survives in other Lancashire registers - altogether forty-four other

- (1) Registers of Walton Church, Lancashire Parish Register Society, Vol. 5, 1899.
Registers of Prescott Church, Lancs. Par. Reg. Soc., Vol. 76, 1938.
Registers of Farnworth Chapelry, Lancs. Par. Reg. Soc., Vol. 80, 1941.
Registers of Huyton Church, Lancs. Par. Reg. Soc., Vol. 85, 1946.
Registers of Hale Chapelry, Lancs. Par. Reg. Soc., Vol. 92, 1951.
Registers of Childwall Church, Lancs. Par. Reg. Soc., Vol. 106, 1967.
- (2) See Tables LVIII, LX, LXI and LXII.
- (3) See p. 7 and p.p. 734-736.

registers were consulted where some sixteenth century registration had been made.⁽¹⁾ In only five of them was there clear reference to places in the four parishes and then to only twenty-five individuals. This may be an indication of poor registration, but also a reflection of the predominantly large parishes and limited mobility.⁽²⁾

Probate records likewise survive partially, but at least in reasonable enough numbers to contribute significantly to personalized information of the area. Predominantly these records are available amongst the diocesan collection now housed at the Lancashire Record Office, although small numbers are to be found in the archdiocesan records at York and amongst the metropolitan collection in the Public Record Office. A few probate records were transcribed some years ago, and are no longer available in the original.⁽³⁾ Clearly not all members of society made a will and those that did so may have felt obliged to do so in particular circumstances where inheritance was not necessarily straightforward and/or where significant possessions were involved.⁽⁴⁾ Partial as the collection was and is, it does represent quite a large section of society particularly as some infra wills with estates valued at forty pounds or less also survive.⁽⁵⁾ Official infra wills survive in quite small numbers before 1603 - just 1 in 1590, 2 in 1591, 98 in 1600, 60 in 1602 and thereafter

(1) See Appendix I.

(2) See p.p. 42-47.

(3) See Appendix IV.

(4) ed. M. A. Havinden, Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire 1550-1590 in Oxfordshire Record Society, Vol. 44, 1965, p. 3.

(5) B. C. Jones, "The Lancashire Probate Records" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 104, 1952, p.p. 64-69.

increasing quantities with 155 in 1604.⁽¹⁾ Many other probate inventories, however, were of infra valuation.⁽²⁾ To a lesser extent the supra will collection is incomplete, as some years in the second half of the sixteenth century contain almost no examples at all for the entire county. The years between 1558-1571 were very poorly documented years with some improvement then becoming apparent. 1585 and 1586 were inexplicably poor years, but otherwise recording and survival in the latter part of the century is much better.⁽³⁾

Nearly five hundred individual probate records have been consulted where they relate to individuals from the four parishes of south-west Lancashire.⁽⁴⁾ They reflect the weaknesses of the county collection as a whole: they were never made by all sections of the population, they survive predominantly from the 1580 s and 1590 s, and their survival is influenced by accident of casualty. However, all townships in the area are represented, and collections of over four hundred wills, over four hundred inventories and nearly one hundred administrations does allow some generalizations to be made and individual inaccuracies and idiosyncracies reduced to scale. The use of substantial other local documentation also allows some clarification of status and/or occupation of the individual testators.

A great many individuals are recorded, albeit briefly, in a

(1) L.R.O., Infra Will Collection, WCW.

(2) See Appendix IV.

(3) See Appendix II.

(4) See Appendix III.

variety of local administrative records. Manor court rolls together with some rentals survive for Prescott, Widnes, Great Sankey, Much Woolton, Little Woolton and West Derby; here tenants are recorded as jury members, registering property transfers, as officials and as transgressors of minor offences.⁽¹⁾ Liverpool Town Books from 1550 onwards provide somewhat similar details for affairs in the town - officials, local bye-laws, town business and individual offenders were all recorded year by year.⁽²⁾ In two of the four parishes churchwardens' accounts survive; at Prescott from well before 1550 continuously until the end of the century, at Childwall from the 1570 s onwards.⁽³⁾ Alongside strictly ecclesiastical administration survives considerable detail of secular activity and parish individuals.

These local administrative procedures, although the survival of their records is partial, add much to the identification of the population and to knowledge of society behaviour in south-west Lancashire. Estate collections from some of the landowning families substantially add to this local detail. Located mainly at the Lancashire Record Office, collections of accounts, deeds, rentals and evidences survive from quite a number of families - notably the Earls of Derby of Knowsley and the Molyneux of Croxteth, but also from many

(1) See Chapter IV.

(2) Liverpool Town Books, Vols. I and II., ed. J. A. Twemlow, Liverpool 1918 and 1935.

(3) Churchwardens' Accounts of Prescott, Lancashire, 1523-1607, ed. F. A. Bailey, Rec. Soc., Vol. CIV, 1953.
Churchwardens' Accounts of Childwall Parish 1571-1674, ed. R. Stewart-Brown, Liverpool Record Office typescript.

lesser families such as the Blundells, Crosse, Scarisbrick and Lilford. Additional similar material survives in other repositories; the Moore and Norris families at Liverpool City Record Office, the Bold family at Warrington Reference Library, the Norris family at the British Library and some Derby material in the Henry E. Huntington Library in California. The mass of detail reposing in these collections testifies not only to the practices of the landowning families, but to life for many of their tenants.

Locally generated documentation does not, however, stand alone; national documents of necessity record a host of local detail. The Exchequer's subsidy rolls and port books provide obvious instances, but the religious situation in Lancashire and the rebellions in Ireland during the second half of the sixteenth century ensured that the Government had a wider interest in the county. State papers, both domestic and for Ireland, the Acts of the Privy Council and the manuscripts preserved by the Cecil family all have something to comment throughout this period on the county, and sometimes on the four parishes in particular. Litigation likewise generated a fair measure of documentation - a little in the poorly surviving Quarter Sessions records for Lancashire, but more at national courts such as the High Court of Admiralty, the Court of Wards, the Court of Requests and the Court of Star Chamber. Substantial local detail emerges from the operation of the Duchy of Lancaster court where pleadings and depositions record not only specific local complaints, offences and disturbances but an array of detail about individuals whether involved in the cases or whether summoned as witnesses to testify. The Duchy of Lancaster procedures were responsible also for various, intermittent, special commissions and for the routine inquisitions post mortem; both of which provide still more local

detail.

In addition to the locally generated records and to the national archives, the Church also created documentation of its own. During the second half of the sixteenth century some visitations were conducted within the diocese of Chester and a few metropolitan visitations occurred. These provide some evidence of the progress the Elizabethan Church made in south-west Lancashire, and by the last decade of the century list some of the proven or suspected recusants in the area. Recusant rolls and diocesan correction books testify to those individuals guilty of ecclesiastical transgressions.

This brief outline of the main sources available for this study does not, however, do justice to the overall, combined local detail that emerges. In themselves many of the records are partial - both in their original compilation and in their eventual survival. Sources good in one parish or one manor do not exist elsewhere; details available for one township just do not exist for another. However, used in conjunction with each other the sum is infinitely greater than the various parts.

d) The Area.

It can be claimed that in the sixteenth century Lancashire was one of the poorest parts of England. Certainly in terms of the 1524-5 lay subsidy, yields for the North and the West of the country were very low compared with the South and the East; but the uniformly low return for Lancashire probably does not reflect the real wealth and population of the county. This unreliability was due partly to the county's relative isolation from London and to the way in which the surveyors interpreted the subsidy in "an utterly

different way" from that intended by the Exchequer.⁽¹⁾ In the event in both 1524-5 and 1543-5 the Exchequer "failed to obtain a reliable and contemporary assessment of the wealth of Lancashire", and it is likely that some elements of prosperity in parts of the West Derby hundred were obscured.⁽²⁾ A similar trend appeared in Northumberland where wealth was also ranked very low but poverty was something of an exaggeration because of the considerable acreage of little used upland area.⁽³⁾

Likewise it is also possible to exaggerate the backwardness of some areas of the North and to regard it as remote, rough and violent.⁽⁴⁾ Yet the North, including Lancashire, was distant from central government, and society founded on a patriarchal family outlook.⁽⁵⁾ The predominant characteristics of the Tudor North are usually held to be "that it was feudal, that it was Catholic, and

- (1) J. Sheail, "The Regional Distribution of Wealth in England as indicated in the 1524-5 lay subsidy returns", University of London Ph. D., 1968, p. 79, p. 115, p. 229.
- (2) Ibid., p. 230 and p. 235.
- (3) S. J. Watts and S. J. Watts From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland 1586-1625, Leicester 1975, p. 39.
- (4) Ibid., p. 13 and p. 37.
- (5) M. James, Family, Lineage and Civil Society. A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640, Oxford 1974, p. 19.

that it was the home of a violent and backward society."⁽¹⁾ It is likely that elements of all these attributes were to be found in all provincial England and only through close study of a community can the extent of the characteristics be estimated. It has been emphasized that it was in the interests of Northerners to stress their distinctiveness when it was to their advantage to do so, for example regarding taxation.⁽²⁾ Even towards the end of the sixteenth century, therefore, "it probably took the Council many years to acquire a clear conception of Lancashire ". The decentralized nature of Lancashire accentuated this - the population was scattered, the terrain in places not easy, and no cohesive county centre existed.⁽³⁾ Elizabeth's Council "saw Lancashire through a glass darkly" and its attention was drawn to an unsettled condition that was distant from the resources and personnel of central government. The irony of this was that Lancastrians might well have been quite familiar with London.⁽⁴⁾

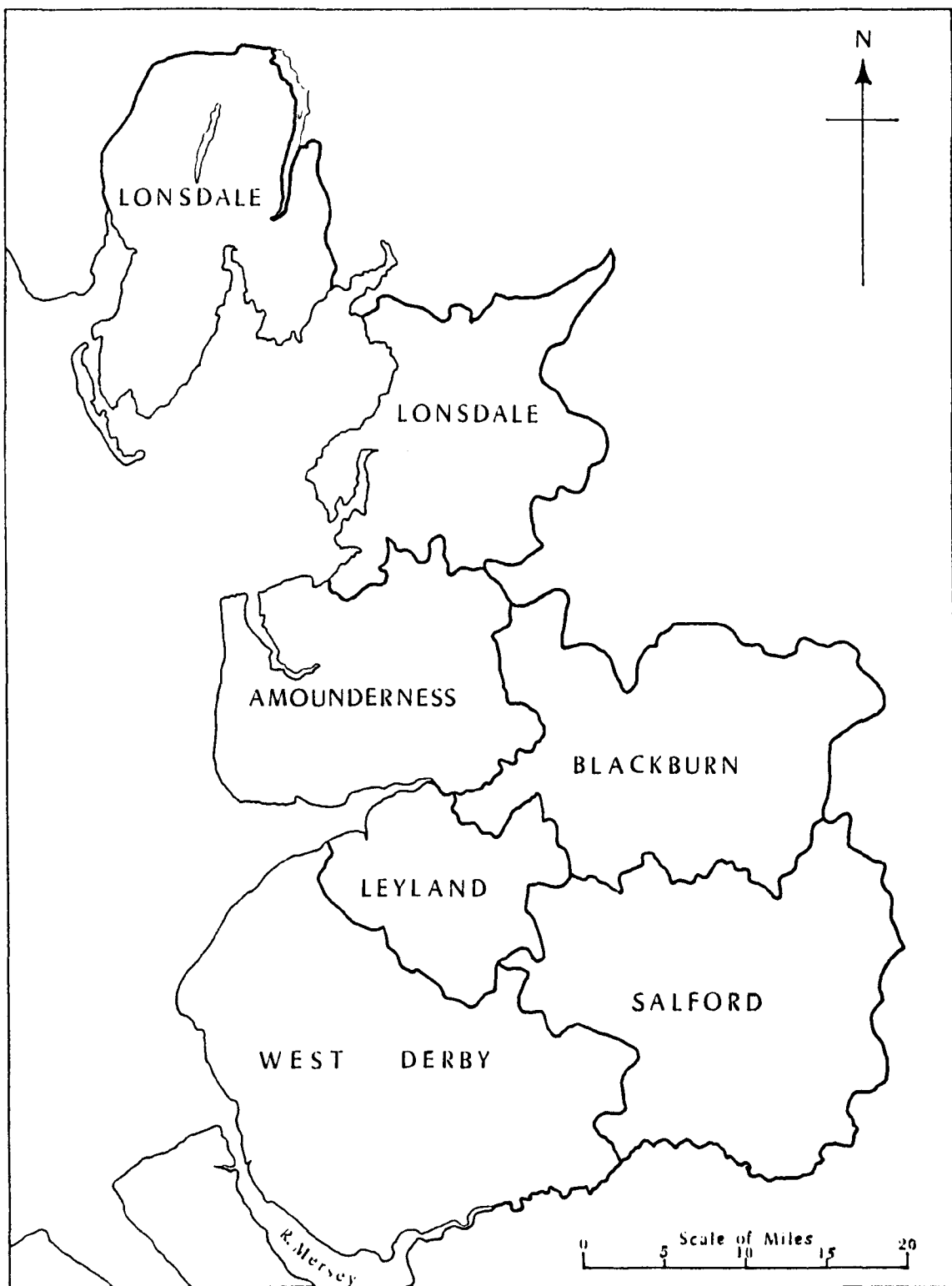
As far as the four south-west Lancashire parishes were concerned their vegetation and topography - especially mosses and the sea -

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- (1) B. W. Beckingsale, "The Characteristics of the Tudor North" in Northern History, Vol. IV, 1969, p. 67.
- (2) B. W. Quintrell, "Government in Perspective: Lancashire and the Privy Council 1570-1640" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 131, 1982, p.p. 35-36.
- (3) Ibid., p. 37.
- (4) Ibid., p.p. 37-38.

imposed a "measure of isolation" and even by the end of the sixteenth century there had been little improvement in communication because of the continuing extent of the mosses and marshes.⁽¹⁾ Roads were used normally for only a local economy and were frequently insubstantial in poor weather. Some bridges did exist, but were sited usually on trackways rather than on major thoroughfares.⁽²⁾ An indication of this isolation may be seen in the conservative surname practices of south-west Lancashire during this century. It is unusual that so many surnames were limited in usage to such a small area, that so many locative surnames were in use, and that only in this area by the late sixteenth century were patronymics still in use. Relative isolation and little outside influence meant that Lancashire overall and the south-west in particular had a more pronounced local surname character than most other counties.⁽³⁾

Few sixteenth century Lancashire maps survive. Christopher Saxton surveyed and produced his county map in 1577 and a few other

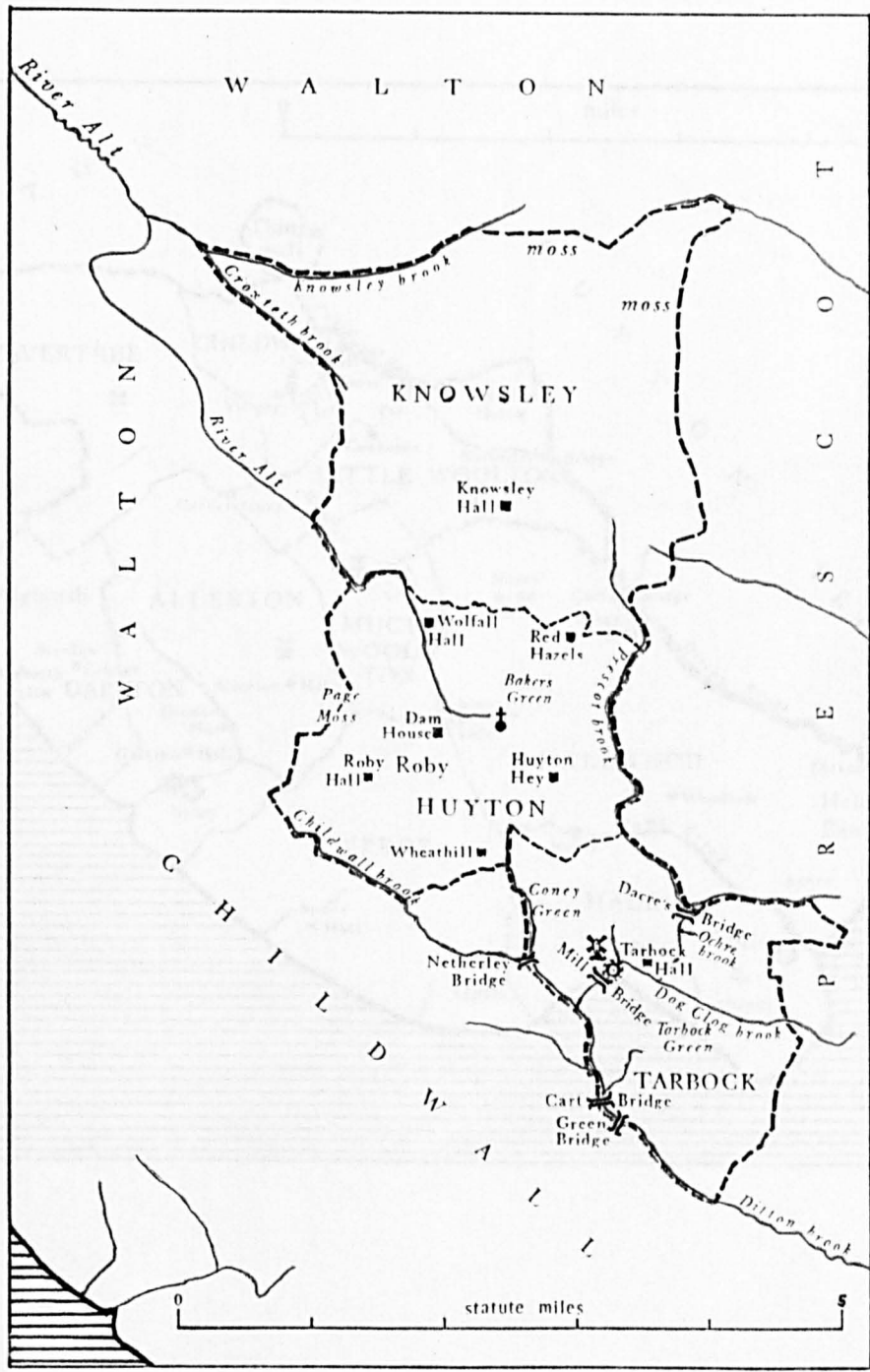
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- (1) F. A. Walker, Historical Geography of South-West Lancashire before the Industrial Revolution in Chet. Soc., New Series, Vol. 103, 1939, p. 15.
- (2) Ibid., p.p. 70-74.
J. Hoult, West Derby Hundred: Early Highways and Byways, St. Helens 1923, p.p. 9-18.
- (3) R. McKinley, The Surnames of Lancashire, London 1981, p. 2, p. 46, p. 77 and p.p. 441-2.



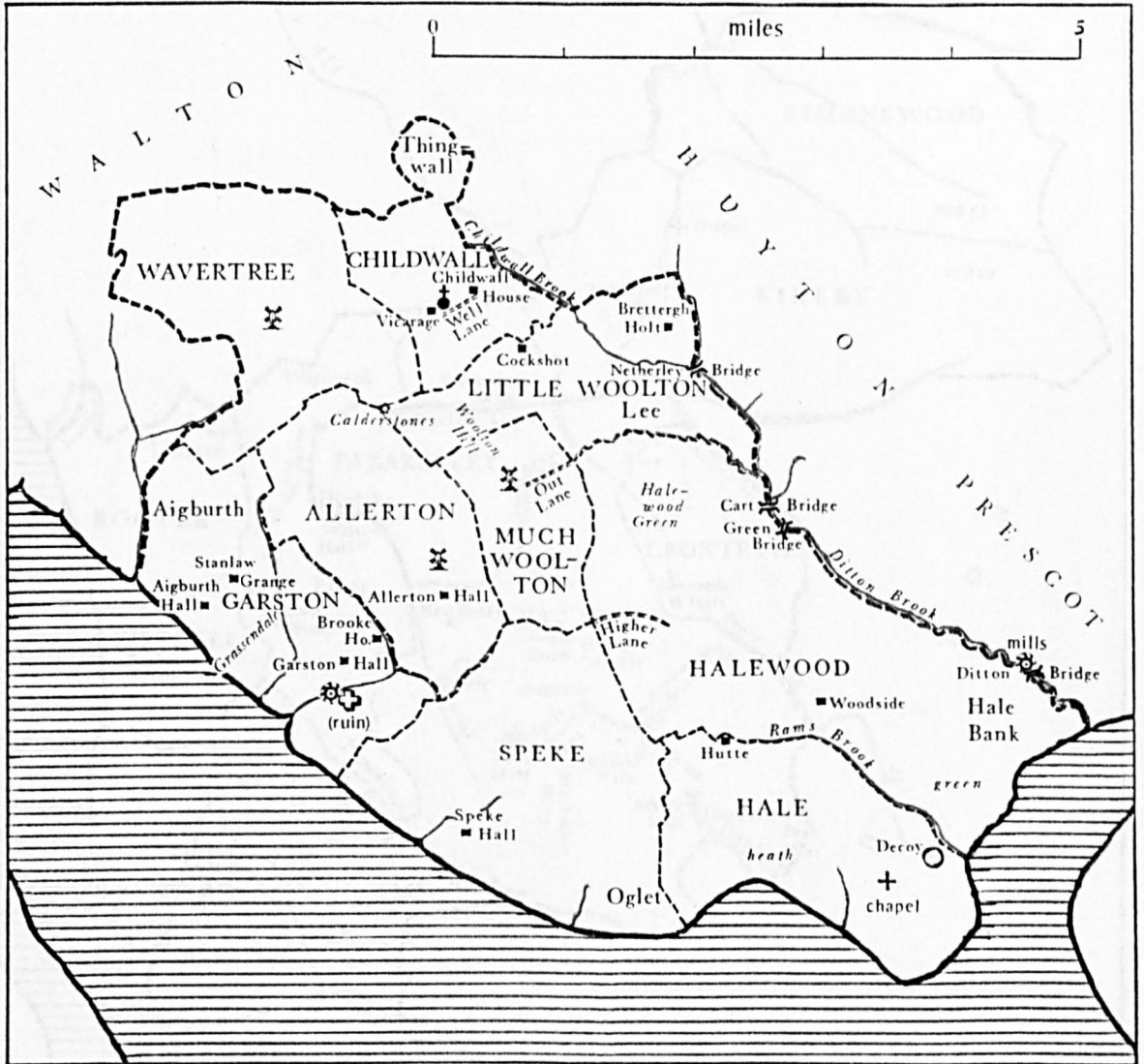
MAP I: THE HUNDREDS OF LANCASHIRE.



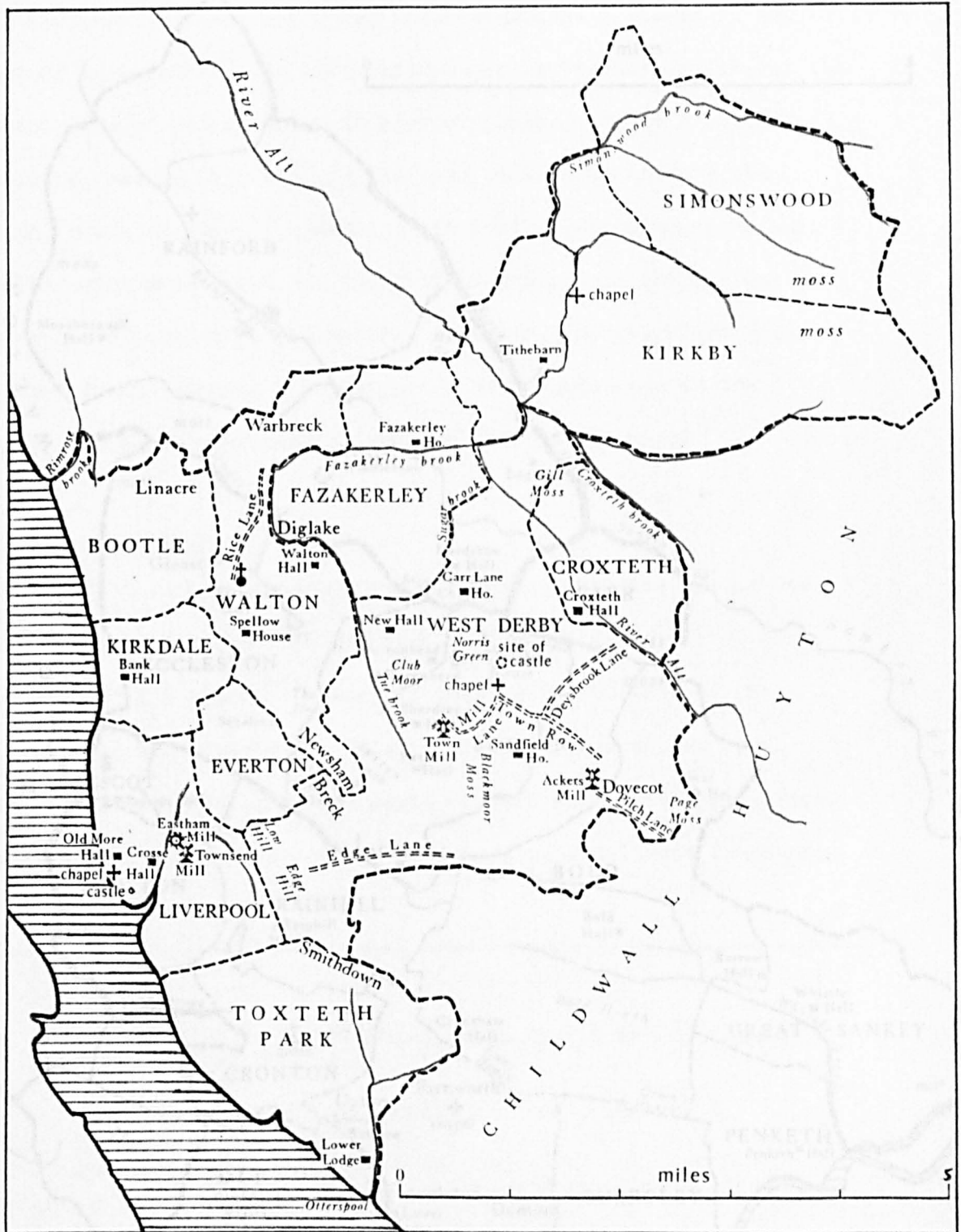
MAP II: THE TOWNSHIPS OF THE FOUR PARISHES, IN WEST DERBY HUNDRED.



MAP III: HUYTON PARISH.



MAP IV: CHILDWALL PARISH.



MAP V: WALTON PARISH.



MAP VI: PRESCOT PARISH.

county maps followed with minor amendment.⁽¹⁾ The scales, however, are too small to permit of great detail relevant to the four south-west parishes. There are a few local area maps produced in the reign of Elizabeth I - of Burtonhead manor in Prescott parish, of the coastal area of Widnes manor in Prescott parish, of the Allerton/Wavertree area of Childwall parish, and of Much Woolton in that parish, drawn in 1613.⁽²⁾ Using these available contemporary maps together with nineteenth and twentieth century maps showing parish and township boundaries and natural features, topographical details recorded in the sixteenth century have been reproduced in the county, the West Derby Hundred and the four parish maps.⁽³⁾

e) The Population.

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Lancashire seems to have maintained a demographic vitality untypical of most other parts of England.⁽⁴⁾ Despite this the North-West by the sixteenth century remained a relatively lightly populated area. In Somerset, Devon, Middlesex and parts of East Anglia the population could reach over one hundred per square mile, and it was frequently

- (1) S. Tyacke and J. Huddy, Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-making, London 1980, p.p. 24-37.
- (2) L.R.O., Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick Deeds, DDS/32/1.
P.R.O., MPC/67.
P.R.O., MPC/MR 11 No. 73.
Liv. R.O., Map of Enclosures at Much Woolton 1613, 8/30.
- (3) See Maps I, II, III, IV, V and VI.
Using Ordnance Survey, 1" 1st Edition, Sheet 80, 1842.
Ordnance Survey, 1:5000, Sheet 108, 1978.
Ordnance Survey, 1:25000, Sheets SJ 28/38, 29/39, 48/58, 49/59, 1972-5.
- (4) Bennett, "Late Medieval Society", p. 146.

fifty-one hundred per square mile in much of south-west England, East Anglia, the South and the East Midlands. To the North and West, however, a population of fifty per square mile was probably a maximum and often twenty or less per square mile was known.⁽¹⁾

As for so many areas, few suitable listings or assessments survive to enable the total population of the four parishes of south-west Lancashire to be enumerated precisely - at any time during the sixteenth century. The most interesting detail emerges at Prescott where the vicar Thomas Meade was resident in the town and in a position to have some appropriate personal knowledge of the size of the population.⁽²⁾ In 1586 he had written that there were one hundred and five families in the town, whilst in January 1592 he referred to the town occupying thirty acres (long measure)⁽³⁾ with at least four hundred people of whom one hundred and twenty were under the age of sixteen years.⁽⁴⁾ These comments would produce a family size of 3.8 persons, a ratio of potential communicants of 74 per cent, and a density of 6.3 people per acre (statute measure). This particular local detail is unfortunately unsubstantiated by other sources, but even itself can perhaps be used to produce very crude population totals.

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- (1) E. Ives, "Queen Elizabeth and the People of England" in The Historian, No. 1, 1983, p. 3.
- (2) See p.p. 508-511.
- (3) See p. 197.
- (4) Pres. Recs. p. 300.
Prescot Records at King's College, Cambridge, available on microfilm at Huyton Library, Knowsley, IV 24 (3).

The 1548 survey produced as a result of the dissolution of the chantries included some estimate of the numbers of houseling people (communicants) in various parishes. It has been claimed that these numbers represent perhaps 60 per cent of the total population, but at Prescott forty years later they appear to represent 74 per cent.⁽¹⁾ Based on these proportions table I suggests an approximate population distribution for the four parishes.⁽²⁾

TABLE I: POPULATION ESTIMATES BASED ON 1548 CHANTRY SURVEYS.

	<u>Chantry Survey</u>	<u>Total Population if 60% Houseling</u>	<u>Total Population if 74% Houseling</u>
Huyton Parish	500	833	676
Childwall Parish	600	1000	811
Walton Parish	{ 400	Liverpool Chapelry only 667	541 } }
Prescot Parish	1000	1667	1351

Another possible source which might provide an indication of the total population of each of the four parishes is the return made by the Bishop of Chester to the Privy Council in 1563.⁽³⁾ He was asked to record the numbers of households in every parish in his diocese.

(1) F. R. Raines, The History of Chantries within the County Palatine of Lancaster, Reports of the Chantry Commissioners, Chet. Soc., Vol. LIX, 1862, p. xxvii.

(2) Ibid., p. 79, p. 84, p. 93, p. 98.

(3) B.L., Harl. Mss. 594 f. 101.

(In 1603 the bishops were asked for estimates of communicants and non-communicants in their dioceses, but for Chester these returns do not appear to survive.)⁽¹⁾ The Bishop of Chester did survey his diocese in 1563 and produced returns recording thirteen parish churches and fourteen chapels in his deanery of Warrington. Some of his returns may be suspiciously 'round' estimates such as the 100 for Walton parish, whereas the 187 for Huyton suggests an attempted count. Work in Cumbria, Westmoreland and Durham has concluded that returns here were reasonably accurate and "conscientious estimates",⁽²⁾ so possibly individual parishes in the diocese of Chester are of variable accuracy. To translate the returns into population estimates requires a multiplier for family size. One calculation of this has been 4.75 persons, but twenty years after the survey the vicar at Prescot noted only 3.8 persons.⁽³⁾ Based on these two family sizes table II suggests population totals in the four parishes.

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- (1) See D. M. Palliser and L. J. Jones, "A Neglected Source for English Population History: the Bishops' returns of 1563 and 1603" in The Local Historian, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1982, p. 155.
- (2) A. P. Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, Liverpool 1978, p. 24.
R. Hodgson, "Population change in County Durham from the 16th-18th Centuries", Local Population Studies Society Conference, Liverpool 1984.
- (3) P. Laslett and R. Wall, Household and Family in Past Time, Cambridge 1972, p. 126.
See above.

TABLE II: POPULATION ESTIMATES BASED ON 1563 BISHOPS' SURVEY.

	<u>Survey Parish Households</u>	<u>Survey Chapelry Households</u>		<u>Total Households</u>	<u>Total Popula- tion at 4.75 family size</u>	<u>Total Popula- tion at 3.8 family size</u>
Huyton Parish	187	-		187	888	711
Childwall Parish	208	Hale Halebank	51 91	350	1662	1330
Walton Parish	100	Liverpool West Derby Kirkby	100 80 40	320	1520	1216
Prescot Parish	497	Farnworth Windle	30 53	580	2755	2204

Aside from parish and chapelry estimates, few other population comments survive. The Liverpool assessment roll for the repairs at Walton church in 1565 lists 185 names by streets.⁽¹⁾ With a multiplier of 4.75 per family a town population of 879 is reached; with a multiplier of 3.8 a population of 703 can be estimated. In 1566 a not dissimilar levy for the Liverpool schoolmaster's salary was made recording 162 contributors.⁽²⁾ Assuming one contribution per household total populations of 770 or 616 can be estimated.⁽³⁾ These varying estimates from consecutive years highlight the great problems in using individual listings, and cast some doubt on the 1563 Bishop's estimate of 100 households in Liverpool.

(1) L.T.B. I p.p. 436-440.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 441-445.

(3) For family size see p. 40.

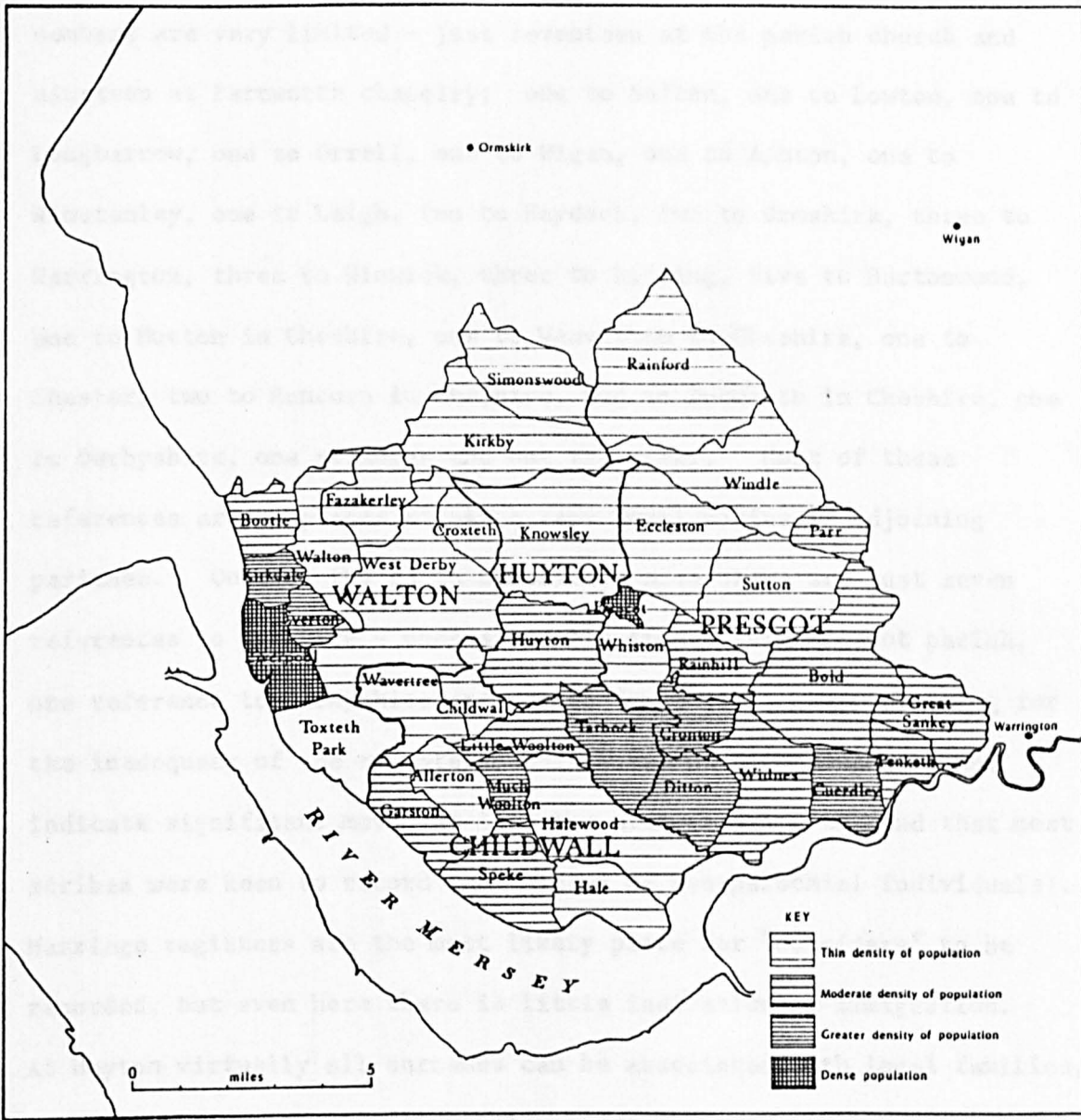
Certainly within the parishes a variation of density was apparent. This can be demonstrated by using the 1558-9 and 1571 subsidy returns, the oxen apportionment for the royal household in 1616 and the numbers of men mustered in 1595.⁽¹⁾ All of these can be calculated by individual township, and the assumption has been made that some allowance was made for population density even if that distribution was well dated by the later part of the sixteenth century. Table III tabulates the returns and their value per acre, whilst Map VII indicates the varying densities. In the main these densities relate very closely to the suitability of agricultural land, to the distribution of mosses and moorland, and to the economic activities of the markets at Liverpool and Prescot.

Such limited evidence as is available in the parish registers suggests limited use of these parishes by individuals from outside the immediate area. Childwall registers have no reference beyond the four south-west Lancashire parishes; Hale chapel has just one reference - to Orrell; Huyton has five - to Bolton, Lostock, to Lathom twice and to Yorkshire; and Walton has eight - one to Aintree, two to Orrell and five to Litherland. Prescot parish has most references to locations beyond the four parishes, but even here

(1) L.R.O., Hulton of Hulton Deeds, DDHu/53/16.
 Liv. R.O., Norris Deeds, 920 NOR 16/2.
 B.L. Add. Mss. 36924 f.96 r. and v.
 B.L. Harl. Mss. 2219.

TABLE III: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

	<u>Contribution to 1558-9 subsidy</u>	<u>Contribution to 1571 subsidy</u>	<u>Contribution to 1616 household</u>	<u>Numbers of men 1595</u>	<u>Township Acreage</u>	<u>Subsidy contribution per acre in pence</u>	<u>1616 contribution per acre in pence</u>	<u>Men per acre</u>
<u>Huyton Parish.</u>								
Huyton and Roby	39/-	39/-	14/2	41	2879	.16	.06	.014
Tarbock	46/8	46/8	14/2	20	2446	.23	.07	.008
Knowsley	-	48/-	14/2	27	5058	.11	.03	.005
<u>Childwall Parish.</u>								
Allerton	9/-	9/-	2/3½	4	1586	.07	.02	.003
Much Woolton	17/-	17/-	6/1	15	795	.26	.09	.019
Speke	44/-	44/-	9/1½	20	2504	.21	.04	.007
Little Woolton	16/-	16/-	6/1	16	1388	.14	.05	.012
Garston	24/-	24/-	6/10	17	1625	.18	.05	.011
Childwall	13/4	13/4	2/3½	-	1006	.16	.03	-
Wavertree	12/-	12/-	6/1	10	1838	.08	.04	.005
Hale and Halewood	66/-	66/-	18/2½	51	5474	.15	.04	.009
<u>Walton Parish.</u>								
Everton	17/4	-	2/4½	-	693	.30	.04	-
West Derby	56/8	56/8	28/6	46	6203	.11	.06	.007
Kirkdale	18/-	18/-	3/6½	-	841	.26	.05	-
Kirkby	43/-	43/-	9/6	19	6801	.08	.02	.003
Bootle	18/-	18/-	3/6½	13	1207	.18	.04	.011
Walton and Fazakerley	-	40/-	9/6	39	3653	.13	.03	.011
Liverpool	-	60/-	19/-	171	1858	.39	.12	.092
<u>Prescot Parish.</u>								
Whiston	22/-	22/-	4/5	28	1782	.15	.03	.016
Ditton	46/-	46/-	11/2	20	1898	.29	.05	.011
Bold	70/-	70/-	11/2	60	4483	.19	.03	.014
Rainhill	31/-	31/-	4/5	18	1639	.23	.03	.011
Widnes	56/-	56/-	11/2	40	3039	.22	.04	.013
Eccleston	33/-	33/-	6/7½	29	3569	.11	.02	.008
Rainford	30/-	30/-	6/7½	17	5872	.06	.01	.003
Sankey and Penketh	39/-	39/-	5/5	42	2925	.16	.03	.014
Windle	30/-	30/-	6/7½	33	3039	.12	.03	.011
Prescot	-	-	4/5	40	270	-	.20	.148
Parr	-	21/-	6/7½	22	1633	.15	.05	.013
Cronton	-	-)	20	1153	-)	.017
Cuerdley	-	39/-) 11/2	27	1573	.30) .05	.017
Sutton	44/-	44/-	13/3½	51	3752	.14	.04	.016



MAP VII: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY TOWNSHIP.

numbers are very limited - just seventeen at the parish church and nineteen at Farnworth chapelry; one to Sefton, one to Lowton, one to Longbarrow, one to Orrell, one to Wigan, one to Ashton, one to Winstanley, one to Leigh, two to Haydock, two to Ormskirk, three to Warrington, three to Winwick, three to Billing, five to Burtonwood, one to Dutton in Cheshire, one to Weaverham in Cheshire, one to Chester, two to Runcorn in Cheshire, two to Budworth in Cheshire, one to Derbyshire, one stranger and one traveller. Most of these references are to places within a very small radius in adjoining parishes. Outside the south Lancashire area there are just seven references to Cheshire - understandable from within Prescott parish, one reference to Derbyshire and one to Yorkshire. Even allowing for the inadequacy of the registers, this level of recording does not indicate significant movement into the area (bearing in mind that most scribes were keen to record the origins of non-parochial individuals). Marriage registers are the most likely place for 'outsiders' to be recorded, but even here there is little indication of immigration. At Huyton virtually all surnames can be associated with local families, and at Hale Chapel just six marriages are recorded where one partner is known to have lived in Huyton or Walton parishes, one where one partner came from Orrell and another five where the place of origin is unknown - but probably from the locality. A similar pattern is true at Childwall. At Walton, Prescott and Farnworth probably slightly more marriage partners came from beyond the very immediate area, but even here the proportions remained small.

In south-west Lancashire in the sixteenth century the use of patronymics would suggest rather conservative development and insulation

from outside influences.⁽¹⁾ Most notable was Hale Chapelry where the registers contain twenty-eight references to 'daughter' and eight to 'wife' during the period 1572-1603. At Huyton the use of 'daughter' occurs eight times 1578-1603, but thirty-six times at Childwall 1557-1603. A similar level of use was recorded at Walton, Prescot and Farnworth. On many other occasions 'son' was used, but this usage cannot be so precisely enumerated when surnames such as Johnson and Williamson were becoming established. However, the sons of Robert Williamson at Wolfall in Huyton parish were definitely known as George Robertson and William Robertson.⁽²⁾

Choice of Christian names was likewise rather conservative and restricted in this area. At Hale no more than seventeen male names were selected in the baptism registers, and at both Hale and Walton no more than seventeen female names. Throughout the four parishes just six male names account for 75 per cent of name choices - John, Thomas, William, Richard, Henry and Robert. Six female names account for 76 per cent of choices - Elizabeth, Margaret, Anne, Ellen, Jane and Alice. The popularity of these names and the limited total choice of names, whilst not totally unlike findings elsewhere in the country, do not suggest mobility and importation of ideas and names.⁽³⁾

(1) See p. 30.

(2) L.R.O., Will of George Robertson of Roby 1569.

(3) See Appendix V.
A. Harris, "Christian Names in Solihull, Warwickshire, and Yardley, Worcestershire, 1540-1729" in L. P. S. No. 19, 1977, p.p. 28-32.

The use of the term 'mobility' can, however, be deceptive. Clearly a very large proportion of the population in south-west Lancashire did remain in the immediate vicinity of where they were born - maybe within five-ten miles. In consequence many families and surnames remained constant in the sixteenth century and beyond.⁽¹⁾ However, this is not to say that there was not the opportunity to travel nor a level of mobility. Possibly many men and women changed abode at least once in their lives - even if only temporarily. Possibly they remained some years not very far away before returning to the area of their birth.⁽²⁾ This is probably a more realistic appraisal of the south-west Lancashire situation than the comments that mobility was commonplace and that families moved at least once in two generations.⁽³⁾

Parish register information may be fragmentary, but with the limited mobility of this area there is perhaps enough information to suggest population trends during the second half of the sixteenth century. Some registration exists from the four parish churches and two chapels, although effective dates of recording vary.⁽⁴⁾ Also in individual years there are serious weaknesses in some registers, and indeed the level of Catholic sympathy throughout these four parishes

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- (1) P. E. H. Hair, "Family and Locality: an encouraging exercise in Herefordshire records" in Local Historian, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1976, p.p. 3-12.
- (2) J. Cornwall, "Evidence of Population Mobility in the 17th Century" in B. I. H. R., Vol. XL, 1967, p.p. 143-152.
- (3) E. E. Rich, "The Population of Elizabethan England" in Ec. H.R. Vol. 2, 1949-50, p.p. 260-262.
- (4) See p.p. 20-21.

may call into question the overall value of all their registers. However, so conservative was the area and so slow the rate of Protestantism, that certainly for burials the parish churches continued to be used by the very great majority of the population until at least the end of the sixteenth century.⁽¹⁾

With slight variations, the trends that emerge from the six available south-west Lancashire registers appear relatively consistent.⁽²⁾ Other than for a few exceptional years of mortality, such as 1570, during the 1560 s and 1570 s, the population would appear to have been steadily rising with consistent excesses of baptisms over burials. This trend continued without serious interruption during the 1580 s until 1587-1588, when throughout the area mortality was high. Thereafter a less stable pattern predominates with many years in the 1590 s being ones of high mortality when burials were far in excess of baptisms. In 1595-6 a brief respite seems to have affected the area before heavy mortality 1597-8 again reduced the population. Only at the very end of the century and reign does a surplus of baptisms generally reassert itself. (At Walton parish during the 1590 s the situation was possibly worse than in the immediate area, associated with the economic problems of the Liverpool area,⁽³⁾ and perhaps inadequate

(1) See Chapter XIV.

(2) See Table IV.

(3) See Chapter VII.

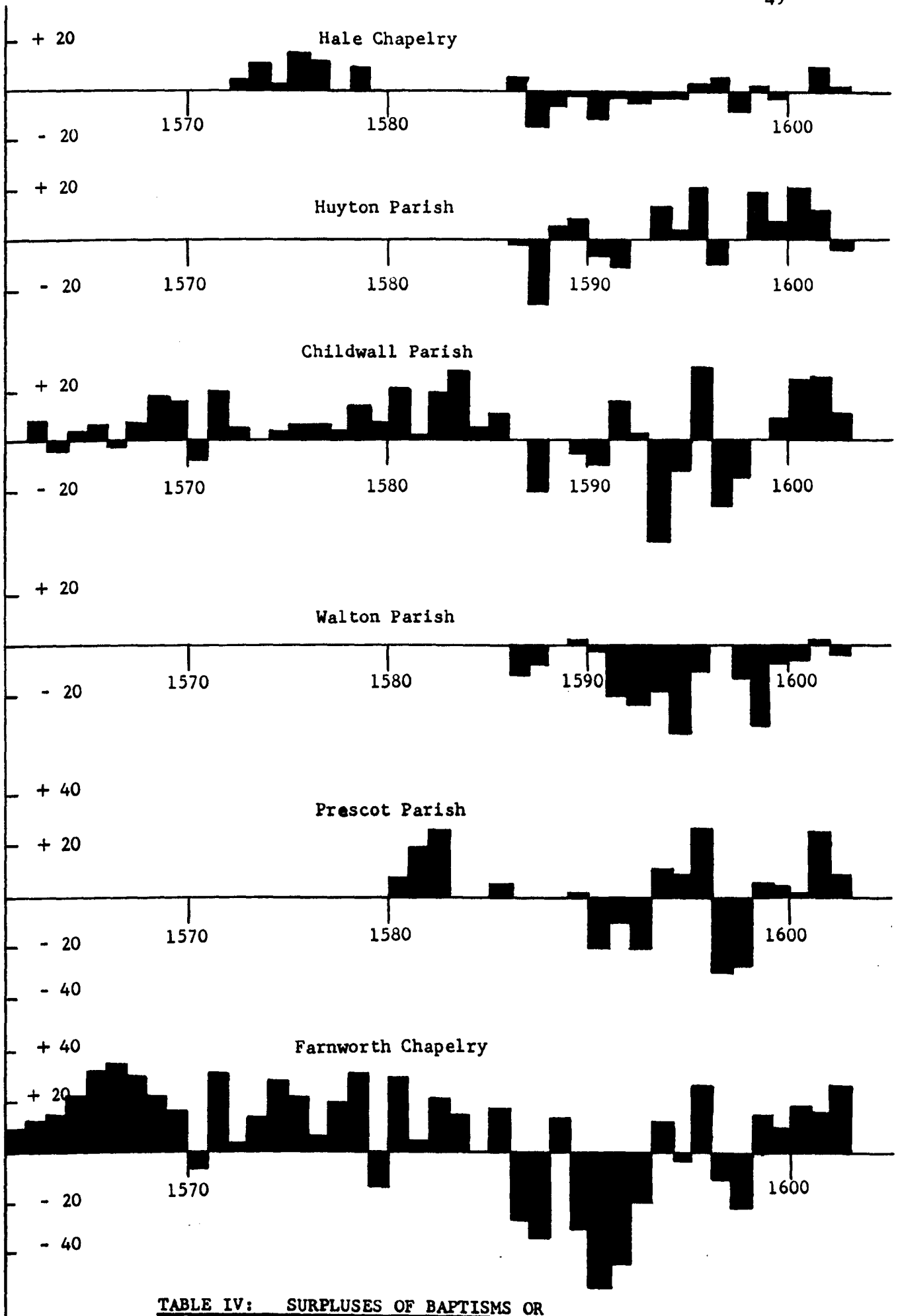


TABLE IV: SURPLUSES OF BAPTISMS OR BURIALS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE 1560-1603.

registration of baptisms. It is possible that an individual parish may have a distinctive profile of growth depending on very local economic activity.)⁽¹⁾

The explanation for these trends is, of course, open to debate. Disease had been and remained a crucial factor. Plague had visited the Liverpool area in 1540-41 when isolation cabins had been found a necessary expedient,⁽²⁾ and certainly was prevalent in parts of England in the 1560 s, 1580 s and 1590 s when it was predominantly a summer disease which in rural areas did not always reach epidemic proportions.⁽³⁾ Other fevers and gastric illnesses tended to exhibit a summer pattern also, whereas respiratory diseases, such as influenza, pneumonia, measles and also dysentery, tended to be more common in winter.⁽⁴⁾ 1555-1558 was indeed a serious succession of years with typhus, dysentery, influenza and plague evident in Lancashire - probably at Prescot and at Liverpool where perhaps a quarter of the population died.⁽⁵⁾ Certainly 1557 was a particularly 'bad' year in Cumberland and Westmorland.⁽⁶⁾

Disease alone, however, was not necessarily the source of

- (1) Hodgson, "Population change in County Durham", Liverpool Conference 1984.
- (2) R. Sharpe France, "A History of Plague in Lancashire" in T. H. S. L. C. Vol. 90, 1939, p. 29.
- (3) J. F. D. Shrewsbury, History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles, Cambridge 1970, p. 158 and p.p. 189-255.
- (4) L. Bradley, "Seasonality in Baptisms, Marriages and Burials" in L.P.S., No. 6, 1971, p.p. 23-30.
- (5) Sharpe France, "History of Plague", p.p. 31-32.
- (6) Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, p. 95.

unusually high mortality. Winter dearths may well have accentuated the impact of winter diseases, and successive poor harvests in the sixteenth century could create virtual famine situations - at least in localized areas.⁽¹⁾ Evidence of famine may be discerned in its striking at the vulnerable - young children and those over about forty-five years of age - and in a fall in baptismal rates in the period immediately after.⁽²⁾ Possibly south-west Lancashire was fortunate in that its prevalent type of agriculture contained a strong measure of diversification, and in most years this protected its population from the worst effects of famine.⁽³⁾

After the serious mortality of the 1550 s the population in south-west Lancashire stabilized and recovered during the 1560 s, 1570 s and early 1580 s from the limited evidence that is available.⁽⁴⁾ Certainly at this time there were only a few years when burial numbers were particularly high, such as 1562-1565 at both Childwall and Farnworth. Not until the late 1570 s does exceptional mortality appear in the area, as at Farnworth and Hale where the winter months 1578-9 were notable. The national picture for 1565-1584 is one of subsiding violent upsurges of mortality which allowed a natural

(1) Ibid., p.p. 7-12.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 7-8.

(3) See Chapter IV.

(4) See Table IV.

See E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction, London, 1981, p. 333.

increase in population to appear as recovery from disease was swift.⁽¹⁾ More detail for the four parishes emerges during the late 1580 s when mortality was again unusually high. In County Durham typhus, plague and food shortages for the period 1586-9, whilst in north-west England widespread epidemics including plague occurred 1586-8.⁽²⁾ Typhus was also apparent and may have been associated with famine 1587-8.⁽³⁾ In south-west Lancashire 1588 seems to be the most serious year for mortality at this time, particularly the months April and May at both Hale and Childwall, where even the vicar died. Possibly late winter dearth and typhus was the cause, although from 1587 to 1589 all of these associated diseases and famine may have had some impact in this area.

Recovery had scarcely been possible before the new traumas of the 1590 s with a high rate of burials and low baptism levels both early and late in the decade. Plague was in the North-West and in the north of the area 1596-8 was referred to as a "great epidemic"; probably it was evident also in the south of the county 1595-1600.⁽⁴⁾ In many years in this decade there was also serious dearth. In 1595 there were deaths from starvation in Newcastle and 1596-7 famine in County Durham. 1594-7 were years of bad harvests, and

- (1) Ibid., p.p. 178-9 and p. 234.
- (2) K. Wrightson, "Death at Whickham, County Durham 1570-1670", Local Population Studies Conference, Liverpool 1984.
W. G. Howson, "Plague, Poverty and Population in parts of North-West England 1580-1720" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 112, 1961, p. 33.
- (3) Sharpe France, "History of Plague", p. 35.
Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, p.p. 105-107.
- (4) Howson, "Plague, Poverty and Population", p. 33.
Sharpe France, "History of Plague", p. 37.

by 1596 there was famine also in Cumberland and Westmorland.⁽¹⁾

Even at Poulton-le-Fylde in mid Lancashire the burial peak was 1597-8.⁽²⁾ In south-west Lancashire disease was prevalent early in the decade as the high death rates 1591-2 at Farnworth, January-April 1592 at Hale, and 1594 at Childwall suggest. This was before the impact of the really bad harvests, and probably disease - both typhus and plague - never left the area prior to the impact of food shortages. March-May 1595 and 1597 were times of high death rate at Childwall, February 1600 at Hale and April-May 1600 at Childwall. Disease and dearth probably both contributed to these levels. Only very late in the century was a natural increase in population able to begin to reassert itself.

(1) Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, p.p. 1-2 and p.p. 109-112.

(2) M. Humphries, "The behaviour of the Population of Poulton-le-Fylde in the late 16th and the first half of the 17th century", University of Liverpool M.A., 1970, p. 42.

Section A: The People of South-West Lancashire.

A study of the identifiable social and economic groups within the four parishes of south-west Lancashire. Surviving evidence permits the analysis of some sections of society and some economic activities in a detailed manner; other people and activities remain in the half-light. Few sections of the community, however, remain in total obscurity even when individual identification proves elusive.

THE EARLS OF DERBY AND THEIR IMPACT IN LANCASHIRE.

- a) The Earls and their national context.
- b) Their marriages and family.
- c) Their lands and their wealth.
- d) The household and its Lancashire context.

The Earls of Derby 'mattered' to the four parishes of south-west Lancashire. Only one of the family's properties - Knowsley Hall - actually lay within this area, yet despite intermittent residence, Stanley influence was enormous. At times the household was a very real presence, but even in its absence its significance was little reduced. Aside from its household, the Stanleys as landowners in this area wielded immense power in a predominantly rural environment and as the pivot of local government and administration dominated patronage and local politics. The titled nobility of Elizabeth I's reign may have been few in number - fifty-seven in 1558 and fifty-five by 1603⁽¹⁾ - but the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Earls of Derby were an immediate and real presence in the local community of south-west Lancashire, aside from any significance and influence they may have had nationally.

a) The Earls and their national context.

"Order and hierarchy dominate much of the thought of Elizabethan England" and in consequence the social prestige of the aristocracy was largely unchallenged.⁽²⁾ In the north-west of England by the sixteenth century the Earls of Derby held an uncontested role. The presence of the Dukes of Lancaster in the North-West had helped to inhibit the growth of other aristocratic

(1) G. W. Bernard, The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility: A Study of the Fourth and Fifth Earls of Shrewsbury, Brighton 1985, p. 177.

J. Hurstfield and A. G. R. Smith, Elizabethan People, State and Society, London 1972, pp. 1-2.

(2) Ibid, p. 2.
See E. M. W. Tillyard, Elizabethan World Picture, London 1943, passim.

power in this area in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,⁽¹⁾ but during this same period the "political cynicism" of the Stanley family brought rich rewards. It made progress through a fortuitous marriage into the Lathom family in the late fourteenth century, and in the early fifteenth century secured royal appointments in Cheshire and in 1406 as King of Man. In the mid-fifteenth century progress was through the household of King Henry VI with more land in Flintshire, Cheshire and Lancashire. During the 1470's and 1480's "remarkable non-alignment" meant the family kept its assets and prospered under the Yorkists and achieved the title to the earldom of Derby in 1485 from the Tudor Henry VII. By his death in 1504, the first Earl was the greatest landowner in Lancashire, with considerable holdings in Cheshire, the Welsh borders and other areas, and had reached a pre-eminent position.⁽²⁾

By the second half of the sixteenth century, despite the minority and wardship of the third Earl, the family had maintained and exploited this position. With one of their two principal houses at Knowsley (and the other a few miles away at Lathom), in south-west Lancashire the family's position was unchallenged. The Earls were

(1) Bennett, "Late Medieval Society", p. 163.

(2) J. J. Bagley, The Earls of Derby 1485-1985, London 1985, pp. 18-23.

B. Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby 1385-1672: The origins, wealth and power of a landowning family in Chet. Soc. 3rd series, Vol. XXX, 1983 pp. 2-9 and p.112.

B. Coward, "The Stanley Family c. 1385-1651: A study of the Origins, Power and Wealth of the Landowning Family", University of Sheffield Ph.D., 1968, passim.

numbered amongst the few Elizabethan nobility and inevitably many of their political and social connections were at a national level, yet through their quite regular visits to their Lancastrian properties something of their national position was made evident in the four parishes.⁽¹⁾

Edward, the third Earl,⁽²⁾ was brought up as a royal ward in the household of Cardinal Wolsey during the 1520's. In 1532 he had accompanied King Henry VIII to Boulogne to meet Francis I, and in 1533 he was cupbearer at Anne Boleyn's coronation and made a Knight of the Bath. As a military leader he saw some action in suppressing the Pilgrimage of Grace and in campaigns to Scotland in the 1540's.⁽³⁾ Early in King Edward VI's reign the third Earl had been created a Knight of the Garter, but promotion accelerated with the accession of Queen Mary. He was a Privy Councillor, Lord High Steward, and much involved in the ceremonies occasioned by Philip of Spain's presence in England.⁽⁴⁾ In 1558 the Earl of Derby was retained by Elizabeth I as a Privy Councillor and continued to serve until his death in 1572, but in the new Queen's reign royal service was less regular and prominent.⁽⁵⁾

(1) See Table IX (p.95-96).

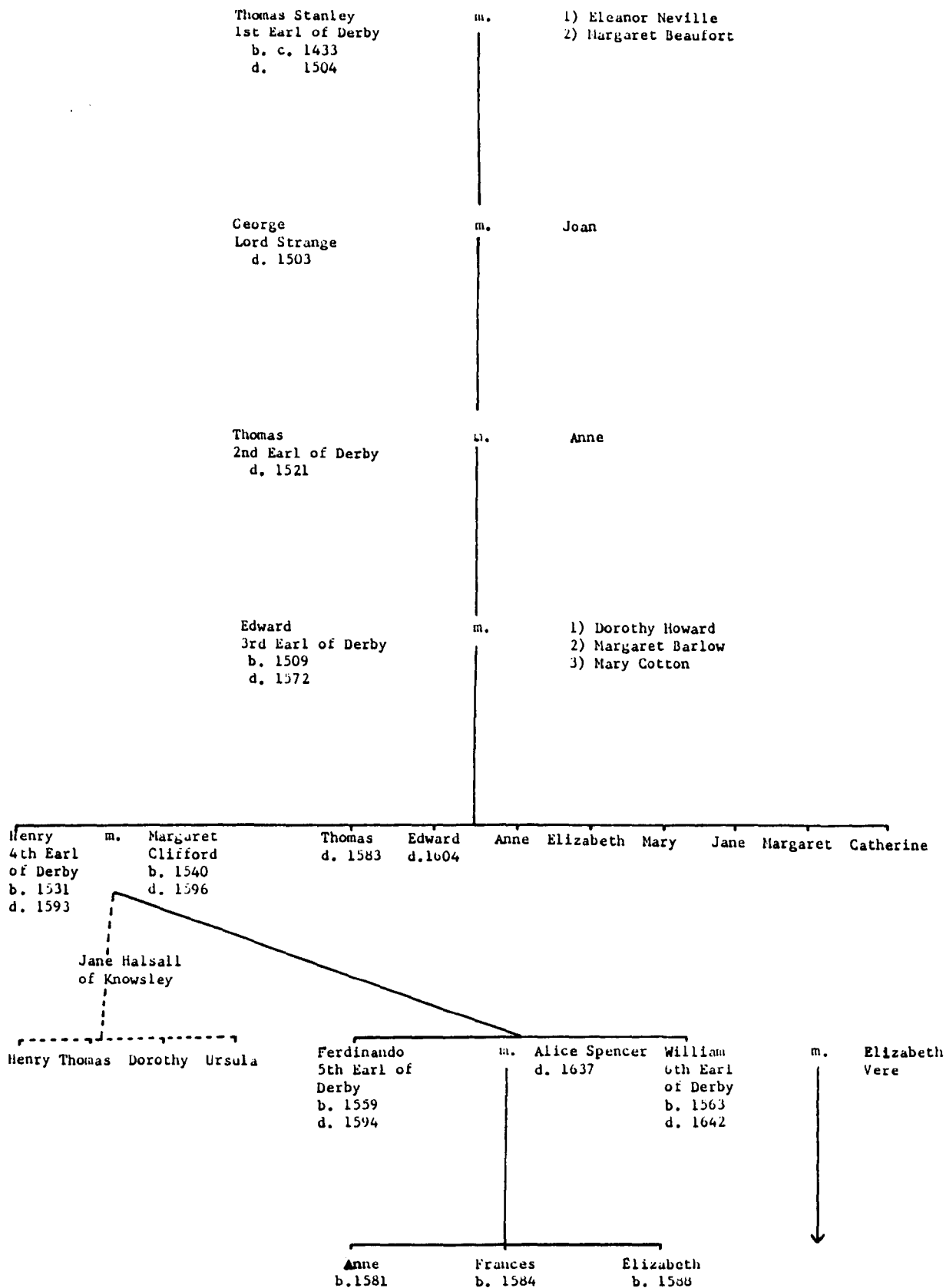
(2) See Table V.

(3) T. W. King, Lancashire Funeral Certificates in Chet. Soc., Vol. LXXV, 1869, pp. 5-6.
V.C.H. III, p. 161.

(4) King, Lancashire Funeral Certificates, pp. 6-7.
J. Croston, County Families of Lancashire and Cheshire, London 1887, p. 51.

(5) J. Nichols, Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I, London 1823, p. 29.
J. Harland, The Lancashire Lieutenancy under the Tudors and Stuarts, Part I in Chet. Soc., Vol. II, 1859-60, p. 1.

TABLE V: PEDIGREE OF THE EARLS OF DERBY.



Henry, the fourth Earl, likewise achieved a measure of royal support. In 1574 he was made a Knight of the Garter, but not until the 1530's did greater prominence come. In 1586 he was president of the peers who passed sentence on Mary, Queen of Scots, at Fotheringay and in 1583 he succeeded the Earl of Leicester as Lord Steward of the royal household. From 1586 until 1593 the fourth Earl moderately frequently attended meetings of the Privy Council.⁽¹⁾ Ferdinando, the fifth Earl of Derby, survived his father by only a few months, and the protracted family and legal dispute which followed his death reduced the Stanley's national significance during the 1590's.⁽²⁾ Despite this, in less than a decade, William, the sixth Earl, had recovered something of his social position at least. In 1601 he was created a Knight of the Garter and summoned to Court for the trials of the Earls of Essex, Rutland and Southampton.⁽³⁾ When Elizabeth I made a state entrance into London in 1602 the Earl of Derby carried the sword of state before her.⁽⁴⁾

This background and experience provided the Earls with many connections at Court amongst those who were the most influential in the land. In 1570, when the third Earl arranged the feoffment of his estates, he had nominated the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of

- (1) King, Lancashire Funeral Certificates, p. 18.
 Nichols, Progresses and Public Processions, Vol. II, p. 496.
 A. F. Kinney, Titled Elizabethans, Hamden, Connecticut 1973,
 p. 5.
 A.P.C, Vols. XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XXI and XXIV.
- (2) See p. 88.
- (3) A.P.C, Vol. XXXI, p. 151.
 P.R.O, State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I, SP12/279/77.
- (4) R. Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, London 1977, p. 31.

Sussex as well as his own family and household officers. In his will of 1572 he had used the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Leicester as overseers, and left a twenty pounds cup of plate to Lord Burghley as a token of remembrance.⁽¹⁾ The fourth Earl of Derby maintained quite close links with the Earl of Leicester - he nominated Leicester's secretary as Member of Parliament for Liverpool,⁽²⁾ he corresponded with him regarding events at Westminster,⁽³⁾ they met in Chester in 1583,⁽⁴⁾ and from Flanders in 1588 he could write to Leicester as, "Yowre assured lovinge cosin and faythfull frende".⁽⁵⁾ By 1583 the fourth Earl had appointed Sir Thomas Egerton, Solicitor-General, master of game at his park at Bidston in Cheshire; this carried an annuity of five marks and the liberty of hunting, and probably secured legal advice and assistance.⁽⁶⁾

The Order of the Garter underwent "remarkable revival" in Elizabeth I's reign with the development of splendid ceremonies. The only real reform was the use of the Established service instead of the Mass. From 1567 onwards elaborate feasts were held at Whitehall or Greenwich which by late in the reign had become great public spectacles.⁽⁷⁾ The Knights were expected to assemble in the

(1) L.R.O, Farrington of Worden Papers, DDF 985 and 986.

(2) See pp. 555-556.

(3) P.R.O, SP12/141/24.

(4) T. Heywood, Stanley Papers Part I: The Earls of Derby and the Verse Writers and Poets of the 16th and 17th Centuries in Chet. Soc., Vol. XXIX, 1853, p. 25.

(5) B.L, Cotton Manuscripts, Vespasian C VIII No. 9, f. 30.

(6) J. P. Collier, The Egerton Papers in Camden Society Publications, Vol. 12, 1840, pp. 96-97.

(7) R. C. Strong, "Queen Elizabeth I and the Order of the Carter" in The Archaeological Journal, Vol. 119, 1962, pp. 246-249.

Presence Chamber in their Garter robes and then proceed to their stalls in chapel.⁽¹⁾ The third Earl of Derby had been a Knight from Mary's reign and his attendance or adequate official excuse was expected. The fourth Earl was made a Knight in 1574 - quite soon after achieving his earldom and one of the few new members created during the reign.⁽²⁾ Perhaps this explains the ceremony in Liverpool in April, 1577, when the Earl was en route to the Isle of Man. On the eve of St. George's Day the Earl, his gentlemen and yeomen attended evensong in Liverpool Chapel and soldiers fired a salute in the chapel yard. In the morning and evening of the day itself further services were held and then a firework display and banquet provided.⁽³⁾ What impression this aroused in Liverpool is hard to conceive!

With his aristocratic, eminently respectable background, Henry Stanley, as Lord Strange and later as the fourth Earl, was on three occasions used as a temporary ambassador by the Queen to undertake mainly ceremonial activities abroad. In 1564 he was sent to Lyons with Lord Hunsdon and other gentlemen to present King Charles IX of France with the Order of the Garter.⁽⁴⁾ Perhaps with this experience in mind, as Earl of Derby, Henry was used twenty years

(1) Ibid., p. 250.

(2) Ibid., p. 252.

(3) Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, p. 75.
L.T.B. II, pp. 242-246.

(4) Nichols, Progresses and Public Processions, Vol. I, p. 148.
Bernard, Power of the Early Tudor Nobility, p. 193.

later to invest King Henry III with the Garter. Preparations had been under way since late 1584, and in 1585 Monsieur le Mothe, 'master of ceremonies' to Henry III, came to see the Earl about arrangements. On 27th January the Earl left London, travelled via Rochester and Sittingbourne to Canterbury and on to Dover to embark on 2nd February. The Earl travelled in some state with royal household officers and Clarencieux King of Arms via Calais, Boulogne, Montreuil, Abbeville, Amiens, Breteuil and Clermont to St. Denis. With him were also some of his own household officers, thirty of his gentlemen and fifty yeomen, necessitating two hundred and twenty wagons and over sixty horses being shipped to France. En route through France there were various welcoming ceremonies by some towns, by the Governor of Picardy and by the English ambassador in France (the Earl's brother-in-law). On 13th February the Earl's procession reached Paris and was lodged at Longueville which was specially furnished for him. The next day he attended Court at the Louvre to deliver his official letters to the King before going to "salute" Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother. Much of the next week was passed at Court or at Longueville in various lavish entertainments including "strange dances" and musical interludes. The Earl did report to Sir Francis Walsingham that he had had private conversation with the King in his "cabinet" about the situation in the Netherlands. The Garter ceremony was finally held on 18th February, and after further audiences and entertainments the Earl took his departure on 28th February. The Earl had been allowed two thousand francs per day towards expenses by the French King, who also presented the Earl with a parting gift of a cupboard of gilt plate valued at twelve thousand pounds. Whether all this money was paid is not known, but certainly the Earl of Derby had to

reward the French noblemen who had waited on him before he retraced his journey to reach Dover on 12th March.⁽¹⁾

By September 1587 it was again planned for the Earl "to go beyond the seas" - to meet the Duke of Parma in the Netherlands.⁽²⁾ By late February 1588 the Earl of Derby had reached Ostend but the Duke remained in Brussels. Negotiations dragged on with the Earl still in Ostend in April, although by July he was based near to Bruges. Little came of the protracted and tedious diplomacy, but the Earl did not arrive back in Dover until early August.⁽³⁾

As suitable ceremonial ambassadors and as courtiers the Earls and their families were expected to appear appropriately at Court.⁽⁴⁾ One regular time was for the New Year festivities. From 1562 at least regular gifts were presented to the Queen by not only the Earl and Countess, but also by Lord and Lady Strange - for instance, in 1562 the Earl presented an embroidered crimson satin purse containing twenty pounds in coin, the Countess gave a further ten

- (1) H.M.C, Salisbury Mss. Vol. III, p. 75, p. 90, p. 94, p. 263. B.L, Cotton Mss. Caligula E VII No. 98, No. 99, fos. 241-249. Nichols, Progresses and Processions, Vol. III, pp. 428-431. E. B. Goodacre, "Henry, Earl of Derby's Suite on his Embassy to Paris" in T.H.S.L.C, Vol. 92, 1940, pp. 51-53.
- (2) H.M.C, Salisbury Mss. Vol. III, p. 280.
- (3) P.R.O, SP12/209/69, SP12/214/23. P.R.O, State Papers Domestic, Addenda, SP15/30/83. B.L, Cotton Mss. Vespasian C VIII No. 26, f. 100. H.M.C, Salisbury Mss. Vol. III, p. 335.
- (4) See Table IX.

pounds, Lord Strange five pounds and Lady Strange a gold mount for a pomander.⁽¹⁾ In subsequent years these gifts were regularly donated, the Earl's twenty pounds remaining constant, although other members of his family could devise more imaginative gifts - a lily pot of agate, a jewel with flowers of garnet and gold, a bear of gold and mother of pearl holding a ragged staff upon which there was a clock garnished with diamonds and rubies.⁽²⁾ Not until 1600 did the sixth Earl's gift reduce to ten pounds in gold; perhaps the Queen recognised his financial difficulties or perhaps Earl William felt she should do so!⁽³⁾

The Stanley family's interest in and patronage of companies of players was another point of contact with the Court.⁽⁴⁾ The Earl of Derby's players were at Court for the New Year in 1580 and 1581, and in the same year Lord Strange's men provided tumbling entertainments.⁽⁵⁾ In 1588 Ferdinando, Lord Strange, took over the Earl of Leicester's players; by 1589 they were well established in London and during the early 1590's performing regularly at the Rose theatre.⁽⁶⁾ Even if

(1) Nichols, Progresses and Processions, Vol. I, pp. 108-112.

(2) Ibid., p. 323, pp. 380-381, Vol. II, p. 66, p. 250, Vol. III, p. 2.

(3) Ibid., Vol. III, p. 447.

(4) See Chapter XII.

(5) A.P.C, Vol. X, p. 398, Vol. XII, p. 321.
Heywood, Stanley Papers Part I, p. 12.

(6) Bagley, Earls of Derby, pp. 72-73.
A.P.C, Vol. XXII, p. 264, Vol. XXIV, p. 102.

the aristocracy had only casual links with the companies carrying their names, the presence of these companies at Court enhanced their patrons' public images. Even William the sixth Earl, despite his inheritance and financial difficulties, resumed the family patronage and Lord Derby's men were involved at royal festivities by 1599.⁽¹⁾ The wives of both the fourth and fifth Earls were also keenly interested in literature and patronised various authors such as Thomas Lupton and Robert Green.⁽²⁾ In fact, in 1599 there is a reference to the Earl himself busy penning comedies for common players, and writings by his deceased brother Ferdinando have been alluded to, but never discovered.⁽³⁾

The tilts offered another opportunity for public spectacle and pageantry. Ferdinando as Lord Strange had appeared in the tilt lists at Whitehall from 1588 to 1591. In 1590 he had appeared accompanied by forty squires dressed in white and watchet carrying azure tilting staves. His 'pageant' was a costly ship carrying an eagle - the Stanley crest.⁽⁴⁾ This strange mixture of feudal tradition and Renaissance spectacle offered considerable potential for the promotion of the family image - at a cost.

(1) Heywood, Stanley Papers Part I, p. 13.

(2) Ibid., pp. 27-30.

(3) Ibid., p. 35.
P.R.O., SP12/271/35.

(4) Strong, Cult of Elizabeth, p. 146 and p. 152.

b) Their marriages and family.

Marriage arrangements provided a further opportunity for the Earls of Derby to reinforce their social position. As might be expected Edward, the third Earl, had married the daughter of an aristocrat - Dorothy, the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, although after her death he married Margaret, the daughter of a Lancashire esquire, and then Mary, the daughter of a Cheshire knight.⁽¹⁾ Henry, the future fourth Earl, had married in 1555 in the presence of Queen Mary and King Philip at Whitehall Chapel with considerable festivities and ceremonial; his bride was Margaret, the daughter of the Duke of Cumberland and a co-heiress of the Duke of Suffolk, although this inheritance was obtained only with difficulty.⁽²⁾ For the son and heir an aristocratic marriage had been negotiated, whereas his sisters married at a slightly lower social level. Four of them married lords and two married knights - all from distant parts of the country emphasizing the national context within which suitable consorts could be found. With dowries of fifteen hundred pounds agreed by the Earl for both Lady Mary and Lady Jane in 1566 it is not surprising that the market was so wide, particularly as the moneys had been paid by 1568.⁽³⁾

Possibly something of the family's financial difficulties explain the choice of the wife for Lord Strange, the son of the fourth Earl. In 1579 Ferdinando was married to Alice, the youngest of six daughters of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe in Northamptonshire -

(1) See Table V.

(2) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 28.

(3) L.R.O, Lilford of Bank Hall Papers, DDLi 6/5, 6/6, 6/9 and 6/10.

the only conceivable motive can have been a handsome dowry.⁽¹⁾ However, Ferdinando's brother, William, who unexpectedly inherited the earldom in 1594, married with accustomed aristocratic choice. He was unmarried and thirty-two years old at the time of his inheritance, so presumably his marriage only two months later, in June, 1594, was, unusually, substantially his own choice - Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Oxford.⁽²⁾ Possibly with a touch of malice, a month before the wedding the widow of Ferdinando had written to Sir Robert Cecil of the proposed marriage to his own niece, saying, "... only I wish her a better husband".⁽³⁾

In two cases certainly these marriage arrangements caused personal unhappiness, social difficulties and even political concern. Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of the Duke of Cumberland, was fifteen years old when she married Henry, Lord Strange, in 1555. Maybe for only a few years, or not even that, did life proceed smoothly. As a descendant of Henry VIII's sister, Mary, and in the absence of many other royal relations, Margaret Clifford had a claim to the throne which was, no doubt, of interest to Mary I and to Elizabeth I.⁽⁴⁾ Predominantly Lady Margaret seems to have led the life of a courtier, particularly in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, when she was appointed lady-in-waiting. She attended the Queen on her summer progress of 1564, including a visit to Cambridge,

(1) Croston, County Families, p. 65.

(2) V.C.H. III, p. 163.

(3) H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. IV, p. 527.

(4) A. D. Briscoe, A Tudor Worthy: Thomas Seckford of Woodbridge, Ipswich 1979, p. 45.

she was present on the 1565 progress which reached Kenilworth, and at the 1566 opening of Parliament Lady Strange carried the Queen's train - as she did again in the procession from Whitehall to Parliament in 1567.⁽¹⁾

However, during this same period of Court service Lady Margaret accumulated financial and personal difficulties. In 1567 her servant, one Mrs. Calhill, testified that she had entered service in 1558 and by 1559 she had begun to lend money to her employer. She should have received ninety pounds per annum in wages, but for nine years not a penny had been received, and meanwhile she had lent Lady Strange three hundred pounds and all kinds of goods and jewels to obtain credit. Mrs. Calhill estimated that her mistress was spending six hundred pounds a year on apparel fit for the Court.⁽²⁾ So serious were these financial problems by 1567 that Lady Margaret herself appealed to Sir William Cecil to examine the situation, claiming that she could not satisfy her creditors because her husband was using her money. She claimed that some of her land, her plate and household stuff had been used by Lord Strange as he was indebted to her father, the Earl of Cumberland, for eight thousand pounds. Lady Margaret asserted that she was now estranged from her husband and that no adequate provision had been made for herself and her two children. A note by Cecil claimed that Lord Strange was indeed trying to circumvent the Earl of Cumberland's bond and that within the last twelve months Lord Strange had received more than five thousand pounds.⁽³⁾

(1) Nichols, Progresses and Processions, Vol. I, p. 181 and p. 199. T. E. Hartley, Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, Vol. I, Leicester 1981, p. 123 and p. 167.

(2) P.R.O, SP15/13/114.

(3) P.R.O, SP15/13/87.

Possibly some very temporary abatement was negotiated, but by the early 1570 s the same difficulties were evident and continued throughout the decade. Lady Strange retained her Court appointment and, for instance, attended the Queen to Theobalds in 1572 and carried her train at the Garter ceremonies of 1576.⁽¹⁾ Three carts were necessary to convey Lady Derby's "stuff" from Court to her house at Thistleworth, and in 1577 the Queen herself "supped" there.⁽²⁾ Throughout this decade Lady Margaret was in attendance at Court for the New Year's festivities, usually presenting gifts of clothing such as a petticoat of white satin edged with embroidery in one year and a gown of tawny velvet in another.⁽³⁾ Financial embarrassment, however, continued and the Queen took an interest in trying to control affairs. In 1570 she wrote to the Earl of Derby over his daughter-in-law, "our cousin ... being nere in blood to us", claiming that Lady Margaret had not received all her father's inheritance and in consequence she had the Queen's permission to sell some land. The Queen also addressed herself to Lord Strange, presumably in the hope of dissuading him from taking advantage of these land sales.⁽⁴⁾ The very next month Lord Strange did indeed appropriate some of this money to settle his debts.⁽⁵⁾

The breakdown between Lord Strange and his wife appears prolonged

- (1) H.M.C, Salisbury Mss. Vol. XIII, p. 111.
Strong, "Queen Elizabeth and the Order of the Garter", p. 250.
- (2) A.P.C, Vol. X, p. 324.
H.M.C, Salisbury Mss. Vol. II, p. 157.
- (3) Nichols, Progresses and Processions, Vol. II, p. 65 and p. 249.
- (4) P.R.O, SP12/66/39.
- (5) P.R.O, SP12/67/20.

and genuine, not only some ploy to help cope with pressing financial circumstances. Difficulties and land sales continued, and from about 1579 Lady Margaret lost her place at Court and was kept under virtual house arrest on her own property under the supervision of Sir Thomas Seckford, one of the masters of the Court of Requests.⁽¹⁾ As plans for land sales in Somerset proceeded from 1579 to 1581 letters were directed from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor of London seeking his assistance in stalling Lady Derby's creditors until "with her Majesties good favor the lady may be enlarged" and until such time "as she might be set at liberty."⁽²⁾ Not only was the Somerset land sold, but by 1581 there was consideration of land in Warwickshire as Lady Margaret had no other relief and was not receiving her one thousand pounds per annum pension due from her husband. The Privy Council did try to put pressure on the Earl, but presumably the Earl cannot have been entirely blamed for the situation as in 1582, when he was ordered to sell land to repay his wife's debts, the Queen did assure land to the same value to his younger sons.⁽³⁾ Throughout the 1580's and until her death in 1596 Lady Margaret remained under household restraint, at least with the Queen's acquiescence and possibly at her direction.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Briscoe, Tudor Worthy, pp. 13-14 and p. 47.

(2) A.P.C, Vol. XI, p. 49, pp. 316-317 and p. 145.
A.P.C, Vol. XII, p. 317.

(3) A.P.C, Vol. XIII, p. 289 and p. 434.

(4) Briscoe, Tudor Worthy, p. 54.

Countess Margaret's distant claim to the throne was, of course, inherited by her two sons and for both of them created an element of notoriety. Earl Ferdinando's unexpected death at an early age in 1594 aroused considerable interest nationally. Meticulous accounts of his "strange sickness and death" were recorded involving a day-by-day chronicle of his symptoms. The Earl's wife kept Sir Robert Cecil informed, and only days after the Earl's death the Privy Council invited the Bishop of Chester to examine the circumstances and witnesses of the death, "it being suspected that his death was hastened by poyson or witchcraft or some violent meanes".⁽¹⁾ The controversy simmered for some months with various accusations being made ranging from blaming the household staff to even Lord Burghley - on the grounds that he wanted to promote the Earl's brother, William.⁽²⁾ The considerable interest lies more likely, however, in the unsupported claims which had been made in the previous few years that Spain was awaiting the opportunity to attempt to seize the throne with the support of Lancashire and the Earl of Derby.⁽³⁾

The supposed rebellion may have been largely fabrication, but the awareness of Stanley links with the Crown was not. Even in 1601 when the Queen drafted a letter to the Emperor of Muscovy she referred to the proposed marriage between the Emperor's son and one of the daughters and heiresses of the Earl of Derby - she "being of our blood

(1) B.L, Harl Mss. 247, fos. 204-205.
A.P.C, Vol. XXV, p. 517.
H.M.C, Salisbury Mss. Vol. IV, p. 508.

(2) Ibid., p. 517.
P.R.O, SP12/249/92.

(3) P.R.O, SP12/243/11.

royal and of greater possessions than any subjects within our realm".⁽¹⁾ Nothing came of this international alliance, but Countess Margaret's descent from Henry VIII's sister had engendered very specific royal interest in the family.

For thirty years Lady Margaret was estranged from her husband, although for twenty years of this time they must have met and seen each other in London and at Court. There is little indication that she travelled to Lancashire, whereas her husband did regularly. The last known visit by Lady Margaret was in 1559 for the birth of her son, Ferdinando.⁽²⁾ Clearly this was unusual and outside the accepted pattern of travel by the Derby family; for instance, in the late 1580s Ferdinando and his wife and three young daughters frequently all travelled to and from their Lancashire property.⁽³⁾ In Lancashire Henry, the fourth Earl, established a semi-permanent relationship of his own; he had four illegitimate children by one Joan Halsall of Knowsley for whom he made very adequate provision. The two daughters were provided with handsome marriages - Dorothy to Sir Cuthbert Halsall of Lancashire and Ursula to Sir John Salisbury of Derbyshire. One son, Henry, was provided with an estate near Ormskirk in 1582 and the other son, Thomas, shared with his mother the manors of Childwall and Kirkby. It is clear that these arrangements were implemented; Thomas later acquired Broughton near

(1) H.M.C, Salisbury Mss., Vol. XI, p. 388.

(2) P.R.O, SP15/13/14.
See Table IX.

(3) F.R. Raines, Stanley Papers: The Derby Household Books in Chet. Soc., Vol. XXXI, 1853, p. 28, p. 50, p. 52, p. 54, p. 58 and p. 88.

Manchester and in 1596 Thomas Stanley alias Halsall sold Kirkby manor for one thousand, one hundred and sixty pounds.⁽¹⁾

The other 'unfortunate' marriage contracted by the Stanley family was that apparently rather hasty alliance negotiated by William, the sixth Earl, within two months of his inheritance to Elizabeth de Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford and granddaughter of Lord Burghley. Whether Earl William wanted political help over his property settlement in 1594 or whether he wanted the immediate benefit of his wife's dowry is a matter for speculation - both seem plausible explanations. By mid 1595 the Earl of Oxford was complaining to Sir Robert Cecil that his daughter's one thousand pounds per annum allowance was not being paid and that Earl William had returned to Lancashire leaving his wife without provision in London.⁽²⁾ A year later the Earl of Oxford maintained that the Earl of Derby's promises "bring but delays and shifts". However, he also wanted Sir Robert Cecil to advise his niece, the Countess of Derby, as "you know her youth and the place wherein she lives, and how much to both our houses it imports that she carry herself according to her honour".⁽³⁾ Not until 1596 was the marriage jointure agreed and property settled on the Countess, who had

- (1) L.R.O, DDLi 6/6a.
L.R.O, Molyneux of Sefton Papers, DDM 35/31 and 35/32.
L.R.O, Derby Muniments, DDK 7/1.
V.C.H III, p. 162.
Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 32.
- (2) P.R.O, SP12/253/68.
H.M.C, Salisbury Mss., Vol. V, p. 181.
- (3) Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 369 and p. 389.

apparently remained at Court.⁽¹⁾ Relations with her husband had deteriorated through ill-considered behaviour by the Countess. In August 1597 Earl William challenged to the death any man who called his wife unfaithful! The explanation for this was that the "latest news" was that the Earl of Essex was in disgrace with the Queen "for that he lay with my Lady of Darbe . . ., as his enemies witness".⁽²⁾ Sir Robert Cecil received a report that the Earl of Derby returned to Knowsley in a "humour of frenzy" and that his lawyer and household officers prevailed on him not to go to Court and to desist in his "jealousy and bitterness to her ladyship".⁽³⁾ Soon after the Countess either returned, or was sent, to Lancashire, but by the summer of 1598 the estrangement had continued and Cecil heard that the Earl and his wife did not "honourably dispose themselves to live together".⁽⁴⁾

Mainly the Earl of Derby had been able to appear as the injured party, although from the earliest days of the marriage there had been doubts over the allowance he should have paid his wife. Thomas, Lord Burghley, referred to his niece, the Countess, as a "very weak woman", as indeed she probably was, but the Earl had a hasty temper as he had demonstrated when threatening the Queen's keeper of game.⁽⁵⁾ During the later 1590s the Countess was unwell and at times possibly dangerously ill; in mid 1599 she was taking cordial; and

(1) L.R.O, DDK 8/3.

(2) H.M.C, Salisbury Mss., Vol. XIV, p. 20, and Vol. VII, p. 392.

(3) Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 339.

(4) Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 430, and Vol. VIII, p. 281.

(5) Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 236, and Vol. XII, p. 580.

in early 1600 there was little hope of her recovery!⁽¹⁾ Before the 'incident' with the Earl of Essex in 1597 the Countess had repeatedly claimed inconsiderate and provocative behaviour by her husband - servants were unpaid, she had no money with which to buy clothes, her own possessions were itemised and listed by the Earl's servants, she had never received any gift from her husband, she was kept out of his chamber at dinner and supper time, she was never spoken to, and the Earl had fathered two illegitimate children.⁽²⁾ Despite this catalogue of charge and countercharge, by about 1600 the Earl and his wife appear to have reached some 'accommodation'. In that year the Earl made arrangements to buy from the Earl of Lincoln the house adjoining his in Cannon Row, Westminster - for his wife, and during the last three years of Elizabeth's reign the Earl was in attendance at Court - with his wife.⁽³⁾

c) Their lands and their wealth.

From their Lathom inheritance of the late fourteenth century the Stanley family had manors at Knowsley, Lathom, Childwall and Rainford, and this concentration of property in south-west Lancashire provided a nucleus which was enlarged during the fifteenth century by grants

(1) Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 171 and p. 329, Vol. IX, p. 245.
P.R.O, SP12/274/86.

(2) H.M.C, Salisbury Mss., Vol. XIV, p. 19.

(3) Ibid., Vol. X, p. 305.
See Table IX.

elsewhere, for example in Cheshire, Flintshire and the Isle of Man. The Lancashire nucleus itself was augmented with the acquisition of the leases of Toxteth Park and Prescott Rectory. The culmination of this land acquisition, which had been largely through royal reward in unstable political circumstances, was the reward by a grateful Henry VII to Thomas Stanley - created Earl of Derby and granted confiscated properties of Yorkist opponents, especially those of Lord Lovel such as Halewood, Cuerdley, Sutton and Walton in south-west Lancashire and others further north in the county such as Holland, Orrell, Skelmersdale, Aughton, Samlesbury and Dalton.⁽¹⁾ This accretion of property made from the late fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries was substantially what remained in the hands of the Derby family during the sixteenth century. The second Earl died in 1521 leaving an eleven years old heir who was brought up as a royal ward in the household of Cardinal Wolsey until 1531. During this period much of the property was exploited by the Crown, and it was only with a measure of difficulty that the third Earl recovered control of his lands during the 1530 s.⁽²⁾

The debts of the second Earl and the encumbrances of the third Earl meant that the family had relatively little money to enter the land market following the dissolution of the monasteries and later the chantries, but through a measure of exchange of properties with

(1) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, pp.3-13.

(2) Ibid., pp.21-22.

the Crown some acquisitions were made. The Earl relinquished outlying property in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire in order to obtain more south Lancashire land, especially the estates of Burscough priory at Ormskirk, Wigan, & Huyton, and some estates of Manchester College.⁽¹⁾ Following these ecclesiastical additions it can be claimed that by the mid-sixteenth century the family had recovered from the long minority and was fully established as the dominant landowner in the North-West. The extent of this regional concentration and the more widespread Stanley interests can be judged by the list of manors entailed by the third Earl in 1564.⁽²⁾

TABLE VI: MANORS OF THE EARL OF DERBY ENTAILED IN 1564.

Lancashire	36 manors	Oxfordshire	5 manors
Cheshire	15 "	Warwickshire	4 "
Shropshire	11 "	Somerset	3 "
Flintshire	8 "	Middlesex	3 "
Cumberland	3 "	Yorkshire	3 "
Westmorland	3 "	Devon	3 "
		Berkshire	2 "
		Hertfordshire	2 "
		Dorset	2 "
		Northumberland	2 "
		Bedfordshire	1 "
		Buckinghamshire	1 "
		Surrey	1 "

(In addition there were other parcels of land, rents and leases and the Isle of Man.)

(1) Ibid., pp. 24-25.

(2) Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Carte 78, f. 142 r. and v.

Within this **North-West** context the domination of the Earls of Derby in south-west Lancashire can be traced. By the second half of the sixteenth century the Earls held Halewood, Childwall, Roby, Rainford, Knowsley and Kirkby manors and the leases of Toxteth and Prescott.⁽¹⁾ In addition they held messuages and property in Liverpool, Walton, Huyton, Parr, Sutton, Much Woolton, Little Woolton, Eccleston and Gleast.⁽²⁾ All sorts of problems surround the valuing of these assets, but in 1594 the Earl's receiver-general produced an abstract of the manorial inheritance of Earl Ferdinando.⁽³⁾ His national assets amounted to over three thousand pounds per annum, with land in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire being just more than one-tenth of this. By 1601 the annual value of the lands of the sixth Earl was put at over four thousand pounds.⁽⁴⁾

TABLE VII: ANNUAL VALUE OF STANLEY
PROPERTY IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

	<u>1594</u>		<u>1601</u>
Knowsley	95 - 19 - 2	Knowsley	92 - 4 - 2
Halewood	61 - 5 - 2	Halewood	61 - 5 - 2
Childwall	110 - 0 - 0	Childwall	156 - 0 - 0
Toxteth Park	25 - 10 - 0	Toxteth Park	25 - 10 - 0
Kirkby	25 - 1 - 11	Rainford	23 - 7 - 5½
Rainford	23 - 2 - 6½	Knowsley Demesne	38 - 0 - 0
Rainford	3 - 13 - 7	Knowsley Park	60 - 0 - 0
Liverpool	5 - 15 - 9	Tithes of Prescott	100 - 0 - 0
		Tithes of Knowsley	5 - 0 - 0
	350 - 8 - 1½		561 - 6 - 9½

(1) See Map IX.

(2) L.R.O, DDLi 6/11.

(3) L.R.O, DDF 991.

(4) P.R.O, SP12/278/18.

Land within the four parishes by no means dominated the income of the Earls, but the assets in the area were not insignificant to the Earls, and their residence at Knowsley together with their local landholding and wider national assets ensured for them a pre-eminence in south-west Lancashire that was largely unchallenged by the end of the sixteenth century. Landholding provided the Earls with income and a fund of patronage which reached from the leading gentry to household servants.⁽¹⁾ Even during prolonged absence from the area the influence of the Earls was little diminished and on occasions their presence could be very real, such as when the fourth Earl presided himself at Prescott manor court in 1537.⁽²⁾

For the sixteenth century Earls of Derby landed wealth brought with it inescapable levels of expenditure. To maintain a suitable lifestyle and to meet various regional and national obligations cost a substantial minimum amount. Aristocratic finance at this time has occasioned considerable debate even though the available evidence remains at times inconclusive.⁽³⁾ Nonetheless the Earls of Derby had undoubtedly to find funds for high levels of expenditure on their

(1) See Chapter XI.

(2) Pres. Recs., p. 234.

(3) L. Stone, "The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy" in Ec. H. R. O.S. Vol. 13, 1943, pp. 1-46.
 H. R. Trevor-Roper, "The Elizabethan Aristocracy": An Anatomy Anatomized" in Ec. H. R., Vol. 3, 1950-1, pp. 227-291.
 L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641, London 1965, passim.
 L. Stone, Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Oxford 1973, passim.

household, clothing, jewellery, travel, maintenance of several houses, education, dowries and activities at Court. In addition individual personal decisions could well add greatly to this minimum - for instance, the fourth Earl's estrangement from his wife, and the Queen's decision to send him on two foreign embassies.⁽¹⁾

An expense for many noblemen was building, whether through the necessity of repairs to inherited property or through choice of new construction. During the second half of the sixteenth century conspicuous spending on housing was not uncommon amongst the peerage as many sought to vie with each other in size, elegance and ostentation of their new houses.⁽²⁾ Lord Burghley was one of the greatest Elizabethan builders with his new properties in Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire, whilst Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury in the latter years of the reign epitomised intense personal interest in building. Even if not totally new, substantial conversion and extension could be undertaken such as at Kenilworth Castle by the Earl of Leicester and at Raglan Castle by the Earl of Worcester.⁽³⁾

The Earls of Derby must have been aware of contemporary trends and fashions in building, but they apparently played little part in these developments - through choice or financial constraint. The

(1) See p.68 and p.62.

(2) M. Girouard, Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House, New Haven Connecticut, 1983, pp. 4-5.

(3) J. Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830, Harmondsworth 1953, pp. 35-36.
 D. Durant, Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast, London 1977, pp. 192-195 and pp. 228-231.
 J. Buxton, Elizabethan Taste, London 1963, pp. 45-49.
 C. Read, "Lord Burghley's Household Accounts" in Ec. H. R. Vol. 9, 1956-7, p. 344.

Earls' principal houses were at Lathom and Knowsley - only a few miles apart in south Lancashire. Both were evidently large enough to accommodate their households, but little indication remains of substantial new building work. It has been claimed that part of Knowsley was erected for the visit of King Henry VII in 1495, but this is largely unsubstantiated.⁽¹⁾ In 1589 there was a "fyre begune in the Buttrie at Lathom and went up into the Hall", but even this occasioned no rebuilding.⁽²⁾ In addition to their two major houses the Earls had also New Park near Lathom and the Tower - an early fifteenth century stone house in Liverpool.⁽³⁾ They had Althorpe Lodge near Manchester, Stanley House in Watergate Street, Chester, and Bidston Hall eighteen miles from Chester, where the sixth Earl did undertake a little work.⁽⁴⁾ On the Isle of Man they had properties, as well as Thistleworth and Gaddesdon near London. In London itself they had their principal town house; in 1553 the third Earl had exchanged Derby House on Paul's Wharf for royal monastic land in Lancashire and had bought new land at Cannon Row in Westminster on which to build. Presumably this could have cost quite a large sum as an extension with an annexe cost over three hundred pounds in 1570.⁽⁵⁾

(1) V.C.H. III, p. 160.

(2) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 70.

(3) R. Stewart Brown, "The Tower of Liverpool" in T.H.S.L.C. Vol. 61 1909, pp. 12-14.

(4) Bagley, Earls of Derby, p. 60 and p. 71.
Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 35, p. 52, p. 65, p. 68, p.196.

(5) P.R.O, SP12/75/89.
Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 25.
M. Carr, Short History of Knowsley Church and the Derby Family, Knowsley 1982, p. 23.

Further refurbishment may have taken place as in 1598 it was described as "a stately house, now in building".⁽¹⁾ However, there is no indication that the Earls spent excessively on building or displayed great personal interest in new architectural styles, yet maintenance and repairs alone to their many properties must have cost them dear.

As with expenditure, so with exploitation of assets by the aristocracy, predictability and individual choice both played a part. Almost all of the aristocracy was faced by the difficulties of inflation, absentee estate management and an inherited collection of long leaseholds. However, some individuals made positive responses in the face of these problems, for instance, the exploitation of iron resources by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Earl of Rutland and of coal reserves by Lord Lumley.⁽²⁾ Other financial possibilities were created by investment in commercial enterprises such as trading companies, but only a few of the nobility, for example Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester, were heavily involved.⁽³⁾ Positive responses to estate management could improve income without resorting to unfamiliar territory. Possibilities included greater exploitation of demesne property, conversion of copyholds, increased

(1) J. Stow, The Survey of London, London 1598 (edition London 1970), p. 403.

(2) Stone, "The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy", p. 21. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, p. 341.

(3) Ibid., pp. 368-371.

rents with new leases, shorter term leases, enclosure and the development of waste and common land.⁽¹⁾ Some of these policies were successfully implemented by the Earl of Northumberland,⁽²⁾ but there is little to suggest that the third, fourth or fifth Earls of Derby significantly altered their estate management. It was claimed that the third Earl never increased rents, and a poem published in 1589 made this same claim for Ferdinando:-

"He take th' olde rent, and is content,
He loveth men, much more than sheepe,
He layes not gether poores mens grounds,
He is no countrey stroyer".⁽³⁾

Certainly the poem is a paean of praise, but its general tone is supported by surviving evidence. It is extremely difficult to calculate estimated annual revenues from aristocratic estates and the actual income they received.⁽⁴⁾ Lord Burghley was probably at the top of the scale with an annual income up to five thousand pounds, whereas the Earl of Northumberland and the Earls of Derby were probably within the region of two to three thousand pounds.⁽⁵⁾ During the second half of the sixteenth century this income, however, was probably fairly static.

- (1) Stone, Crisis of the Aristocracy, pp. 294-324.
- (2) G. R. Batho, "The Finances of an Elizabethan Nobleman: Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland" in Ec. H. R. Vol. 9 1956-7, pp. 438-440.
- (3) W. Pollard, The Stanleys of Knowsley, Liverpool 1868, p. 37. Richard Robinson, A Golden Mirror, ed. T. Corser, in Chet. Soc. Vol. XXIII, 1851, pp. 15-18.
- (4) H. C. Cross, "Supervising the finances of the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon 1580-95" in B.I.H.R. Vol. XL, 1967, p. 34.
- (5) Stone, "The Elizabethan Aristocracy - a restatement", in Ec. H. R. Vol. 4, 1951-2, p. 304. Batho, "Finances of an Elizabethan Nobleman", p. 435.

Household expenses of the aristocracy were usually accounted for by the steward, such as those for Lord Burghley which survive 1575-7.⁽¹⁾ Both these and the accounts kept for the Earls of Derby are on a day-to-day basis with weekly summaries.⁽²⁾ Sources of income are varied and uncertain, but expenditure for food, drink, clothing and fuel is carefully detailed. During the 1570 s Burghley's household cost about two thousand pounds per annum - nearly half being the cost of food.⁽³⁾ Earlier than this, in 1561, the accounts of the third Earl detail drink, food, tallow, fuel, wages, carriage costs and repair work - totalling £2395-0-6, with payments outside the household for jewels, alms and travelling totalling £1621-12-1½. In all the known annual expenditure was £4616-12-7½.⁽⁴⁾

During this same decade Lord Strange was borrowing money heavily in London - at least two thousand pounds between 1562-1568.⁽⁵⁾ Possibly this was due to temporary circumstances such as expense at Court, his wife's debts, or a limited allowance from his father whilst his sisters' marriage portions were being paid.⁽⁶⁾ Not until the 1580 s is there real evidence of serious Stanley financial difficulty, when from 1584-1593 the fourth Earl borrowed at least £8732-13-4.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Read, "Burghley's Household Accounts", pp. 343-348.

(2) Raines, Derby Household Books, passim.

(3) Read, "Burghley's Household Accounts", p. 345.

(4) Raines, Derby Household Books, pp. 1-7.

(5) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 29.

(6) See p. 69 and p. 67.

(7) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, pp. 32-33.

Abnormal expenditure may have been the cause of this - the two foreign embassies in 1585 and 1587 and expenditure incurred as steward of the royal household 1588-1593.⁽¹⁾ Certainly financial pressure was so serious that the Earl had to sell some outlying estates in the south of England.⁽²⁾

A further indication that all was far from well with Stanley finances at this time is the disparking and exploitation of Toxteth Park. The Earl could have just wished to exploit this area more profitably, but it seems likely that the incentive to undertake the action was his parlous financial state. In March 1590 the Earl petitioned the Queen for permission to disafforest Macclesfield Forest in Cheshire and to dispark Toxteth - because, as he bluntly stated, he needed money to repay loans.⁽³⁾ A year later the Mayor of Liverpool told the town's assembly of the Earl's plans and apparently the disparking of Toxteth proceeded as a survey of 1604 claimed that the park had been used for husbandry since about 1592.⁽⁴⁾

Despite these measures the debts of the 1580 s and early 1590 s had probably not been fully repaid before Earl Henry died in 1593. One of his household officers, Michael Doughty, had to defend himself in Chancery against claims by various creditors of the Earl in

(1) See p.63 and p.60.

(2) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, pp. 32-33.

(3) P.R.O, SP12/231/34.

(4) P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster Special Commissions, DL44 No. 671. R. Griffiths, The History of the Royal and Ancient Park of Toxteth, Liverpool, Liverpool 1907, passim. See Chapter IV.

1594.⁽¹⁾ Earl Ferdinando, therefore, inherited a difficult financial situation made worse by his own debts to London merchants, but much more serious and unexpected was the death of Ferdinando six months later. The impact was twofold - the fifth Earl left accumulated debts of about six thousand pounds and, potentially more disastrous, a divided and contested succession.⁽²⁾ Four years later twelve former servants of Ferdinando petitioned the Queen for settlement of his financial affairs because they had been impoverished whilst awaiting decisions.⁽³⁾

There have been claims that Ferdinando's brother, William, had never expected to inherit the earldom and had spent years abroad. His "travels, martial exploits and bravery abroad" meant that he did not immediately know of his inheritance; he had left England with a tutor in about 1580 and was away for twenty-one years in France, Spain, Italy, Egypt, Jerusalem, Constantinople and Russia!⁽⁴⁾ From what is known of William's whereabouts this account is clearly much enlarged, if not almost entirely fabricated. There were contemporary ballads about his travels and adventures, but by 1588 'Mr. William'

(1) H.M.C. Salisbury Mss., Vol. XIII, p. 521.

(2) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 37.

(3) P.R.O. SP12/262/34.

(4) J. Seacome, Memoirs containing a Genealogical and Historical Account of the Ancient and Honourable House of Stanley from the Conquest to the death of James, late Earl of Derby in the year 1735, 1st edition Preston 1741, 2nd edition Manchester 1767, 3rd edition Liverpool 1801, 4th edition Manchester 1821. See 2nd edition, p. 65, and 3rd edition, pp. 3-45.

was in Lancashire, as he was in 1589 with his father. During 1590 he travelled at least three times between London and Lancashire, and it is possible that by 1593-4 when his father and brother died he was living on the Isle of Man.⁽¹⁾

In 1594 the titles of the earldom passed to William, but there was need to provide still for his mother (Margaret Clifford, died 1596) and more particularly for Earl Ferdinando's widow - the Dowager Countess Alice and her three daughters - Anne, Frances and Elizabeth - to whom Ferdinando had tried to leave the bulk of his property. Almost immediately a trunk containing family documents and evidences was deposited with Sir William Egerton, the Solicitor-General.⁽²⁾ By mid 1595 a series of law suits had been brought by Countess Alice against the sixth Earl, but she obtained little immediate success as in 1570 the third Earl had entailed the estates to the heirs male. William's inheritance was, therefore, supported in law and the conveyances of Earl Ferdinando's will were not upheld, yet substantial settlement still had to be made to the heirs general.⁽³⁾ Finally Countess Alice settled out of court for five thousand pounds for herself, eight thousand pounds for her eldest daughter Anne, and

- (1) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 54, p. 65, p. 66, p. 73, p. 75, p. 78, p. 82.
Heywood, Stanley Papers Part I, pp. 47-49.
- (2) Collier, Egerton Papers, p. 205.
- (3) J. P. Cooper, "The Counting of Manors" in Ec. H. R., Vol. 8, 1955-6, pp. 379-380.
B. Coward, "Disputed Inheritances: Some Difficulties of the Nobility in the late 16th and early 17th centuries" in B.I.H.R. Vol. XLIV No. 110, 1971, pp. 204-5.

six thousand pounds each for Frances and Elizabeth.⁽¹⁾ A paper settlement, however, was one thing but Earl William had to raise the money or allocate acceptable property.

Early in the proceedings Sir Robert Cecil had been involved in correspondence with both parties. Dowager Countess Alice wanted permission to fell trees on the land allocated to one of her daughters and wanted Lord Burghley to assess her daughters' annual allowances.⁽²⁾ During much of 1595 and 1596 the Earl seems to have resided at Russell House in London, where he was frequently in contact with Sir Robert and negotiated loans with or through him.⁽³⁾ Sir Robert Cecil was the uncle of Earl William's wife, and possibly the Earl had hoped that his marriage would help alleviate his financial problems.⁽⁴⁾

However, the enormous expenses occasioned by litigation caused Earl William to resort to selling various properties - part of his reduced inheritance. In November, 1596, he feoffed his property of Toxteth Park and Smithdown Moss for eleven hundred pounds, and two weeks later his attorney delivered seisin.⁽⁵⁾ The final sale of these lands to Sir Richard Molyneux of Croxteth took place in 1604 -

- (1) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, pp. 37-44.
P.R.O. SP12/253/15 and SP12/255/68.
- (2) H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. XIV, p. 10 and Vol. VII, p. 341.
- (3) Ibid., Vol. V, p. 361, Vol. VI, p. 106 and p. 180, Vol. XIII, p.557.
- (4) See p.74.
- (5) L.R.O, DDM 50/2 and 50/3.

for eleven hundred pounds.⁽¹⁾ In December 1596, for an unspecified sum, the Earl leased his manor of Ulnes Walton in Lancashire to the same Sir Richard for ten thousand years.⁽²⁾ Following the personal rift between Earl William and his wife and their return to Lancashire, the Earl seriously began to deal with his financial situation. In 1598 it was reported to Sir Robert Cecil that the Earl had recently sent for books and instructions about his lands and "truly now shall you see his lordship will make a marvellous mass of money by fines which might have been employed to better use".⁽³⁾ The strategy and policy may not have been entirely welcome, but certainly action was taking place. Indeed, one month later the Earl's attorney reported that Earl William had designated his chief officers to provide money by "setting and disposing of some of his lands".⁽⁴⁾

Some large and some small sales made their contributions; Kirkby Wallasey in Cheshire was sold in 1598 for four hundred pounds and land near Preston to officers of Earl William in 1602 for two hundred and nineteen pounds.⁽⁵⁾ In February 1596 the Earl had leased the manors of Childwall and Roby for ten thousand years to a London mercer to raise thirteen hundred pounds.⁽⁶⁾ Complicated

(1) L.R.O. DDM 50/8.

(2) L.R.O. DDK 8/7.

(3) H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. VIII, p. 275.

(4) Ibid., p. 281.

(5) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 51.

(6) L.R.O. DDK 8/1.

arrangements were made in 1601 for the eventual sale of these manors. Early in the year they were regranted for the remainder of a twenty-one year term to a London gentleman and a Fleet Street scrivener (perhaps a money lender), and then late in the year they were sold to the Queen.⁽¹⁾ It has been claimed that when the drastic decision to sell property was reached, outlying areas were disposed of first in order to retain a compact core of land, but many examples provided by the sixth Earl of Derby appear to contradict this.⁽²⁾ Possibly by using the fairly local, familiar properties better prices could be negotiated or, more likely, it was hoped that through a choice of intermediaries the property could be retrieved when a short-term crisis had passed. Certainly late in 1604 the manors of Childwall and Roby were surveyed and the Earl's auditor produced deeds to show that Queen Elizabeth had granted the manors back to the Earl, and proposals were made to raise fourteen or fifteen hundred pounds by adding seven or eight years to the old leases.⁽³⁾

The inheritance of the Isle of Man further confused an already difficult situation. Litigation over the general inheritance 1594-5 brought to light a supposed flaw in the fifteenth century grant to the Stanleys, and it could be construed that the island should revert to the Crown.⁽⁴⁾ As an interim arrangement, in August

(1) L.R.O. DDLi Bundle 14/28 and /29.
L.R.O. DDK 8/21.

(2) Stone, "Elizabethan Aristocracy - a restatement", p. 303.

(3) P.R.O. Special Commissions of Inquiry and Returns to the Exchequer, E 178/3987.
L.R.O. DDK 8/23.
H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. XVI, p. 282 and p. 302.

(4) Cooper, "Counting of Manors", p. 380.
Coward, "Disputed Inheritances", p. 205.

1595 the Queen appointed her own captain of the island until the whole matter was clarified.⁽¹⁾ During this period the island was probably worth about fourteen hundred pounds a year - moneys not recovered by Earl William until well into the seventeenth century.⁽²⁾

Throughout the latter part of the 1590 s transactions continued until a proposed settlement was reached in 1600 and a schedule for the sale of more land to pay the heirs general completed in 1602.⁽³⁾ In 1607 a private Act of Parliament substantially clarified the inheritance situation, and a final end was reached in 1610 with the regrant of the Isle of Man to Earl William.⁽⁴⁾ Payments to the heirs general may have totalled about thirty thousand pounds with other costs being necessary for the litigation.⁽⁵⁾ Clearly sales, mortgaging and borrowing on a substantial scale had been necessary. The extent of various loans to Earl William suggest a parlous state of finances, although some loans may have been rewritten after the death of Lord Burghley and do not represent new transactions.⁽⁶⁾

(1) P.R.O. SP12/253/52.

(2) Cooper, "Counting of Manors", p. 380.

(3) H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. XXIII, p. 90.

(4) L.R.O. DDK 8/18.
Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, pp. 46-49.

(5) Coward, "Disputed Inheritances", p. 211.

(6) Stone, "Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy", p. 46.
Trevor Roper, "The Elizabethan Aristocracy", p. 285.
See Table VIII.

TABLE VIII: LOANS MADE TO THE SIXTH EARL OF DERBY 1590-1600.⁽¹⁾

£ 8000	by Edward Rigby of Lancashire	1591
1200	Nicholas Moseley and H. Hindley	1591
10000	Lord Burghley	1595 repaid 1600
5000	Thomas Spencer and Thomas Leigh	1595 repaid 1600
3200	Peter Houghton	1595 repaid 1599
3000	Sir Walter Raleigh	1596
20000	Earl of Cumberland and Sir Thomas Cecil	1597 repaid 1601
5000	William Cecil and Robert Cecil	1598 repaid 1600
5000	Sir Robert Cecil	1600
10000	Sir Robert Cecil	1600

Certainly by the early 1600 s Earl William had some money to spend; he was in attendance at Court, he extended the Cannon Row house in London, in 1611 he bought land in Much Woolton and Little Woolton, and in 1615 he agreed to pay two and a half thousand pounds for his daughter's marriage - by 1617 he had paid it.⁽²⁾ Through the convolutions of the 1590 s the Earl had kept many of his south-west Lancashire lands; the 1607 Act confirmed his possession of Knowsley, Rainford, Gleast, Eccleston, Parr, Sutton, Whiston, Halewood, Halebank, and Cuerdley. The Liverpool rents were a small part of Dowager Countess Alice's share - for her life only.⁽³⁾ Earl

(1) Stone, "Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy", p. 46.

(2) P.R.O. C54/2081 and C54/2206.
L.R.O. DDK 10/9.
Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 49 and p. 57.

(3) L.R.O. DDK 9/4.
Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
Ellesmere Papers E 934 and E 935.

William may have been somewhat hot-tempered, out of touch with estate management and accustomed to living in what he considered an appropriately magnificent manner, but by the early seventeenth century, considering his initial inheritance and difficulties, he had recovered reasonably well. In May 1602 the Earl had been involved in a minor dispute with one Mr. Proctor of Thorp Moor Kirkby in Yorkshire who called him a fool for spending all his inheritance, but even with his assets reduced Earl William was by no means impoverished.⁽¹⁾ More insidious than the legal wrangles, the financial settlements and land transactions were the effects the inheritance dispute and Earl William's personality had on his regional patronage and influence.

d) The household and its Lancashire context.

Notwithstanding their courtly activities and connections, the Stanley family maintained very close links with south-west Lancashire. Details do not survive for all months and years during the second half of the sixteenth century, but sufficient documentation indicates quite a regular pattern.⁽²⁾ In usual circumstances the family attended Court sometime during each year - often Whitehall for the

(1) H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. XII, p. 157.

(2) See Table LX.

TABLE IX: THE KNOWN WHEREABOUTS OF THE 3RD, 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH EARLS OF DERBY, 1550-1600. (1)

Month	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
1550												
1551					Chelsea		Court					
1552												
1553								Court	Court	Court		
1554							Court					
1555		Court	Lathom									
1556												
1557				Court						Lancs.		
1558											Court	
1559	Court	Court	Court									
1560												
1561							Court on Progress	Court on Progress				
1562	Court											
1563	Court			Court								
1564												
1565												
1566										Court		
1567	Court											
1568												
1569							Knowsley				Lathom	
1570				Lancs.							Lancs.	
1571												
1572					London					Lathom		
1573	Court											
1574	Court			Court	Court				Liverpool			
1575												New Park
1576	Court	Court		Court								
1577				L'pool. I.O.M.			Chester					
1578	Court											
1579	Court											
1580									Lathom			
1581									Knowsley			
1582												
1583							L'pool. I.O.M.					
1584	Wigan											Cheshire
1585	France	France	France			Court						New Park Lancs.
1586			New Park	Court	Court	Court	Knowsley	Knowsley New Park	Knowsley Lathom	Court Fotheringay	Court	Court

1587	Court	Court	Court	Court	Court Lathom	Lathom	Knowsley	Cheshire	Knowsley Court	Knowsley Court	Court	Staffs. Court
1588	Knowsley Court	Neths. Court	Neths.	Neths.	Neths.	Neths.	Neths.	Neths. Court	New Park Lathom	Knowsley	Lancs. Cheshire	Lathom
1589	Lathom Court	Court	Court	Court	Court London	Lathom Cheshire	Knowsley	Lancs.	Chester Cheshire	New Park Cheshire	Lathom	Lathom
1590	Lathom Knowsley	Lathom	Knowsley Court	Knowsley New Park	Lancs. Flints	Lathom Knowsley	Knowsley	New Park		New Park		
1591				Court	London Court		Court	Court				
1592					Lathom					Knowsley		
1593			Court	Court	Court	Court				New Park Lathom	Court	Lathom
1594	Lathom			Knowsley Lathom	Lathom							London
1595				Lancs.			London			London		
1596			London		London	Lancs. Man- chester				London		
1597							Knowsley	Knowsley				
1598								Lancs.				
1599	London											
1600	Court											London

(1) Information compiled from H.M.C. Salisbury Mss., B. L. Harl Mss., P.R.O. SP12, L.T.B. I and II, A.P.C., Derby Household Books.

New Year's festivities or at the time of sessions of Parliament or in April for the Garter ceremonies. In the summer the family often departed for Lancashire where it could remain until after Christmas. On occasions various circumstances necessitated changes in this pattern, such as the fourth Earl's visits to France and the Netherlands and his presence at Fotheringay in 1586 for proceedings against Mary, Queen of Scots. Lancashire, however, was the place to return to regularly and certainly the place to die. In 1570 the third Earl was excused attendance on the Queen at Hampton Court, "considering that his yeres and wekeness will not well permytt him so to do", whilst in 1587 the fourth Earl was excused attendance when ill at Lathom.⁽¹⁾ The third, fourth and fifth Earls did indeed die at their Lancashire properties and all were buried with impressive obsequies at Ormskirk.⁽²⁾

Possibly for six months of any year the Earls and other members of their families were in south-west Lancashire and their presence was of very considerable significance. The household was a vehicle to express the status and standing of an aristocratic family, as well as providing the opportunity for the dispensing of patronage. The households of the Earls of Derby were in many respects modelled on that of the royal Court; they had their own council including a

(1) P.R.O. SP12/38/1 and SP12/202/18.
A.P.C. Vol. VII, No. 398.

(2) See p. 101.

number of clergy and many of the principal gentry of the county, and their own permanent staff headed by a Comptroller, a Steward and a Receiver-General - all knights entitled to have three servants each. Sir William Ffarington, for example, became secretary to Edward, the third Earl, later Comptroller of his household and finally Steward to the fourth Earl, whilst Sir Richard Shireburn was treasurer to the third Earl and Steward for the fourth.⁽¹⁾

These three principal officers organised and controlled a very substantial household; the list compiled at Lathom in May 1587 recorded one hundred and eighteen persons.⁽²⁾ There were gentlemen-waiters - usually the sons of county gentlemen, clerks of the kitchen, yeoman officers for the chamber, the cellar and the hall, porters, butlers, ewery, wardrobe and arras staff, grooms of the chamber and sub-grooms, yeomen waiters, kitchen staff, a caterer, two slaughtermen, bakers, brewers, malt-makers, a candleman, footmen, almoners, launderers and two trumpeters. Outside there was a gardener, a hopman, a roughcaster and fourteen stablemen. Although in itself an impressive list, this total is not necessarily complete; in 1590 another checkroll was compiled with one hundred and forty-five names. The increase was largely explained by the presence in the household of Lord Strange's three children with their servants

(1) Raines, Derby Household Books, Introduction, pp. xviii-xcviii. Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 90.

(2) Raines, Derby Household Books, pp. 23-27.

and Mr. William Stanley, the Earl's second son, with his servants.⁽¹⁾ Even so this total represents only the household staff present in one place on one particular occasion. The Earls employed other staff not here recorded, such as a clerk of works, an auditor, a secretary and musicians.⁽²⁾ Even the Earl's bearward is referred to.⁽³⁾ It has been claimed that at his death in 1572 the third Earl had two hundred and twenty servants in his household.⁽⁴⁾ Presumably the majority were usually in the same place as the Earl, but skeleton staff must have remained at New Park, Alport Lodge, Bidston, the Chester house and in Cannon Row.

The type and number of servants suggests something of the lifestyle of the Earls. It was said of the third Earl that "he lived in the greatest splendour and magnificence without any dependence on the court".⁽⁵⁾ The household accounts indicate something of their cost. Wages amounted to nearly four hundred pounds for the year ending July 1561, cloth for livery and badges cost over one hundred and fifty pounds, and lodging, feeding and lighting another one hundred and fifty pounds.⁽⁶⁾ A household of this size must have had direct influence on employment in the Knowsley, Huyton and Prescott area even at a service level, as well

(1) Ibid., pp. 84-88.

(2) Ibid., p. vi.
P.R.O. SP12/90/16.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 179.

(4) Seacombe, Memoirs of the House of Stanley, 2nd edition, p. 60.

(5) Ibid., p. 59.

(6) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 5.

as providing an indirect source of employment through intermittent supplies, facilities and demands. All of this was aside from further employment created by Stanley landholding and park maintenance. Opportunities for substantial gentry service in the household also existed.⁽¹⁾ An occasion on which the entire household was overtly used for effect was at the coronation of Queen Mary in 1553 when the Earl of Derby arrived from Lancashire at his London house with eighty esquires and two hundred and eighteen servants all in livery.⁽²⁾

As well as being the greatest local employer the Earl's household may well have been a constant source of local charity. The 1561 household accounts specify not quite five pounds spent on alms by the third Earl,⁽³⁾ yet the household regulations make it plain that a level of provision for the poor was expected when the Earls were in residence. In 1587 the butlers were ordered not to sell broken beer and the yeomen of the pantry not to sell scraps - but to distribute them to the poor.⁽⁴⁾ Possibly a reputation for munificence was part of the aristocratic image, but even allowing for a level of household pilfering some regular relief was probably provided.

The presence of a noble household in the area surely provided

(1) See p. 578.

(2) Seacome, Memoirs of the House of Stanley, 2nd edition, p. 50.

(3) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 6.

(4) Ibid., p. 21.

some significant link with the country outside the four parishes of south-west Lancashire. The officers of the household were recruited from the Earls' wider estates and, therefore, brought into the area 'outsiders' on a semi-permanent basis, and at the other extreme, the more mundane servants of the household were given the opportunity to travel in Lancashire, to the properties in Cheshire and to London on a fairly regular basis. At a less tangible level the household and the Earls themselves provided acquaintance with a national scene. A very small indication of this is provided by the visit to Liverpool of the fourth Earl in 1574. He arrived at the town in a "()" - presumably a coach for which the scribe had no vocabulary.⁽¹⁾ The first coach in England had been presented to Queen Elizabeth just ten years previously. It was of Dutch manufacture, quite luxuriously fitted but its heavy wooden structure was lashed to unsprung axles by leather straps.⁽²⁾ It seems likely that this new mode of travel was unsuitable for extensive journeys but impressive for the final few miles - as indeed one was in Liverpool in 1574.

The funerals of the sixteenth century Earls provided great exhibitions of loyalty by men dependent on them - particularly from their south-west Lancashire properties, but also from their lands elsewhere in the North-West. The funerals testified also to the national status of the Earls through the trappings of heraldry and

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 156.

(2) D. Birt, Elizabeth's England, London 1981, p. 42.

the attendance of heraldic officers. The visible procession proclaimed the hierarchical structure of society which in south-west Lancashire the Earls headed. For the funeral of the third Earl in December 1572 (although he had died in October) Ormskirk church was draped with black cloth and provided with black cushions and carpets ready to receive the procession which made the two miles' journey from Lathom. In this procession there were two yeomen conductors, one hundred poor men two by two, forty singing men, chaplains, the preacher, the standard bearer with a trapped horse, eighty gentlemen two by two, two secretaries, fifty knights and esquires two by two, the Steward, the Treasurer and the Comptroller of the household with their white staves of office, the banner bearer (Edward Norris Esquire of Speke), Lancaster Herald of Arms with the Earl's helm and crest, Norroy King of Arms, Clarencieux Herald and Garter King of Arms who preceded the corpse on a chariot drawn by four horses covered with black velvet and ridden by four boys in black coats and hoods, together with four out-riders. Behind the corpse came six esquires carrying six banner rolls of the Earl's descent, the chief mourner (the fourth Earl) with two gentlemen ushers (including Edward Tarbock Esquire of Tarbock), the Earl's horse trapped in black velvet, eight other mourners, two yeomen ushers, five hundred yeomen two by two, and finally the servants of other noblemen and gentlemen.⁽¹⁾ It could have been very cold in December!

The painters' bill for the funeral cost over sixty-three pounds.

(1) Seacome, Memoirs of the House of Stanley, 4th edition, pp. 75-84.

This was to include the standard, the great banner, the six banner rolls, a coat of arms of damask, a coat of arms of sarsenet, a wreath painted in colours, six great escutcheons on pasteboard, a great hatchment, six dozen buckram escutcheons and twenty-two dozen smaller escutcheons to be used in the church and at the house.⁽¹⁾

The overall cost and the organization in assembling about one thousand participants was no small achievement.⁽²⁾ A virtual repetition took place in 1593 - yet again in December - for the funeral of the fourth Earl. There were one hundred poor men in gowns on foot heading the procession. The accoutrements, the household staff and servants, the yeomen, the gentlemen, the esquires, the knights and the family - all in black cloaks - followed. The main additions were the mayors of Chester and Liverpool (who followed the knights and esquires in precedence), and the Bishop of Chester and his chaplain. The Earl of Shrewsbury was also present.⁽³⁾

Undoubtedly these heraldic funerals displayed to the world - and to south-west Lancashire in particular - the national status of the local aristocracy. It can be claimed that, "funerals served to maintain the status quo and to reaffirm the traditional hierarchy of power and prestige".⁽⁴⁾

(1) P.R.O. SP12/90/16.

(2) C. Gittings, Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England, London 1934, p. 175.

(3) B. L. Add. Mss. 6297, f. 264.

(4) Gittings, Death, Burial and the Individual, pp. 36-37 and p. 89.

CHAPTER III.

THE GENTRY AND THEIR STATUS.

- a) Their distribution in south-west Lancashire.
- b) Their wealth.
- c) Their income.
- d) Their corporate interests.

a) Their distribution in south-west Lancashire.

"The social frontier which divided the armigerous elite from its social inferiors was only an uncertain one."⁽¹⁾ With justification this assertion can be applied to the four parishes of south-west Lancashire, as to the rest of England and Wales. In about 1400 the tenure of the manors of West Derby hundred have been categorized as:-

Duchy of Lancaster (Crown)	-	9%
Baronial	-	3%
Religious	-	12%
Resident gentry	-	76% ⁽²⁾

By the second half of the sixteenth century the religious influence had waned at the expense of other groups, so that there was no doubting the gentry's predominance although there is some uncertainty in enumerating them all. Gentility was a fundamental dividing line in society, but no single criterion is adequate to describe the complexity of reality.⁽³⁾

Part of the difficulty lies in deciding who to include. Nationally there were probably about five hundred and fifty knights by the end of Elizabeth's reign (although about one quarter of these were recent creations of the Earl of Essex) and many thousands of esquires and gentlemen.⁽⁴⁾ At the lower end of this scale there was no clear dividing line, so even allowing for some new creations and

(1) W. T. MacCaffrey, "England: The Crown and the New Aristocracy 1540-1600" in Past and Present No. 30, 1965, p. 52.

(2) Bennett, "Late Medieval Society", p. 152.

(3) Wrightson, English Society, pp. 19-23.

(4) Hurstfield and Smith, Elizabethan People, State and Society, p. 2.
L. Stone, "The Inflation of Honours 1558-1641" in Past and Present No. 14, p. 49.

some disappearance through natural failure of heirs, the lesser parish¹⁰⁶ gentry can be difficult to distinguish from their equally wealthy non-genteel neighbours.⁽¹⁾ In Elizabethan Kent it has been claimed that only one per cent of gentry families were really important with substantial contacts outside their county, that about eight per cent of gentry families had a middling or county-wide significance, and that otherwise the great majority of gentry families had only a parochial influence confined to one or two parishes.⁽²⁾ At this lower end of the gentry scale confusing contemporary terminology is particularly misleading.

Aside from the problems of classification, ambiguous and/or partial source material creates further difficulties.⁽³⁾ For example, heraldic visitations are of doubtful completeness as some gentry did not appear and some were reluctant to pay necessary fees.⁽⁴⁾ Never more than a relatively small minority of the gentlemen of south-west Lancashire appeared in the 1567 and 1613 visitations of the county⁽⁵⁾ To individual gentry families collecting, keeping and presenting their proof of title was no easy matter; in a dispute which reached the Duchy courts between 1564-1568 over the deeds of Ditton manor John

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- (1) Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, pp. 15-19.
L. Stone, "Social Mobility in England 1500-1700" in Past and Present No. 33, 1966, pp. 17-18.
J. B. Watson, "The Lancashire Gentry and Public Service 1529-1558" in T. L. C. A. S. Vol. 73-4, 1963-4, p. 12.
- (2) Clark, English Provincial Society, pp. 126-127.
- (3) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 111.
- (4) J. B. Watson, "The Lancashire Gentry 1529-1558, with special reference to their public service", M.A. London University, 1959, Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, p. 5. (pp. 7-8.)
- (5) See Appendix VI.
ed. F. R. Raines, Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancaster in 1567 by William Flower, Norroy King of Arms in Chet. Soc. Vol. LXXXI, 1870.
ed. F. R. Raines, Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancaster 1613 by Richard St. George Esq. in Chet. Soc. Vol. LXXXII, 1871.

Tildesley, Gentleman, referred to about sixty pieces of writing regarding his title.⁽¹⁾ In view of incomplete official listings of the gentry other - also incomplete - sources have to be used - such as parish registers and probate records.⁽²⁾ An indication of contemporary preoccupation with the 'greater' gentry and of the partial nature of the records is provided by two lists compiled during the 1580 s. The Loyal Protestant Association of Lancashire Gentlemen of 1585 was signed by eighty-three gentry from the county, including Sir Richard Molyneux, Edward Norris Esquire, Richard Bold Esquire, Henry Eccleston Esquire, Thomas Lathom Esquire, John Byrom Esquire, Edward Tarbock Esquire, George Ireland Esquire, William More Esquire, John Crosse Esquire, Richard Eltonhead Gentleman, Thomas Wolfall Gentleman and Thomas Lancaster Gentleman from the four parishes of the south-west of the county. Three years later a list of the gentlemen of "best callinge" in Lancashire - those able to lend money to the Queen - recorded one hundred and twenty-six names. The knights, esquires and gentlemen were again listed, together with Hamlet Ditchfield Gentleman and Robert Fazakerley Gentleman.⁽⁴⁾ In the four parishes a great many more gentry existed than either of these lists felt it necessary to record. A list of

(1) P.R.O. DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 61 T 7 and DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 77 T 5.

(2) See Appendix VI.

(3) Harland, The Lancashire Lieutenancy, pp. 152-157.

(4) Chetham Miscellanies III in Chet. Soc. Vol. LVII, 1862, p. 3.

Lancashire freeholders compiled in 1600, although not entirely accurate, was much closer to the true scale of gentry strength in enumerating one knight, ten esquires and thirty-seven gentlemen in the south-west Lancashire area.⁽¹⁾

Most easy to identify in the four parishes is the one gentry family of knighthood status - the Molyneux of Croxteth in Walton parish and Sefton in the adjoining parish.⁽²⁾ Not only did its rank set this family apart from the other local gentry, it also ensured that the Molyneux were able to regard themselves amongst the ten élite families of the county - perhaps on a par with the Traffords of Trafford, the Hoghtons of Hoghton Tower, the Heskeths of Rufford, the Gerards of Bryn, the Shireburns of Stonyhurst and the Hollands of Denton.⁽³⁾ When Sir Richard Molyneux died in 1569 he left five unmarried daughters and four sons at Croxteth, but his son and heir, William, had predeceased his father. William's ten years old son Richard became a ward and did not achieve his majority until 1580. Six years later at Greenwich Richard Molyneux received his knighthood.⁽⁴⁾

If the four parishes of south-west Lancashire provided one noble family and one knightly family, then it provided several families claiming esquire status - probably about eleven altogether.⁽⁵⁾ The

(1) B.L. Harl.Mss. 2042, f. 193.

(2) See Appendix VI.

(3) B. Coward, "The Lieutenancy of Lancashire and Cheshire in the 16th and early 17th centuries" in T. H. S. L. C. Vol. 119, 1968, p. 43.

(4) P.R.O. DL7 Vol. XIII, No. 35.
L.R.O. DDM 17/92, 17/94, 17/96, 12/30.

(5) See Appendix VI.

two esquire families in Huyton parish - the Tarbocks and the Harringtons - certainly had been there and of this status for over a century by 1550, and likewise the two esquire families in Childwall parish - the Norris and the Irelands. In Walton parish, however, an element of uncertainty arises. The More family was of certain antiquity and esquire status, whereas the Crosse family had antiquity in the Croston and Chorley areas of Lancashire, but only since the earlier sixteenth century in the Liverpool area. The Molyneux esquire family provides a still more recent creation. The knightly family had been in the south-west Lancashire area for many generations, but John, third son of Sir Richard Molyneux (died 1569), established a junior branch of the family of esquire status at New Hall in West Derby township.⁽¹⁾ In the large Prescott parish the Bold family was again of undoubted antiquity and esquire status, as was the Eccleston family of Eccleston township, and the Parr family of Parr. The Byrom family, also of Parr township, was, however, a relative newcomer which for a short while in the later sixteenth century appears to have chosen to live in this area rather than in Winwick parish.⁽²⁾ Therefore, although there was some movement in the numbers of esquire families, their predominant characteristic was of stability and continuity of descent.

Within this category of the gentry, however, there was some measure of variety of status. William Norris Esquire of Speke had been knighted during the early 1530 s, and his grandson was to receive

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

a knighthood at the coronation of James I.⁽¹⁾ This esteem, together with economic considerations,⁽²⁾ could rate some esquires more highly than others. On the other hand, at the lower end of the scale by 1600 two gentleman families had probably virtually elevated themselves to esquire status - the Lancasters of Rainhill and the Ashtons of Penketh.⁽³⁾ The majority of gentleman families, however, never aspired to greater status and in some cases were more than anxious to safeguard what gentility they already had.

Huyton parish had perhaps thirteen families of gentleman status - three in Tarbock township, two in Knowsley, two in Huyton, four in Roby and two in Wollfall.⁽⁴⁾ Some of these families such as the Tildesleys of Dam House in Huyton were of definite antiquity and status, but others such as the Eastheads and Knowles were little more than modest freeholders of some antiquity using the title of 'gentleman', whereas others such as the Suttons and Doughtys were newcomers in the service of the Earls of Derby.⁽⁵⁾ Childwall parish, although larger, was less well endowed with gentleman families - probably ten in all based in the townships away from the esquires at Speke and Halewood. Again a few of these families such as the Brettergh of the Holt in Little Woolton were of long antiquity and status, others such as the Woodwardes were modest freeholders, whilst

(1) V.C.H. III, p. 135.
Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 103.

(2) See p.122.

(3) B.L., Harl.Mss. 2042 f. 193.

(4) See Appendix VI.

(5) See pp.578-579.

only Thomas Ireland Gentleman/Esquire of Childwall was a temporary, rising phenomenon.⁽¹⁾ Despite its size, Prescott parish presents a somewhat similar picture. Altogether there were probably fifty gentleman families spread throughout the townships of the parish, although with a tendency to avoid the localities of the esquires - such as at Bold. The Rixtons of the Peel in Great Sankey, the Whittles of Great Sankey, the Lathoms of Mossborough Hall, the Standish of the Scholes in Eccleston, the Ogles of Whiston, the Eltonheads of Sutton, the Lancasters of Rainhill and more were all families of long gentry status and residence in the area. In some townships, such as Widnes,⁽²⁾ quite a number of substantial freeholders used the title of 'gentleman' - such as the Hawardens and Plumptions, and the Sandersons and Rigbys of Ditton. Only a few relative newcomers affected this area - the Mainwarings of Windleshaw and the Laytons of Prescott Hall.⁽³⁾

Walton parish, however, presents a somewhat modified picture. In many of the townships of the parish a similar distribution of gentlemen to that in the other three parishes was found; the Fazakerleys of Spellow House in Fazakerley were of continuous status and residence. West Derby township, however, rather like Widnes, provided opportunity for a number of substantial freeholders such as the Fletchers, the Haughtons and the Standish, and the Liverpool/Toxteth area provided an environment for

(1) See p. 166.

(2) See Appendix VI.

(3) Ibid.

merchants and/or officials to claim gentleman status. Peter Starkey, the town's Customer who came from Great Budworth in Cheshire and Thomas Wickstead, the deputy Customer both operated also as merchants and used the title of 'gentleman'.⁽¹⁾ The Secum family undoubtedly traded as merchants and claimed gentility as moderate freeholders in the town. Altogether, therefore, there were perhaps twenty-eight families using the title of gentleman in Walton parish.

In total throughout the four parishes of south-west Lancashire during the second half of the sixteenth century there were probably one knightly family, eleven esquire families and one hundred and one families of mere 'gentleman' status. As has been already mentioned, contemporary terminology and the partial nature of documentation have their effects, as do the fortunes of mortality and the incidence of newcomers. It seems likely that the very great majority of gentry families in this area had been established for a century or more, and that only in a few cases did the male line fail or economic collapse become so serious that families disappeared - for example the Parrs of Parr, the Walworths of Wavertree, the Burys of Roby, the Ackers of Liverpool and the Currrens of Bold.⁽²⁾ Indeed in two instances at least succession of land and title to an illegitimate son was ensured - in the absence of legitimate male offspring. Most notably, Richard Bold Esquire (died 1603) was succeeded by his illegitimate son Thomas, and also Peter, born in 1561 the illegitimate

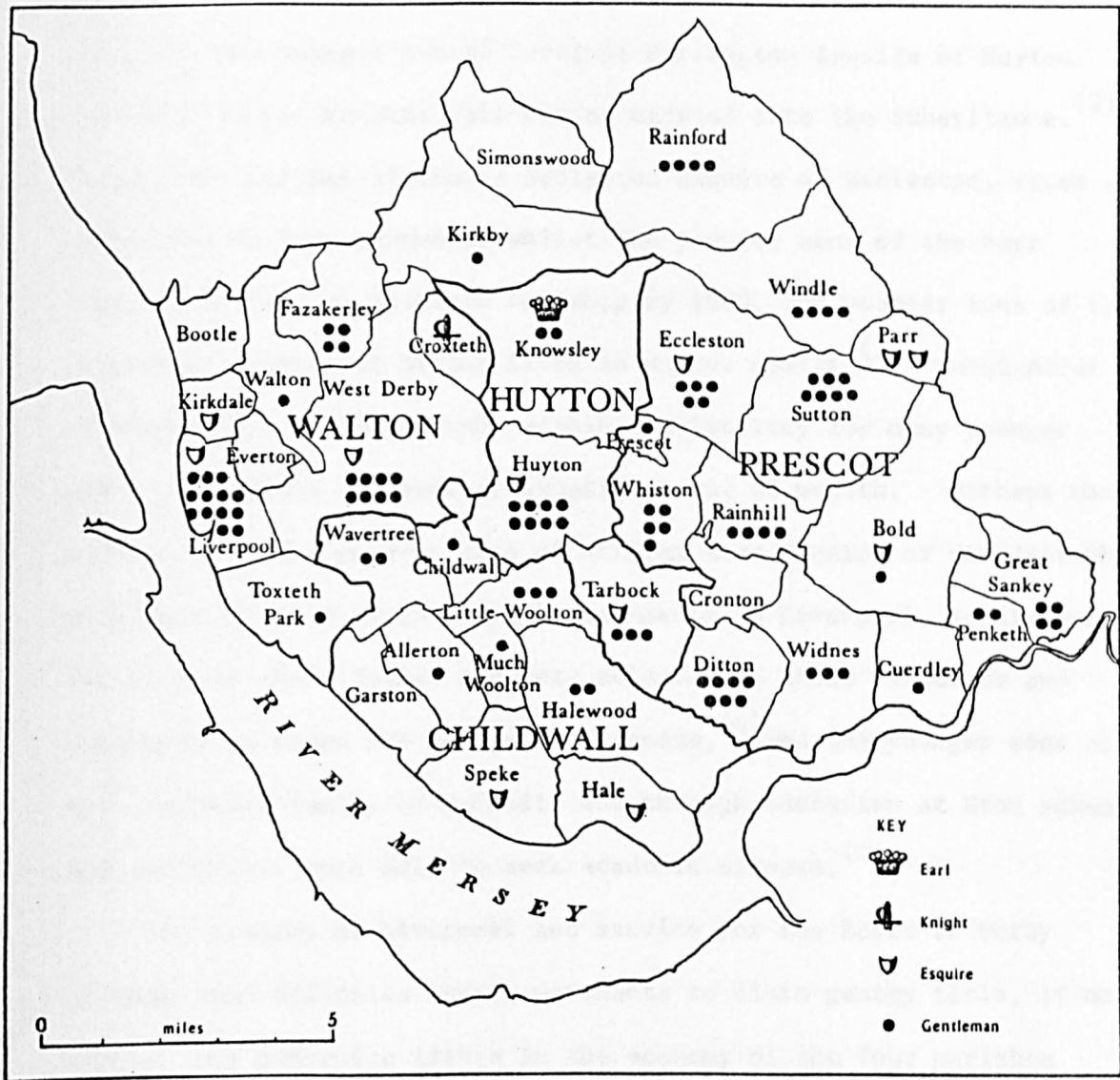
(1) See pp. 325-326.

(2) See Appendix VI.

son of George Wetherby Gentleman of Halsnead in Whiston, despite his early age at the death of his father in 1568 and the conflicting claims of four legitimate nieces of George Wetherby, was able finally to secure his inheritance through the Duchy courts.⁽¹⁾

Clearly whatever the exactitude of the numbers concerned, the lower gentry predominated, as they probably did in many parts of the country.⁽²⁾ Only one family in south-west Lancashire was of knightly status, but all four parishes had two or more families of esquire status and every township had at least one and probably several families of gentleman status.⁽³⁾ During the second half of the sixteenth century the majority of these families demonstrated remarkable continuity, and clearly the numbers of gentry at any particular moment in time depended much on the age and survival of younger sons. It has been claimed that it might well be easier to find provision for younger daughters than for sons. In some areas, such as South Wales, partible inheritance was still practised during the late sixteenth century, but generally in Lancashire by the early seventeenth century modest annuities and/or leases for two lives or years to younger sons predominated.⁽⁴⁾ Many younger sons did remain in the fairly immediate vicinity of their families; the Bold family used other capital messuages within Bold township for this purpose -

- (1) P.R.O., DL44 No. 773.
P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 127 Al.
- (2) Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, p. 20.
J. E. Maisley, "The Fortunes of Some Gentry Families in Elizabethan Sussex" in Ec. H. R., Vol. 11, 1958-59, pp.467-474.
- (3) See Map VIII.
- (4) Stone, Crisis of the Aristocracy, p. 180.
J. P. Cooper, "Patterns of Inheritance and Settlement by great landowners from 15th-18th centuries" in J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E. P. Thompson, Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800, Cambridge 1976, pp. 212-214.



MAP VIII: DISTRIBUTION OF GENTRY IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

Francis Bold Gentleman (died 1588) lived at Cranshaw Hall and Lancelot Bold Gentleman (died 1585) lived at Barrow Hall.⁽¹⁾

Richard, the younger son of Percival Harrington Esquire of Huyton, died in 1603 at Prescott Hall having married into the inheritance.⁽²⁾

Henry, the brother of Thomas Eccleston Esquire of Eccleston, lived at Broad Oak in Parr township, whilst the younger sons of the Parr family had land in Rainford township by 1600, and younger sons of the Ditchfield family of Ditton lived in Huyton parish.⁽³⁾ Substantial provision was obviously made within the locality for many younger sons, but others did seek alternative means of wealth. Perhaps most notable were the younger sons of William More Esquire of Kirkdale who were each granted seven or eight tenements in Liverpool, Bootle and Wallasey by their father and were able to use these resources and locations as bases for mercantile careers,⁽⁴⁾ and the younger sons of the Lancaster family of Rainhill who through education at Eton school and university were able to seek academic careers.⁽⁵⁾

The economy of Liverpool and service for the Earls of Derby allowed some officials and/or merchants to claim gentry title, if not status, but otherwise little in the economy of the four parishes provided real opportunity for any number of newcomers to rise into

(1) Watson, "The Lancashire Gentry 1529-1558", p. 232. Farnworth Register, p. 103 and p. 170.

(2) P.R.O., STAC 5 A38/31.

(3) P.R.O., DL4 21/10.
B.L., Harl. Mss. 2042 f. 143.
ed. M.M.C. Calthorp, Recusant Roll No. 1, 1592-3 in C.R.S. Vol. XVIII, 1916.

(4) Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 276 and 280.
See Chapter VII.

(5) See pp. 618-619.

the gentry class - for example there was little industry and little opportunity for legal advancement.⁽¹⁾ In just two cases military activity seems to have provided the ladder to social advancement. George, the son of Robert Ackers Gentleman of West Derby, became a captain and saw service under the Earl of Essex in France, Flanders and Ireland. By the time of George's death in 1588 he lived in Liverpool and had a half share in the Eagle ship. The main indication of his former military career was the amount of military hardware he possessed - three calivers, two fowling pieces, four flax and touchboxes, one graven target, three morions and two bandoliers.⁽²⁾ Captain John Gifford alias Wardall Gentleman obtained his military service under the Earl of Derby. He came from outside the south-west Lancashire area, but by the mid 1570 s he was training men from the West Derby, Leyland and Salford hundreds on behalf of the fourth Earl.⁽³⁾ Presumably this type of service continued and by 1590 John Gifford had settled with his wife in Liverpool where she was presented several times for illegal baking and brewing.⁽⁴⁾ His death in 1598 provoked a dispute over one of his means of reward; in the mid 1570 s the Earl of Derby had granted him the chief keepership of Toxteth Park which John Gifford had later sub-let to Edward Tarbock Esquire.⁽⁵⁾

- (1) Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, p. 19.
James, Family, Lineage and Civil Society, p. 69.
- (2) L.R.O. Probate Inventory of George Ackers, Liverpool 1588.
J. P. Rylands, "Communications" in T.H.S.L.C. Vol. 33, 1880-81,
pp. 257-264.
- (3) B.L. Harl. Mss. 1926/13 f. 31.
Harland, Lancashire Lieutenancy, p. 98.
- (4) L.T.B. II p. 562 and p. 606.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. CLXVII T 1.
P.R.O., DL 4 42/38.

John Gifford is representative of the very few outsiders who moved into the south-west Lancashire gentry class - and he left no son.

A small number of outsiders, usually near neighbours, did have traditional links with the area through landholding.⁽¹⁾ The Gerrard family of Bryn in Winwick parish had held from the thirteenth century half of the manor of Rainhill, although in 1565 it was sold to Henry Eccleston Esquire, and the manor of Windle where Windleshaw was their park. However, from the 1590s onwards at least nine individual sales of separate messuages were made here to the occupiers.⁽²⁾ The Brooke family of Norton in Cheshire had acquired Cuerdley manor for over one thousand pounds as part of the possessions of the dissolved monastery of Jervaulx and continued to hold it until the end of the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ The Blundell family of Little Crosby had acquired through inheritance a moiety of the manor of Ditton, but it amounted to only six messuages,⁽⁴⁾ whilst the Lathom family of Parbold held the manor of Allerton with its capital messuage, watermill and twenty messuages.⁽⁵⁾ In these latter two cases the property was occupied by a resident landlord either as a dower house or by a younger son. The only other outsider with

(1) See Map IX.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 202, G 1.
L.R.O. Deeds Enrolled of Bargain and Sale, QDD 9/3, 3d, 6, 8, 21, 23d, 25, 30, 32.
V.C.H. III p. 368 and p. 373.

(3) Manchester Reference Library, Farrer Collection, L1/50/35/9, Vol. XIII, No. 21.
V.C.H. III, pp. 394-5.
C.R.O., Brooke of Norton Collection, DBN/B/1/1 and DBN/B/1/5.

(4) P.R.O., Records of the Court of Wards, WARDS 5/21.

(5) P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Records, Colleges and Chantries, DL 14 No. 169.

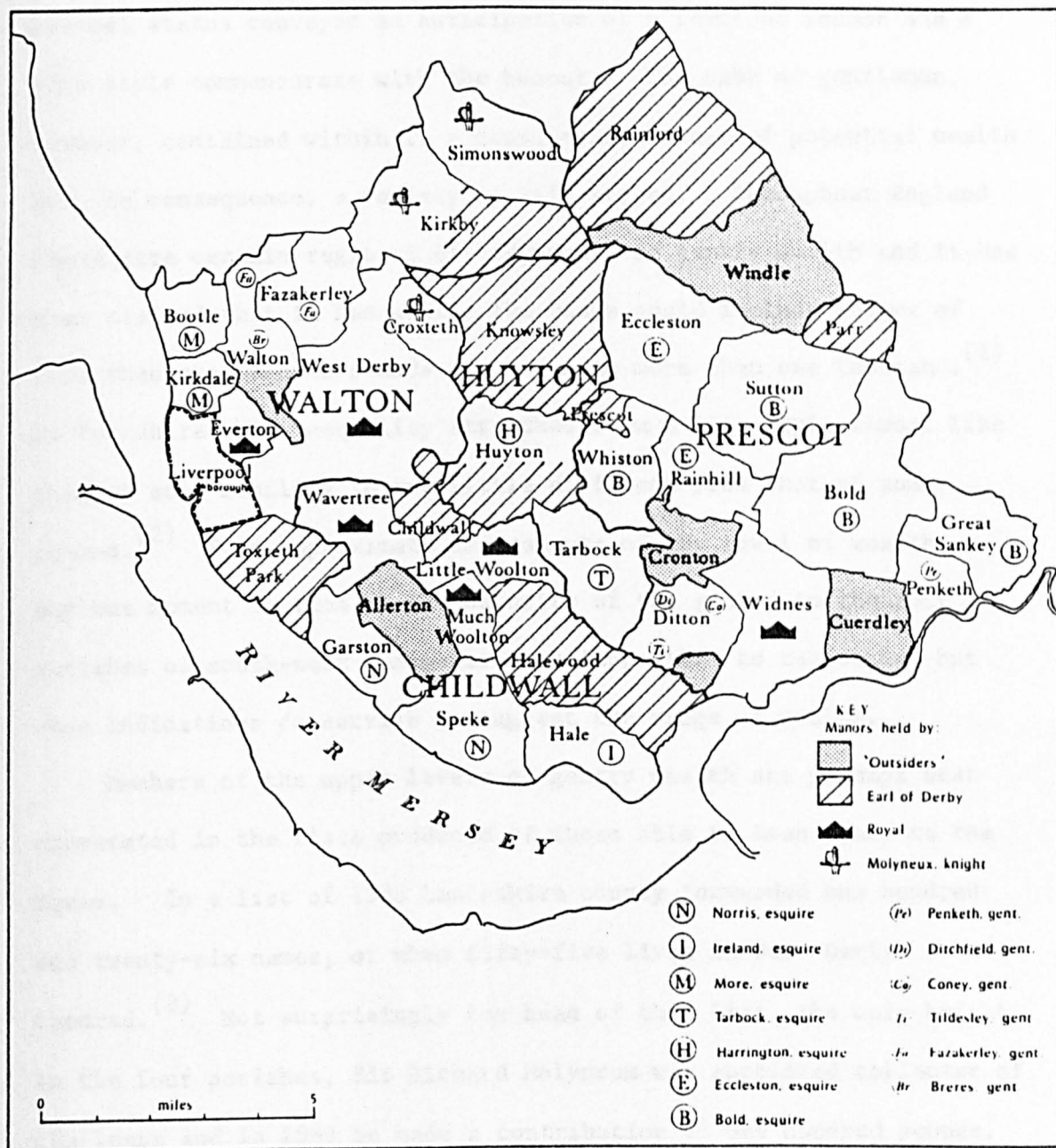
substantial landholding was Edward Halsall Esquire of Halsall who succeeded as a barrister, became a member of the Earl of Derby's council, vice-Chamberlain of Chester and Recorder of Liverpool 1573-1594. He acquired land in Ecclestone and Sutton townships and for a while lived in Ecclestone.⁽¹⁾ It was, however, the collection of royal manors at West Derby, Everton, Wavertree, Much Woolton, Little Woolton and Widnes which allowed freeholders and minor gentry to proliferate.⁽²⁾

As Map IX demonstrates, the overwhelming pattern of landholding in south-west Lancashire was by resident gentry and the Earl of Derby. The scale of land ownership might vary from the knightly Molyneux family to the modest gentlemen, but they were nearly all resident in the area and their families had been so for many generations. *Few* parish or townships escaped them, and at one hundred and thirteen gentry families in the four parishes they averaged one gentleman for every one and a third square miles. Like the rest of Lancashire, these four parishes had probably a higher gentry population than was to be found in many English counties.⁽³⁾

(1) F. A. Bailey, "Churchwardens' Accounts of Prescott, Part II" in T.H.S.L.C., Vol. 95, 1943, pp. 13-14.

(2) See Map IX.

(3) B. G. Blackwood, "The Lancashire Gentry, 1625-1660: A Social and Economic Study", D. Phil. Oxford University, 1973, p. 16.



MAP IX: OWNERSHIP OF MANORS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE IN ABOUT 1590.

b) Their Wealth.

To some extent title and wealth were expected to go together; genteel status conveyed an anticipation of a level of income and a life style commensurate with the honour. The rank of gentleman, however, contained within it a considerable range of potential wealth and, in consequence, a variety of life styles. Throughout England there were certain regional discrepancies in gentry wealth and it has been claimed that in Lancashire the range could include income of less than one hundred pounds per annum to more than one thousand.⁽¹⁾ In Yorkshire this inequality stretched from a life style almost like that of some nobility to one little different from that of some yeomen.⁽²⁾ Even approximate assessments of the level of wealth at any one moment in time of the majority of the gentry in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire are impossible to calculate, but some indications do survive to suggest the range of wealth.

Members of the upper levels of gentry wealth are perhaps best enumerated in the lists produced of those able to loan money to the Queen. In a list of 1588 Lancashire county forwarded one hundred and twenty-six names, of whom fifty-five lived in West Derby hundred.⁽³⁾ Not surprisingly the head of this list, the only knight in the four parishes, Sir Richard Molyneux was appointed collector of the loans and in 1589 he made a contribution of one hundred pounds. This was twice as much as any other contribution from the four parishes where just one of the esquires, Richard Bold, appeared in a

(1) Wrightson, English Society, p. 25.

(2) Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, p. 29.

(3) B. L. Harl. Mss. 2219.

category by himself at fifty pounds. Thereafter only six more esquires were considered wealthy enough to loan twenty-five pounds each - Edward Norris, William More, Edward Tarbock, George Ireland, Henry Eccleston and Thomas Lancaster.⁽¹⁾ No other gentlemen were included in the list, even though some ranked as esquires. (Such was Sir Richard Molyneux's unenviable position that he was renominated to collect further loans in 1590, 1597 and 1598.⁽²⁾)

A further indication of ranking amongst the upper levels of the gentry is provided by the provisions they were required to make for militia purposes. An Act of 1558 had laid down specific requirements for the keeping of armour, weapons and horses within ten financial groupings.⁽³⁾ At the general levy of arms in Lancashire in 1574 clearly only the Earl of Derby made provision of sixteen horses and considerable armour and weapons as demanded by an income of over one thousand pounds per annum. Richard Molyneux was at this time a minor and not listed amongst the provisions, but thereafter Richard Bold Esquire came next providing one demilance, two light horse, three pikemen, three bowmen, two calivers and two murions.⁽⁴⁾ George Ireland Esquire made a slightly less contribution, whilst Edward Norris, Henry Eccleston and John Byrom Esquires all contributed the same still smaller provision. John More Esquire provided just one light horse and one pikeman. Thereafter the other gentry were not considered wealthy enough to

(1) Ibid., f. 21.

(2) A.P.C., Vol. XX, p. 187; Vol. XXVI, p. 460; Vol. XXVII, p. 559.

(3) L. Boynton, The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638 London 1967, pp. 9-11.

(4) Harland, Lancashire Lieutenancy, p.p. 35-41.

supply horsemen, and only ten more gentry from the four parishes had sufficient wealth to contribute armour and weapons - two esquires, John Crosse and Thomas Lancaster and eight gentlemen, Hamlet Ditchfield, Francis Bold, Richard Eltonhead, Robert Fazakerley, William Molyneux, Richard Bold, Ralph Sekerston and Robert Corbet. This type of ranking is reinforced by other military preparations and provisions made later in the reign, such as the demand in 1587 for the county to provide twenty-five demilances. Sir Richard Molyneux was required to provide one, Richard Bold Esquire two-thirds, George Ireland and Edward Tarbock Esquires one-third each, and Edward Norris, Henry Eccleston and William More Esquires one-quarter each.⁽¹⁾ At least at the top of the scale the ranking remained fairly constant, and it seems likely that where loans and military provisions were required contemporaries were unlikely to allow glaring discrepancies to pass uncommented upon.

A rather wider indication of levels of wealth is provided by subsidy assessments; these may bear no relation to true levels of income by the second half of the sixteenth century but within any locality these assessments do maintain some relationship with each other.⁽²⁾ For instance early in the reign Sir Richard Molyneux was assessed at eighty pounds, twice as much as his nearest rivals - William Norris and Richard Bold. These two esquires were separated by a considerable gulf from other esquires, for example John Harrington at five pounds, George

(1) B.L. Harl. Mss. 2219, f. 78.

(2) Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, p. 139.

Ireland, John More and John Eccleston at ten pounds each, and from all the mere gentlemen rated usually at one, two or three pounds.⁽¹⁾ The life style supported by these lowest assessments must have been very different from that of Sir Richard Molyneux.

A more detailed, but partial, indication of wealth of some particular gentry is provided by probate evidence. Clearly that surviving is not necessarily representative, but its detail is unavailable from virtually any other source. It has been claimed that the personal estates of the leading gentry during the reign of Elizabeth I were in the region of two or three thousand pounds.⁽²⁾ Through absence of evidence for the Molyneux and Bold families it is not possible to substantiate this in south-west Lancashire, but quite possibly the Molyneux family came into this category and the Bolds nearly so. Richard Bold's younger brother who lived at Cranshaw Hall in Bold certainly provided easily the most substantial gentry inventory.⁽³⁾ Probably not far behind came the other esquires such as the Mores, the Norris and the Irelands. (Although a little after the period under consideration, Gilbert Ireland Esquire provided an inventory in 1626 totalling £983-11-4 including seventy pounds' worth of plate, whilst an inventory of Speke Hall where the Norris lived totalled £1030-0-8 in 1624.⁽⁴⁾)

After this small élite group of gentry probate evidence suggests

(1) See Table X.

(2) Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, p. 110.

(3) See Table XI.

(4) L.R.O., Inventory of Gilbert Ireland, Hale 1626.
E. B. Saxton, "The Speke Inventory 1624" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 97, 1945, p.p. 106-143.

TABLE X: CENTRY RETURNS FROM THE SUBSIDIES OF 1523-4, 1563, 1581 AND 1599.

	1523-4 ⁽¹⁾	1563 ⁽²⁾	1581 ⁽³⁾	1599 ⁽⁴⁾
<u>Huyton Parish.</u>				
Tarbock	16-16-0	5- 0-0	10- 0-0	10- 0-0
Harrington	10-10-0	5- 0-0	5- 0-0	4- 0-0
Tildesley	3- 3-0		1- 0-0	Doughty 1- 0-0
Lathom	4- 4-0			
		Wolfall 1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
		Orme 1- 0-0		
		Knowle 1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
		Stockley 1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
<u>Childwall Parish.</u>				
Norris	31-10-0	40- 0-0	13- 6-8	13- 6-8
Brettergh	6- 6-0		16-10-0	6- 0-0
Toxteth	4- 4-0			
		Lathom 1- 6-8		
		Woodward 1- 0-0		
		Ireland 10- 0-0	13- 6-8	13- 6-8
				Tarleton 1- 0-0
<u>Walton Parish.</u>				
Molyneux	157-10-0	80- 0-0		
More	18-18-0	10- 0-0	8- 0-0	10- 0-0
Fazakerley	6- 6-0	3- 0-0	3- 0-0	3- 0-0
Ackers	3- 3-0			
Fazakerley	2- 2-0			
		1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
		Crosse 3- 0-0	4- 0-0	4- 0-0
		Ryding 1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
		Breres 3- 0-0	3- 0-0	3- 0-0
		Secum 2- 0-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0
		Fazakerley 3- 0-0	3- 0-0	
		Houghton 3- 0-0	3- 0-0	3- 0-0
		Bury 2- 0-0		
		Norris 1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
		Fletcher 1- 0-0	1- 0-0	
			Longworth 3- 0-0	
<u>Prescot Parish.</u>				
Bold	33- 6-8	40- 0-0	50- 0-0	50- 0-0
Eccleston	14-14-0	10- 0-0	5- 0-0	8- 0-0
Lancaster	10-10-0	2- 0-0	4- 0-0	4- 0-0
Lathom	6- 6-0			
Tunstall	1- 1-0			
Cropper	1- 1-0			
Parr	1- 1-0		1- 0-0	1- 0-0
Cowley	2- 2-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
Arflynche	1- 1-0			
Roughley	1- 1-0			
Standish	11-11-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
Bower	3- 3-0			
Holland	3- 3-0		1- 0-0	1- 0-0
Ashton	2- 2-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
Travers	4- 4-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0
Pemberton	6- 6-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0	2- 0-0
Lancaster	4- 4-0			
Garnett	2- 2-0	1- 0-0	2- 0-0	1- 0-0
Mossele	2- 2-0			
Eltonhead	6- 6-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0
Holland	2- 2-0			
Wolfall	2- 2-0			
Houghton	6- 6-0			
Parr	2- 2-0			
Rixton	2- 2-0	3- 0-0	3- 0-0	3- 0-0
Whittle	2- 2-0	1- 6-8	2- 0-0	2- 0-0
Ley	2- 2-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
Slynehead	1- 1-0	1- 0-0		
Ashton	1- 1-0	6- 0-0	4- 0-0	4- 0-0
Penketh	2- 2-0	4- 0-0	4- 0-0	4- 0-0
Tildesley	2- 2-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0
Ditchfield	2- 2-0	3- 0-0	3- 0-0	3- 0-0
Ditchfield	1- 1-0			
Coney	1- 1-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0
Garnett	1- 6-8			
		Halsall 1- 0-0		
		Layton 1- 0-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0
		Pearson 2- 0-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0
		Watmough 1-10-0	2- 0-0	2- 0-0
		Mayhish 1- 0-0		
		Wetherby 1- 0-0	1- 0-0	1- 0-0

Lee	1-0-0
Reve	1-0-0

Eccles	1-0-0
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Taylor	1-0-0
Farrer	1-0-0

- (1) P.R.O. Exchequer Queen's Remembrancer, E179/130/84.
- (2) Ibid., E179/131/211.
- (3) Ibid., E179/131/234.
- (4) Ibid., E179/131/272.

that the great majority of south-west Lancashire gentlemen lived in much more modest circumstances. Even esquires such as the Tarbocks had inventories totalling only just over four hundred pounds, and Percival Harrington Esquire who died in 1609 left possessions very comparable with those of many gentlemen.⁽¹⁾ Many gentlemen had total personal estates valued at less than one hundred pounds and not many at more than two hundred pounds. For these gentlemen investment in livestock, crops and agricultural equipment was paramount so that their household goods were usually only a small percentage of their possessions and luxury lay in the possession of half a dozen silver spoons.⁽²⁾

An outward indication of the level of wealth of these gentry might have been in the clothes they wore. By the end of the sixteenth century considerable legislation and proclamations controlled apparel through various financial distinctions - in theory if not in practice.⁽³⁾ Most south-west Lancashire gentry would have been classified according to the lower categories and the valuations of their apparel in probate inventories support this.⁽⁴⁾ Usually clothing was valued at no more than five pounds and cannot have been either elaborate or extensive. An outstanding exception to this pattern is provided by the gentleman/soldier, George Ackers, who had such an array of clothing that it

(1) See Table XI.

(2) Ibid.

(3) N. B. Harte, "State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England", in ed. D. C. Coleman and A. H. John, Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England, London 1976, p.p. 133-135.

(4) See Table XI.

TABLE XI: PROBATE INVENTORIES OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE GENTRY.

Date	Name	Status	Total Inventory Valuation	Apparel Valuation	Plate & Money Valuation	Plate & Money	Agricultural Products & Equipment	Percentage of Total Valuation	Debts owed by testator	Debts owing to testator
1563	John Ogle Whiston	Gent.	140-11- 8	2- 0- 0	4- 6-8	1 silver gilt salt 7 silver spoons	71-18-10	51%		
1567	William Ditchfield Ditton	Gent.	63-16- 0	1- 6- 8	1- 0-0	6 silver spoons	43-19- 4	69%	8- 2-4	
1572	Robert Layton Prescott	Gent.	42-18- 4	1- 5- 8	21- 0-0	6 silver spoons Cash £19-10-0	5- 6- 4	12%		
1576	Thomas Orme Roby	Gent.	86- 5- 6	2- 6- 8			56- 3- 2	65%	58- 2-8	
1578	Roger Bold Farnworth	Gent.	65- 0- 8	1-13- 4			43-12- 8	67%	44-19-9	
1583	William Brettergh Aigburth (son and heir)	Gent.	37-17- 2	13- 4	4- 3-4	1 silver salt 8 silver spoons	18- 6- 2	48%		
1584	Lawrence Breres Walton	Gent.	163-10-10	4- 0- 0	3- 1-4	12 silver spoons	123- 1- 4	75%		
1588	George Ackers Liverpool	Gent.	87- 0- 9	32- 9-10	7-19-8	1 silver salt, 1 gilt salt, 2 silver cups, 1 gilt cup and cover, 6 silver spoons, bowl garnished with silver	1- 1- 4	01%		670-2-4
1588	Francis Bold Bold	Gent.	1436-16- 6	10- 0- 0	18- 9-6	2 silver goblets, 2 silver salts, 18 silver spoons	178- 8- 4	12%		
1590	Anne More Liverpool	widow of Esq.	232- 4- 9	3- 6- 8	34-13-8	3 silver gilt salts, 2 silver gilt cups and covers, 2 flat silver bowls, 1 silver piece, 1 double gilt cup, 7 apostle spoons, 37 silver spoons	115- 5- 8	50%		
1592	Henry Corey Ditton	Gent.	134-19- 4	5- 0- 0			68- 0- 0	50%	30- 0-0	

1592	William Cooke Little Woolton	Gent.	86-19-11	3- 0- 0	2- 7-0	7 silver spoons, 24 silver buttons, Cash 15/-	48- 0-0	55%	25-16-0	
1592	Cuthbert Lathom, Allerton	Gent.	245-19- 4	5- 0- 0	10-10-0	1 silver salt and cover, 1 silver gilt bowl, 1 silver gilt cup, 12 silver spoons	213- 4-8	87%		
1595	Roger Breres Walton	Gent.	214- 7- 8	4- 0- 0	5-13-4		154- 1-0	72%		
1596	Elizabeth Bold Bold	widow of Gent.	748-15- 6	13- 6- 8	22- 6-8	2 silver salts, 2 silver goblets, 2 silver cans, 24 silver spoons	227-12- 4	30%		
1598	Henry Coney Ditton	Gent.	45- 9- 8	8- 0- 0			15- 0- 0	33%	57- 6-2	
1602	Henry Myleson Sutton (son and hair)	Gent.	100- 8- 0	2- 6- 8			70-15- 0	70%	3-12-0	
1603	Thomas Fox Windle	Gent.	249- 0- 2	10- 0- 0	8- 0-0		117- 6- 7	47%	68- 0-8	
1603	Randle Rixton Great Sankey	Gent.	74- 6- 4	2- 3- 4			6-11- 0	09%		
1608	Edward Tarbock Tarbock	Esq.	404- 4- 0				210- 5- 4	52%		
1609	Percival Harrington Huyton	Esq.	184-16- 8	6-13- 4			104- 8- 0	56%		

was itemized in his probate inventory; he had eleven shirts (£1-0-0), two gowns (£2-0-0), ten pairs of hose (£6-0-0), seven doublets (£6-0-0), two jerkins (16/-), six cloaks (£14-0-0), one cassock (2/6), nine pairs of stockings (£1-0-0), four handkerchiefs (1/4), six hats (£1-0-0) and boots and shoes (10/-).⁽¹⁾ This list highlights the paucity of clothing of most gentlemen and esquires; the exceptions were few, such as George Ackers, Gilbert Ireland Esquire who had apparel valued at thirty pounds, the second son of Edward Norris Esquire who wore a black satin doublet and garters edged with silver lace, and Sir Richard Molyneux who was able to refer in his will to a great jewel set with diamonds valued at seven hundred pounds, to eighteen diamond buttons worth three hundred pounds and to a necklace of great pearls valued at four hundred pounds.⁽²⁾

Even if their clothing was usually not elaborate, most gentry had the accoutrements of their class in the shape of a signet ring and a sword. Many of the surviving wills make specific mention of the ring; Lawrence Breres, Roger Breres, William Fox, Edward Heyes, George Ackers, Richard Cooke, William Tarbock, John Crosse and John Ireland all had at least one gold ring they regarded as an heirloom.⁽³⁾ Typically, William Tarbock referred to "my signet that I wear on my finger", whilst John Ireland had "a signet of arms that was my father's."⁽⁴⁾ John Ireland, in fact, also had a

(1) L.R.O., Inventory of George Ackers, Liverpool 1588.

(2) L.R.O., Inventory of Gilbert Ireland, Hale 1626.
L.R.O., DDM 17/109.
P.R.O., STAC 5 A 38/31.

(3) See Appendix IV.

(4) Ibid.

diamond ring and George Ackers a silver seal. A sword and possession of other weapons and armour was further evidence of genteel status. Alexander Holland, Henry Myleson, Richard Cooke, George Ackers and Henry Coney all mentioned their sword, dagger and/or rapier, whilst Alexander Holland and Francis Bold had plate coats and sallets as well. John Wardell had a gilt pistol, Richard Cooke a caliver, William Fox a caliver and great pistol and Percival Harrington a birding piece, whereas the ex-soldier George Ackers had a veritable armoury with three calivers, two fowling pieces, four flax and touchboxes, four morions, two bandoliers, a sword, a buckler, two rapiers and two daggers.⁽¹⁾

Just as a measure of outward display of wealth and status was evident from some of the gentry in life - so too in death, at least for the élite who could afford a burial in a manner commensurate with that status. In his will of 1557 William Tarbock Esquire arranged to be buried without pride in his own chapel under the tomb of Sir William Tarbock, black gowns were to be provided for his brothers, sisters, the priest and all the yeomen in his service, and a dole was to be provided within fourteen days with bread distributed within Tarbock, Huyton, Knowsley, Prescot, Whiston, Cronton, Ditton, Halewood, Much Woolton, Little Woolton and Liverpool.⁽²⁾ With rather more pride, half a century later Thomas Lancaster Esquire of Rainhill decreed that "my bodie be chested, brought and buried within my

(1) Ibid.

(2) Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, p.p. 71-75.

chappell in the parish church of Prescott ... so neare to my anncestors as convenientlie maie be", that a hearse portrayed with arms should stand on the tomb, that his executors and retainers in livery should be provided with mourning, and that "my armes be set in colours and rightly approved by law in the south glass window in my chapel."⁽¹⁾

A further indication of the levels of wealth of the south-west Lancashire gentry is provided by their housing. It could be expected that gentlemen would hope to live in surroundings appropriate to their status and wealth. Only the one knight, Sir Richard Molyneux, is known to have had more than one residence - Croxteth Hall and Sefton Hall in neighbouring parishes, although during the sixteenth century Croxteth remained the preferred residence.⁽²⁾ Little detail, however, remains of the size and contents of this house in this period. The esquires, though, provide rather more detail of their housing through probate evidence.⁽³⁾ Speke Hall, the home of the Norris family, had by 1624 some sixty-seven rooms and some associated outbuildings, whilst the Hutte in Halewood, the residence of the Ireland family, had fifty-two separate rooms identified in 1626. A little more modest was the thirty-six room Tarbock Hall, the sole residence of the Tarbock

(1) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Lancaster, Rainhill 1607.

(2) V.C.H. III, p. 70.

(3) O. Ashmore, "Household Inventories of the Lancashire Gentry 1550-1700" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 110, 1958, p.p. 59-95.

family.⁽¹⁾ Although possibly not entirely complete these inventory details provide some sense of the size and variety of accommodation provided for the wealthier esquires. Not all could aspire to such palatial surroundings and certainly one esquire, Percival Harrington of Huyton Hey, lived in a rather more modest residence with seventeen rooms in all.⁽²⁾

(1) Saxton, "The Speke Inventory 1624", p.p. 106-143.

The rooms mentioned include the little and great nurseries, the withdrawing chamber, the chamber over the compass window, the chamber at the stair head, Sir Thomas Gerard's chamber, the painted chamber, my lord's chamber, the chamber over the school, the inner chamber, the chamber over the gates, the chapel chamber, the chamber next to Mr. Tildesley, Mr. Tildesley's chamber, the school chamber, the cellar chamber, the great parlour, the little parlour, the hall, the new little chapel, the master's chamber, Mrs. Wolfall's chamber, the kitchen chamber, the corner chamber, the inner chamber, the trunk chamber, the cheese chamber, the chamber over the little parlour, the other inner chamber, Mr. Edward's closet, the old chapel, the store house, the closet over the kitchen chamber, the porter's chamber, the brewers' chamber, the chamber next the new bridge, the chamber next the brewhouse, the chimney chamber, the tailor's chamber, the dovehouse chamber, the workhouse, the housekeeper's chamber, two servants' chambers, the ox keeper's chamber, the chamber over the dog kennel, the chamber at the stair head, the new house in the false roof, the kitchen, the deyhouse, the brewhouse, the upper and lower galleries, the bolting house, the bread loft, the dry larder, the scullery, the new kitchen, the feather house, the buttery, the oven house and the candle house.

L.R.O. Inventory of Gilbert Ireland, Hale 1626.

L.R.O. Inventory of Edward Tarbock, Tarbock 1608.

(2) L.R.O. Inventory of Percival Harrington, Huyton 1609.

Depending on their level of wealth, gentlemen might aspire to something of this size or property rather smaller. Thomas Lancaster and Alexander Holland both had houses of twenty-two rooms, whereas Thomas Fox and Randle Rixton had only fourteen and ten room houses.⁽¹⁾ The size and importance of virtually all gentry houses, however, was accentuated by their service and outbuildings, particularly in view of the importance of animals and husbandry to most gentlemen.⁽²⁾ Bold Hall had its barns, kilns, garner, stables, slaughter house, tanpits, ox houses, cow houses, swine houses and two great barns.⁽³⁾ Speke Hall had its stables, barns, garner, dovehouse, oven house, candle house, feather house, bolting house, dey house and brew house.⁽⁴⁾ Even in Liverpool Robert More had a brew house, a milk house, a furse house, a street barn, the castle barn and the park barn.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) L.R.O. Inventory of Thomas Lancaster, Rainhill 1629.
 Inventory of Alexander Holland, Sutton 1589.
 Inventory of Thomas Fox, Windle 1603.
 Inventory of Randle Rixton, Great Sankey 1603.
 For example, Randle Rixton's house had a parlour, a chamber, a little parlour, a work house, a hall, a buttery, a chamber over the buttery, a great larder, a little larder and a kitchen.
- (2) See Table XI.
- (3) P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster, Special Commissions, DL 44 No. 773.
- (4) Saxton, "The Speke Inventory 1624", p.p. 106-143.
- (5) L.R.O. Inventory of Robert More, Liverpool 1608.

Size of building certainly ensured a degree of comfort for most gentry, but the quality of furnishing again demonstrates the range of gentry wealth.⁽¹⁾ Some gentry had only a small proportion of their personal estate invested in household goods.⁽²⁾ Thomas Orme of Roby and William Cooke of Little Woolton both had virtually no luxury goods listed amongst their possessions and both were careful to bequeath their window glass with their houses.⁽³⁾ George Ackers had three pictures in his Liverpool house, and collections of plate were usually very modest.⁽⁴⁾ Only a handful of gentry, not even all of the esquires, had any amount of luxury furnishing. Anne - the widow of John More Esquire - did have wainscot in the hall and parlour, a bed hung with red and yellow silk curtains, and red and green curtains of Levant taffeta in her house in Liverpool.⁽⁵⁾ At Speke Hall by 1624 there were ten pictures on the walls in the master's chamber, there were forty Venetian glasses, and in the little parlour there was a table, fifteen stools, a great chair, three playing tables, a plate cupboard, a Jerusalem map, a great calendar hanging on the wall, and a chessboard and pieces.⁽⁶⁾

The esquires and many gentlemen lived during the sixteenth century on moated sites; these had been constructed several

- (1) E. Mercer, "Houses of the Gentry" in Past and Present, No. 5, 1954, p.p. 11-12.
- (2) See Table XI.
- (3) L.R.O. Inventory of Thomas Orme, Roby 1576.
L.R.O. Inventory of William Cooke, Little Woolton, 1592.
- (4) L.R.O. Inventory of George Ackers, Liverpool, 1588.
See Table XI.
- (5) L.R.O. Inventory of Anne More, Liverpool, 1590.
- (6) Saxton, "The Speke Inventory 1624", p.p. 122-128.

centuries earlier, probably defensively although possibly as a protection for livestock or as a water and fish supply or even as a prestige symbol.⁽¹⁾ In south Lancashire many of these moats were quite narrow - less than thirty feet - and perhaps built in the early fourteenth century. Many were simple, small, rectangular moats with a small platform - as at Barrow Hall and Mossborough Hall. Manorial sites such as Speke Hall and the Hutte had larger sites.⁽²⁾ By the sixteenth century these traditional sites were still occupied by the gentry, but to what extent in traditional houses remains debatable.

Claims have been made that rebuilding activity in rural England began in the 1560 s and had become conspicuous by the end of the sixteenth century, although the activity was perhaps delayed somewhat in the North. The rebuilding boom was led by the nobility and the gentry influenced by the declining value of defence, greater prosperity, greater comfort, the advance of Renaissance ideas and a desire to demonstrate status.⁽³⁾ To what extent contemporary

- (1) A. Archer and D. Wilson, "Moated Sites in Cheshire", in Cheshire Archaeological Bulletin, No. 2, 1974, p.p. 5-7.
- (2) H. Taylor, "Some Observations on the Distribution and Origins of Homestead Moats in South Lancashire", B.Ed. Padgate College of Education, 1975, passim.
 "Moated Sites", Merseyside Archaeological Seminar, March, 1982. Moated sites existed at Speke, Hutte, Harrocks Hall, Halewood, Peel House Widnes, Tarbock Hall Tarbock, Bank House Kirkdale, Cranshaw Hall, Barrow Hall, Old Moat House and Bold Hall in Bold, Huyton Hey, Wolfall Hall, Micklehead Green, Mossborough Hall, and Ditton Hall.
- (3) W. G. Hoskins, Provincial England, London, 1963, p.p. 131-148. M. Airs, The Making of the English Country House 1500-1640, London, 1975, p.p. 1-14.

architectural fashions became known in south-west Lancashire and were implemented by the gentry can be assessed from only fragmentary evidence. Certainly most of the gentry with such modest standards of living would have been unlikely to have contributed much.⁽¹⁾

Sir Richard Molyneux would have had most money and it is possible that part or even all of Croxteth Hall was rebuilt during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, probably after 1580 when he achieved his majority.⁽²⁾ In 1589 at least some building was taking place, and during the 1560s and 1570s the family had built 'New Hall' on the borders of Walton and Fazakerley for the third son of Sir Richard (died 1569).⁽³⁾ Unfortunately nothing further is known of these buildings.

Elsewhere some esquires had a reasonable income and certainly new building work was taking place during the second half of the sixteenth century. However, there is no indication of totally new planned houses - only of extension and refurbishment. At Speke Hall the first section of the house was constructed between c.1490-1506, with alterations made to the hall and parlour 1524-35, and then new east and west ranges built 1540-63 - the east range for kitchens and services and the west for family accommodation. In 1598 Edward Norris completed the quadrilateral house by constructing a north range - with his own and his wife's initials on it. He also added

(1) Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, p. 206.

(2) V.C.H. III, p. 15.

(3) L.R.O., DDM 1/14.
V.C.H. III, p. 16.

galleries to the older part of the house, an entrance porch and a new bridge over the moat. Much of this work has traditional Gothic features but maybe a little Renaissance symmetry is apparent.⁽¹⁾ Edward Norris' wife was a Londoner and it is possible that some of the furnishing styles and materials came from there. The inscribed wainscot in the Great Hall was acquired in 1564 and is perhaps of Flemish origin, as is the stucco ceiling of the Great Parlour. However, the carved genealogical over-mantel of a similar date is probably of English vernacular origin.⁽²⁾

Other indications suggest some building work was taking place elsewhere. At the Hutte the Ireland family had the "old hall" and the "new ende" by 1626, whilst it is possible that in about 1600 this family had constructed a completely new house at Hale with five projecting bays with gables and mullioned windows.⁽³⁾ The Lancaster family at Rainhill Hall added a north wing to their house in about 1600.⁽⁴⁾ Alexander Holland's probate inventory of 1589 refers to the "new house" and "new loft" at Sutton.⁽⁵⁾ In 1579 James Penberton of Whiston was in dispute over ashlar stones that he had quarried - presumably for some building work.⁽⁶⁾ The 'Scholes' at Eccleston was a red sandstone, fifteenth century house that was extended and

- (1) R. Millington, Guide to Speke Hall, Liverpool, no date, p.p. 5-7, p.p. 14-17.
- (2) H. Winstanley, "Speke Hall" in T.H.S.L.C., Vol. 71, 1919, p.p. 14-17.
G. Ormerod, "A Memoir of the Lancashire House of Norris" in T.H.S.L.C., Vol. 2, 1849-50, p. 169.
- (3) L.R.O. Inventory of Gilbert Ireland, Hale 1626. V.C.H. III, p. 147.
- (4) Ibid., p. 370.
- (5) L.R.O. Inventory of Alexander Holland, Sutton 1589.
- (6) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 110 B 21.

modernized during the reign of Elizabeth I with two porches and two cross-wings by the Standish family.⁽¹⁾ Allerton Hall, the home of the Lathom family, was probably an Elizabethan gabled house.⁽²⁾ Yet amidst this modest measure of building and refurbishment much older, traditional property must have remained. A reminder of what could so quickly happen is provided by a survey which described Bold Hall in 1610. Richard Bold Esquire - probably the second wealthiest gentleman in south-west Lancashire - had died in 1603 and his widow, although remarried, had kept possession of the Hall. Richard Bold's illegitimate son, Thomas, eventually claimed possession and instigated the survey which claimed that the house was in great ruin and decay - the glass, the brick chimneys, the slates and the timber work all needed attention.⁽³⁾ Individual family circumstances were clearly of as much consequence as regional characteristics.

Associated with the houses of the gentry were their parks enclosed by a fence of pales as at Tarbock and Bold.⁽⁴⁾ Bold Park had a little paddock for deer in it and plats and bridges across the brooks in the park; there was even a timber lodge in the centre.⁽⁵⁾ At Croxteth Sir Richard Molyneux had his goshawks and his greyhounds,

- (1) T. C. Barker and S. A. Harris, "The Scholes: A Sixteenth Century Lancashire House" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 113, 1961, p.p. 43-54.
- (2) P. Fleetwood-Hesketh, Lancashire Architectural Guide, London, 1955, p. 70.
- (3) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 773.
- (4) L.R.O., DDM 48/79.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 773.

whilst William Tarbock Esquire had a tercel and a goshawk.⁽¹⁾ Sport and hunting were certainly available to the gentry - even illegally. In 1603 Thomas Eccleston Gentleman and his son Henry of Parr township together with about twenty followers armed with guns, pistols, swords, daggers, bows, arrows and pitchforks were accused of stealing into the park of Sir Piers Legh at Bradley in the adjoining township with greyhounds and nets to catch the deer. They had killed a large buck and chased many others, although Henry Eccleston claimed he had only a young, untried greyhound which ran away!⁽²⁾ An indication of the relatively new ideas of comfort and amenity is the hint of gardens provided at Bold Hall where gardens with their "beds or quarters" were mentioned in 1610 (perhaps knot gardens), and at Rainhill Hall where the "garden chamber" was referred to in 1607.⁽³⁾

Yet another demonstration of the level of gentry wealth is evident in their educational opportunities. Virtually all of the gentry could afford to use local schools, and many could afford a tutor/steward. A minority could even afford to send their sons away for their education; certainly Rivington in Lancashire and Eton close to London were used by some south-west Lancashire gentry.⁽⁴⁾ In whatever way they came by their early instruction, probably almost all gentry had some form of schooling in this area by the second half of the sixteenth century, and the results of this are evident in the

(1) L.R.O., DDM 1/10.
Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, p.p. 71-75.

(2) P.R.O., STAC 5 L30/32.

(3) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 773.
L.R.O., Inventory of Thomas Lancaster, Rainhill 1607.

(4) See Chapter XII.

level of known literacy.⁽¹⁾ Just three instances of illiteracy by minor gentlemen are known, Hamlet Hey and Edward Tildesley of Ditton and Richard Hey of West Derby. One hundred and four gentry certainly were able to sign their name, and about as many again have left no evidence. In fact quite a proportion of gentry from the four parishes attended university and/or one of the Inns of Court. For example, the Molyneux family had two brothers at Gray's Inn and the Middle Temple during the 1550 s, Richard Molyneux attended University College, Oxford, during the 1570 s, and his son Thomas was at Gray's Inn during the 1590 s.⁽²⁾

Perhaps not quite the same enthusiasm for education was applied to female members of gentry families. Very few instances of female signatures have survived, but there is an indication that the wives and daughters of esquire families had the ability to sign, whereas those from gentleman families were less likely to - possibly depending on the availability of family tutoring.⁽³⁾

Closely associated with educational opportunities was the gentry's financial ability to travel. Fragmentary details only suggest what was possible and indeed likely on the part of gentry from the four parishes. During the 1550 s William Norris of Speke was

(1) See Table XI.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. 60 M 17.
L.R.O., DDM 17/99.
L.T.B. I, p. 33 and p. 319.

(3) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 43/11.
L.R.O., DDM 51/55.
L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 253/8.
Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 193 and 1035.
Liv. R.O., 920 NOR2/534 and 632.

5 females could sign their names (3 wives of esquires and 2 daughters of esquires). 4 females made their mark (1 daughter of an esquire, 2 wives of gentlemen and 1 daughter of a gentleman).

buying damask and black velvet from a London clothdealer, his son married the daughter of a London merchant, and his grandson was apprenticed to a London merchant tailor.⁽¹⁾ Likewise the son of John More Esquire was apprenticed to a London clothier.⁽²⁾ Whether through apprenticeship is not known, but by 1592 the younger brother of Richard Cooke Gentleman was living and working in London.⁽³⁾ Travel, however, was not only possible for employment or commercial transactions; William the eldest son of William Brettergh Gentleman seems to have been just visiting London when he died there in 1582.⁽⁴⁾ Thomas, the son and heir of Richard Bold Esquire, was living in New Fish Street in London in 1594, and by 1602 the son and heir of Edward Eccleston Esquire had gone to live for a time in Petticoat Lane.⁽⁵⁾ London may have been particularly attractive for various reasons, but certainly travel elsewhere was equally possible. In 1563 there is an intriguing reference to two gentry, Richard Bold and Henry Eccleston Esquire, and their servants returning via Le Havre to Liverpool after abandoning their planned voyage to Jerusalem; they had got as far as Rome!⁽⁶⁾

Not surprisingly when that sort of travel could be financed, an interest in Ireland was also possible. From the 1560 s onwards

- (1) Liv. R.O., 920 NOR 2/492.
University of Liverpool Archives, Norris Deeds 251.
See p. 439.
- (2) Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 251.
- (3) L.R.O., Will of Richard Cooke, Little Woolton 1592
- (4) R. Stewart Brown, "The Brettarghs of Brettargh Holt in Woolton" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 83, 1936, p. 223.
- (5) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. XII, p. 167.
Raines, Derby Household Books, p. lxiv.
- (6) L.T.B. I, p. 222.

schemes were promoted to foster private speculators and colonists, such as Sir Thomas Gerard's scheme in 1563 to settle Lancashire Catholics in Antrim. As with other early proposals, nothing actually came of this plan, but by the 1580 s more definite schemes were considered. An Act of 1585 allowed for a plantation in Munster and over the next two years various 'undertakers' were appointed. In Limerick two of the four 'undertakers' were Sir Richard Molyneux and Richard Bold Esquire; by 1589 it was claimed that 'the Comrowe' in Waterford and Limerick of twelve thousand acres was held by Sir Richard Molyneux, and that 'Knockorden' of some two thousand acres was held by Richard Bold. A few settlers were established in Munster, but many 'undertakers' never actually went to Ireland themselves preferring to operate through agents. The Ulster rebellion of the 1590 s had repercussions throughout Ireland so that by the end of the century 'undertakers' were unlikely to have seen any return for their investment.⁽¹⁾ Unless they were associated in partnership, the majority of south-west Lancashire gentry played no part in these colonizing schemes, but the two wealthiest gentry at least considered a serious involvement.

c) Their Income.

Not unexpectedly, for most of the south-west Lancashire gentry the bulk of their income came entirely from their land in the form of rents, profits from farming and the perquisites of their manor courts. As has been indicated from the subsidy assessments, status

(1) ed. H. C. Hamilton, Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, London 1877, Vol. III, p. 77, p. 313, Vol. IV, p. 131. D. B. Quinn, "The Munster Plantation: Problems and Opportunities" in Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, Vol. LXXI, 1966, p.p. 19-24.

usually was associated with wealth and clearly the Molyneux was easily the largest landowning gentry family in this area. The manor of Sefton had been in the family's possession since the twelfth century, and by the mid sixteenth century this modest holding had been consolidated, for example by a certain amount of exchange of property with William Norris of Speke.⁽¹⁾ By Sir William Molyneux's death in 1548 he held Sefton together with property in Kirkby, Kirkdale, Walton, Fazakerley and Liverpool.⁽²⁾ Over the next twenty years, however, Sir Richard Molyneux considerably enhanced his landed position. As soon as they became available he leased the land of three ~~Liverpool~~ Liverpo~~l~~ chancies, and entered into the local property market.⁽³⁾ As bailiff of the royal West Derby manor he had significant local knowledge and acquired various pieces of land in the manor, most notably the capital messuage of Ackers Hall purchased in 1562 from Henry Ackers for two hundred and forty pounds.⁽⁴⁾ In 1565 Sir Richard paid over one hundred and twenty pounds for land and a windmill in Kirkdale, and in the same year completed perhaps his most important purchase - half of the manor of Kirkby from Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn. Sir Richard paid one thousand pounds for a mill, a dovecote, forty acres of woodland, over one thousand acres of farmland and over three thousand acres of moss and moorland.⁽⁵⁾ At his death in 1569 Sir

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- (1) V.C.H. III, p. 67.
L.R.O., DDM 17/79.
- (2) P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster Records, Inquisitions Post Mortem DL 7, Vol. IX, No. 2.
- (3) P.R.O. DL 14 Bundle 5/18.
L.R.O., DDM 39/71 and 72.
- (4) V.C.H. III, p. 13 and p. 15.
- (5) L.R.O. DDM 36/14 and 15.
L.R.O. DDM 35/26 and 28.
P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XIII, No. 35.

Richard Molyneux had land in Sefton, Thornton, Ince Blundell, Little Crosby, Walton, Litherland, Aintree, Fazakerley, Altcar, Melling, Aughton, Maghull and Kirkby amounting to one thousand messuages, ten windmills and five watermills.⁽¹⁾ Inquisitions post mortem may contain suspiciously round figures and there are probably some inaccuracies, but they still may provide plausible representations of landed property.⁽²⁾

This augmentation of Molyneux estates was halted by the minority of Sir Richard's grandson, Richard, and indeed during his wardship some isolated tenements were sold such as three in Kirkdale, two in Linacre and one in Walton.⁽³⁾ However, as soon as Richard achieved his majority serious land acquisition began again. In 1586 he bought a few closes and a cottage in West Derby and in 1589, ^{spent} nearly two hundred pounds for more land there as well as over three hundred pounds for property in Walton and Fazakerley.⁽⁴⁾ Sir Richard's great opportunity, however, came with the disputed inheritance of the sixth Earl of Derby. In 1596 he was able to find one thousand marks to buy the manor of Ulnes Walton in north Lancashire from Earl William, and also over one thousand pounds to purchase the other half of Kirkby manor from Thomas Stanley (the illegitimate son of the fourth Earl).⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Bennett, "Late Medieval Society", p. 187.

(3) Liv. R.O., 920 M00 749.

(4) L.R.O., DDM 1/14, DDM 51/55, DDM 52/28 and 29.

(5) L.R.O., DDM 35/32.

L.R.O., Clifton of Lytham Papers DDC1 187.

V.C.H. III, p. 54.

Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 51.

Only eight years later Sir Richard found a further one thousand, one hundred pounds to purchase Toxteth Park from Earl William.⁽¹⁾ A final concord of 1603 makes reference to Molyneux possession of eight thousand messuages with forty mills and twenty dovecotes.⁽²⁾ Some of this property was in north and mid Lancashire, but the great bulk of it was concentrated in the Walton, Sefton and Aughton parish area where presumably it could be quite closely administered and supervised by Sir Richard.

Since the fifteenth century the Molyneux family had held some royal appointments in the south-west Lancashire area - the master forestership of Toxteth, Croxteth and Simonswood, constable of Liverpool castle, steward of West Derby and Salfordshire.⁽³⁾ These continued in the hands of the family during the sixteenth century and, for example, were regranted to Sir Richard after his minority in 1585.⁽⁴⁾ The family also held the fee farm of Liverpool and leased the royal mills in Liverpool and West Derby.⁽⁵⁾ However, although welcome and pretigious, these appointments were a source of only modest income; the forestership of Croxteth and Simonswood brought a rent of £8-10-0 per annum, the fee farm of Liverpool was leased to the mayor and burgesses for £11-16-8 per annum, and Town End Mill in Liverpool was leased for £1-5-0 per annum.⁽⁶⁾ All of these offices

(1) Ibid.

(2) L.R.O., DDM 17/100.

(3) V.C.H. III, p. 69.

(4) L.R.O., DDM 3/12.

(5) See p.p. 272-273.

(6) L.R.O., DDM 26/4, DDM 39/76 and DDM 39/107.

augmented annual income on a reliable basis, but clearly the great majority of Molyneux income came from their land.

Total annual income is impossible to calculate, but some impression of Molyneux annual assets is provided by the survival of some rentals. In December, 1568, shortly before the death of Sir Richard, a rental of the south-west Lancashire property calculated an annual income from rent of £61-3-11½.⁽¹⁾ In 1581 a rental of the same area estimated £181-13-2, in 1582 £207-12-9½, in 1589 £292-2-5½, and by 1598 £351-15-4½.⁽²⁾ (By this time Sir Richard had other property in Lancashire as well.) In addition to rental income, demesne property produced its own income and in 1579 using the local large measure this demesne was calculated and over one and a half thousand acres valued at just over three hundred pounds per annum.⁽³⁾ The demesne lay in Sefton, Melling, Altcar, Bradley and at Croxteth. Here at least it consisted of three orchards, five crofts, eight fields and ten meadows together with the park of over four hundred acres.⁽⁴⁾ Presumably much demesne produce was consumed by the family, but in 1581 over two hundred pounds was raised by the sale of oats, barley, straw, rye, sheep, cattle and calf skins.⁽⁵⁾ Whilst not providing a total annual income, these details would suggest that by the last quarter of the sixteenth century the

(1) L.R.O., DDM 12/30.

(2) L.R.O., DDM 1/10, 1/11, 1/14 and 1/17.

(3) See p. 197.

(4) L.R.O., DDM 14/8.

(5) L.R.O., DDM 1/10.

Molyneux family was prospering and managing to do so in its immediate locality through mainly landed income. This was at the same time as coping with the expense of various offices, the vagaries of wardship and provision for quite a large family through two generations.⁽¹⁾

The Molyneux family may have been succeeding, but were other gentry able to emulate them in an area where agriculture was of a fairly uniform pattern?⁽²⁾ As far as the small group of esquires were concerned, the subsidy assessments suggest that only the Bold family prospered overall during the century and that predominantly the other esquires either held their own or, in fact, declined slightly financially.⁽³⁾ Again the relative success of the Bold family appears substantially to be based on steady acquisition of land in the locality. Richard Bold (died 1558) held the manors of Bold and Whiston and in 1545, through reversion in the family, acquired the manor of Sutton. He also had other land in Ditton, Windle, Denton and Upton in Widnes. In total this amounted to two hundred messuages, four watermills, three windmills and four dovecotes.⁽⁴⁾ In 1553 the demesne had been estimated as worth forty pounds per annum.⁽⁵⁾

(1) See p. 108.

(2) See Chapter IV.

(3) See Table X.

(4) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XI, No. 13.
L.R.O., DDHO, Bold Deeds 17.
L.R.O., Misc. Collections, Deposit of Mrs. Bailey, DDX 480/26/17
and /45.
V.C.H. III, p. 356.
Warrington Reference Library, Bold Deeds Ms. 653.

(5) Manchester Reference Library, Farrer Mss., Bold of Bold Charters, L1/51/10/1 f. 335.

Richard Bold's son, Richard, over the next twenty years was able to keep and augment this property through only small purchases, such as paying nearly thirty pounds for a messuage at Bold in 1560 and twenty pounds for seven acres in Sutton.⁽¹⁾ However, during the 1580 s opportunity presented itself in the vicinity through the desperate financial difficulties of the Butler family of Bewsey in Warrington parish. By the early 1580 s Edward Butler was heavily mortgaged to the Earl of Leicester and in 1584 when they agreed to sell land in Burtonwood, Warrington and Great Sankey Richard Bold raised two thousand marks to purchase some of this property - principally in adjacent Great Sankey and Burtonwood.⁽²⁾ Following the death of Edward Butler and the Earl of Leicester, Richard Bold was able to maintain considerable influence in the Warrington area on behalf of the absentee Dudley family.⁽³⁾ Clearly unable to act further himself Richard Bold by 1596 had found a partner in his land acquisitions - Thomas Ireland Esquire.⁽⁴⁾ Probably using their accumulated local influence and financial assets the two men acquired for twelve hundred pounds the Dudley interest in the capital messuage of Bewsey, in 1597 they leased the rectory and parsonage of Warrington for two hundred years, and in 1598 purchased Great Sankey

(1) Warrington Reference Library, Bold Deeds Ms. 659 and Ms. 680.

(2) Ibid., Mss. 81, 673, 681 and 683.

(3) Ibid., Mss. 688 and 1175.

(4) See p. 166.

mills from Sir Robert Dudley.⁽¹⁾ For Richard Bold these purchases were sufficient financial demand for him to negotiate a five hundred pounds' mortgage in 1599 using his Burtonwood property as security and the year before he had sold parcels of land in Ditton and Widnes for sixty pounds, whilst in 1603 he sold more land in Widnes for four hundred and forty pounds.⁽²⁾ Possibly heavy expenditure concentrated over a few years had almost proved too much for Richard Bold, but at least he had been solvent enough to seize an opportunity which presented itself. The sale of property appears to have been restricted, but unfortunately the Bold family proved its own undoing. Richard Bold died in 1603 leaving a disputed inheritance to his illegitimate son. This confusion was compounded by his widow's early remarriage and leasing of much of the property. Not until 1610 did Thomas Bold recover his weakened but not ruined inheritance.⁽³⁾

Other esquires in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire mostly maintained their livelihood on the income from just one or two manors. The Eccleston family held just the manor of Eccleston with about one hundred messuages.⁽⁴⁾ In 1565 Henry Eccleston was able to augment this by purchasing half of the manor of adjacent Rainhill from the Gerards of Bryn.⁽⁵⁾ Twenty years later he tried to buy more land in Skelmersdale from the same family, but claimed

(1) L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 14/10, 18 and 19, Bundle 256, n.n.

(2) Ibid., 14/25.
L.R.O., DDX 480/26/49.
Warrington Reference Library, Lyon Deeds Ms. 1160.

(3) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 773.
L.R.O., DDHo, Bold Deeds 24.

(4) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XVII, No. 9.

(5) V.C.H. III, p. 368.

he had been defrauded.⁽¹⁾ Minor land dealing only seems to have been maintained by this family, for example Edward Eccleston sold a messuage in Rainford for forty pounds in 1598 and bought land in Burtonwood for eighty pounds in 1602 - possibly to benefit from coal mining in the vicinity.⁽²⁾ By the end of the sixteenth century the Ecclestons still depended predominantly on their Eccleston manor and their half of Rainhill, with small amounts of property in Rainford, Ditton, Childwall, Lathom and Liverpool.⁽³⁾ A rental of 1609 estimated an income of just over one hundred pounds per annum from this land - over half from Eccleston.⁽⁴⁾

In a somewhat similar situation was the Ireland family of the Hutte in Halewood. Throughout the sixteenth century this family held the manor of Hutte and Hale with just over one hundred messuages, together with small areas of property not far away in Halewood, Much Woolton, Garston, Childwall, Cronton and West Derby.⁽⁵⁾ Other than for relatively minor local transactions, the only augmentation of this traditional holding was the acquisition through marriage of half of the manor of Crowton in north Cheshire with its forty messuages.⁽⁶⁾

The Irelands' neighbours, the Norris family of Speke Hall, again held just two manors - Speke and adjacent Garston. Garston was

(1) P.R.O., STAC 5 E 6/20 and E 15/21.

(2) L.R.O., QDD 11/21.
L.R.O., DDK 302/5.

(3) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XVII, No. 9.

(4) L.R.O., DDSc 25/6.

(5) P.R.O., WARDS 5/21.

(6) Ibid.
W. Beamont, Hale and Orford, Warrington 1886, p. 48.

acquired only in 1543 when William Norris exchanged his land in Lydiate and Maghull for Garston and tenements in Much Woolton with Lawrence Ireland Esquire.⁽¹⁾ Presumably the great attraction was local property which could be effectively administered. During the 1540 s and 1550 s William Norris exchanged other small pieces of land to further concentrate his property, for instance in 1544 land in Sutton with John Ogle Gentleman and in 1553 land in Wavertree with William Wiswall, a blacksmith.⁽²⁾ He also bought small areas of land ranging from Wheatall pasture in Ditton which cost one hundred pounds to property in Much Woolton for just over five pounds.⁽³⁾ Other land was purchased in the vicinity of Speke - at Halewood, Ditton, Hale, Much Woolton, Childwall and Roby.⁽⁴⁾ Even Garston chapel was bought from one of the King's Commissioners almost as soon as it became available in 1553.⁽⁵⁾ Following a lifetime of land purchase and exchange William Norris died in 1569 possessed of the manors of Speke and Garston and other land located predominantly in Much Woolton and Halewood - altogether accounting for one hundred and fifty-five tenants.⁽⁶⁾

In addition to Garston chapel, William Norris had also shown some interest in land made available because of Reformation changes.

(1) B.L., Add. Ch. 52 473.

(2) Ibid., 52476 and 52508.
Liverpool University Archives, Norris Deeds 184.

(3) Ibid., 191 and 195.

(4) Ibid., 186, 203, 208, 209.
Liv. R.O. 920 NOR 2/644.
B.L., Add. Ch. 52481.

(5) Ibid., 52511.

(6) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924/5c f 151 r and v.
P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XI, No. 22.

At some time in Edward VI's reign he had rented the property of Valle Crucis monastery in North Wales which should have brought annual rents of nearly three hundred pounds, although by the 1560s these rents in Denbighshire had become difficult to collect.⁽¹⁾ Perhaps not so immediately lucrative, but more easy to control was the land of the Knights Hospitallers in Much and Little Woolton. The order had held the land since the twelfth century and just prior to its dissolution in 1540 had leased it to James Anderton of Lostock. In 1549 the remainder of this lease was assigned to William Norris. The order was briefly refounded, but from 1559-1609 the Woolton property reverted to Crown ownership.⁽²⁾ Throughout this period the Norris family served as seneschal of the Woolton manors and leased some of the property.⁽³⁾ Also of very immediate family interest was Childwall chantry which had been endowed by the Norris family late in the fifteenth century.⁽⁴⁾ Eventually in 1598 Edward Norris was able to lease the dissolved chantry lands, and in 1608 his son for one hundred and twenty-five pounds bought back the lands the family had originally bequeathed in Much Woolton, Garston, Halewood and Wavertree.⁽⁵⁾

By the last twenty years of the sixteenth century the Norris family were still acquiring local property; in 1583 Edward Norris paid one thousand marks for land in Walton, Fazakerley and West Derby, and more typically paid

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- (1) B.L., Add. Mss. 36926/1 f.11, 36926/3 f.15, f.23, f.38, f.52.
Liv. R. O. Norris Deeds 920 NOR 16/4 and 5.
- (2) R. Gladstone, "Early Charters of the Knights Hospitallers relating to Much Woolton" in T.H.S.L.C., Vol. 54, 1902, p. 180.
- (3) B.L., Add. Ch. 52549.
L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 253/n.n.
Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 1172 and 1173.
Liv. R. O., Salisbury Mss., Much Woolton Court Rolls, 920 SAL 10.
- (4) See p.p. 522-523.
- (5) B.L., Add. Ch. 52639 and 52689.

eighty-one pounds for a message in Garston in 1598.⁽¹⁾ In 1604 the January rents received by the Norris family amounted to over two hundred pounds.⁽²⁾ However, although sustained so far by their two adjacent manors and local property, the Norris family was in only a superficially secure situation. Edward Norris' rebuilding at Speke Hall and large family commitments may have overtaxed his financial resources, and his son, William, seems to have been personally improvident.⁽³⁾ In 1605 and 1610 small land sales were arranged, but from 1612 onwards the sale of individual plots in more outlying areas at Liverpool, Ditton and Much Woolton escalated - usually to the tenant whether yeoman, husbandman or even schoolmaster.⁽⁴⁾ By 1617 William Norris was raising mortgages which by the 1620 s amounted to over one thousand pounds.⁽⁵⁾

Ten miles away from the Norris family, the More family also held two manors during the sixteenth century - those of Kirkdale and adjacent Bootle, together with some land in Liverpool, Fazakerley, Litherland, West Derby and Little Crosby.⁽⁶⁾ During the second half of the century, like their neighbours, the More family consolidated

- (1) B.L., Add. Ch. 52561, 53031 and 53032.
L.R.O., QDD 12/9d.
- (2) University of Liverpool Archives, Norris Deeds 241.
- (3) See p. 136.
- (4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52631, 52952, 52695, 52696, 52706, 52729, 52730, 52733, 52852, 52953.
- (5) University of Liverpool Archives, Norris Deeds 260 and 264.
- (6) Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 235.
V.C.H. III, p.p. 36-37.
R. Stewart Brown, "Moore of Bankhall" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 63, 1911, p.p. 108-112.

its possessions through purchase of property in their immediate vicinity. John More Esquire paid one hundred and forty pounds in 1554 for twelve messuages in Kirkdale, Fazakerley and Walton; he paid fifty pounds in 1559 for a messuage in Kirkdale, and in 1560 he bought six one half burgages in Liverpool.⁽¹⁾ Probably John More's greatest purchase was in 1566; he raised five hundred and seventy pounds for one quarter of the manor of Bootle.⁽²⁾ By his death in 1576 John More held land amounting to forty-four messuages and fifty-five burgages in Liverpool. A family rental of the same year listed one hundred and twenty-four tenants on this property.⁽³⁾

Steady acquisition of land must have continued still concentrated very much in the parishes of Walton and Sefton. A rental compiled for William More in 1587 recorded one hundred and fifty-five tenants, and by his death in 1602 he held over one hundred messuages and the fifty-five burgages.⁽⁴⁾ Possibly a certain amount of this land purchase had been financed by land profits themselves, probably some through advantageous marriages by John and William More, and perhaps through successful participation in Liverpool's trading activity. Younger sons of the More family certainly substantially augmented their income through trade and,

- (1) Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 247 and 745.
W. Farrer, Final Concords of the County of Lancaster, Part IV c. 1510-1558 in Rec. Soc., Vol. 60, 1910, p. 112.
- (2) Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 972.
- (3) Ibid., 920 MOO 256.
P.R.O., DL 7 Vol. XII No. 6.
- (4) Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 267.
Inquisitions Post Mortem, Rec. Soc., Vol. 3, p.p. 12-14.

more than likely, William More's "adventure" with Richard Bailey in 1592 involving barrels of British salt was not an unusual transaction.⁽¹⁾

Several of the esquires in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire were not, however, maintaining their land and income as well as their neighbours. The Harrington family of Huyton Hey were rated moderately in the subsidy of 1523-4 but appear to have significantly declined in rating by the second half of the century.⁽²⁾ Thomas Parr Esquire died in 1558 holding only part of the manor of Parr with twelve messuages.⁽³⁾ At least four sons shared this inheritance and other land in Parr and were still there during the 1590 s, but the eldest son, William, had granted the manor to John Byrom Esquire in 1566 - presumably because of financial stringency.⁽⁴⁾ By 1613 John Byrom's son held Parr manor with forty messuages.⁽⁵⁾

The Tarbock family of Tarbock was another well established family in this area rated close to the More family in the 1523-4 subsidy.⁽⁶⁾ Thomas Tarbock Esquire died in 1554 holding just one manor at Tarbock with thirty-two messuages, one windmill, two watermills and one fulling mill.⁽⁷⁾ His son William was financially strong enough to pay one hundred and sixty pounds to purchase twelve

(1) Liv. R.O. 920 M00 274.
See Chapter VII.

(2) See Table X.

(3) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XI, No. 19.

(4) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XVI, No. 37.
L.R.O., DDX 444/23.

(5) Inquisitions Post Mortem, Rec. Soc. 3, p. 271.

(6) See Table X.
T. Helsby, "Tarbock of Tarbock" in The Reliquary, Vol. XII, 1870-1, p. 97.

(7) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. X, No. 46.

messuages in Rainford only four years later, but his early death later in the same year may well have weakened the family. The title passed to his younger brother Edward, whilst substantial provision was made for the heirs general - two young daughters who each received land in Tarbock, Little Woolton and Much Woolton.⁽¹⁾ Edward Tarbock Esquire was left with a reduced inheritance and, although living until 1608, he does not appear to have found the means to augment his property. For forty years he coped with his modest assets, but by the late 1590 s the family was in serious financial difficulties - perhaps exacerbated by litigation costs, but probably caused by family expenditure and the absence of alternative income.⁽²⁾ In 1598 Edward Tarbock sold two messuages in Little Woolton and one in Much Woolton, and had to feoff further messuages, the windmill and a watermill to guarantee repayment of three hundred pounds by his eldest son.⁽³⁾ Edward Tarbock Junior was certainly making arrangements to repay mortgages during the next three years.⁽⁴⁾ The reason for these mortgages is not clear, but by 1605 for nearly one and a half thousand pounds Edward Tarbock Junior bought the rectory of Huyton with the tithes of the whole parish from London financiers; later in the year the tithes were conveyed to Edward Tarbock Senior.⁽⁵⁾ Bonds were signed with the London dealers and in

- (1) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XI, No. 14.
L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 253/8.
Final Concords, p. 156.
- (2) L.R.O., DDM 48/37.
- (3) L.R.O., DDM 48/41.
L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 14/17 and Bundle 253/10.
- (4) L.R.O., DDM 48/42.
L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 253/12.
- (5) L.R.O., DDM 33/3 and 4.

1606 repayment of part of a three thousand pounds' loan was negotiated with one Thomas Sutton of Cambridgeshire - signed by Edward Tarbock, father, son and grandson.⁽¹⁾ This financial tangle of loans and repayments had its repercussions locally; Edward Tarbock died in 1608 leaving virtually all his property encumbered and by 1610 his son was selling considerable amounts of land - in all eighteen sales totalling over two thousand pounds.⁽²⁾ All of this was insufficient; in 1611 the manor of Tarbock was sold to Thomas Sutton with its forty-five messuages and three mills.⁽³⁾ Just three years later the manor returned to local ownership when purchased by Sir Richard Molyneux for ten thousand and five hundred pounds.⁽⁴⁾

The demise of the Tarbock and Parr families testifies to the precarious wealth basis of many of the gentry. Not all manorial lords were in such dire straits, but possession of one or two manors by no means ensured security. Those esquires that had the ability were clearly anxious to enlarge their properties in a piecemeal way mainly by concentrating on acquisitions in their own immediate neighbourhoods. Not surprisingly there is some indication that manorial lords in south-west Lancashire - who after all were mostly resident - were keen to enforce performance of appropriate traditional services. A yeoman, Robert Roughley, protested that he had been beaten by bailiffs for refusing suit to Sir Thomas Gerard in

(1) L.R.O., DDM 48/45, 48/48 and 48/49.

(2) L.R.O., DDM 48/52, 48/61-78.

(3) Inquisitions Post Mortem, Rec. Soc. 16, p. 18.

(4) V.C.H. III, p. 181.

Windle, and Edward Eccleston Esquire tried to take a freeholder to court for withdrawing suit and services from Eccleston manor.⁽¹⁾

During the 1580 s Richard Bold Esquire conducted a protracted dispute with another freeholder over the jurisdiction of Whiston manor,⁽²⁾

whilst during the 1590 s the Eccleston family attempted to defend boon-work of shearing, ploughing, reaping, digging turves and carrying dung on their Eccleston manor.⁽³⁾

Associated with this wish to clarify and preserve traditional services, some manorial lords were also vigilant to defend the boundaries of their possessions. Following requests since 1564, in 1569 the Duchy court finally authorized commissioners to take evidence and to make a perfect "plott" to ascertain the boundary between Allerton and Wavertree manors.⁽⁴⁾ Encroaching and engrossing of wasteland in Bootle led to a long dispute during the 1590 s over the exact boundary between the More family's Bootle manor and the Molyneux's Litherland manor.⁽⁵⁾

The financial problems of the Tarbock family highlight also the close connection between manorial possession and control of local

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 202 G 1 and Eliz. Vol. 181 E 3.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 110 B 23.
P.R.O., DL 4 26/7.
Manchester Reference Library, Farrer Mss., Bold of Bold Charters, L1/51/10/1.

(3) P.R.O., DL 4 38/3, 41/3 and 41/9.

(4) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 60 M 15.
P.R.O., DL 14 No. 169.

(5) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 165 M 1.
Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 975 and 976.

tithes. The purchase of the tithes of Huyton parish was perhaps the final straw for Tarbock finances, but many local esquires had already successfully acquired control of tithes in attempts to augment their finances. In 1547 William Norris had bought the lease of the tithe-barn in Garston with the tithes of Garston, Allerton and Speke, and by 1596 his son was renewing the lease with its annual rent of sixteen pounds.⁽¹⁾ Likewise the Ireland family at Hale had leased the tithes in this part of Childwall parish from at least 1572 and renewed it in 1602 at a ten pounds per annum rent.⁽²⁾ In Prescot parish many tithes were sub-let from the lessee, the Earl of Derby.⁽³⁾

Dependent on landed and often traditional incomes the gentry were not in a good position to cope with sixteenth century inflation when prices rose sharply around the mid century and again during the 1590 s.⁽⁴⁾ The causes of this inflation remain debatable, but the consequences were more certain; between 1570-1600 prices at Chester rose by more than one hundred per cent.⁽⁵⁾ For many esquires the attempt to maintain their life style in the face of this level of inflation was substantial and not all succeeded. Not until the very end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries do

- (1) B.L., Add. Ch. 52499 and 52630.
- (2) C.R.O., Consistory Deposition Books, EDC 2/9 f. 364. University of Liverpool Archives, Norris Deeds 239.
- (3) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 176 D 5.
- (4) E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables compared with Builders' Wage-rates" in Economica, N. S. Vol. XXIII, 1956, p.p. 296-314.
Y. S. Brenner, "The Inflation of Prices in England 1551-1650" in Ec. H.R. Vol. 15, 1962-3, p.p. 266-284.
- (5) R. B. Outhwaite, Inflation in Tudor and Early Stuart England, London 1969, passim.
P. Williams, The Tudor Regime, Oxford 1979, p. 180.

the serious consequences seem to have affected some south-west Lancashire families. If the esquires with one or two manors struggled, how much greater was the problem facing many of the mere 'gentlemen'?

The details of the possessions of the great majority of gentleman families are relatively scanty, but sufficient survive to indicate that within this category quite a range of wealth was possible. Two or three gentlemen were probably as wealthy as some of the esquires in the area, and a number of gentlemen were almost certainly no better off than many yeomen and merchants. Representative of the upper levels of the gentleman category were the Lancaster and Fazakerley families; indeed the indeterminate status of the Lancaster family was indicated by the use of both 'Gentleman' and 'Esquire'.⁽²⁾ From the thirteenth century the Lancasters had held half of Rainhill manor, amounting to thirty messuages, and a little land in Widnes.⁽³⁾ The Fazakerley family held forty messuages and one windmill in Walton and Fazakerley and one burgage in Liverpool.⁽⁴⁾

Rather more gentlemen were of a more middling status possessing somewhat less land. During the 1550 s Henry Bury of Roby held just six messuages amounting to just over one hundred acres of land, whilst the Standish family held their capital messuage of the Scholes with four messuages and nearly two hundred acres of land.⁽⁵⁾ In a

(1) See p. 155 and p. 331.

(2) See Appendix VI.

(3) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. X, No. 21.
Liv. R.O., 920 SAL 678.1.
V.C.H. III, p. 369.
R. & F. Dickinson, The Story of Rainhill, Leigh 1968, p.p. 1-4.

(4) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XV, No. 20.

(5) Liv. R.O., 920 NOR 2.
L.R.O., DDX 458 No. 3.

similar situation were probably the Tarleton family of Fazakerley, the Breres family of Walton, the Garnetts of Rainhill, the Pearsons of Sutton, the Pembertons and Wetherbys of Whiston, the Bretterghs of Little Woolton and the Travers of Whiston and Windle. ⁽¹⁾

The least properous gentlemen existed on far less than one hundred acres of land. Richard Curren of Curren Hall in Bold died in 1557 possessed of his hall and three messuages with about sixty acres of land. ⁽²⁾ The Holland family of Sutton had their capital messuage of Sutton Hall, a windmill and a watermill and fifty acres of land, whilst the Roughley family of Sherdley Hall in Sutton just one messuage and fifty acres of land. ⁽³⁾ The Cooke and Orme families of Little Woolton both had capital messuages and two more messuages each. ⁽⁴⁾ Probably also at this sort of level was the Layton family of Prescott Hall - the only known example of a 'lessee' gentry family in this area. John Layton was the nephew of Dr. Brassey, the vicar of Prescott 1541-1558, and in 1558 he sub-leased Prescott Hall for ten years from the lessee of the rectory, the Earl of Derby. ⁽⁵⁾ Providing he rebuilt the hall he was promised a fifty

- (1) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XIV, No. 8, No. 60, No. 65; Vol. XVI, No. 35; Vol. XVII, No. 34; Vol. XVIII, No. 31.
 P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 54, D 7.
 P.R.O., E 178/1209.
 L.R.O., DDLi 220/1.
Final Concords, p. 83.
V.C.H. III, p. 350, p. 373.
- (2) Warrington Reference Library, Bold Deeds, Ms. 658.
- (3) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XV, No. 4.
Inquisitions Post Mortem, Rec. Soc. 3, p. 279.
- (4) Liv. R.O., 920 SAL 10.
- (5) Pres. Recs., p.p. 10-13.

years' lease, but this does not seem to have materialized and in 1563 a new ten years lease was negotiated to include a windmill and watermill.⁽¹⁾ With his tenure at Prescott Hall John Layton 'yeoman' had become 'gentleman'.⁽²⁾ His son Thomas and second son Philip continued to rent the property on ten years leases until the end of the century; the resources of this property, however, can never have been sufficient to carry them into a more prosperous level of existence.⁽³⁾

Whilst major changes do not seem to have been affecting the total assets of most of these gentlemen during the second half of the sixteenth century, clearly minor transactions were frequently taking place and the loss or gain of one or two messuages was not insignificant to a gentleman who possessed relatively little. For example, during 1597-8 James Pemberton sold a messuage and ten acres of land in Sutton for sixty-seven pounds, Francis Watmough bought a messuage in Sutton from John Ogle for nearly fifty pounds, and Thomas Fox bought a messuage in Windle for over one hundred pounds.⁽⁴⁾ Only occasionally did serious consequences befall individual gentlemen families, such as the Whitfields of Fazakerley. In 1588 they sold two messuages in Fazakerley and one in West Derby, and in 1589 mortgaged the rest of their land for three hundred and ten pounds.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid., p.p. 14-16.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 10-16.

(3) Ibid., p.p. 18-19, p. 23, p.p. 28-29, p. 33.

(4) L.R.O., QDD 9/12, 12/17d, 9/3.

(5) L.R.O., QDD 1/1.
L.R.O., DDM 51/55.

Whether at the level of these mere gentlemen or at the level of the wealthier esquires and the knight, the very great majority of gentry in south-west Lancashire owed their wealth to inheritance and maintenance of land. Certainly they showed interest in financially attractive marriages and in having access to the modest exploitation of coal mines in Prescott parish, but land remained the essence of their position in society.⁽¹⁾ Only one or two individuals reached and/or maintained gentry status through alternative sources of revenue. John Crosse (died 1575) inherited in 1553 twelve burgages and sixty acres of land in Liverpool, two messuages in West Derby, two in Much Woolton and eight burgages in Wigan.⁽²⁾ He chose to live in Liverpool at Crosse Hall and styled himself 'Esquire'. He moderately augmented his land with a three hundred pounds' purchase in Walton and Fazakerley in 1561 and with a close in Liverpool in 1564.⁽³⁾ A substantial part of his and his son's income, however, probably came from his trading activities.⁽⁴⁾ George Ackers had been a military man, but by the time of his death in 1588 he was half-owner of a forty-six tons barque, the Eagle, with a Liverpool merchant.

Edward Heyes Gentleman of West Derby provides the most unusual example of advancement through agencies outside south-west Lancashire. He probably attended Liverpool Grammar School and then went to King's

(1) See p. 168 and Chapter VI.

(2) P.R.O., DL7, Vol. X, No. 20.

(3) L.R.O., DDSH 189, 190 and 193.

(4) See Chapter VII.

R. Stewart Brown and F. C. Beazley, "The Crosse Family of Wigan, Chorley and Liverpool" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 73, 1921, p.p. 169-178.

(5) L.R.O., Will of George Ackers, Liverpool 1588.

College, Cambridge, in 1565. After matriculation in 1571 he became tutor to the Hoby family at Bisham Abbey in Berkshire.⁽¹⁾ His father had only a modest capital messuage in West Derby and land which he feoffed to John Molyneux Esquire of Croxteth after a dispute in the 1570 s.⁽²⁾ The son 'Master Haies' of Liverpool subscribed to the overseas expeditions of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and became one of his captains during the period 1578-83. In 1582 two Weymouth men sold the forty tons Golden Hind alias Samuel, a privateer, to Edward Heyes and by 1583 he described himself as the vessel's owner and captain.⁽³⁾ In September 1583 he returned from Gilbert's second and fatal expedition believing that Newfoundland offered great possibilities and by 1585-6 Edward Heyes was approaching Lord Burghley with various exploitation schemes.⁽⁴⁾ Little came of these projects and during 1589-90, as captain and owner, privateer Heyes operated in the English Channel. In 1591 in conjunction with Christopher Carleill he promoted a new treatise on settlement in North America, but later in the decade turned his attention to Ireland and from 1599 to 1603 served as commissioner of musters in Leinster. He was, however, associated with Bartholomew Gosnold's venture to North America in 1602.⁽⁵⁾ Through his activities and schemes Edward Heyes acquired property in Essex and Sussex and eventually settled in London with a

(1) D. B. Quinn, England and the Discovery of America 1481-1620, London 1974, p.p. 228-229.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 101 M 5.
L.R.O., DDM 52/22 and 23.

(3) Quinn, England and the Discovery of America, p. 230.
D. B. Quinn, The Voyages and Colonizing Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in Hakluyt Society, Second Series Vol. LXXXIII, 1968, p.p. 83-84, p. 333.

(4) D. B. Quinn, New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612. Vol. III: English Plans for North America: The Roanoke Voyages and New England Ventures, London 1979, p. 124, p.p. 233-235.

(5) Ibid., p. 156 and p. 345.

hundred pounds per annum pension.⁽¹⁾ However, he still collected his annuity from his West Derby property and in his will written in 1602 described himself as a gentleman of Liverpool.⁽²⁾

Aside from trade, only one south-west Lancashire gentleman seems to have really profited from a legal career during the second half of the sixteenth century - Thomas Ireland, lawyer and eventual legal adviser to the sixth Earl of Derby. He was probably a younger brother of George Ireland Gentleman of Halewood and by 1571 he was described as a gentleman of Gray's Inn.⁽³⁾ In 1588 he was still at Gray's Inn, but by 1593 he was acquiring modest amounts of land in Childwall, Roby, Much Woolton and Cronton.⁽⁴⁾ By 1596 Thomas Ireland was described as 'esquire' of both Childwall and Bewsey near to Warrington; he was by now working for the sixth Earl at a time of financial difficulty caused by the contested inheritance.⁽⁵⁾ Throughout 1597 Thomas Ireland sustained moderate land transactions in Roby, Wolfall, Huyton and Woolton and began his most significant purchase - Bewsey manor at a price of sixteen thousand pounds (bought in conjunction with Richard Bold Esquire).⁽⁶⁾ Thomas Ireland Esquire took up residence at Bewsey and by 1602 secured local recognition by his appointment to the Commission of the Peace.⁽⁷⁾ For the second

(1) Quinn, England and the Discovery of America, p.p. 230-232.

(2) L.R.O., DDC1 913.
L.R.O., Will of Edward Heyes, Liverpool 1602.

(3) L.R.O., DDLi 14/22.
Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p.p. 91-92.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52787.
L.R.O., DDLi 14/8 and 253/8.
V.C.H. III, p.p. 392-3.

(5) L.R.O., DDLi 14/10, 351/1 and 2.

(6) L.R.O., DDLi 14/21, 253/6, 253/n.n.
L.R.O., QDD 5/5d.

(7) B.L., Add. Ch. 52788.
L.R.O., QSC/2.
L.R.O., DDLi 14/22.
Bewsey Old Hall, Research Report, Warrington New Town 1980 p. 6.

son of a minor gentleman this was indeed success, but a route not followed by other local contemporaries.

Even by the end of the sixteenth century, therefore, the four parishes of south-west Lancashire had quite a large number of very modest, traditional gentry dependent for their livelihood on traditional resources. Actual income is hard to calculate, but clearly only the Molyneux family had substantial income, and other gentry had middling to small incomes - their status usually a reflection of their wealth.⁽¹⁾ Edward Norris Esquire of Speke was reported to Sir Robert Cecil in 1599 as a man of five hundred pounds a year, but well over eighty per cent of his local gentry associates were men of much smaller incomes.⁽²⁾ On such modest incomes their main hope of augmenting their estates lay in marriage or in gradual acquisition locally to allow for more extensive farming.⁽³⁾ Improved farming may have interested a few, yet more extensive farming probably seemed a more viable alternative in this area.⁽⁴⁾ Outside income from commerce, industry, the law, and office-holding reached very few of the south-west Lancashire gentry. Left to their traditional resources at a time of general inflation individual family characteristics, the vagaries of health, the size of families all had considerable effects on particular families.⁽⁵⁾ Extensive

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- (1) For comparison see - Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, p.p. 29-31. Watts and Watts, Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland, p. 63.
- (2) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss. Vol. IX, p. 18.
- (3) Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, p. 40, p.p. 80-81.
- (4) See Chapter IV.
- (5) See M. E. Finch, The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540-1640, Northamptonshire Record Society, Vol. XLIX 1956, passim.

provision, extravagance, improvidence could all mean that other gentry would echo Henry Coney of Ditton in writing "... whereas I am in great debte."⁽¹⁾ Fortuitous individual circumstances ensured that others prospered as demand and food prices rose. By the end of the sixteenth century many south-west Lancashire gentry were probably in a rather precarious financial situation. They had used their resources to maintain their position but could no longer do so - such as the Tarbocks and Norris - unless they acquired additional assistance, which in the circumstances of this area seemed extremely unlikely. The principal beneficiaries were the minority of gentry with sufficient assets to acquire more extensive landholdings, and the yeomen, and even husbandmen and craftsmen able to purchase the messuages they occupied.

d) Their Corporate Interests.

With a privileged status backed by a certain level of wealth which gave access to administrative power and influence, the gentry class had every interest in maintaining and defending their acquired position. Not surprisingly, the choice of marriage partners was, therefore, very important. It has been commented that by the late Middle Ages the gentry of the North-West formed an oligarchy linked by extremely complex marriage alliances, and that these alliances more than any other single factor brought the gentry community into contact with each other.⁽²⁾ However, the marriage alliance pattern

(1) L.R.O., Will of Henry Coney, Ditton 1592.

(2) Bennett, "Late Medieval Society", p. 23, p. 56, p. 63.

also reflected the variety of status within the gentry class.

The senior gentry could marry outside the area and into the ranks of the nobility, whilst also retaining some links with other local gentry.⁽¹⁾ Only the Molyneux family in the four parishes came into this category and, whilst some of their marriages during the second half of the sixteenth century formed links outside Lancashire, even they were unable to aspire to noble connections. In 1558 William, son and heir of Sir Richard Molyneux, married the daughter of John Caryll Esquire, the Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster - her dowry was six hundred pounds.⁽²⁾ Their son became a ward at the age of ten to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls, and former associate of the boy's grandfather. Not unusually, Richard Molyneux eventually married Frances, one of the daughters of Sir Gilbert, and her sisters also married into Lancashire families.⁽³⁾ Alongside these county and almost national connections the Molyneux family was also related to their gentry neighbours; Sir Richard (died 1569) was the brother-in-law of Richard Bold Esquire of Bold, and Sir Richard (died 1623) was brother-in-law of William Norris of Speke. In 1584 for the marriage of his sister Eleanor to William Norris Sir Richard had paid a one thousand marks dowry.⁽⁴⁾

For many of the south-west Lancashire esquires links with the

(1) Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, p. 12.

(2) L.R.O., DDM 17/18 and 17/86.

(3) P. W. Hasler, The House of Commons 1558-1603, London 1981, Vol. II, p. 344 and p. 453; Vol. III, p. 62. Catherine Gerrard married Sir Richard Hoghton of Hoghton Tower. Margaret Gerrard married Sir Piers Legh of Bradley Hall, Lancashire.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52585. Flowers Visitation, p.p. 83-86, p.p. 110-111.

Molyneux or other knights were their most ambitious marriage connections. The two esquire families in Huyton parish provide marriages typical of their status in the area. Thomas Tarbock (died 1554) married the daughter of William More Esquire of Kirkdale, who himself married Thomas Tarbock's sister. William Tarbock (died 1558) married the daughter of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn - ten miles away - whilst his brother Edward Tarbock (died 1608) married the daughter of Sir George Cotton of Combermere in Cheshire (which made him brother-in-law of the third Earl of Derby whose third wife was another daughter of Sir George Cotton). Daughters of the Tarbock family married William Ireland Esquire of Lydiate and John Harrington Esquire of Huyton Hey. These local links were reinforced with the marriage of Edward Tarbock's son and heir to a daughter of Edward Norris Esquire of Speke. The only exception to this pattern was the marriage of the second daughter of William Tarbock to Oliver Mainwaring Gentleman - of Exeter, but possibly originating from Cheshire.⁽¹⁾ The other esquire family in Huyton, the Harringtons, presumably would have liked the same type of marriages, but were not quite so financially able. John Harrington did indeed marry Alice Tarbock and his mother was a sister of William Norris of Speke, but his grandson married only the daughter of a Halewood gentleman.⁽²⁾

Much the same type of marriage pattern emerges in the two esquire families in Childwall parish. William Norris (died 1568)

(1) Flowers Visitation, p. 91.
T. Helsby, "Tarbock of Tarbock" in The Reliquary, Vol. X, 1869-70, p. 97.

(2) St. George Visitation, p. 73.
J. B. Watson, "The Lancashire Gentry 1529-1558, with special reference to their public service", M.A., University of London 1959, p. 587.

had married first a daughter of Rowland Buckley Esquire of Beaumaris on Anglesey and secondly the heiress of a Chester gentleman. These links with the Chester/Cheshire area and Wales were not unknown, but were relatively uncommon amongst the gentry of south-west Lancashire. More typically many of William Norris' children married into Lancashire esquire and gentleman families - such as one daughter who married Adam Hulton Esquire of the Park, another daughter who married Thurstan Tildesley Esquire of Wardley, and another daughter who married Edmund Molyneux Gentleman of Melling. Even his illegitimate daughter married Thomas Whittle Gentleman of Great Sankey. The intriguing exception to this pattern, however, was the marriage of William Norris' son and heir to the heiress of Roger Smallwood Esquire of Westminster. Edward Norris' many children reverted to the more typical local distribution of marriage partners - his son married the sister of Sir Richard Molyneux and daughters married Sir Thomas Butler of Bewsey, Thomas Westby Esquire of Mouldbury, Thomas Clifton Esquire of Westby, William Blundell Esquire of Crosby, Thurstan Anderton Esquire of Lostock and Edward Tarbock Esquire of Tarbock. (1) For marriages of this number in any one generation clearly the four parishes of south-west Lancashire provided too few suitable opportunities, but within the southern half of the country suitable social contacts were found. Apparently the Mersey did provide something of a barrier as links with Cheshire gentry were much less common.

(1) Flowers Visitation, p.p. 83-86.
 Watson, "Lancashire Gentry", pp. 433-436.
 G. Ormerod, "A Memoir of the Lancashire House of Norris" in
T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 2, 1849-50, p.p. 149-150.

The Ireland family of the Hutte in Halewood developed this Cheshire connection more than most. Thomas Ireland (died 1545) had married a daughter of Thomas Bold Esquire of Bold, but their son, George, married firstly an heiress of Ralph Birkenhead Gentleman of Crowton in Cheshire and secondly the daughter of a Staffordshire esquire who was the widow of a Cheshire gentleman. Two sisters of George Ireland married into the same Cheshire family - the Astons of Aston; another sister married Henry Dutton of Acton Reynold in Shropshire. The Cheshire connection continued into another generation with the marriage of John Ireland to the daughter and heiress of Peter Leicester of Tabley, and his brother Gilbert to the daughter of George Legh Esquire of High Legh. A sister, however, did marry William Orrell Esquire of Turton in Lancashire.⁽¹⁾

The esquire families of Walton parish reaffirm the predominant marriage pattern in the area. John Crosse Esquire (died 1575) married three times - on each occasion into South Lancashire gentry families. His son John married very locally - to the daughter of John More Esquire of Kirkdale.⁽²⁾ The More family also contributed to the predominant pattern. John More had married the daughter of a Chester gentleman, but his sisters married Lancashire gentry. One daughter married John Crosse and another Nicholas Fazakerley Gentleman of Fazakerley; their brother William also married into two Lancashire families. This local connection was reinforced with the marriage of the son and heir of William More to a daughter of

(1) Flowers Visitation, p.p. 95-96.
Watson, "Lancashire Gentry", p.p. 377-378.

(2) Flowers Visitation, p. 107.
Watson, "Lancashire Gentry", p. 584.
R. Stewart Brown and F. C. Beazley, "The Crosse Family of Wigan, Chorley and Liverpool" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 73, 1921, p.p. 169-178.

Sir Richard Molyneux. (1) Considering the proximity of the Crosse and More families in Liverpool and their links with mercantile activity, there is really no evidence that easier and wider communication influenced marriage links.

In Prescott parish a not dissimilar pattern prevailed - Henry Eccleston married the daughter and co-heiress of Ralph Birkenhead Gentleman of Crowton Cheshire (making him brother-in-law to George Ireland of the Hutte), and his sister married Richard Parr Gentleman of Parr. Richard Bold (died 1558) married firstly the daughter of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn (making him brother-in-law to William Tarbock of Tarbock) and secondly the daughter of William Wolfall Gentleman of Prescott parish. Richard Bold's brother Francis married Catherine Barnes of Bold (sister of the Bishop of Durham) and his sisters married Lancashire gentry - Sir John Holcroft, Thomas Ireland and Sir Richard Shireburn (a deputy-lieutenant). Richard Bold's children, however, displayed some variation to the prevailing pattern of marriages. His second son William married, usually enough, the daughter of William Brooke Esquire of Norton in Cheshire, but his daughter Anne married Sir Francis Tunstall of Thurland castle in the Lune valley in the far north of Lancashire. His son and heir Richard married Jane the daughter of William Mordaunt of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Unfortunately no details of this marriage contract have been found, but it can be supposed she was an heiress; certainly members of the Mordaunt

(1) Flowers Visitation, p. 92.
 Watson, "Lancashire Gentry", p.p. 429-431.
 R. Stewart Brown, "Moore of Bankhall" in T. H. S. L. C.,
 Vol. 63, 1911, p.p. 108-112.

family were Catholics and possibly this provided some connection. By 1587, however, Richard Bold and his wife were living apart - she near to Great Marlow in Buckinghamshire.⁽¹⁾ Equally intriguing is the marriage in 1600 of Richard Bold's illegitimate son and heir to the daughter of Robert Atkinson Esquire of Stowell in Gloucestershire. Robert Atkinson was the son of a draper who was five times mayor of Oxford and ensured that his son was appointed recorder of Oxford in 1566 - a post he held until his death in 1607. Robert Atkinson retained his position, although expelled from the Inner Temple in 1577 for recusancy.⁽²⁾

In the main these two Bold marriages stand out as unusual, distantly arranged alliances whereas predominantly esquires from south-west Lancashire found marriage partners from amongst the gentry of similar status in the southern half of Lancashire. Occasionally all families found alliances from amongst the families of local gentlemen and from local knights, or from the Cheshire gentry. Exceptional arrangements were possible involving Westminster, Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire and Anglesey families, but there is no indication that by the end of the sixteenth century there was any wish or incentive to encourage this type of connection.

For the ordinary gentlemen of south-west Lancashire there were

- (1) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. I, p. 265, p.p. 362-363; Vol. III, p.p. 77-78.
Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 191.
- (2) Flowers Visitation, p.p. 110-111.
Watson, "Lancashire Gentry", p.p. 230-232.

fewer opportunities for exceptional arrangements. Many had only very modest incomes and they lived in an area with few commercial connections. In consequence most of the gentlemen of the area found marriage partners from within a limited geographical area, from amongst their own class, if possible, and on occasions from amongst yeomen families.⁽¹⁾ A small sample from amongst the many gentlemen in Prescot parish indicates the main characteristics:- John Lathom of Mossborough married the daughter of John Eccleston Esquire of Eccleston, Henry Lathom of Mossborough married the daughter of Ralph Sutton Gentleman of Knowsley, Robert Cowley of Windle married the daughter of Richard Lancaster Gentleman of Rainhill, James Pemberton of Whiston married the daughter of Mathew Travers Gentleman of Whiston, Richard Eltonhead of Sutton married the daughter of Thomas Gerard Esquire of Ince in Cheshire, William Holland of Sutton married the daughter of John Legh of Lyme in Cheshire, Thomas Lancaster of Rainhill married the daughter of John Layton of Prescot, John Hawarden of Widnes married the daughter of John Linacre yeoman of Widnes, Hamlet Hey of Ditton married the daughter of Henry Coney Gentleman of Ditton and Hamlet Ditchfield of Ditton married the daughter of Roger Barrow Gentleman of Chester.⁽²⁾ These examples refer to only some of the surviving details, but it

(1) Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, p. 19.
Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, p.p. 12-13.

(2) Flowers Visitation, p. 115, p. 118, p. 119, p. 123, p. 124.
St. George Visitation, p. 18, p. 107.
P.R.O., DL 4 24/38.
Farnworth Register, p. 67.

is impossible to know now the full matrimonial connections of any one family.

Many cousins and 'in-laws' were presumably not of great consequence to some families, whereas others could well matter a great deal. Hints can appear in probate documents and personal comment, for example John Ireland Esquire of the Hutte made specific reference in his will to his cousin and dear friend - Robert Hesketh Esquire of Rufford.⁽¹⁾ William Norris of Speke drew up and revised his own 'Genealogical Declaration' in 1564 and besides his own immediate family he referred to his cousin Bold (Richard Bold Esquire), his uncle Ralph Standish (Esquire), his cousin John Ogle (Gentleman), his cousin Richard Eltonhead (Gentleman) and his cousin George Wetherby (Gentleman).⁽²⁾ Richard Bold had married one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn and Peter Legh Esquire of Bradley and Lyme had married another daughter; as brothers-in-law these two men presumably had closer contacts than might otherwise have obtained.⁽³⁾

With this predominance of gentry marriages from within their own class and from such a restricted geographic area, corporate identity and values must have been strengthened.⁽⁴⁾ Provision for god-children and wards probably reinforced this group cohesion.⁽⁵⁾ Little is known of the choice and long term significance of god-children, but

(1) L.R.O., Will of John Ireland, Hale 1611.

(2) J. H. Lumby, A Calendar of the Norris Deeds from 12th-15th Century in Rec. Soc., Vol. 93, 1939, p.p. 221-225.

(3) G. Ormerod, History of Cheshire, revised edition, London 1882, Vol. II, p. 132.

(4) B. G. Blackwood, "The Lancashire Gentry, 1625-1660: A Social and Economic Study", University of Oxford, D.Phil., 1973, p.p. 79-85.

(5) J. Bossy, "Godparenthood: the Fortunes of a Social Institution in Early Modern Christianity" in K. von Greyerz, Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800, London, 1984, p.p. 194-201.

certainly some gentry made reference to them. In the case of William Tarbock (died 1558) it is clear that his three god-children were his niece and two nephews, the children of his two sisters.⁽¹⁾ George Ackers, meanwhile, referred to his grandson and godson - George Fox.⁽²⁾ Often some small testamentary bequest was made to these god-children, but as this attachment was recognized presumably other interest and provision might well have been forthcoming during the testator's lifetime. Anne, the widow of John More Esquire, did make such a small bequest to her goddaughter - Anne the daughter of William Walker deceased; Anne had already been taken into the More household and at the time of the bequest she was a servant-maid to Anne More.⁽³⁾

The implementation of wardship arrangements also established links between individuals and families that could have consequences long after the period of wardship was over. The prerogative of royal wardship operated where any part of land was held as a knight's fee, and during the sixteenth century increasing interest in the potential of royal wardship probably encouraged an associated interest in private wardship of mesne land.⁽⁴⁾ Attempts were made to clarify title to lands, such as in 1560 when the royal feodary, Gilbert Moreton, summoned the local gentry to Liverpool chapel to produce for him proof of their tenure: he was at Liverpool on the 10th October, at Childwall church on the 11th and at Prescot church on the 12th.⁽⁵⁾ Fifteen years earlier Richard Bold Esquire had been careful to ensure that he had recorded his right to the wardship of gentlemen within the

(1) Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, p.p. 71-75.

(2) L.R.O., Will of George Ackers, Liverpool 1588.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Anne More, Liverpool 1590.

(4) J. Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards, London 1958, p.p.11-12, p.96.

(5) Ibid., p. 34.

manors of Sutton, Eccleston and Rainhill - this meant the heirs of John Ogle, Henry Holland, George Pemberton, Richard Eltonhead, William Wollfall, William Watmough, Richard Bower, Nicholas Cowley, and Thomas Eccleston.⁽¹⁾

Relatively little detail survives of the workings of wardship in practice, but during the second half of the sixteenth century it was clearly operating. Richard Molyneux, a royal ward, had been placed in the care of Sir Gilbert Gerard in 1569 and ultimately became his son-in-law.⁽²⁾ By 1603 Richard Molyneux himself was negotiating to undertake the wardship of Thomas Barton of Barton.⁽³⁾ In 1599 the Queen had granted the wardship of the son of Thomas Clifton Esquire of north Lancashire to William Norris.⁽⁴⁾ Thomas Lancaster of Rainhill had had the wardship of Cuthbert Hesketh of Rufford, and hoped to arrange for the wardship of his own son to go to his son-in-law, William Moreton.⁽⁵⁾ Cuthbert Lathom of Allerton had obtained the wardship of the son of Alexander Holland, and in his will expressed the hope that his ward would marry one of his daughters.⁽⁶⁾ This could well happen; Ralph Sutton, an officer of the Earl of Derby, had been granted the wardship of Henry Lathom who later married his daughter.⁽⁷⁾ These examples serve only to highlight a provision which was clearly operating and which

- (1) Warrington Reference Library, Bold Deeds, Ms. 649.
- (2) See p. 168.
- (3) Hatfield House, Mss. Marquis of Salisbury, Petition 1933.
- (4) L.R.O., DDC1 323.
- (5) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Lancaster, Rainhill 1607.
- (6) L.R.O., Will of Cuthbert Lathom, Allerton 1592.
- (7) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 88.

established relatively unpredictable links amongst various gentry families.

Along with cohesion and co-operation inevitably went the potential for dispute as individual gentry sought to maintain and demonstrate their status.⁽¹⁾ Family rivalry could easily lead to litigation, perjury, corruption, withholding of evidence, threats of intimidation and actual episodes of violence.⁽²⁾ The implementation of marriage settlements was one potential source of dispute. By 1565 George Ireland Esquire already had a suit in Chancery which ultimately was so protracted that it involved the Assize at Chester in 1576 and a petition to Star Chamber; the occasion was his wife's inheritance which he claimed had been withheld.⁽³⁾ Provision for widows was another likely cause of dissension. In 1563 the widow of Percival Harrington Esquire had to take her dower claim to the Duchy courts asserting that property in Huyton had been seized in 1558 by one George Stockley who was confederate with her own sons, John and Hamlet.⁽⁴⁾ More likely dispute could be occasioned by the remarriage of widows. The widow of Thomas Parr Esquire remarried John Byrom and in 1560 was attempting to hold on to Hurst House in Parr which she claimed was hers for life. Her son used force to enter the house, break into chests and steal the deeds.⁽⁵⁾ Provision for children could again cause dispute. In 1565 the

(1) Bennett, "Late Medieval Society", p. 68.

(2) Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, p. 49.
G. Jones, The Gentry and the Elizabethan State, Swansea 1977, p. 27.

(3) P.R.O., STAC 5 J6/28 and J18/15.

(4) P.R.O., DL1 Eliz. Vol. 55 H11.

(5) P.R.O., DL1 Eliz. Vol. 44 B17.

widow of William Tarbock Esquire claimed that her brother-in-law had taken the lands assigned to her two young daughters and that he refused to release any deeds.⁽¹⁾ Perhaps the final indignity, however, was in 1601 when William More Esquire took his own son and heir to court over possession of a house in Liverpool. It had been the family's dower house occupied by William More's widowed mother. After her death he could **not** dispossess his own son - who had remarried without his father's knowledge! John More, son and heir, died in 1604 in the Counter prison in London.⁽²⁾

Families, however, were not the only source of discord! Individual gentry who in many respects had much in common could become bitter rivals when their interests were threatened. In 1588 William Orrell Esquire of Turton brought an action in the Duchy courts against Edward Tarbock Esquire to recover land in Tarbock. Whilst attending the Assize at Lancaster William Orrell was assaulted by two sons of Edward Tarbock and three Tarbock yeomen. Star Chamber ordered appropriate enquiries, but before these were completed in 1589 William Orrell and several of his men travelled through Tarbock. Here they were sighted by one of Edward Tarbock's servants who warned his master and rounded up support from Tarbock houses to again attack William Orrell. Behind these incidents and the contested litigation lay claims that William Orrell was counterfeiting deeds.⁽³⁾ Whilst this episode does not demonstrate

- (1) P.R.O., DL 4 7/7.
L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 253/n.n.
- (2) P.R.O., DL 4 43/49.
Liv. R.O. 920 MOO 285.
V.C.H. III, p. 37.
- (3) P.R.O., STAC 5 08/28, A57/30.
P.R.O., DL 4 30/47.

the law-abiding nature of the gentry, it does show that individuals were more than anxious to defend, with force if necessary, their local prestige and interests.

Outside these inter-class and inter-family disputes there was also a handful of gentry from south-west Lancashire who were at some time involved in direct opposition to the laws of the land and even the Crown itself. Recusancy is discussed elsewhere, but for their persistent opposition to the religious law in force Henry Lathom Gentleman, Hugh Parr Gentleman and Henry Parr Gentleman all spent some time during the 1590 s in Lancaster gaol.⁽¹⁾ In 1592 Henry Lathom was sent from there to London where he spent some time in the Fleet prison and appeared before Archbishop Whitgift.⁽²⁾ John Molyneux Gentleman was charged with recusancy in 1568 and died in Salford gaol in 1582.⁽³⁾ Robert Holland Gentleman was convicted of recusancy at Manchester Quarter Sessions, imprisoned in Salford, then transferred to the Marshalsea prison in London where he died in 1586.⁽⁴⁾ The ultimate penalty was paid by John Travers Gentleman of Whiston who was accused of conspiracy in the Babington Plot and executed on Tower Hill in 1586 - aged 26.⁽⁵⁾ Whilst only a small minority of south-west Lancashire gentry were actually accused and, indeed, found guilty of these types of offence, the punishment the

- (1) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss. Vol. IV, p. 266.
V.C.H. III, p. 384.
See Chapter XIV.
- (2) T. E. Gibson, "A Century of Recusancy" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 31, 1878, p.p. 41-42.
- (3) "M58 Archaeological Survey", Merseyside Archaeological Society, 1977, p.p. 4-6.
- (4) F. W. Free, Our Heritage in Sutton and Bold, St. Helens 1979 p. 30.
- (5) R. J. Stonor, Liverpool's Hidden Story, Wigan 1957, p. 69.

minority received cannot have but been a warning to the rest of their class. Amongst the complicated kinship and friendship relations of the gentry of the four parishes the offences and the punishments must have been well known and the consequences appreciated.

Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century the gentry of south-west Lancashire were a social, economic and political élite; together they had a corporate identity and individually they displayed a variety of life style dependent on inheritance and family fortune. The title page of The Blazon of Gentry published in 1586 proclaimed that it was "compiled for the instruction of all gentlemen bearers of Armes" and went on to exhort them not to marry ungentle wives no matter how attractive the individual nor how wealthy, otherwise there would be "an injurie not onely done to the person of the young Gentleman, but a dishonor to the whole house from which he is descended."⁽¹⁾ This opinion certainly seems to have had some currency in the south-west Lancashire area where the very great majority of the gentry were from indigenous, ancient families and where a strong possibility prevailed that they would marry locally within their class. Access to alternative sources of revenue and to alternative sources of patronage (other than the Earl of Derby) were strictly limited in this area, and so traditional life styles predominated until the end of the sixteenth century. For many gentry, however, inflation had made that very life style a precarious asset by the end of Elizabeth's reign. For those with a measure of wealth, favourable economic conditions

(1) J. Ferne, The Blazon of Gentry, London 1586, p. 9.

could help to generate a still more profitable income, but of all the south-west Lancashire gentry only the Molyneux - and not until 1601 - could dream of writing to Sir Robert Cecil claiming "patronage and friendship" - even if it was an exaggeration. (1)

(1) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. XIV, p. 179.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FARMERS AND THEIR LAND.

- a) The farmers.
- b) Their farms.
- c) The farming.

During the sixteenth century the four parishes of south-west Lancashire, as much of the rest of England, was a land of farmers. Other economic activities might exist, and even modestly flourish, but agrarian interests continued to dominate this particular part of the country to the end of the century and beyond. There has been debate of an 'agricultural revolution' being generated during the sixteenth century with a series of substantial developments accelerating change. A rising population and demand for food supplies created rising prices for agricultural products and for land which affected patterns of cultivation and land-holding.⁽¹⁾ However, south-west Lancashire was remote from the major population centres and food markets and had a pattern of mixed agriculture and a stability of tenure that militated against rapid change in farming.

In this period the economic and social structure of the country reflected a physical environment which man could modify but not change.⁽²⁾ Thus south-west Lancashire was a 'reasonable' but not

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- (1) D. M. Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth, London 1983, p.p. 162-178.
R. H. Tawney, The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century, London 1912 (reprinted 1967), passim.
E. Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After, London 1967, passim.
- (2) J. Thirsk, "The Farming Regions of England" in ed. J. Thirsk, Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV, 1500-1640, Cambridge 1967, p. 2.

good agricultural area; the lowland plain of the county consisted of keuper red marl overlain with boulder clay which lent itself to pasture land and meadow. Significant coastal marsh and inland areas of moss reduced the acreage available to farmers and improvement attempts had been restricted to some marling, embanking against the sea and some enclosure.⁽¹⁾ Even the port town of Liverpool shared the agrarian character of this area; from the 1550's onwards the town authorities annually appointed moss reeves, burleymen and a hayward.⁽²⁾ The town paid intermittent attention to its pinfold, regulated activities in the townfield and passed bye-laws to ensure all swine and sheep were driven out in the morning and not returned into the town until 4.00 p.m.⁽³⁾ Husbandmen could become freemen and as late as 1594 a number of principal merchants were presented for blocking the town's streets with the wains at their barns.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid., p. 4 and p. 81.

(2) L.T.B. I p. 30, p. 142 and p. 149.

(3) L.T.B. I p. 144, p. 257 and p. 264, L.T.B. II p. 53 and p. 661.

(4) L.T.B. II p. 151, p. 154 and p. 660.

Farming and agrarian interests were clearly of paramount importance to the majority of south-west Lancashire's population.⁽¹⁾

a) The Farmers.

Predictably the majority of the four parishes' working population was classified by contemporaries as 'yeomen' or 'husbandmen'; exactly what distinction these contemporaries had in mind is not always easy to discern. Perhaps the legal, forty shilling freeholder definition carried some weight, but the great majority of yeomen, particularly in the north of England, were probably predominantly leaseholders.⁽²⁾ More likely, acreage of land together with actual and potential wealth were evident to contemporaries. It has been claimed that yeomen might cultivate 25-200 acres of arable land or up to 500 acres of pastoral land, whereas in Kent 40-100 acres of land conveyed yeoman status with personal estates of eighty pounds or more. Husbandmen farmed less land, might at times work for others for wages, and had estates ranging in value up to about eighty pounds. On these grounds in the Kent area the terms 'yeoman' and 'husbandman' "imply a real distinction."⁽³⁾ This opinion tends to be claimed by others for other parts of the country. At Terling in Essex these conventional designations did mainly tally with wealth, and in the Norfolk area a

- (1) This characteristic was not true of all small towns. Winchester, for example, had a population of about 3000 but very few husbandmen, no common fields and no pasture. See A. B. Rosen, "Economic and Social Aspects of the History of Winchester 1520-1670" D. Phil., University of Oxford, 1975, p.p. 150-167.
- (2) M. Campbell, The English Yeoman in the Tudor and Early Stuart Age, Yale 1942, p. 84.
- (3) Ibid., p. 102.
C. W. Chalklin, 17th Century Kent, London 1965, p.p. 231-243.

marked wealth distinction has been found.⁽¹⁾ However imprecise the definition, husbandmen were generally of lower status to yeomen in rural society and, indeed, farmed less land - from 5-50 acres as opposed to usually more than 50 acres.⁽²⁾ Only in the Forest of Arden in Warwickshire does the distinction blur and the terms 'yeoman' and 'husbandman' occur in all economic groups from the wealthy and substantial to those with an income below average.⁽³⁾

In south-west Lancashire something of both of these trends is discernible in the one hundred and forty-two probate inventories that survive and can be attributed to farmers during the period 1550-1603.⁽⁴⁾

TABLE XII: TOTAL VALUATIONS OF FARMERS' PROBATE INVENTORIES.

<u>Range of total Inventory valuation.</u>	<u>Numbers of Husbandmen.</u>	<u>Numbers of Yeomen.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
£1 - £ 24-11-11	37	8	45
£25 - £ 49-11-11	30	9	39
£50 - £ 74-11-11	9	20	29
£75 - £ 99-11-11	5	11	16
£100 - £124-11-11	2	5	7
£125 - £149-11-11	2	2	4
£150 - £174-11-11	-	1	1
£175 - £199-11-11	-	-	0
£200 - £224-11-11	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	85	57	142

- (1) Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety: Terling, p. 103. H. Sutermeister, Seminar on Probate Inventories, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, September, 1978, Report, p. 2.
- (2) Wrightson, English Society, p. 31.
- (3) V. H. T. Skipp, "Economy and Social Change in the Forest of Arden, 1530-1649" in ed. J. Thirsk, Land, Church and People, Reading 1970, p. 99.
- (4) See Appendix VII.

Nearly 79 per cent of husbandmen's inventory valuations were recorded at less than fifty pounds - apparently overall a lower level of wealth than to be found in many other parts of the country. Only 30 per cent of yeomen valuations were to be found at this level, whereas 54 per cent of yeomen in south-west Lancashire provided valuations between fifty and one hundred pounds. Wealth, therefore, was of considerable significance in determining the usage of the terms 'husbandman' and 'yeoman', but not the only factor to be considered. It would be interesting to know why eight individuals who left goods recorded at less than twenty-five pounds were considered 'yeomen' and four individuals with goods of more than one hundred pounds were identified as 'husbandmen'.⁽¹⁾ These four husbandmen came from different townships and appear to have no special characteristics; their probate inventories are those of quite prosperous farmers with typical commodities for this area. Likewise the eight least prosperous yeomen provide inventories in no way particularly distinctive from those of husbandmen of similar wealth. Insufficient detail of age at death and acreage under cultivation survive to support conclusions on these two grounds, but it seems unlikely in view of some known life spans and some estate details that these factors were crucial.⁽²⁾ Rather, stability, terms of tenure and individual family connection may have influenced contemporaries to use particular designations in some instances.

For all farmers valuation of their crops and livestock was tied

(1) See Appendix VII and Table XII.

(2) Ibid.
See p. 198.

closely to the total valuation of their probate inventories. Many farmers were, indeed, not well off at all; 32 per cent provided inventory valuations of less than twenty-five pounds, and most were only modestly situated financially with 59 per cent having valuations of less than fifty pounds. Until the end of the sixteenth century these four parishes of south-west Lancashire remained an area dominated by small-scale farmers. Even the more substantial men of the area, only 9 per cent, had goods valued at more than one hundred pounds. At the top of the scale little separated the very wealthiest from those with valuations ranking a little less; only two yeomen had goods exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds.⁽¹⁾ In this area these two men were, presumably, regarded as prosperous and successful farmers and, one supposes, their life style was more secure and comfortable than for many husbandmen, but the difference was one of degree not of the nature of their farming.⁽²⁾

Some further indication of the farmers' life-styles emerge from probate details of clothing, valuables and housing. Overall these tend to reinforce the impression of adequate, but not excessive, farming wealth. Clothing was rarely itemized, but yeoman William Holland's reference to his new frieze coat, doublet and hat scarcely suggests luxury, whilst husbandman James Standish had items from his wardrobe listed as one hat (1/8), a jerkin (1/8) and one doublet and pair of hose (3/-).⁽³⁾ Henry Ainsworth, a Huyton yeoman, had the

(1) L.R.O. Inventories of Henry Lawton, Widnes 1603 and Robert Sutton, Rainhill 1591.

(2) See p.208.

(3) L.R.O. Inventories of William Holland, Much Woolton 1582 and James Standish, Cuerdley 1592.

most detailed clothing list - one coat (10/-), one pair of upper hose and a doublet (13/-), three more doublets (6/-), an old pair of fustian hose (6d), two old jerkins (4/-), five pairs of netherend hose (3/-), two pairs of linen hose (8d), two shirts (6/-), a cloak (20/-), two hats and a cap (6/-), three pairs of shoes (1/8), another doublet (15/-), and a pair of boots, his spurs, a sword and a saddle (10/-).⁽¹⁾ Certainly this man was adequately clad, but no item suggests great quality or lavish expenditure.

One hundred and forty-two inventories survive from known yeomen or husbandmen, but in only twenty-one of these, 18 per cent, are valuable items recorded in the form of silver ware and plate and/or ready coinage.⁽²⁾ In the majority of cases these items are found in only small quantities amounting to a fraction of the total inventory valuation. No plate was recorded at all and no more than fifteen silver spoons in the possession of one person. In only five instances did the valuation of silver spoons and coinage amount to more than five pounds and in all these cases the coinage was the reason for this. Exactly why three yeomen out of fifty-seven and two husbandmen out of eighty-five should have had unusually large amounts of gold and silver money in their houses is impossible to discern, but clearly it was a far from usual characteristic (even allowing for dependents removing coinage prior to the compilation of the probate inventory). As these five inventories were taken in January, February, July, August and October there appears to be no immediate correlation with harvesting and marketing.

(1) L.R.O., Inventory of Henry Ainsworth, Huyton 1587.

(2) See Table XIII.

TABLE XIII: SILVER AND MONEY RECORDED IN THE PROBATE
INVENTORIES OF FARMERS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1603.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Silver Spoons</u>	<u>Cash</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Huyton Parish.</u>						
Robert Williamson	Tarbock	1592	yeoman	9	-	1-16-0
Ellis Tyrer	Knowsley	1597	yeoman	-	gold & silver	10- 0-0
William Harrison	Tarbock	1603	yeoman	11	-	2-10-0
<u>Walton Parish.</u>						
Thomas Woods	Kirkby	1593	husb.	1	gold & silver	10- 0-0
Richard Wood	Croxteth	1595	yeoman	/	-	1- 7-0
Gilbert Formby	Liverpool	1596	yeoman	8	ready money	15-15-0
<u>Childwall Parish.</u>						
William Knowle	Little Woolton	1602	husb.	4	-	1- 0-0
Hugh Hey	Speke	1602	yeoman	6	-	1-10-0
Hugh Pilkington	Speke	1603	yeoman	/	-	2- 0-0
<u>Prescot Parish.</u>						
William Birchall	Bold	1564	yeoman	2	-	6-8
William Green	Prescot	1581	yeoman	/	-	3- 0-0
John Pyke	Prescot	1581	yeoman	12	ready money	4- 5-0
Hamlet Plumpton	Cuerdley	1583	husb.	6	-	1- 0-0
John Seddon	Widnes	1589	husb.	/	coin	15- 5-8
Wm. Robertson	Cronton	1591	yeoman	6	-	1-10-0
Robert Sutton	Rainhill	1591	yeoman	6	-	1- 6-0
William Kenwick	Rainhill	1591	husb.	4	money	1-11-0
William Cowper	Eccleston	1591	yeoman	/	ready money	14- 2-8
Hugh Shepley	Cronton	1592	yeoman	15	-	2-13-4
Henry Webster	Eccleston	1598	yeoman	2	jewel- lery	13-4
John Gerrard	Windle	1599	yeoman	4	-	-

Superfluous finance may have been directed by farmers into enlarged, renovated or new housing. It has been claimed that by the

end of the sixteenth century many yeomen were constructing new houses even in Lancashire, although probably only if they had farms of considerable size and/or land to sub-let to generate the necessary finance.⁽¹⁾ The paucity of available information makes it hard to estimate the volume of building being undertaken in the four parishes, but fragmentary details suggest little widespread activity. Many houses were probably simple, one storey buildings, timber-framed perhaps on a low stone or rubble foundation; the walls were infilled with daub and the roof thatched with straw, reeds or turf.⁽²⁾

Certainly in 1578 a traditional longhouse and barn were located in Walton Lane, West Derby, and construction in Prescott did not suggest anything elaborate in 1573.⁽³⁾ John Hey erected and built one part of his house over the end of his neighbour's house and joined another part on to that of a second neighbour; both were not pleased, whilst a third neighbour sought to ensure a space one yard wide on another side of the new building. The map of Burtonhead manor produced in about 1580 may be in part pictorial, but it did carefully distinguish the seven thatched houses and cottages from the Hall of Burtonhead with its stone roof. All property appears to be timber-framed with the Hall and one of the houses being on a larger scale.⁽⁴⁾ The 1613 map of Much Woolton recorded eight houses in the village and three separate houses - all have one chimney except Woodward's house which

- (1) Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, Rural Houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1560-1760, London 1985, p.p. 30-36.
- (2) P. Eden, Small Houses in England 1520-1820, London 1969, passim.
M. W. Barley, The English Farmhouse and Cottage, London 1961, passim.
P. Fleetwood-Hesketh, Lancashire Architectural Guide, London 1955, passim.
- (3) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 108 M 2.
Pres. Recs., p. 183 and p. 207.
- (4) L.R.O., DDisc 32/1.

had two.⁽¹⁾ A recent excavation in Halewood at the site of Yew Tree Farm has revealed two sides of a stone-lined moat which contained sixteenth century pottery sherds. Probably the moat had been constructed in the fourteenth or fifteenth century and the site remained inhabited into the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.⁽²⁾

These scattered indications appear to suggest that traditional housing was occupied by most farmers during the reign of Elizabeth I. The more prosperous yeomen and husbandmen may have had larger property, but design was probably similar to that of the smaller houses. By 1591 a Liverpool yeoman did have an eight roomed house comprising the house, a parlour, a kitchen, a buttery and a shop on the ground floor with a chamber and two lofts above, but the great majority of probate inventories make no specific reference to individual rooms.⁽³⁾ Certainly some building may have been taking place in the second half of the sixteenth century, yet little evidence of it survives and it may well not have been very extensive in view of the limited range of wealth demonstrated by farmers' probate inventories. By 1615 according to its date stone a small stone house with two gables, a stone roof and low mullioned windows was constructed in Tuebrook, West Derby, and Adam Martindale, who was born at Mossbank in Windle in 1623, lived his early life in the new house

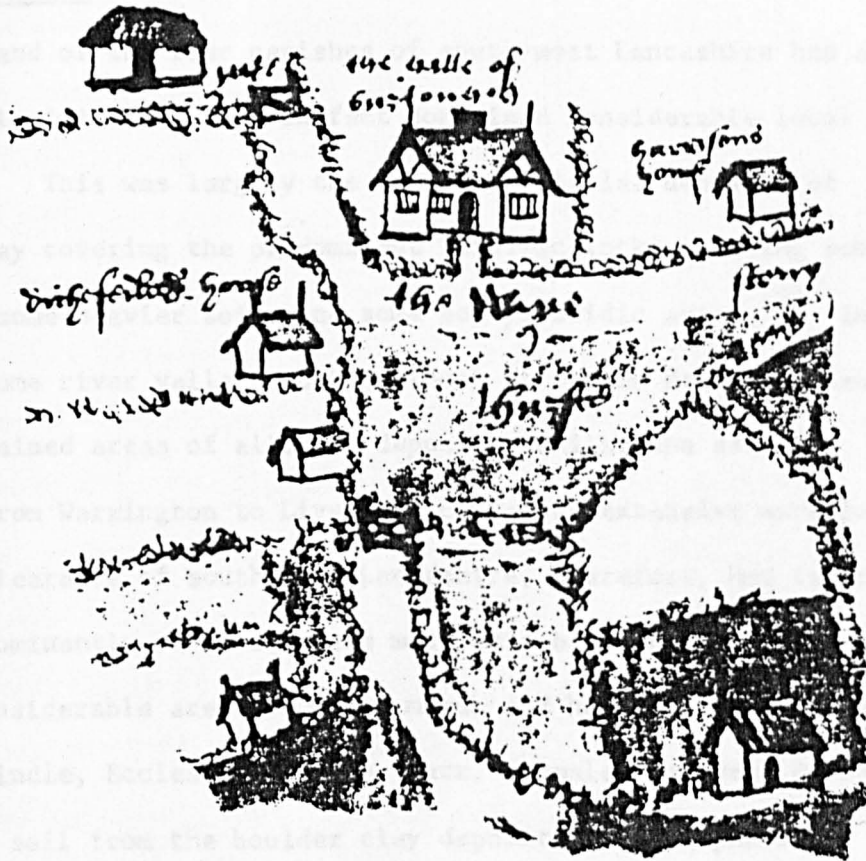
(1) Liv. R.O., Map of Enclosure in Much Woolton, 1613, 8/30.

(2) M. Warhurst, "Moated site in Halewood" in Journal of Merseyside Archaeological Society, Vol. I, 1977, p.p. 5-8.

(3) L.R.O., Inventory of Thomas Hitchmough, Liverpool 1591.



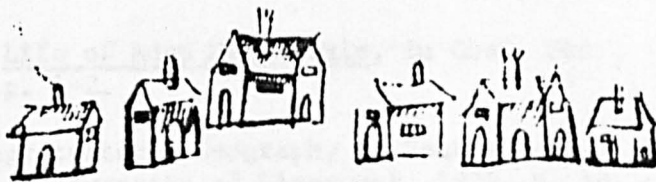
(1)



(2)

This is Woodmarts
house

These houses are the town



(3)

MAP X: REPRESENTATIONS OF HOUSES FROM CONTEMPORARY MAPS.

- (1) P.R.O., MPC/67 - Widnes c. 1560.
- (2) L.R.O., DSc 32/1 - Burtonhead c. 1580.
- (3) Liv. R. O., 8/30 - Much Woolton 1613.

built by his yeoman father "annexed to his new barne" close by the old house.⁽¹⁾ These two indications might suggest that in south-west Lancashire the farming population did not generate sufficient wealth for building work until very late in sixteenth century or even into the early seventeenth century.

b) Their Farms.

The land of the four parishes of south-west Lancashire had a superficial similarity, but in fact contained considerable local variation. This was largely the result of glacial deposits of boulder clay covering the predominant Triassic rocks creating some light and some heavier soils and some peaty, acidic areas.⁽²⁾ In addition some river valleys such as those at Ditton Brook and Sankey Brook contained areas of alluvial deposits, whilst the estuary frontage from Warrington to Liverpool contained extensive marshland.⁽³⁾ Medieval clearance of south-west Lancashire, therefore, had taken place predominantly on those areas most suitable for cultivation, leaving considerable areas of moss, marsh and heath.⁽⁴⁾ For example, parts of Windle, Eccleston, Sutton, Parr, Knowsley and West Derby had quite good soil from the boulder clay deposits, whilst parts of Huyton, Ditton, Cronton, Whiston, Tarbock and Halewood had areas of fertile alluvium.⁽⁵⁾ Widnes, Penketh and Cuerdley, however, all

(1) Adam Martindale, Life of Adam Martindale, in Chet. Soc., Vol. IV, 1845, p.p. 1-2.

(2) J. F. Maguire, "Agricultural Geography of South-West Lancashire", M.A., University of Liverpool, 1939, p. 14, p.p. 33-39.

(3) Ibid., p. 12.
Walker, Historical Geography, p. 10.

(4) Ibid., p. 40.

(5) Maguire, "Agricultural Geography", p.p. 201-202.

contained extensive natural marshland and Kirkdale had areas of sand dunes.⁽¹⁾ In several places throughout the four parishes mossland remained in its natural state - in much of Rainford at Reeds Moss, Rainford Moss and Mossborough, at Mossbank in Windle, at Page Moss in Roby, at Gill Moss and Blackmoor Moss in West Derby and throughout much of Kirkby township.⁽²⁾ Everywhere in this south-west Lancashire area land was relatively, or even very, flat, but some ridges remained as heath and moorland - the highest was at about 330 feet in Knowsley, the ridge in Childwall parish through Wavertree, Allerton, Much and Little Woolton lay between 200-300 feet, whilst Blundell's Hill in Rainhill reached 250 feet, Pexhill in Cronton 200 feet and Crank in Rainford 300 feet.⁽³⁾ These natural characteristics together with the medieval cultivation of the more favoured areas meant that by the sixteenth century most manors in south-west Lancashire contained within their boundaries a variety of soil types and land use.

For individual farmers of crucial significance was the distribution of their own land and its total extent. Very few freeholders existed in this area and so most farmers were manorial tenants probably with a resident or near-resident manorial lord.⁽⁴⁾ Unfortunately evidence for size of farm and type of lease tends to

(1) V.C.H. III, p. 35, p. 386, p. 394, p. 411.

(2) Ibid., p. 13, p. 52, p. 175, p. 371, p. 382.

(3) Ibid., p. 102, p. 111, p. 114, p. 117, p. 128, p. 151, p. 368, p. 371, p. 382, p. 392.

(4) See Chapter III.

exist in fragmentary detail; and this information is further confused at times by uncertainty over the standard of measure being used. Most likely throughout the sixteenth century a 'long' measure was in use in Lancashire as the Duchy had been exempted from efforts to impose statute standards.⁽¹⁾ An acre always consisted of four roods of forty rods, poles or perches, but, whereas the statute rod was sixteen and a half feet long, in Lancashire the twenty-one or twenty-four feet rod was used. Probably in Lancashire south of the Ribble the twenty-four feet rod or 'great' or 'Cheshire' measure was in use producing an acre of 10240 square yards. (A statute acre is 4840 square yards.) Certainly this 'great' measure was used to calculate Liverpool's town fields and was used in the 1560's map of Allerton/Wavertree and in Prescott manorial records in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ Confirmation of this usage is clearly seen in a 1601 Rainford reference where a messuage is described as twenty acres by the large measure of eight yards to the rod.⁽³⁾

Amongst the Lancashire gentry as a whole there were signs of conservatism and a rather paternalistic attitude which influenced their approach to leases. Probably, therefore, the size of most messuages remained fairly constant during the sixteenth century. The 1549 rental of Much Woolton property compiled for King Edward VI recorded a total of thirty-eight properties, four of which were

(1) E. A. Smith, "Lancashire Long Measure" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 110, 1958, pp. 3-4.

(2) E. A. Smith, "An Introduction to the Study of the Lancashire Field Names and Land Measures in the Middle Ages and Beyond", M.A., University of Liverpool, 1939, pp. 97-103.

(3) L.R.O., DDK 220/2.

referred to as cottages.⁽¹⁾ 95 per cent of tenants farmed less than fifteen acres of land - presumably of the 'great' measure (less than thirty-five acres statute measure). 63 per cent of tenants, in fact, had less than five acres (eleven and a half acres statute). Only two individuals had more than sixteen acres. This pattern in Childwall parish is reinforced by the 1607 grant of the lands of the dissolved chantry which refers to its endowment of two messuages of twelve acres in Much Woolton, one of eight acres in Garston and two in Halewood of seven and six acres each.⁽²⁾

In Prescott parish the royal manor of Widnes was surveyed in 1569 and details of the holdings of the fifty-seven customary tenants were listed; thirteen of them were, in fact, classified as cottagers.⁽³⁾ 74 per cent of tenants farmed less than fifteen acres (again presumably of 'great' measure). 37 per cent of tenants had less than five acres, and 26 per cent of tenants farmed more than sixteen acres, although none had more than forty acres (ninety-one acres statute). At Great Sankey a survey and rental was completed

(1) B.L. Add. Ch. 53803.

1-5 acres	24 tenants	16-20 acres	1 tenant
6-10 acres	5 tenants	21-25 acres	1 tenant
11-15 acres	7 tenants		

(2) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 744.

(3) P.R.O., DL 42 No. 181.

1-5 acres	21 tenants	21-25 acres	2 tenants
6-10 acres	10 tenants	26-30 acres	3 tenants
11-15 acres	11 tenants	31-35 acres	3 tenants
16-20 acres	5 tenants	36-40 acres	2 tenants

in about 1580.⁽¹⁾ Here only 29 per cent of tenants farmed less than fifteen acres and only 13 per cent of tenants had less than five acres. 71 per cent of tenants appeared more substantial in terms of having sixteen acres or more, with 39 per cent leasing more than forty acres. Possibly the greater acreage in Great Sankey was related to the type of land.

Rents appear to be linked to acreage, but not rigidly so. In Great Sankey a widow, Alice Mosley, rented her eight acres of land on apparently favourable terms at thirty shillings per annum, whereas tenants with less land could pay more rent.⁽²⁾ A rental compiled for Eccleston manor in 1609 reinforces this range of rents, although here they cannot be associated with particular acreages.⁽³⁾ 65 per cent of tenants were paying less than twenty shillings per annum in rent, and 95 per cent were paying less than forty shillings. This

(1) L.R.O., Documents Purchased, DP 170 f.73.

1-5 acres	5 tenants	(rent 8d - 5/-)
6-10 acres	1 tenant	(rent 7/2)
11-15 acres	3 tenants	(rent 9/2 - 11/10)
16-20 acres	1 tenant	(rent 13/4)
21-25 acres	-	
26-30 acres	2 tenants	(rent 14/- - 16/-)
31-35 acres	4 tenants	(rent 18/- - 20/-)
36-40 acres	1 tenant	(rent 29/-)
41-45 acres	1 tenant	(rent 26/8)
46-50 acres	2 tenants	(rent 26/9 - 36/8)
51-55 acres	-	
56-60 acres	3 tenants	(rent 27/6 - 37/-)
61-65 acres	-	
66-70 acres	3 tenants	(rent 27/6 - 44/4)
71-75 acres	-	
76-80 acres	-	
81-88 acres	1 tenant	(rent 30/-)
101-105 acres	1 tenant	(rent 187/8)

(2) Ibid.

(3) L.R.O., DDSc 25/6.

1d - 4/11 rent	23 tenants
5/- - 9/11 rent	13 tenants
10/- - 14/11 rent	15 tenants
15/- - 19/11 rent	12 tenants
20/- - 39/11 rent	29 tenants
40/- - 59/11 rent	4 tenants
122/- rent	1 tenant

relatively small range of rents payable even after the end of the century suggests farms of fairly standard size and type.

The type of lease and entry fine would have considerable bearing on the stability and viability of these properties. Except for random details throughout the four parishes, the only collection of leases surviving from the second half of the sixteenth century are those issued mainly by the Norris family for their properties in Speke, Garston, Hale, Halewood, Much Woolton and Little Woolton.⁽¹⁾ Rents were clearly within the type of range seen at Eccleston and Great Sankey. From the sixty-six leases over the period 1554-1600 only one was for an annual rent of more than forty shillings and that was for only a few shillings more.⁽²⁾ Predominantly these leases were for two lives, 77 per cent, whilst 14 per cent were for three lives. Otherwise up to sixty years and one life leases were negotiated. How typical Norris family practice was of other south-west Lancashire gentry is impossible to say, but in other financial respects they were not distinctive, so possibly a similar lease pattern prevailed in this area until the end of the sixteenth century. Certainly two life leases gave the tenants a measure of security, or at least the opportunity to re-negotiate a lease following the death of one lease-holder. They also provided the lessor with the opportunity to collect reassessed entry fines at the issuing of every new lease. This must have been a valuable annual sum for the lessee as, for example, Edward Norris issued at least

(1) See Appendix VIII.

(2) B.L., Add. Ch. 52595.

four new leases in 1583, 1584, 1588 and 1591, five new leases in 1595 and 1599, six in 1598, and seven in 1585 - and these must be only minimum figures. Despite claims of rapidly increasing entry fines these Norris details do not substantiate this trend; possibly there was a noticeable increase into the 1580 s but thereafter they appear to remain fairly stable.⁽¹⁾ Even so entry fines must have represented a very sizeable outlay for individual farmers.

A few specific examples demonstrate the frequency with which fines might have to be found, yet the stability of rents. Edward Pendleton, a husbandman, had taken out a lease on a messuage in Much Woolton in 1585 at a rent of eleven shillings and six pence for two lives - the fine was unspecified. Just six years later his son William, aged twenty-five, had to raise eighteen pounds for a new two life lease at the same rental.⁽²⁾ However, a Speke yeoman, Hugh Pilkington, had to pay only a six pounds fine in 1588 for a two life lease with an annual rental of twenty-five shillings and three pence; in 1595 he put a third life - that of his son - on the lease. The fine was unspecified and the rent became twenty-seven shillings.⁽³⁾ Richard Cooke of Speke secured a lease in 1585 for the lives of himself and his wife with a rent of thirty-four shillings and six pence. In 1593 his son had to pay thirty pounds to obtain a new lease naming himself and his mother - the rent remained the same as his father had paid.⁽⁴⁾

(1) See Appendix VIII.

P. R. Long, "The Wealth of the Magisterial Class in Lancashire", N.A., University of Manchester, 1968, p. 113.

(2) University of Liverpool Archives, Norris Deeds 217 and 225.

(3) B.L., Add. Ch. 52605 and 52628.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52594 and 52623.

All of these leases and estate rentals do not, however, reveal anything of the extent of sub-letting which might have been prevalent. It has been claimed that this was common practice so that cottagers might have been more evident than otherwise appears.⁽¹⁾ At Terling in Essex by the late sixteenth century freehold and copyhold land changed hands often and, whilst land was important, which land did not matter unduly.⁽²⁾ Because of its unusual circumstances, the greatest concentration of sub-letting was probably at Prescott.⁽³⁾ In 1592 the survey of the rectory revealed ninety-two customary tenants in tenure of a messuage, cottage or building; a memorandum by the Provost of King's College in the same year recorded seventy-six undertenants.⁽⁴⁾ In south-west Lancashire this level of sub-letting was somewhat exceptional. Resident landlords must have been aware of usual practice in their neighbourhoods and, for instance, only one of the Norris leases makes reference to an undertenant occupying a property.⁽⁵⁾

In addition to the nature of leases and the size of farms, there remains also the question of where these farms were located - whether in a consolidated unit or scattered in various plots? In Lancashire there is evidence for one hundred and sixty-four places with common fields and eleven with common meadows, although what exactly these

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- (1) W. G. Hoskins, The Midland Peasant, London 1957, p.p. 160-162. Bennett, "Late Medieval Society", p. 209.
- (2) Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety: Terling, p.p. 30-31.
- (3) See p. 347.
- (4) Pres. Recs., p.p. 34-46, p. 305.
- (5) B.L., Add. Ch. 52627.

terms mean remains debatable.⁽¹⁾ In Lancashire these townfields may well have been small, seldom more than one hundred and fifty acres with in consequence quite small numbers of occupiers. By exchange and agreement areas could be consolidated, so that by the sixteenth century quite frequently this land was held by the more prosperous farmers.⁽²⁾ In Liverpool, for instance, there seems to have been free and unrestricted transfer and sale of strips.⁽³⁾ Indeed, by the sixteenth century these common open fields may have been "quietly disappearing" in a fairly harmonious way.⁽⁴⁾ Possibly some of these fields had never been arable areas but rather common grazing land, whereas others were used for arable purposes with summer pasturing.⁽⁵⁾ Some common fields were even regarded as meadows and cut for hay.⁽⁶⁾

By the second half of the sixteenth century some common fields survived in all four parishes of south-west Lancashire. In Huyton parish Huyton and Roby each had one townfield, whilst in Walton parish several such fields operated: Walton had four common fields - Heathe Low, Spellow Field, Church Field and Hatch Field; West Derby had a town meadow, and Kirkdale and Liverpool had adjoining town fields.⁽⁷⁾ In the case of Liverpool the field was certainly used for

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- (1) G. Youd, "The Common Fields of Lancashire", in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 113, 1962, p. 1.
- (2) Ibid., p. 11 and p. 34.
R. Cunliffe Shaw, "The Townfields of Lancashire" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 114, 1963, p.p. 23-36.
- (3) R. Stewart Brown, "The Townfield of Liverpool" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 68, 1916, p. 33.
- (4) A. R. Bridbury, "16th Century Farming" in Ec. H. R., Vol. 27, 1974, p. 548.
J. Thirsk, "The Farming Regions of England", p.p. 82-83.
- (5) T. W. Freeman, H. B. Rodgers and R. H. Kinvig, Lancashire, Cheshire and the Isle of Man, London 1966, p.p. 41-42.
G. Elliott, "Field Systems of North West England" in A. R. H. Baker and R. A. Butlin, Studies in the Field Systems in the British Isles, Cambridge, 1973, p.p. 46-48, p.p. 55-58.
- (6) Ibid., p. 59 and p. 62.
Ibid., p. 85-86.
- (7) A. King, Huyton and Roby, Knowsley 1984, p. 13.
L.T.B. II, p. 571.
Liv. R.O., 920 SAL 1/70.

both arable and pasture as the town authorities tried to control the access of cattle at certain times of the year throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.⁽¹⁾ In Prescott parish there was a townfield at Cronton, another in Whiston, and in Ditton there were three townfields - used for barley and oats in 1594 - and three common meadows.⁽²⁾ In Widnes there was a townfield at Farnworth on the north side of the chapel and at Appleton, and at Great Sankey there were probably two common meadows - one of which, Carr Meadow, was used by seven of the twenty-nine manorial tenants in 1580.⁽³⁾ At Prescott itself the conjectural map based on the 1592 survey shows Churchley Field with divisions testifying to strip use.⁽⁴⁾ The 1580 map of Burtonhead in Prescott parish gives the impression of a number of hedged fields, gated lanes and a clear area of strips to the east of Stonyford Lane.⁽⁵⁾

In Childwall parish there were certainly two common meadows by the late sixteenth century - Bank's Lane Meadow and Barrow Flat Meadow, whilst in the mid century an acre in Much Woolton townfield was recorded.⁽⁶⁾ At Hale the townfield was sown with barley in 1572 and at Halebank there were at least two common meadows - Walforde

- (1) L.T.B. I p. 156; L.T.B. II p. 231 and p. 553.
- (2) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 193 p. 4.
P.R.O., E 178 No. 1219.
L.R.O., DDB1 40/2, 40/5, 42/177, 42/190 and 54/2.
- (3) L.R.O., DP 170 f. 73.
Warrington Reference Library, Bold Deeds Ms. 642.
Pres. Recs., p. 27.
- (4) P. J. Davey, Prescot Action Area: An Archaeological View, Merseyside Archaeological Society 1978, p. 7.
- (5) L.R.O., DDB1 32/1. See Map XIII, p. 296.
- (6) Liv. R.O., 920 NOR 17/61, 17/21 and 17/28.
Liverpool University Archives, Norris Deeds 202.

Meadow and Patrick's Field.⁽¹⁾ The most detailed insight into the use of these common fields is provided at Hale by a survey of two tenements made in 1584. Richard Wainwright had a five-bay dwelling house, a three-bay new barn, a yard at the back of his house, and thirty-six pieces of land - twenty of which were unnamed but sixteen were named. He had three acres of meadowland in Marsh Shoting, one acre in Farnworth Shoting, one acre in Shot Farthing, two pieces of land in Marsh furlong, two in Hamside, one in Barron Pytt, two in Ashes, one in Lower Shot, two in Hemp Earth and one in Morecot. Thomas Webster had a four-bay dwelling house, a one-bay chamber, a three-bay new barn, a yard and a garden, and fifty-five separately identified pieces of land - in Morecot, Town Shoting, Lower Shot, Furlong Shoting, Arnside Shoting, Shoting East, Barrowside, North Furlong, Shot Farthing, Horsegrey Shoting, Farnworth Shoting, Woodgate Shoting, Halewood Shoting, and Seabank. There were at least ten pieces of meadow land, two closes called flax crofts and a parcel of land in Crosse Marsh.⁽²⁾ Wherever these exact pieces of land were, their number certainly suggests considerable divisions of land operating in Hale in the late sixteenth century. The names are typical of many in north-west England where units of fields were called furlongs, flats, shoots or fields.⁽³⁾

(1) C.R.O., Consistory Deposition Books, EDC 2/9 f. 387.
Liv. R.O., 920 NOR 17/30.
Liverpool University Archives, Norris Deeds 229.

(2) B.L., Add. Ms. 36924/5c, fos 152-155.

(3) Elliott, "Field Systems", p. 43 and p. 45.

It would seem likely that most farmers in the four parishes were involved to a greater or lesser extent in communal fields and/or meadows, but in addition they probably also farmed various enclosures - or 'closes'. Forms of enclosure were very varied but by the sixteenth century some type of enclosure activity was probably underway in most parts of England, although true enclosure of arable open fields was mainly a Midland activity.⁽¹⁾ In south-west Lancashire common fields and some enclosure co-existed largely because of an over-abundance of waste in the form of heathland, mossland and marshland.⁽²⁾ By 1538 a dispute in Wavertree resulted from possession of certain closes belonging to William Norris, whilst by the 1540 s there were closes in Ditton and closes taken from the common in Bold.⁽³⁾ In 1544 an arbitration award was necessary to deal with enclosure of the waste at Aigburth in Garston.⁽⁴⁾ By 1558 there were closes at Diglake in Walton, at West Derby and along the south side of Everton causey.⁽⁵⁾ During the 1560 s closes existed at Allerton and near to Liverpool, by the 1570 s at Parr, and during the 1580 s at Whiston and Little Woolton.⁽⁶⁾ This type of scattered enclosure was clearly well underway throughout south-west Lancashire and appears

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- (1) J. Thirsk, Tudor Enclosures, London 1959, p. 4 and p. 7.
P. Ramsey, Tudor Economic Problems, London 1963, p.p. 19-44.
- (2) J. A. Yelling, Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850, London 1977, p.p. 13-16.
Long, "Wealth of the Magisterial Class", p. 77.
- (3) L.R.O., DDB1 40/2.
Warrington Reference Library, Bold Deeds Ms. 640.
Pleadings and Depositions, Rec. Soc. 35, p. 116.
- (4) B.L. Add. Ch. 52480.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 183 M 16.
L.R.O., DDM 52/21 and DDIn 29/14.
- (6) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 169 and 314.
P.R.O., DL 4 21/10.
P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 129 c 22.
L.T.B. I p. 350.

to have been continuing steadily late in the century. James Ditchfield was presented at Prescot court in 1580 for building an unauthorized dwelling house, kitchen and garden on an encroachment on the waste, as had two other men.⁽¹⁾ By 1592 this activity was continuing on Prescot waste and elsewhere in the parish at Eccleston and on Laghog Heath in Parr and at Whiston.⁽²⁾ Late in the century further closes were recorded in Childwall parish at Halewood, Little Woolton, Garston and Speke, and in Walton parish at Walton, West Derby, and Simonswood.⁽³⁾ One close in West Derby was certainly well hedged and had a strong gate with an iron lock and was used for pasturing oxen, cattle and young beasts, whilst closes in Ditton were sown with barley and oats.⁽⁴⁾

The widespread use of some closes and some open fields in south-west Lancashire meant that most farmers were tied to manorial organization at least for some of their land. There is evidence that some landlords were seeking to clarify and defend boon work and manorial rights - perhaps as they sensed them under attack from the increasing cultivation of closes.⁽⁵⁾ The 1580 rental of Great Sankey includes details of boons rated at two shillings the plough and ten pence the harrow; thirty-one individuals paid the rates and fourteen individuals were exempted from the boons.⁽⁶⁾ Clearly these boons and

(1) Pres. Recs., p.p. 211-212.

(2) Ibid., p. 252.
P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 188 E 3 and Vol. 178 T 11.
P.R.O., DL 4 35/13.
P.R.O., E 178 No. 1219.

(3) L.R.O., DDib 76.
L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 134/24.
Liv. R.O., 920 NOR 17/49, 17/59.
P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 202 D 5.
P.R.O., DL 4 40/25.

(4) L.R.O., DLB 1 54/2.
P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 144 B 20.

(5) See p. 158.

(6) L.R.O., DP 170 f 73.

their commutation were becoming contentious and some cases reached the Duchy courts.⁽¹⁾ Even if boons did not cause local incidents, manorial organization remained ever present. Manorial courts met regularly, took lists of absences and fined "misdemeanours in the face of the courte."⁽²⁾ Farmers, therefore, remained traditionally tied to elements of manorial organization, but the proliferation of closes and the extent of waste meant that a measure of independence could be developed on most farms.

c) The Farming.

With its characteristics of soil variation and elevation and relatively mild climate south-west Lancashire was an area where a variety of farming practice was possible. There was a tendency to pastoral agriculture, but within the four parishes there were exceptional areas of high arable production. In the earlier part of the sixteenth century this has been summarized as follows:-

Childwall parish	-	50% arable;	25% meadow;	25% pasture.
Huyton parish	-	20% arable;	15% meadow;	65% pasture.
Walton parish	-	40% arable;	15% meadow;	45% pasture.
Prescot parish	-	60% arable;	20% meadow;	20% pasture. ⁽³⁾

This parochial generalization hides still more local variation during the second half of the century.⁽⁴⁾

(1) L.R.O., DDB1 54/2.
P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 189 L 2.
P.R.O., DL 4 38/3.

(2) P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Court Rolls, DL 30 10/121.
See Chapter XI.

(3) H. B. Rodgers, "Land Use in Tudor Lancashire: the Evidence of Final Concords 1450-1558", in Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, No. 21, 1955, p.p. 83-84.

(4) See Table XIV.

TABLE XIV: LAND USE IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1636. ⁽¹⁾

Childwall Parish.

Hale and Hutte 1602	50% arable	10% meadow	40% pasture
Little Woolton 1610	74% arable	7% meadow	19% pasture

Huyton Parish.

Tarbock 1611	37% arable	15% meadow	48% pasture
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Walton Parish.

Walton and Fazakerley 1590	39% arable	8% meadow	53% pasture
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Prescot Parish.

Bold and Whiston 1561	40% arable	10% meadow	50% pasture
Penketh 1558	42% arable	11% meadow	47% pasture
Kirkby 1565	22% arable	2% meadow	76% pasture
Kirkby 1596	29% arable	12% meadow	59% pasture
Eccleston 1598	17% arable	3% meadow	80% pasture
Great Sankey 1603	33% arable	22% meadow	44% pasture
Eltonhead 1614	34% arable	10% meadow	56% pasture
Sutton 1636	20% arable	2% meadow	78% pasture

In broad terms the predominant pattern of agriculture established by the early sixteenth century remained unchanged until the end of the century. Throughout the four parishes there were areas where arable production was of significance, but with the large provision of pasture land, heathland, mossland and marshland abundant grazing

(1) P.R.O. WARD 5/21.
 L.R.O. DDHO 17.
 L.R.O. DDM 35/28 and 32.
 Manchester Reference Library, Farrer Mss.L1/50/35/9.
Inquisitions Post Mortem, Rec. Soc. 3 p.1 and p.277, Rec. Soc. 16, p.18.
Final Concords, Rec. Soc. 60, p.161.

predominated.

Just as the prevalent pattern of farming remained unchanged, so too did many farming techniques. Estate management in south-west Lancashire probably remained rather conservative and even backward with experimentation of crops and methods rarely practised. Marketing was poor and domestic consumption predominated.⁽¹⁾ Parts of southern England in the second half of the sixteenth century were affected by a spate of books on agricultural methods and techniques, and by schemes for new crops such as woad, but in the North-West the impact of these new ideas was little felt and there is no indication of landlords seeking rapid change to augment their finances.⁽²⁾ In the four parishes most attention was paid to the enclosure of land from the waste - from heathland and marshland, and to the technique of marling ground to improve its quality.⁽³⁾ This practice had existed since the twelfth century and was clearly still being commonly followed in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁽⁴⁾ In 1541 a lease in Bold allowed the tenant to make marl pits on his land, and in 1564 James Kenwick of Rainhill was prevented by a large number of armed individuals from distributing seven thousand cart-

(1) Long, "Wealth of the Magisterial Class", p. 127.

(2) Thirsk, "Farming Techniques", p. 161.
 J. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England, Oxford 1978, p. 4.
 A. P. Appleby, "Agrarian Capitalism or Seigneurial Reaction? The Northwest of England 1500-1700" in American Historical Review, Vol. 80, No. 3, 1975, p. 574 and p.p. 583-584.

(3) B. A. Holderness, Pre-Industrial England, London 1976, p. 57. See p. 234.

(4) Elliott, "Field Systems", p. 60.

loads of marl on the lands of Henry Gerard.⁽¹⁾ This seems an extraordinary amount, but several probate inventories from the area do refer to marling wheels and/or marl carts.⁽²⁾ This marling technique was no new practice, but its popularity remained throughout the sixteenth century and beyond; Adam Martindale in the mid seventeenth century spoke of new marled ground and a marl pit at High Heyes, Moss Bank.⁽³⁾

As far as is discernible from probate inventories, farm equipment generally remained limited and traditional.⁽⁴⁾ For many farmers equipment could amount to only a few shillings; an example typical of many was Roger Dey, a husbandman from Knowsley, who had ten shillings and ten pence worth of tools comprising plough irons, axes, augers, spades, forks, pykels, a worthing hook, a hand saw, traces, halters, a collar, two brakes and a wheelbarrow.⁽⁵⁾ Nicholas Rigby, a husbandman from Wollfall, represents the lowest level of equipment with his spade, hatchet and ladder valued at one shilling and seven pence.⁽⁶⁾ Rather more substantial was the equipment of Richard Denton, a Liverpool husbandman, who had a pair of wheels, three old wheels, two corn wains, a turf wain, a muck wain, four iron pins, five axle trees, two pykels, three ploughs, two pairs of plough

- (1) Warrington Reference Library, Bold Deeds, Ms 640. P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 60 K 3.
- (2) L.R.O., Inventory of John Ogle, Whiston 1562, Arthur Tyrer, West Derby 1593, John Linaker, Cuerdley 1593, William Wainwright, Halewood 1594, John Denton, Widnes 1600.
- (3) Life of Adam Martindale, Chet. Soc. Vol. IV, p. 4.
- (4) See Appendix VII.
- (5) L.R.O., Inventory of Roger Dey, Knowsley 1592.
- (6) L.R.O., Inventory of Nicholas Rigby, Wollfall 1603.

irons, two harrows, two side ropes, three yokes, a hammer, an iron bolt, a little axe, two forks, one spade, a worthing hook and two augers - all appraised at thirty-eight shillings.⁽¹⁾ The most prosperous type of farmer is represented by John Linaker of Cuerdley; he had two pairs of shod wheels, a pair of wood wheels, carts and wains, an old marl cart, three harrows with their pins, three ploughs with their irons, two augers, a handsaw, a pair of pincers, a spoke-share, a hammer, a chisel, two hatchets, a hack, two spades, a bill, a brierhook, four pykels, two dung forks, two scythes, two ox yokes, four pairs of cart traces, three horse collars, four halters, a cart rope, a draught rope and another pair of wheels - altogether totalling six pounds, eight shillings and eleven pence.⁽²⁾ None of this equipment was in any way expensive nor sophisticated; the wealthier farmers tended to have more of the same type of equipment. No farmer had more than ten pounds' worth of agricultural equipment, and many had less than two or three pounds' worth.⁽³⁾ Easily the most expensive items were 'shod' wheels and ordinary wheels. Eight inventories record these shod wheels valued at about thirty shillings a pair.⁽⁴⁾

In an area largely dependent on subsistence agriculture grain

(1) L.R.O., Inventory of Richard Denton, Liverpool 1580.

(2) L.R.O., Inventory of John Linaker, Cuerdley 1593.

(3) See Appendix VII.

(4) L.R.O., Inventories of Robert Williamson, Tarbock 1592, William Lathom, Allerton 1594, John Linaker, Cuerdley 1593, William Croft, Widnes 1591, William Robertson, Cronton 1591, John Ogle, Whiston 1562, Margaret Ashbrook, Cuerdley 1596, Anne More, Liverpool 1590.

production was of great consequence, even though in this area pastoral activities predominated. Only a minority of land was sufficiently dry for grain cultivation and it has been claimed that many farmers had less than five acres (statute) under the plough - mainly for oats with barley and some wheat.⁽¹⁾ Wheat was planted any time from the end of September to the end of November, oats from February to mid March, and barley from March to May.⁽²⁾ This pattern at least allowed farmers to plough and plant over a period of time, but where substantial evidence of crops is based on probate inventories, dating is of crucial importance. From a large number of inventories, however, some general characteristics emerge.⁽³⁾

TABLE XV: PROBATE INVENTORIES RECORDING GRAINS.

	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>French Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Number of Inventories</u>
Huyton Parish	50%	47%	24%	6%	6%	34
Childwall Parish	56%	61%	50%	5%	11%	66
Walton Parish	46%	56%	31%	5%	24%	59
Prescot Parish	62%	70%	39%	10%	15%	141

From this probate distribution Prescot and Childwall parishes appear slightly more orientated to grain production than Huyton and Walton - probably along the coastal area of Speke, Hale, Halewood, Widnes, although differences amongst the parishes were not large.

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- (1) Freeman, Rodgers and Kinvig, Lancashire, Cheshire and Isle of Man, p. 47.
Thirsk, "Farming Regions", p. 85.
- (2) Chalklin, 17th Century Kent, p. 83.
- (3) M. Overton, "Probate Inventories in the Reconstitution of Agricultural Landscapes" in ed. M. Reed, Discovering Past Landscapes, London 1984, p.p. 169-179.

Barley was the most widely produced grain in the greatest quantities. Specific amounts are difficult to calculate from this type of evidence, but barley acreage of one and a half, two and a half, three, four and four and a half were recorded.⁽¹⁾ The largest valuations were Richard Lathom, an Allerton yeoman, with fifteen pounds' worth and William Croft of Widnes and Robert Sutton of Rainhill who both had eighteen pounds' worth. (Robert Lea's four acres were worth twelve pounds in 1586).⁽²⁾ Oats were found in nearly as many individual instances as barley, but usually in much smaller quantities. However, the acreages mentioned were one and a half, two, three, four and five, comparing closely with that of barley.⁽³⁾ Wheat was less commonly found and usually in fairly specific areas; in Huyton parish it was grown mainly in Tarbock township, in Walton parish there was a concentration in West Derby township, and in Prescot parish it was found in the Ditton, Rainhill, Widnes, Bold area. The greatest wheat growing area, however, was part of Childwall parish in Speke, Allerton and Halewood townships - here it was recorded in twenty-six of the thirty-one available inventories.⁽⁴⁾ Acreages were much as for barley and oats; one and a half, two and a half, three and four acres were mentioned.⁽⁵⁾ This crop was certainly winter sown, as a number of

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- (1) L.R.O., Inventories of William Barrow, West Derby 1591, William Ainsdale, Kirkdale 1578, Margaret Heaton, Knowsley 1592, James Arnott, Childwall 1564, Robert Lea, Sutton 1586 and Peter Ackers, West Derby 1598.
- (2) L.R.O., Inventories of Richard Lathom, Allerton 1597, William Croft, Widnes 1591, Robert Sutton, Rainhill 1591, Robert Lea, Sutton 1586.
- (3) L.R.O., Inventories of John Tarleton, West Derby 1582, William Barrow, West Derby 1591, John Richardson, Halebank 1582, Robert Lea, Sutton 1586, Margaret Heaton, Knowsley 1592.
- (4) See Appendices IV and VIII.
- (5) L.R.O., Inventories of William Barrow, West Derby 1591, Robert Lea, Sutton 1586, Peter Ackers, West Derby 1598.
C.R.O., EDA 2/1.

inventories testify when they valued it on the ground in January.⁽¹⁾ The largest valuations were again similar to those of other grains: thirteen pounds, fourteen pounds, and two and a half acres of wheat worth sixteen pounds in 1586.⁽²⁾ The largest single valuation was that of twenty-three pounds belonging to Elizabeth Bold of Cranshaw in Bold in 1596.⁽³⁾ Rye was certainly much less commonly grown and found in only small quantities. Possibly it was found on poorer soils where other grains were not feasible as in Walton, Kirkdale and parts of West Derby townships in Walton parish, at Whiston and Rainhill in Prescot parish, and in Hale township in Childwall parish. Quantities were usually under five pounds in value, although exceptionally John Mercer of West Derby had seven pounds' worth and Roger Breres of Walton eleven pounds' worth.⁽⁴⁾ French wheat was grown by only a very small number of farmers and found in quantities worth only a few shillings; the sole exception being an Allerton yeoman who had four pounds' worth.⁽⁵⁾

William Camden was almost certainly accurate when he recorded that the Lancaster plain yielded barley, wheat and oats "pretty well".⁽⁶⁾ The only indication of how one individual chose to produce grain in a particular area is provided by an account in June 1594 of the Blundell

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- (1) L.R.O., Inventories of Richard Cooke, Little Woolton 1592, Thomas Molyneux, Garston 1593.
- (2) L.R.O., Inventories of William Harrison, Tarbock 1603, Edward Barrow, Halewood 1595, Robert Lea, Sutton 1586.
- (3) L.R.O., Inventory of Elizabeth Bold, Bold 1596.
- (4) L.R.O., Inventories of John Mercer, West Derby 1592, Roger Breres, Walton 1595.
- (5) L.R.O., Inventory of Richard Lathom, Allerton 1597.
- (6) W. Camden, Britannia, written 1586, Facsimile 1695 edition, London 1971, p. 788.

demesne land at Ditton Hall. Twenty-four parcels of land amounting to just over forty-six acres (large measure) were listed; altogether ten and a half acres were sown with barley, eight acres with oats, three acres with wheat, three roods with rye, one rood with hemp and flax, one rood with garden produce and three and a half acres with peas and beans.⁽¹⁾ In fact, these acreages are a fair representation of the distribution of crops not only in Ditton, but throughout the four parishes. (Six more acres in Ditton were meadow land and fourteen acres unrecorded - possibly left fallow and for use as grazing).

TABLE XVI: PROBATE INVENTORIES
RECORDING PEAS AND BEANS, HEMP AND FLAX.

	<u>Peas and Beans</u>	<u>Hemp and Flax</u>	<u>Number of Inventories</u>
Huyton Parish	18%	38%	34
Childwall Parish	20%	48%	66
Walton Parish	25%	46%	59
Prescot Parish	26%	34%	141

Usually peas and beans were grown in quite small quantities throughout the area in one fifth to one quarter of available probate inventories. Often they were valued at less than twenty shillings, although Richard Lathom of Allerton had sixty shillings' worth.⁽²⁾ They were certainly cultivated in Liverpool townfield and seem to have been particularly prevalent in Cuerdley, Widnes and Ditton townships.⁽³⁾ Possibly their cultivation here was directly related

(1) L.R.O., DDB1 54/2.

(2) L.R.O., Inventory of Richard Lathom, Allerton 1597.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 519 and p. 744.

to animal husbandry.⁽¹⁾ Hemp and flax, the other minority crop, appears in one third-one half of surviving probate inventories. Usually valuations were not more than twenty shillings, although both John Wiswall of Hale and William Croft of Widnes had over sixty shillings' worth.⁽²⁾ Cultivation was associated with a special hemp yard and found where conditions were suitable, for example, in Wavertree, Halebank, Halewood, Hale, Cuerdley, Widnes, Ditton and Whiston.⁽³⁾ Preparation of the product was time consuming as it had to be soaked in water, dried - probably using turf, and then broken and swungled.⁽⁴⁾ The incentive must have been that woven hemp was so useful in an agricultural community for thread, halters, girths, ropes, bridles, etc., and the better quality flax for sacking and coarse cloth.⁽⁵⁾ It is doubtful whether better quality flax was being cultivated in this area, and there is no evidence of its production on a commercial scale.

Amongst these various crops there is no sign of significant change through the introduction of new crops or the substantial increase in production of any one of the traditional crops. The vagaries of the weather must have always been a crucial factor in the success of the grain harvest, and undoubtedly some years had less than ideal grain growing weather during the second half of the

(1) See p. 218.

(2) L.R.O., Inventories of John Wiswall, Hale 1602 and William Croft, Widnes 1591.

(3) Pres. Recs., p.p. 34-46.

(4) ed. J. Harland, The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, 1582-1621 in Chet. Soc. Volume XXXV, 1856, p. 72.

(5) See Chapter VI.

sixteenth century. Probably 1557, 1587-8 and 1597 were indeed such 'bad' years, but at least in south-west Lancashire a variety of grain was cultivated and planted at different times.⁽¹⁾ This grain must have provided the core of the diet for virtually all the population of the area, but considerable numbers of animals were kept as well, so that 'mixed' farming perhaps offset the worst effects of a poor harvest.

TABLE XVII: PROBATE INVENTORIES RECORDING ANIMALS AND HAY.

	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Oxen</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Poultry</u>	<u>Hay</u>	<u>Number of Inven- tories</u>
Huyton Parish	85%	35%	68%	18%	71%	68%	50%	34
Childwall Parish	91%	44%	76%	30%	79%	76%	55%	66
Walton Parish	95%	54%	71%	39%	73%	71%	58%	59
Prescot Parish	94%	41%	73%	28%	74%	69%	70%	141

Appendix VII shows the relative valuations in probate records of crops as opposed to animals. These valuations do not measure output, but record only working capital at one particular moment in time. They do, however, show relative values at this moment, bearing in mind the month in the year when the inventory was compiled.⁽²⁾ There were exceptions, yet overwhelmingly most farmers had the greater, and even considerable, proportion of their assets invested in animals. For many farmers one half-two thirds of their inventory valuation lay with their animals. Usually there was a little variation of stock, but

(1) A. B. Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, Liverpool 1978, p. 1.

(2) Overton, "Probate Inventories", p.p. 169-179.

cattle of some type and age were the important animals.⁽¹⁾ Over ninety per cent of all inventories had at least one cow, whilst over seventy per cent had pigs, poultry and at least one horse. For many husbandmen these animals were kept in only very small numbers, but nonetheless they represented a very substantial proportion of capital investment for these men. Sheep were less commonly found - in just over forty per cent of all inventories, but significantly in Walton parish. Oxen were still less usually kept - in not quite thirty per cent of all inventories, and again more commonly in Walton parish.

Cattle were the animals of south-west Lancashire agriculture, but unfortunately few details of their breeds survive. Valuation depended on the type of cattle, age and state of health; appraisers usually took care to distinguish them in different groups such as young beasts, stirks, kine, in calf cows, etc.. The price of cattle, in consequence, is very difficult to compare because so many variables were involved. Normally any one animal was certainly rated at more than a horse and usually in the range thirty shillings-fifty shillings. Some farmers had only one animal, such as Thomas Gorsuch, a Huyton husbandman, but many had six, seven or eight.⁽²⁾ Twelve or more cattle appear, in this area, to represent an above average size herd. In Huyton parish just three individuals had herds of twelve, thirteen and fifteen cattle, whilst in Childwall parish seven farmers had comparable herds; Edward Holland and William Wainwright both had seventeen cows

(1) See Table XVII.

(2) L.R.O., Inventory of Thomas Gorsuch, Huyton 1596, John Williamson, Tarbock 1593, Ellis Tyrer, Knowsley 1597, Thomas Webster, Roby 1593.

and several calves, and Cuthbert Lathom of Allerton had twenty-four cows and four calves.⁽¹⁾ In Walton parish eleven individuals had herds of twelve or more cattle, with Anne More, the widow of an esquire, having twenty animals, Roger Breres Gentleman having twenty-one, and his father Lawrence Breres keeping twenty-five cattle and seven calves.⁽²⁾ The largest herds, however, were recorded in Prescott parish; two Whiston yeomen had, respectively, seventeen and nineteen cattle, a Cuerdley husbandman had twenty-one cattle, a Great Sankey farmer had twenty-seven cattle and five calves, and a Sutton gentleman had twenty-five cattle.⁽³⁾ Still larger, however, was the herd kept by Francis Bold Gentleman of Bold - in 1588 he had thirty-eight cattle and nine calves, and his widow by 1596 had no less than sixty-one cattle and six calves; not surprisingly the family had a substantial interest in tanning.⁽⁴⁾ Even so, the largest recorded single herd belonged to a Widnes yeoman - in 1603 Henry Lawton had sixty-seven cattle.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) L.R.O., Inventories of Henry Holland, Tarbock 1587, William Harrison, Tarbock 1603, Margaret Heaton, Knowsley 1592, Robert Richardson, Childwall 1571, George Plumpton, Childwall 1581, Cuthbert Lathom, Allerton 1592, Henry Ellison, Wavertree 1594, Edward Holland, Halewood 1595, William Wainwright, Halebank 1601, John Wainwright, Halewood 1603.
- (2) L.R.O., Inventories of Anne More, Liverpool 1590, Roger Breres, Walton 1595, Lawrence Breres, Walton 1584.
- (3) L.R.O., Inventories of Richard Hawarden, Whiston 1600, Robert Wyke, Whiston 1591, John Linaker, Cuerdley 1593, Richard Hardman, Great Sankey 1561, Alexander Holland, Sutton 1588.
- (4) L.R.O., Inventory of Elizabeth Bold, Bold 1596.
C.R.O., EDA 2/1.
See p. 242.
- (5) L.R.O., Inventory of Henry Lawton, Widnes 1603.

In Myddle in Shropshire in the late sixteenth century the average number of cattle per farmer was fifteen, but in south-west Lancashire most ordinary farmers probably had less than this.⁽¹⁾ However, the more substantial farmers clearly could have many more cattle than this. Crucial to these numbers of cattle was available pasture, which in the four parishes was not an insuperable problem.⁽²⁾ Wintering of herds was usually the key factor, but in south-west Lancashire there is little evidence of winter slaughtering from the herd sizes recorded in probate inventories.⁽³⁾ The relatively mild, wet winters of this area with infrequent snow and early spring meant that large scale slaughtering was unnecessary, particularly as such substantial areas of pasturing were available.⁽⁴⁾ Many devices regulated the use of this pasture because of its value, for example kine gates on Cuerdley Marsh were valued in some inventories.⁽⁵⁾ A number of cattle were also hired out to other farmers, for instance a Little Woolton husbandman who owed eight shillings for cow hire, whilst Anne More had hired out virtually all her herd of twenty cattle.⁽⁶⁾

It seems likely from the variety of cattle mentioned that some were predominantly milking cows, whilst others were young beasts

- (1) Hey, An English Rural Community, p. 61. Thirsk, "Farming Regions", p. 84.
- (2) See Table XIV.
- (3) Long, "The Wealth of the Magisterial Class", p. 82.
- (4) S. Gregory, "Weather and Climate" in ed. W. Smith, A Scientific Survey of Merseyside, Liverpool 1953, p.p. 53-59.
- (5) L.R.O., Inventories of John Lawton, Ditton 1591, John Hearn, Widnes 1591.
- (6) L.R.O., Inventories of William Knowle, Little Woolton 1602, Anne More, Liverpool 1590.

being fattened. Some diversity was probably beneficial. Butter and cheese are recorded in small quantities in many inventories throughout this area. The hard pressed cheese of Lancashire and Cheshire had quite good storage properties, but the size and quality of these cheeses probably varied considerably as vats varied from farm to farm.⁽¹⁾ The beef cattle, the milk, the butter, the cheese and the animal hides must have been all consumed and used locally, but equally a proportion of all this produce was traded through Liverpool and Prescot and even further afield.⁽²⁾

Flocks of sheep, although less commonly found than cattle, also provided opportunity for both local consumption of meal, wool and skins and more distant trade.⁽³⁾ It has been claimed that in south-west Lancashire very few sheep were found, but in some areas of the four parishes sheep were quite a significant aspect of farming. Knowsley, Whiston, West Derby and Allerton townships all had some of the highest land in this predominantly flat area and all had concentrations of sheep.⁽⁴⁾ Flocks appear usually to have been quite small at nine or ten sheep, but larger numbers were possible. Several farmers had flocks of thirty sheep, whilst in Prescot parish a Whiston yeoman had thirty-two sheep, a Rainhill farmer had thirty-nine sheep, a Ditton farmer had twenty-nine sheep and fourteen lambs, and a Whiston widow retained a flock of forty-eight sheep.⁽⁵⁾ The

- (1) V. Cheke, The Story of Cheese-Making in Britain, London 1959, p. 17, p.p. 25-37, p. 49.
- (2) See Chapter VIII.
- (3) See Table XVII.
- (4) See p. 196.
- (5) L.R.O., Inventories of William Harrison, Tarbock 1603, Henry Milner, Huyton 1581, Henry Heaton, Knowsley 1578, Thomas Woods, Kirkby 1593, Richard Longworth, West Derby 1584, Richard Hawarden, Whiston 1600, Robert Sutton, Rainhill 1591, James Ditchfield Ditton 1582, Catherine Lyon, Whiston 1596.

largest flocks, however, were recorded in Childwall parish where several men had flocks of more than thirty, Henry Ellison and James Amott both had more than forty sheep and Thomas Almond, an Allerton yeoman, had a flock of sixty-five.⁽¹⁾ These sorts of numbers represent the size flocks the more substantial farmers might have, but an Allerton gentleman demonstrates the large scale activity of south-west Lancashire - he had two hundred and eighty sheep valued at fifty-five pounds.⁽²⁾

Horses, found on the majority of farms, were probably usually work animals necessary for the agrarian activities and for transport purposes.⁽³⁾ It has been claimed that yeomen rarely had more than one or two horses, but on south-west Lancashire farms two and three horses were very common.⁽⁴⁾ Valuations are variable because of the age and type of horse, but mainly the price range lay from twenty-thirty shillings per animal.⁽⁵⁾ (A Widnes husbandman had two "oulde lame mares, one blynd horse and one colte" valued together at forty shillings).⁽⁶⁾ Some farmers had several animals, suggesting that breeding and rearing of horses was possible in this area. Not untypical was for both husbandmen and yeomen to have four or five

(1) L.R.O., Inventories of John Wiswall, Hale 1602, Thomas Crosbie, Hale 1583, Henry Ellison, Wavertree 1594, James Arnott, Childwall 1564, Thomas Almond, Allerton 1609.

(2) L.R.O., Inventory of Cuthbert Lathom, Allerton 1592.

(3) See Table XVII.

(4) Thirsk, "Farming Regions", p. 84.
Campbell, English Yeomen, p. 205.

(5) L.R.O., Inventories of John Cowper, Knowsley 1579, Henry Holland, Tarbock 1587.

(6) L.R.O., Inventory of Christopher Rathbone, Widnes 1594.

horses and two or three colts.⁽¹⁾ Some otherwise undistinguished farmers had still larger herds, for instance Gilbert Ainsdale of Walton with his eight horses and four colts.⁽²⁾ The overwhelming indication of horse breeding, however, is provided by the inventory of Edward Tarbock Esquire of Tarbock; the total valuation was just over four hundred pounds with cattle amounting to sixty-nine pounds, sheep to under two pounds, corn to ten pounds, and horses to nearly one hundred and sixteen pounds.⁽³⁾ Horse breeding presumably benefited from the climate and pasture land of this area.

Oxen were much less commonly found than horses throughout the four parishes, and there is some indication that during the second part of the sixteenth century they were becoming less common. They were usually found as a yoke, not in the poorest inventories and not in the wealthier ones either, predominantly in the earlier inventories.⁽⁴⁾ Occasionally two yokes and rarely three yokes were found, with just Robert Sutton of Rainhill having eight oxen.⁽⁵⁾ Clearly some of these oxen may well have been used by other farmers in the area; John Plumpton, a West Derby yeoman, was certainly owed money for four days work and four days ploughing with his team of two

- (1) See Table XVII.
L.R.O., Inventories of Thomas Woods, Kirkby 1593, Edmund Wainwright, Halebank 1574, Edward Twambrook, Great Sankey 1598, Henry Lawton, Widnes 1603.
- (2) L.R.O., Inventory of Gilbert Ainsdale, Walton 1596.
- (3) L.R.O., Inventory of Edward Tarbock, Tarbock 1608.
See p. 596.
- (4) L.R.O., Inventories of John Cowper, Knowsley 1579, Thomas Orme, Roby 1576, Thomas Short, Huyton 1582, Robert Rathbone, Widnes 1572, Baldwin Smith, Widnes 1563.
- (5) L.R.O., Inventories of Robert Lea, Sutton 1586, Henry Watmough, Eccleston 1572, Robert Sutton, Rainhill 1591.

oxen.⁽¹⁾ Even so, it would seem that horse power and versatility was slowly taking over from the oxen.

In addition to the productive cattle and sheep and to the necessary horses and oxen, most farms throughout this area had the ubiquitous pigs and poultry. Perhaps, in fact, they were not found on quite as many farms as might have been thought.⁽²⁾ It is possible that they were omitted by appraisers of inventories, but this seems unlikely in most cases judging by the items they did include. Both pigs and poultry appear to have been kept in relatively small numbers - in some cases just one pig valued at a few shillings, depending on its age and size.⁽³⁾ Just a few farmers had small numbers of pigs - six or seven.⁽⁴⁾ Where there were these larger numbers appraisers took care to itemize them, such as sixteen shillings for a fat hog but only eight shillings for a swine.⁽⁵⁾ The largest breeders of pigs, however, were the gentry - Lawrence Breres had sixty shillings' worth, Cuthbert Lathom one hundred shillings' worth and Francis Bold had ten swine and four pigs. Even a Liverpool merchant had eleven pigs.⁽⁶⁾ It would appear that most farmers were content to keep less than half a dozen pigs; the

(1) L.R.O., Will of John Plumpton, West Derby 1582.

(2) See Table XVII.

(3) L.R.O., Inventories of John Beasley, Huyton 1582, Henry Milner, Wolfall 1581.

(4) L.R.O., Inventories of Richard Hardman, Great Sankey 1561, Robert Rathbone, Widnes 1572, John Pyke, Prescot 1581.

(5) L.R.O., Inventory of William Croft, Widnes 1591.

(6) L.R.O., Inventories of Lawrence Breres, Walton 1584, Cuthbert Lathom, Allerton 1592, Thomas Bavand, Liverpool 1588.
C.R.O., EDA 2/1.

incentive to keep more was to feed the larger gentry and merchant households.

Likewise poultry - hens, ducks and geese - was found on most farms in small quantities valued at a few shillings. Typical of these farmers was William Hayward of Tarbock with his three hens, two geese and two ducks valued at two shillings and eight pence, and Henry Holland of Tarbock with four hens and two ducks valued at two shillings.⁽¹⁾ A few farmers had larger flocks - Richard Tatlock of Simonswood had twenty hens and six geese and Peter Ackers of West Derby had twelve hens and fifteen geese.⁽²⁾ Yet again, the gentry had the incentive to keep the largest flocks - for instance the widow of Francis Bold Gentleman had fourteen hens and thirty-six geese worth eighteen shillings.⁽³⁾ For ordinary farmers an adequate level for self-sufficiency was enough.

The prevalent mixed pattern of arable and pasture farming must have been the basis for a significant degree of self-sufficiency for most farmers in the four parishes. Other contributions, however, were presumably made by goods 'not wrought by man'. Probate inventories were liable to record only those goods that man had nurtured or produced, and, therefore, grass and trees, fish, conies, deer and pigeons, etc. were never recorded.⁽⁴⁾ Food supplies must

- (1) L.R.O., Inventories of William Hayward, Tarbock 1581 and Henry Holland, Tarbock 1587.
- (2) L.R.O., Inventories of Richard Tatlock, Simonswood 1593 and Peter Ackers, West Derby 1598.
- (3) L.R.O., Inventory of Elizabeth Bold, Bold 1596.
- (4) Overton, "Probate Inventories", p.p. 169-179.

have been augmented by various birds that were trapped. Vermin bounties paid by churchwardens mention bullfinches, crows, kites and magpies, so other birds could have been caught by those determined to try.⁽¹⁾ The Shuttleworth Accounts for Gawthorpe Hall in mid Lancashire claim that lark, snype, blackbird, woodcock, teal, sparrow and thrush were consumed there during the 1590 s.⁽²⁾ In 1600 a labourer was presented at the Quarter Sessions for having a handgun, powder and bullets and killing "pulte" in Rainford moss.⁽³⁾ Landowners could turn to easier methods and keep dovecotes, such as the Brettergh family in Little Woolton, the Eltonhead family in Sutton, the Molyneux family at Kirkby, and the Bold family at Bold and at Whiston.⁽⁴⁾ It is possible that the Ireland family in the late sixteenth century had a special bird decoy pool constructed at Hale covering about three acres of water.⁽⁵⁾ The more important landowners had their deer parks, such as the Earls of Derby and the Bold family, but many farmers must have been only too glad to trap rabbits.⁽⁶⁾

Fish must have been another relatively common source of food in an area near the sea and with plenty of surface water. Salt-water fish were available through Liverpool and from individuals fishing in

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- (1) Pres. Recs., p. 106, p. 108, p. 112, p. 115, p. 123.
- (2) Harland, Shuttleworth Accounts, p. 101.
- (3) J. Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records, 1590-1606 in Chet. Soc. N.S. Vol. LXXVII, 1917, p. 79.
- (4) L.R.O., DDM 35/28.
L.R.O., DDHo 17.
Manchester Reference Library, Farrar Mss. L1/50/35/9 and L1/50/10/1.
Lancashire Inquisitions Post Mortem, Rec. Soc. 3, p. 277.
- (5) C. Poole, Old Widnes and its Neighbourhood, Widnes 1906, p.p. 170-171.
V.C.H. III, p. 140.
- (6) See p. 138.

the Mersey, and streams, ponds and marshes provided opportunities for many more farmers to supplement their diets.⁽¹⁾ Copyholders had specific fishing rights in the marsh and rivers from Ditton to Cuerdley and at Rale Pool in Cuerdley and Marsh Pool between Widnes and Ditton.⁽²⁾ Sir Richard Molyneux had fisheries for trout and eels at Simonswood, and at a much reduced level Adam Martindale explained that in the early seventeenth century a marl pit near his father's house was used as a watering pool and as a fish pond.⁽³⁾

Hives were sometimes recorded in inventories, although it seems unlikely that they were fully documented. In Huyton parish six per cent of inventories recorded hives, in Prescot eight per cent, in Walton twelve per cent and in Childwall fifteen per cent. Possibly recording took place if hives were located in the vicinity of the place of residence and if the inventory was compiled when honey was available. Usually two or three hives were recorded together, valued at a few shillings each.⁽⁴⁾ In a few instances farmers took honey production quite seriously and, for example, a Halewood husbandman had nine hives.⁽⁵⁾

Timber supplies were potentially another source of profit situated on a farmer's land, but by the second half of the sixteenth century it seems unlikely that the four parishes of south-west

(1) See Chapter V.

(2) P.R.O., DL 4 25/1.

(3) Life of Adam Martindale, Chet. Soc. IV, p. 4.

(4) L.R.O., Inventories of Henry Milner, Wolfall 1581, John Tarleton, West Derby 1582, Thomas Bushell, Bold 1590.

(5) L.R.O., Inventory of John Lyon, Halewood 1598.

Lancashire contained any substantial acreage of timber. A Duchy survey of 1587 recorded all woodland north of the River Trent and, although central and north Lancashire warranted mention, no woodland worthy of attention was recorded in south Lancashire.⁽¹⁾ Much of the four parishes was probably not unlike Huyton rectory where no woods of any value were recorded in 1603, except hedgerows.⁽²⁾ However, small patches of woodland did exist - six acres in Walton and Fazakerley, eight acres in Eltonhead, twenty acres in Bold, forty acres at Hale and one hundred and forty acres at Kirkby.⁽³⁾ The most substantial area of woodland was probably Tarbock Wood where even in 1611 there were two hundred acres.⁽⁴⁾ The principal beneficiaries of this limited woodland were the landowners, but tenants could share these benefits in some places. At Prescott the area to the west of the church was wooded down the hill to Prescott Brook. Throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century tenants were presented for felling trees without licence, for instance thirteen individuals in 1552 and eleven in 1558.⁽⁵⁾ The tenants were, however, allowed to cart away timber for mending houses and fencing.⁽⁶⁾

Trees would have seemed quite apparent throughout the four

- (1) P.R.O., DL 42 No. 114.
- (2) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 643.
- (3) P.R.O., WARD5 5/21.
L.R.O., DDM 35/28 and 35/32.
Manchester Reference Library, Farrar Mss. L1/50/35/9.
Lancashire Inquisitions Post Mortem, Rec. Soc. 3, p. 277.
- (4) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 7.
Lancashire Inquisitions Post Mortem, Rec. Soc. 16, p. 18.
- (5) Pres. Recs., p. 118, p. 142.
Davey, Prescot Action Area, p. 9.
- (6) Pres. Recs. at King's College, Cambridge, available on microfilm at Huyton Library, IV, 14.

parishes because almost every message was recorded with an orchard and a garden. Walton and Fazakerley in 1590 had forty messages, forty gardens and forty orchards.⁽¹⁾ In half of Kirkby there were forty messages, twenty cottages and sixty orchards.⁽²⁾ These figures may be only approximations, but presumably they do indicate the normal pattern of each place of residence having its own garden and orchard. This provision and freedom to use it must have been very significant for all farmers in meeting domestic supplies of vegetables and fruit.

Aside from all these important supplementary provisions of food and income - the fish, the birds, the honey, the gardens and the trees - the most significant asset widely available to farmers in south-west Lancashire was 'waste'. Some meadow land existed in the few river and stream valleys, but suitable soil and land was limited and so, not surprisingly, amounts of hay recorded in probate inventories were also limited.⁽³⁾ From April-August hay would be unlikely anyway, but, even allowing for this, quantities of hay were usually quite small considering the numbers of animals in the area. In Huyton parish fifty per cent of inventories recorded hay, usually valued at below forty shillings; in Walton fifty-eight per cent had hay; in Childwall fifty-six per cent, and in Prescott seventy per cent. A few farmers had slightly more hay, but rarely more than five pounds' worth⁽⁴⁾ - the largest single amount being seven pounds'

(1) Manchester Reference Library, Farrar Mss. Ll/50/35/9.

(2) L.R.O., DDM 35/32.

(3) See Table XVII.

(4) L.R.O., Inventories of John Mercer, West Derby 1592, Edward Barrow, Halewood 1595, John Linaker, Cuerdley 1593.

worth held by a Widnes husbandman.⁽¹⁾ Only two indications of acreage occur - two acres valued at forty shillings and four and a half acres worth eighty shillings.⁽²⁾

Specific meadowland, however, was augmented in south-west Lancashire by relatively abundant common and/or waste land.⁽³⁾ Peat mosses throughout the area could be used for fuel cut from their edges and for rough grazing in parts during the summer.⁽⁴⁾ Probably this was true at Simonswood, at Blakehill Moss in Windle, at Withinshaw Moss and Catshaw Moss in Eccleston, at Markol's Moss in Sutton, at Gill Moss in West Derby and at Penketh Moss.⁽⁵⁾ Camden claimed that Lancashire had "unwholesome mosses", but in the south of the county their limited size meant that they could make some contribution to grazing land.⁽⁶⁾

In addition to moss land there was coastal marsh land which also provided grazing, such as Wheatell Marsh in Ditton.⁽⁷⁾ Much of this was, in fact, referred to as horse pasture, for example Penketh Warthe and Widnes Warthe where two 'horse grasses' amounted to just over an acre in 1579.⁽⁸⁾ The land adjoining these marshes and/or

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- (1) L.R.O., Inventory of William Croft, Widnes 1591.
- (2) L.R.O., Inventories of Robert Lawrenson, Widnes 1577 and Peter Ackers, West Derby 1598.
- (3) See Table XIV.
- (4) Freeman, Rodgers, Kinvig, Lancashire, Cheshire and Isle of Man, p.p. 27-28.
- (5) R. Kay Gresswall, "The Physical Landscape and Land forms" in Smith, Scientific Study of Merseyside, p. 43.
P.R.O., DL 1 Ed. VI Vo. 73 G 2 and DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 145 E 5 and DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 105 W 1.
P.R.O., DL 4 30/35.
L.R.O., DD Sc 32/1.
- (6) Camden, Britannia, p. 788.
- (7) L.R.O., DD Bl 54/2.
- (8) Final Concords, Rec. Soc. 60, p. 122.
P.R.O., DL 30 12/133.

recovered from the marsh was often called 'carrs' and existed, for instance, at Roby Carr in Huyton parish which was let out as 'beast gates' for cattle and horses.⁽¹⁾

Heath land and moor land also provided grazing opportunities. Much of Everton township was heath and used as cattle pasture by the people of Kirkdale.⁽²⁾ The Great Heath to the east of the Pool at Liverpool was controlled by the town authorities and was used for supplies of gorse and for marl and clay.⁽³⁾ Warbreck Moor and Club Moor in Walton parish were used in much the same way, as were Childwall Hill and the waste at Brown Hill and Birch Hill in Much Woolton.⁽⁴⁾ Coptholt waste in Rainhill, Eccleston and Whiston was similar land, as was Broad Heath in Eccleston, Sutton Heath and Bold Heath.⁽⁵⁾

These widespread and varied areas of waste land and common were crucial to the pattern of agriculture; they made possible the animal husbandry alongside some cultivation.⁽⁶⁾ Presumably much of this damp land was used predominantly for summer stock grazing, and careful manorial regulations enforced boundaries, numbers of stock and dates of use.⁽⁷⁾ However, evidence of disputes over the boundaries of waste

- (1) Smith, "Study of Lancashire Field Names and Land Measures", p.31. King, Huyton and Roby, p. 31.
- (2) J. Stonehouse, "Historical Notes respecting the township and village of Everton" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. IV, 1851-2, p. 68.
- (3) Stewart Brown, "Townfield of Liverpool", p. 196.
- (4) V.C.H. III, p. 11, p. 22, p. 102, p. 117.
J. E. Lally and J. B. Gnosspelius, History of Much Woolton, Woolton 1975, p.p. 17-19.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 100 E 1 and DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 202 E 8.
- (6) J. Thirsk, "Industries in the Countryside" in ed. F. J. Fisher, Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England, Cambridge 1961, p.p. 82-83.
- (7) Elliott, "Field Systems", p. 67.

land and of its use would suggest increasing levels of grazing and an increasing population.⁽¹⁾ During the 1560's Little Woolton court rolls testify to repeated attempts to prevent inhabitants from the adjoining townships of Much Woolton and Allerton using the common and digging turves.⁽²⁾ In Liverpool the town's moss reeves were reprimanded for not dealing with men from Wavertree, Everton and West Derby who had been profiting from Liverpool's common.⁽³⁾ Disputes of this type led to some attempts to clarify boundaries, such as between Allerton and Wavertree townships through a Duchy commission in 1568. Evidence was collected from witnesses and a watercolour plan produced; the cultivated areas were marked with a large area of waste and common being located around Pykelow Hill.⁽⁴⁾ A survey of 1584 claimed that this Allerton common pasture had been little used by tenants in the previous forty years because they dwelt too far away, and that the Norris family had used a herdman to drive their sheep and cattle onto the pasture daily. By the 1580's disputes over pasturing and turf collection had arisen through increasing use.⁽⁵⁾ The most protracted dispute, however, involved the customary tenants of the royal manor of Widnes. In the early 1550's they had shown evidence to the steward regarding their title

- (1) Thirsk, Tudor Enclosures, p. 5.
- (2) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924/6, f. 193 and f. 198.
- (3) L.T.B. II, p. 131, p. 271, p. 306, p. 457.
- (4) R. Stewart Brown, A History of the Manor and Township of Allerton, Liverpool 1911, p.p. 103-124.
P.R.O., DL 44 No. 169.
- (5) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924/5c, fos. 156-158.

to use the coastal marsh land of the Warthe and Plocks. In 1561 these rights had occasioned a case in the Duchy court as the lessee of the manor claimed possession of this land, but the court found in favour of the tenants. In 1562 the manor was regranted by Elizabeth I to her chief gentlewoman, Catherine Ashley, and her husband, the master of the Queen's Jewelhouse. They reopened the case claiming the marsh land as demesne, but had difficulty obtaining written proof from Lancashire! In 1564 commissioners were ordered to Widnes to investigate and a tinted map was produced to locate the Green Warthe and Plocks alongside the Mersey. By 1567 the tenants had again prevailed.⁽¹⁾

The danger to the prevailing pattern of agriculture was that encroachment and enclosure of this waste and common would so reduce it that the grazing potential was seriously reduced for the majority of farmers.⁽²⁾ In south-west Lancashire some encroachment was taking place throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, such as by the three West Derby men who built houses on the waste in 1561 and the Huyton labourer who built a cottage on Tarbock waste.⁽³⁾ As late

- (1) P.R.O., DL 1 Philip and Mary, Vol. 62 C 9, Vol. 66 C 8, Vol. 67 C 11, Vol. 69 S 17 and Vol. 69 W 4.
 P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 44 AZ, Vol. 65, T3, Vol. 66 AZ and Vol. 70 A4.
 P.R.O., DL 4 7/4.
 P.R.O., DL 44 No. 108.
 P.R.O., MPC 67.
- (2) Appleby, "Agrarian Capitalism", p. 575.
- (3) Liv. R.O., 920 SAL 1/70.
 Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 39.

as 1613 one hundred and fifty acres of waste in Much Woolton were divided by agreement between the Earl of Derby, William Norris, John Ireland and the charterers of Much Woolton.⁽¹⁾ The extent of encroachment, however, was not so serious by the end of the sixteenth century that the agricultural pattern had to change. Tenants, such as those at Widnes, had defended their rights and the waste had been extensive enough to cope with the level of demand.

The prime example of land becoming available was provided by Toxteth Park. It had been afforested in the thirteenth century and by the fourteenth century was probably paled.⁽²⁾ The Earls of Derby had acquired control of the royal park and in 1575 the fourth Earl had granted the keepership to his servant, John Wardell alias Gifford. This included the new lodge at Otterspool with two fishyards and pasturing, and a buck in summer and a doe in winter. (This keepership was, in fact, bought from John Gifford for one hundred pounds and a ten pounds per annum pension by Edward Tarbock Esquire)⁽³⁾ In 1591 permission was obtained to dispark Toxteth; at that time its only buildings being Otterspool lodge and another lodge to the north.⁽⁴⁾ Only four years later the sixth Earl was claiming that much of this

(1) Lally and Gnosspelius, History of Much Woolton, p.p. 17-19.

(2) V.C.H. III, p. 42.

(3) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 207 T 1.

(4) R. Griffiths, The History of the Royal and Ancient Park of Toxteth, Liverpool, Liverpool 1907, p. 19.
L. Hall, "Toxteth Park Chapel in the 17th Century" in Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1934, p.p. 6-7.

park had been 'improved' and let out to tenants by the fourth Earl in about 1591. Before this tenants of Liverpool and Wavertree had pastured beasts and cattle in the park, and payment for the two horsegates and six kinegates had been collected by Edward Tarbock as keeper.⁽¹⁾ Late in 1596 in an attempt to offset his financial difficulties the Earl sold Toxteth Park to Edward Aspinwall and Edmund Smoult. At that time Toxteth had twenty-three closes in occupation of twenty-three individuals.⁽²⁾ In 1600 it was claimed that the better half of the Park had been enclosed since 1591.⁽³⁾ In May 1604 Toxteth Park was sold to Sir Richard Molyneux at virtually the same time that a Duchy special commission was enquiring into the condition of the Park. The sale recorded sixteen messuages, six cottages, two mills, twenty gardens and orchards, six hundred acres of arable land, thirty acres of meadow, three hundred acres of pasture and six hundred acres of furze.⁽⁴⁾ The Duchy commissioners reported that the area was disparked, that there were no deer at all and that the Park was mostly converted to arable and pasture land with two watermills and over twenty houses erected.⁽⁵⁾ Much of the land

- (1) P.R.O., REQ 2 200/38.
P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 172 D 4.
- (2) L.R.O., DDM 50/3.
H. O. Aspinall, The Aspinwall and Aspinall Families of Lancashire, Exeter 1923, p.p. 9-11.
- (3) P.R.O., DL 4 42/38.
- (4) L.R.O., DDM 50/8.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 671.

had been marled and tilled for a number of years and sown with corn. Twenty of the houses were in the tenure of named individuals and eleven other individuals held some land, but had no dwelling house. No wood at all remained except hedgerows and the orchards.⁽¹⁾ It was claimed that some or all of these settlers were Puritans from the Bolton area, but the Aspinwalls were from the Ormskirk area and many of the others were local men.⁽²⁾ A rental of the Liverpool and Toxteth lands of the Earl of Derby recorded twenty-two individuals in Toxteth.⁽³⁾

This large scale opportunity presented by the disparking of Toxteth demonstrates the interest in south-west Lancashire in obtaining additional land. The Earl of Derby saw it as an opportunity to augment his finances; the wealthier members of the south-west Lancashire community saw it as an opportunity to expand their farming interests. It was a combination of those men with some money and those men with a specific connection who were able to invest in the opportunity. Predominantly they were intending to practice the type of farming they were accustomed to; this new land did not create new agrarian techniques or practices. The relative absence of industry, commerce and large towns from south-west Lancashire meant that the very great majority of the population was dependent on agriculture. There may have been opportunity for by-occupations and some crafts, but farming remained dominant and the influence of the landowners was preserved by the prevailing economic pattern.

- (1) Ibid.
L. Hall, "Ancient Chapel of Toxteth Park and Toxteth School" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 87, 1936, p. 24.
- (2) Ibid.
See for example L.R.O. Wills of John Bird, Liverpool 1603, Margaret Bird, Liverpool 1611, Ellen Hodgson, Liverpool 1609, Giles Brooke, Liverpool 1614.
- (3) Henry E. Huntington Library, California, Ellesmere Mss. E 395.

CHAPTER V.

THE CRAFTSMEN AND THEIR TRADES.

- a) The manufacturing crafts and trades.
- b) The building crafts and trades.
- c) The service trades.

Many features of English society, and in particular the activities of craftsmen, were "essentially enduring" because they were part of the long-term structural characteristics of pre-industrial society.⁽¹⁾ As long as the principal economic pattern did not alter⁽²⁾ then the role of craftsmen was not subject to drastic change. However, it might be that some developments initiated by craftsmen could begin to affect that basic economic pattern of an area.⁽³⁾ In the second half of the sixteenth century there was not even a great distinction between rural craftsmen and urban craftsmen in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire; the types of activity were very similar and many rural craftsmen used the market facilities of Liverpool and Prescott.⁽⁴⁾

a) The Manufacturing Crafts and Trades.

The leather workers, of various types, were amongst the most traditional of craftsmen in a predominantly rural area. However, in south-west Lancashire because of the mixed pattern of farming and because of trading opportunities with Ireland leather workers were important in the local economy.⁽⁵⁾ The two branches of the craft - the preparing and processing of the leather and the manufacture of

(1) Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, p. 12.

(2) See Chapter IV.

(3) L. B. and M. W. Barley, "Lincolnshire Craftsmen in the 16th and 17th Centuries" in Lincolnshire Historian, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1959, p.p. 7-22.

(4) See J. Patten, English Towns 1500-1700, Folkestone, 1978, p. 17, p. 211.

(5) See Chapters IV and VII.

finished articles - provided employment for a not insignificant number of people.⁽¹⁾ The butchers operating in the four parishes generated a supply of hides and imported raw materials from Ireland augmented this local provision.⁽²⁾ Next to fish, hides and skins were Ireland's most important export with Liverpool as a prime port.⁽³⁾ By the 1590s considerable quantities of sheepskins were reaching Liverpool - mainly to be used locally although some were transported on to Chester.⁽⁴⁾ To a lesser extent sheep fells and hides reached Liverpool also from the Isle of Man.⁽⁵⁾

TABLE XVIII: IMPORT OF SHEEPSKINS AND CALFSKINS AT LIVERPOOL.⁽⁶⁾

	<u>Sheepskins</u>	<u>Calfskins</u>
1565- 6	37,500	6,480
1569-70	18,650	3,200
1572- 3	46,620	9,150
1573- 4	47,500	9,300
1575- 6	67,900	8,600
1579-80	95,550	8,400
1582- 3	69,800	6,050
1584- 5	58,560	7,550
1588	34,140	4,302
1589	74,450	8,350
1592- 3	105,000	3,850
1593- 4	154,800	8,400
1597- 8	51,050	6,650

(1) See Appendix IX.

(2) See Appendix XVI.

(3) A. K. Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade in 16th Century, London 1929, p.p. 58-69.

(4) D. M. Woodward, The Trade of Elizabethan Chester, Hull 1970, p. 8.

(5) Ibid., p. 36.

(6) Ibid., p. 8.

The tanner was the backbone of this craft providing the most substantial quantity of raw material for manufacture. Horse hides, cattle hides and sometimes calf hides were cleaned and soaked in a lime solution, and then tanned in pits or vats with an oak bark solution over a period of six months to more than two years. After drying under cover the tanned leather could be finished with tallow or train oil before use.⁽¹⁾ Because of this type of process tanners required a certain amount of capital for tools and equipment, a site with an adequate supply of water - preferably flowing, space for pits and sheds and, most especially, sufficient funds to cover the stock in hand during the tanning process.

Thirty-one tanners are known to have operated in the four parishes during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ They could be found throughout the area - probably because of the nature of agriculture - yet there does appear to be something of a pattern to their distribution. Not surprisingly there was a larger and a smaller concentration in Liverpool and Prescot - dependent on the supplies of local butchers and on imported produce, and then there was also a scattered concentration in Prescot parish - reflecting the agricultural practice in this area.⁽³⁾

Although only four probate inventories survive for tanners, they provide an indication of the scale of operation in this area and

(1) G. Jenkins, The Craft Industries, London 1972, p.p. 61-69.
L.A. Clarkson, "The Organization of the English Leather Industry in the late 16th and 17th Centuries" in Ec. H. R., Vol. XIII, 2nd Series, 1960-1, p.p. 246-7.

(2) See Appendix IX.

(3) See Table XIV.

something of a comparison with other craftsmen.⁽¹⁾ All of the tanners were involved in their own farming enterprises with both animals and crops listed amongst their assets, but all had significant investments in their tanning operations. Tools were clearly not a substantial investment, although stacks of bark could be - for example Francis Bold with fifty-three pounds' worth. Tan houses are mentioned in the inventories and clearly some amount of space was necessary for all the processes, but easily the greatest investment for all tanners was in quantities of leather being prepared; this could range from thirty per cent of the inventory valuation to eighty-one per cent. Operating at this level, tanners were undoubtedly amongst the more prosperous groups in the community. In south-west Lancashire tanning was commercially worthwhile and was an enterprise that could interest the established gentry of the area. Francis Bold Gentleman of Cranshaw Hall in Bold township was the younger brother of Richard Bold Esquire of Bold Hall, and clearly tanning was a means of ensuring a reasonable livelihood. His wife evidently continued at least a share of the operations after his death - a practice not unknown in Chester.⁽²⁾ No probate evidence is available but from a survey of 1610 it is clear that tanning had been undertaken also at Bold Hall, although by that date the tan house and tan pits were in need of repair.⁽³⁾

(1) See Table XIX.

(2) D. M. Woodward, "The Chester Leather Industry, 1558-1625" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 119, 1967, p. 94.

(3) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 773.

TABLE XIX: PROBATE INVENTORIES OF LEATHER WORKERS.

<u>Name, Residence, Occupation.</u>	<u>Date of Inventory.</u>	<u>Craft Equipment, tools, stock.</u>	<u>Proportion of Total Inventory.</u>	<u>Agricultural Interests.</u>	<u>Inventory Total.</u>
Robert Lea Sutton Tanner	1588	3 stacks of bark 16- 0-0 Tanned leather - 82 hides, 1 kyppe 20-13-4 12 horse hides, 3 colt skins, 1 calf skin, 1 sheepskin 1-16-8 <u>38-10-0</u>	30%	Cattle Horses Sheep Pigs Crops	128- 3-0
William Walker Cuerdley Tanner	1590	2 stacks of new bark 20- 0-0 1 stack of old bark 7- 0-0 Fuel in the tan house 1- 0-0 Leather of last year - 8 dickers and 1 hide 48-13-4 Leather of this year - 8 dickers and 7 hides 43-10-0 <u>120- 3-4</u>	76%	3 Cows 2 Horses Sheep Pigs Crops	158-13-6
Francis Bold, gent. Cranshaw Hall Bold Tanner	1587	Bark 53- 0-0 Cow leather - 126 dickers & 2 hides 604- 0-0 10 leather deytes, 17 dickers, 7 hides 85- 0-0 Cow hides not of first year - 45 dickers 202-10-0 Cow hides not of last year - 40 dickers 160- 0-0 Calf skins (9/- dozen) 5- 0-0 Calf skins wet - 13 dozen 53- 0-0 <u>1,162-10-0</u>	81%	Cattle Horses Crops	1,436-16-6
Elizabeth Bold, widow of above Cranshaw Hall Bold	1596	24 dickers leather curing 130- 0-0 Wet leather - 24 dickers, 3 hides 100- 0-0 3 horse hides, 1 kyppe, 74 dozen wet calf skins 37- 0-0 Calf skins - 6 dozen 3- 0-0 <u>270- 0-0</u>	36%	Cattle Horses Wheat	757-11-8
John Smith Liverpool Glover	1591	Goods in the shop 19- 1-0 150 English calf skins 3-15-0 150 English and Irish sheepskins 1-10-0 150 dial skins, glovers patches and 12 lambskins 8-0 11 skins 1- 0-0 Oxen skins undressed 15-0 Wrought leather 15-4 Tools and instruments 3-0 <u>27- 7-4</u>	42%	2 Cows 1 Old Horse 1 Pig Corn	65-15-8
Richard Johnson Sutton Glover	1609	Gloves 5-0		Cattle Hay	17-17-0
James Melling Liverpool Shoemaker	1603	(no tools or stock)		4 pigs	14- 0-6

1 dicker = 10 skins.

The tanners dealt mainly in wholesale transactions and must have supplied their goods to the leather manufacturers of the area as well as somewhat further afield. Certainly most tanners dealt through Liverpool and Prescot markets⁽¹⁾ and a petition to Star Chamber by Richard Bold a tanner from Cuerdley township indicates more extensive transport. He complained that his cargo of ten dickers of tanned leather had been attacked whilst being conveyed from his tan house to the River Mersey for transport by boat to Liverpool market. The consignment had been seized and taken across the river to Cheshire.⁽²⁾ Presumably a certain amount of tanned leather could usually have been distributed to places such as Warrington and the north Cheshire coast.

Most of the tanner leather must have gone to shoemakers or saddlers and harness makers, but glovers required finer skins usually from sheep, goats or calves. This lighter leather was not normally tanned, but rather dressed with train oil or alum in a much shorter process requiring only a few weeks' preparation.⁽³⁾ In the Prescot area and in Liverpool a few skinners and whitawers were engaged in this occupation, although from their numbers they clearly were not supplying anything like the quantity of leather produced by the tanners.⁽⁴⁾ The train oil and alum were both readily available

(1) L.T.B., passim.
Pres. Recs., passim.

(2) P.R.O., STAC 5, B106/16.

(3) Clarkson, "The Organization of the English Leather Industry", p.p. 246-7.

(4) See Appendix IX.

through imports into Liverpool.⁽¹⁾

Leather manufacturers may well have required only relatively small amounts of finished leather to work with, only a small outlay in necessary tools and, in consequence, only a small work space. Probably many leather workers had a work shop/retail shop from which they operated.⁽²⁾ In south-west Lancashire shoemakers easily predominated amongst the different types of leather workers - a few were found throughout the four parishes, but most were concentrated in Liverpool and Prescot towns - the two places in the area which registered leather after the 1563 legislation.⁽³⁾ A few glovers operated, particularly in Liverpool, one purser and one pointmaker are known in Liverpool and a saddler in Hale township.⁽⁴⁾ This limited diversity amongst the leather craftsmen provides an indication of the fairly restricted, local market available to them.⁽⁵⁾

A further sign of a restricted market is provided by the pointmaker, Edmund Irlam, who was also a skinner, and the purser, William Hughson, who kept an alehouse. A few of the shoemakers also had alternative or supplementary means of livelihood.⁽⁶⁾ From the

(1) L.T.B., passim.
Pres. Recs., p. 146.

(2) See Table XIX.

(3) Clarkson, "The Organization of the English Leather Industry", p. 247.
L.T.B. I, p. 236.
Pres. Recs., p. 198.

(4) See Appendix IX.

(5) For comparison, see Woodward, "Chester Leather Industry", p. 66.

(6) L.T.B., passim.

fragmentary probate evidence it would seem that most of these leather workers, whilst having a slight interest in agriculture, were mainly dependent on their craft skills and, as they were making low value items in an area with a predictable market, many of them were amongst the poorer craftsmen.⁽¹⁾ Even in a reasonable size town such as Worcester leather craftsmen were fairly low on the economic scale.⁽²⁾ John Smith, the Liverpool glover, appears to be more comfortably off than usual but this is probably explained by his various operations - as a skinner, whitawer and glove maker.⁽³⁾

Leather crafts, therefore, made a traditional yet significant contribution to the economy of south-west Lancashire. They were a necessary adjunct to a predominantly agrarian economy and catered predominantly for the demands of a local market, yet leather could, for some, provide a substantial income. Local demographic factors and transport facilities must, however, have allowed for some development in this occupation but at the same time created inevitable restrictions to growth. Particularly in Liverpool and Prescott leatherwork was a significant, but not dominant, occupation. Throughout the area tanning processes must have provided some intermittent and casual work for labourers, although clearly the main beneficiaries of the leather crafts were the tanners with sufficient capital to invest and to profit from producing the raw material for

(1) See Table XIX.

(2) A. D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century, Leicester 1973, p.p. 122-123.

(3) See p. 247.

the manufacturers.

Particularly in Liverpool and Prescot it is hard to imagine that the majority of the population could have escaped from the practices of leather workers - the smell from tanning leather cannot have been pleasant and tanners were quite frequently in trouble for polluting water supplies.⁽¹⁾ For at least ten years John Smith the Liverpool skinner and glover carried on a protracted dispute with his neighbour in Castle Street - Thomas Bavand. In 1571 John Smith was reprimanded for the state of the lime pits at the back of his house, and then in 1571 he promised not to keep fells and skins in these same pits "next adjoynying to mayster maiors (Thomas Bavand's) bed chambers and dynyng chamber ". Clearly the dispute was only beginning as in 1574 Thomas Bavand was presented for allowing his servants to empty chamber pots onto John Smith's property, whilst in 1577 John Smith was accused of diverting watercourses, soaking his skins and building a dunghill against Thomas Bavand's wall. The last heard of this neighbourly affair was in 1581!⁽²⁾

Another traditional craftsman in a predominantly rural economy was the blacksmith; his skills were necessary for a great range of multifarious metal work used about the house and farm. Not surprisingly, the distribution of blacksmiths reflects this

(1) For example, L.T.B. II, p. 300 and p. 463.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 5, p. 25, p. 163, p. 264, p. 395.

widespread market in south-west Lancashire. Virtually all townships had at least one blacksmith practising at any time, with a small concentration in Liverpool.⁽¹⁾ A smithy and a certain quantity of specialist tools were essential for this craft and so understandably there was an element of family continuity in this occupation - the Woods brothers of Halewood, four members of the Whitfield family in Little Woolton, father and son Radbrook in Liverpool and the Boardmans of Sutton where three sons followed their father in the craft, although one moved to Garston and one to Eccleston.⁽²⁾ Arthur Tyrer of West Derby made arrangements in his will of 1593 to divide his items of husbandry and his smithy between his two sons, and Thomas Banester of Liverpool likewise divided his equipment between his two sons in the town.⁽³⁾

Although the smithy was a fixed asset, most equipment was not extensive; most blacksmiths had one or more stiddies, bellows, files and grindstones amounting to no more than a few pounds in value.⁽⁴⁾ Usually they carried only small stocks of iron or manufactured products. The probate inventories begin to provide an indication of the type of metal work commonly undertaken by these blacksmiths - shoeing horses,

(1) See Appendix X.

(2) Ibid.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Arthur Tyrer 1593, DDK 561/23.
L.R.O., Will of Thomas Banester Liverpool 1598.

(4) See Table XX.

TABLE XX: PROBATE INVENTORIES OF METAL WORKERS.

<u>Name, Residence, Occupation.</u>	<u>Date of Inventory.</u>	<u>Craft Equipment, tools, stock.</u>	<u>Proportion of Total Inventory.</u>	<u>Agricultural Interests.</u>	<u>Inventory Total.</u>
Reginald Melling Liverpool Blacksmith	1572	1 stiddy, bellows and files 2- 6- 8 Pitch, pair of balances, 612 lbs. iron 3-12- 3 10 dozen hinges, coopers' bands, horse rails, cupboard hinges <u>2- 0- 0</u> 7-18-11	08%	Oxen 2 horses 3 cows Barley	93-15-10
Henry Watmough Eccleston Blacksmith	1572	2 iron stiddies 2-13- 8 Grindstones, smithy bellows and all iron in the smithy <u>1- 0- 0</u> 3-13- 8	07%	Oxen Cows Sheep Pigs Crops	49-11- 0
Arthur Tyrer West Derby Blacksmith	1593	Iron in the smithy 13- 0 The stiddies, bellows and all other implements in the smithy <u>3- 0- 0</u> 3-13- 0	10%	4 Cows 3 Horses Pigs Crops	37-15- 6
Henry Boardman Sutton Blacksmith	1597	Implements in the smithy 2-10- 0 Iron ware <u>13- 4</u> 3- 3- 7	07%	6 Cows 2 Horses Pigs Crops	44- 7-11
Andrew Tyrer Knowsley Blacksmith	1602	Tools and iron ware in the smithy 5- 0- 0	06%	Cattle Sheep 2 horses Pigs	85- 0- 8

making coopers' metal bands, making hinges and latches for all types of doors, making nails of all sizes, and manufacturing parts of many farm tools - John Taylor the Prescot blacksmith supplied a hatchet in 1582 costing fourteen pence.⁽¹⁾ Blacksmiths also made and repaired locks and provided keys and door plates for them,⁽²⁾ provided iron window bars and even chains for books in church.⁽³⁾ Most blacksmiths, therefore, clearly served the needs of their local agricultural area and were themselves involved to a limited extent in farming with their own animals and crops. All blacksmiths with probate inventories in this period were moderately comfortable financially; their two sources of income, from their craft and from agriculture, were generally reliable and complementary and they had no need for considerable capital outlay. Only one blacksmith, Reginald Melling of Liverpool, was actually referred to also as an ironmonger - suggesting he had greater variety and stocks of goods to sell, perhaps not all made by himself. Other blacksmiths, particularly in Liverpool, may have operated in this way, but predominantly all local ironwork was probably provided by the local craftsmen.

One intriguing feature of this metal work is that supplies of

(1) Pres. Recs., p. 220.

(2) Pres. Recs., p. 117 and p. 127.

(3) Ibid., p. 55.

iron were not easy in south-west Lancashire as there was no immediate local source. Chester and Liverpool's coasting trade meant that cargoes could be brought from other English ports,⁽¹⁾ but it seems that the difficulty and cost of English supplies made it worthwhile importing French and Spanish iron directly. Until after 1585 when Liverpool's continental trade was severely reduced supplies of iron had been available despite worsening foreign relations.⁽²⁾ One or two Liverpool ships a year made the journey to Bilbao or St. Jean de Luz with four, five or six merchants sharing the cargo - iron was usually the main item with quantities of soap, pitch or train oil. Intermittently a French ship also brought iron into Liverpool.⁽³⁾ Despite the difficulties of the late 1580 s some supplies were maintained and, for example, the Shuttleworth family were able to purchase twelve pounds' worth of Spanish iron in Liverpool in 1593.⁽⁴⁾

In addition to the ubiquitous blacksmiths, there were also the more specialist metal workers - usually producing more expensive, even luxury, items, and needing to sell them over a wider area. In 1560 the Prescott churchwardens had had to send to Warrington for supplies of nails, but by the 1570 s locally manufactured ones were

(1) See Chapter VII.

(2) Woodward, Trade of Elizabethan Chester, p. 42.

(3) P.R.O., Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, Port Books, E 190/1323/4, E 190/1323/9, E 190/1323/12, E 190/1324/4.

(4) T. S. Willan, The Inland Trade, Manchester 1976, p. 6.

available.⁽¹⁾ Only two specialist nailers are known and it seems likely that other blacksmiths may, of course, have made nails.⁽²⁾ William Green, although operating mainly in the Whiston/Prescot area, did also trade through Liverpool. Likewise many blacksmiths may have produced knives and similar implements, but a small degree of specialization appeared with the three cutlers working in Liverpool during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ Presumably with the increasing passage of troops to Ireland the cutlers found an increasing, if intermittent, trade. Very likely many blacksmiths also repaired items of armour, although no specialist armourers are known.

Another branch of specialist metalwork was that of the pewterer, brazier, plumber and bell founder. Again this aspect of metalwork was little developed in this area, possibly because Wigan was already something of a specialist producer in these fields and supplies were available from there.⁽⁴⁾ By the end of the sixteenth century there were tentative beginnings of specialisation in these fields in the four parishes. One brazier/panmaker was working in Liverpool and two plumbers were operating in Prescot parish, but developments were slight.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 51 and p. 67.

(2) See Appendix X.

(3) Ibid.

(4) R. J. A. Shelley, "Wigan and Liverpool pewterers" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. LXXXVII, 1946, p.p. 1-9.

(5) See Appendix X.

The luxury aspect of the metal trade was, of course, practised by goldsmiths who must always have needed a sufficiently wealthy market for their products. Chester, for instance, had possibly had some goldsmiths working there since the thirteenth century, and by the sixteenth century certainly had a small goldsmiths' guild.⁽¹⁾ A small indication of the gradual development taking place in south-west Lancashire is the appearance of two goldsmiths working in the area for the first time very late in the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ George Charlton (probably from outside the area) was working in Liverpool as a freeman between 1592 and 1596,⁽³⁾ and Edward Holme was made a freeman in 1598.⁽⁴⁾ He had been working already in the Knowsley area, possibly for the Stanley family.⁽⁵⁾

However, perhaps the most interesting specialisation in the metal trades in south-west Lancashire at this time was the development in the Prescott area of clockmaking.⁽⁶⁾ The Prescott Churchwardens' Accounts specifically refer to local clockmakers repairing the church clock - usually necessary every two or three years - during the 1580 s and 1590 s. From the amounts paid the repairs must have been fairly trivial, but in 1582 Richard Berry did

(1) T. S. Bell, "Ancient Chester Goldsmiths and their works" in T. L. C. A. S., Vol. XXXII, 1914, p.p. 180-185.

(2) See Appendix X.

(3) L.T.B. II, p.p. 630-668.

(4) Ibid., p. 755.

(5) His father may well have been Gilbert Holme, groom of the chamber to the Earl of Derby in 1587, in ed. F. R. Raines, Stanley Papers in Chet. Soc., Vol. XXXI, 1853, p. 24.

(6) See Appendix X.

make a clock wheel, as did Antony Gorsuch in 1603.⁽¹⁾ Whether these Prescott clockmakers were able to practise their trade full time and how many clocks they sold is impossible to say. Richard Berry in 1593 certainly shared a message with Edward Sutton, a husbandman.⁽²⁾ At this time clockmaking in England was a rare occupation requiring no great capital outlay and little elaborate organization. Some Frenchmen had established continental techniques of manufacture in London, and a few Englishmen had become established clockmakers by the 1570s and 1580s.⁽³⁾ How and why the Prescott area became involved is intriguing, and still more so as in 1596 the elaborate, automatic organ sent by Queen Elizabeth as a gift to Sultan Mohammed III of Turkey was reputedly made by a Lancashire clockmaker. It played a sequence of madrigals and was an "extraordinary monument to precision building and mechanical ingenuity"; its builder was one Thomas Dallom.⁽⁴⁾ A Thomas Dallom had lived in Widnes in the mid sixteenth century and possibly his son, Henry Dallom, husbandman, was married at Farnworth in 1553. No details of his children survive, but the surname is unusual and confined to this township.⁽⁵⁾ It is conceivable that the organ builder came from this family. The modest and unusual developments of specialisation were important because clock and watch making continued to expand significantly in this area in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Pres. Accs., p.89, p.94, p.102, p.109, p.117, p.123, p.143.

(2) Pres. Recs., p.254.

(3) C. M. Cipolla, Clocks and Culture 1300-1700, London 1967, p. 63-67.

(4) P. Mathias, The First Industrial Nation, London 1969, p.126. F. J. Britten, Old Clocks and Watches and their Makers, 7th Edition, New York 1956, passim.

(5) Farnworth Register, passim.

(6) F. A. Bailey and T. C. Barker, "The Seventeenth Century Origins of Watchmaking in South-West Lancashire" in ed. J.R. Harris, Liverpool and Merseyside, London 1969, p.p. 1-3.

Leatherwork and metalwork were two traditional crafts practised by a significant number of people over a widespread area. Pottery making, on the other hand, although in many ways traditional, was practised by only a small group of specialist craftsmen from only one particular part of the area. Nine potters worked in the neighbourhood of Prescott - the location presumably determined by available supplies of raw materials.⁽¹⁾ In 1589 a dispute concerning coal mining rights necessitated a case in the Duchy courts, and amongst the depositions claims were made that marl pits had been dug on Sutton Heath forty years previously and that clay for earthen pots had been obtained from a similar location during the 1560 s.⁽²⁾ It seems that localized raw materials and skill produced goods intended for distribution in the immediate vicinity. Craftsmen cannot have expected to transport earthenware very far, but presumably with breakages local demand was at least continuous. One dispute which reached Prescott manor court in 1577 makes reference to an oven full of earthen pots and two loads of turves - the necessary fuel.⁽³⁾

Apart from the localised specialisation in clock manufacture, most craftsmen in south-west Lancashire were producing goods of a fairly traditional nature designed for consumption in a somewhat restricted local market. It may well be that textile manufacture can be regarded also in this way in this area, yet textile production was considered by some contemporaries as an industry and in consequence is considered elsewhere.⁽⁴⁾

(1) See Appendix XI.

(2) P.R.O., DL 4, 30/25.

(3) Pres. Recs., p. 202.

(4) See Chapter VI.

b) The Building Crafts and Trades.

An essential group of craftsmen that would have been found in all areas of England were the building workers. With their various specialist skills they were an addition and an alternative to the everyday building knowledge of farmers. The use of specialist building craftsmen was, however, a luxury element tied to the availability of surplus funds for building - whether secular or ecclesiastical - and south-west Lancashire was, therefore, not at the forefront of building activity during the second half of the sixteenth century. Church construction, alteration and repair was undoubtedly at a minimal level,⁽¹⁾ yet an area that could produce considerable work at Speke Hall during this period must have either had or been able to attract some skilled building craftsmen.⁽²⁾

Many building workers in south-west Lancashire were wood workers, some of whom specialised in house construction although this specialism can be difficult to discern. In an agrarian community general carpenters must traditionally have undertaken a considerable variety of tasks - some involving both domestic and farm buildings and others involving the manufacture of certain products. Many wood workers surely undertook both types of work and usually were referred to as 'wrights' or 'carpenters'.⁽³⁾

(1) See Chapter XIV.

(2) See p. 136.

(3) See Appendix XII.

At the time of Domesday south-west Lancashire had been an area of considerable woodland, mostly in a belt stretching from north-west to south-east through the area from Kirkby and Simonswood, to Croxteth and Fazakerley, through West Derby to Knowsley and Halewood - with separated areas at Toxteth and at Rainford. Considerable clearance had taken place during the medieval period and by the sixteenth century the areas of woodland remaining had been much reduced - probably as depicted by Christopher Saxton - at Simonswood, Croxteth, Knowsley and Toxteth.⁽¹⁾ By the late fifteenth century Knowsley had become a deer park and the other three areas had their forest officials.⁽²⁾ Even with their approximated sizes the final concords for Lancashire during the first half of the sixteenth century make it plain that outside the designated forest areas woodland existed in only very small acreages; some landowners had hundreds of acres of moorland, furze and heath but only fifty acres or less of woodland.⁽³⁾

In view of this it is difficult to assess the availability of timber for wood workers. Certainly their products were much in demand during the second half of the sixteenth century and presumably they used local supplies. Some indication is provided in the Prescot Churchwardens' Accounts when special arrangements had to be made to

(1) Walker, Historical Geography, p.p. 3-7.

(2) W. Harrison, "Ancient Forests, Chases and Deer Parks in Lancashire" in T. L. C. A. S., Vol. XIX, 1901, pp. 24-33.

(3) Farer, Final Concords, Rec. Soc., Vol. 60, passim.

fetch trees for more substantial repair work. In 1560 trees were transported from Lee Wood in Little Woolton, in 1560, 1589 and 1592 from Bold Wood, in 1564, 1589 and 1592 from Huyton Hey Wood and in 1592 from Bewsey Park in Warrington parish.⁽¹⁾ At Childwall the only references to timber are from Tarbock Park in 1574 and Knowsley in 1601.⁽²⁾ These brief details do suggest that supplies from the parks of the local gentry were of considerable importance to timber availability. A survey of the derelict court house at West Derby in 1585 recommended a new three-bay building which would have needed sixty trees; it was suggested they should be obtained from the Queen's woods.⁽³⁾

Some specialist woodworkers are known and others may well have existed although subsumed under a more general term.⁽⁴⁾ The eight joiners, not surprisingly, were mostly concentrated in the centres of population - six in Liverpool and one in Prescot where their particular skills could be available when needed. Presumably they mostly made items of furniture and interior fittings. Certainly one joiner, Ralph Edgecar, panelled the walls of the Common Hall in Liverpool and made a new table and benches for it in 1561.⁽⁵⁾ The

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 51, p. 55, p. 110, p. 120.

(2) Child. Accs., p. 6 and p. 51.

(3) P.R.O., DL 44, No. 369.

(4) See Appendix XII.

(5) L.T.B. I, p. 172.

coopers were another specialist branch of woodworkers with some concentration in Liverpool - six are known to have worked in the area with three of them and possibly a fourth in the town.⁽¹⁾ With the prevalence of home brewing their barrels must have been regularly in demand, but in a port town, albeit small, coopers' products must have been always necessary.

The few wheelwrights were more generally distributed through the four parishes,⁽²⁾ although the supply and repair of wheels for various carts may not have been of great significance in an area where the roads were not well suited to this type of transport.⁽³⁾ Relatively few carts ^{or wains} are recorded in probate inventories.⁽⁴⁾ An indication of the range of product supplied by one wheelwright is provided in the debt list of Thomas Bushell - he was owed ten shillings for a pair of ordinary wheels, but Richard Bold Esquire owed him more than ten pounds for a pair of shod wheels.⁽⁵⁾

Ships' carpenters were obviously found only in Liverpool. Six of them are known to have lived there during the second half of the sixteenth century, but what exactly they did remains debateable.⁽⁶⁾ They are referred to as 'ships' carpenters' - never as shipwrights or even boatwrights. Possibly they made small vessels such as the

(1) See Appendix XII.

(2) Ibid.

(3) See p. 30.

(4) See p.p. 211-212.

(5) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Bushell, Bold 1590.

(6) See Appendix XII.

river craft used by the Liverpool ferrymen, or small coastal and fishery vessels. It seems unlikely that they made ocean-going vessels. More likely they could have fulfilled a small, but steady, demand repairing and refitting existing ships. Until the capacity of the port expanded considerably the work available to ships' carpenters must have remained fairly static.

Three other specialist woodworkers may represent the declining aspects of the craft. During the latter part of the sixteenth century a fletcher was working in Prescot parish and a bowyer in Liverpool, but the markets for their products must have been shrinking. Similarly the demand for the wooden utensils produced by the thrower from Eccleston township who died in 1586 must have been affected by newer products.⁽¹⁾

The majority of woodworkers, however, had no known specialism and as general carpenters were found distributed throughout the four parishes.⁽²⁾ Their work may have involved house construction, modification or repair, or work about farms to barns, sheds, gates, fences and carts. In view of the predominantly agrarian economy and the type of building material available in this part of Lancashire it seems likely that a large proportion of the population would, intermittently, have required the services of a carpenter.

Like most other craftsmen carpenters usually did not depend

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

entirely on their skill for their livelihood; the great majority had some animals and some crops recorded in their probate inventories.⁽¹⁾ From the limited available evidence it seems that only in Liverpool was specialisation sufficiently advanced for craftsmen to depend entirely on their trade. Most woodworkers were not particularly prosperous and those who had a better living obtained it from their agricultural assets. Tools were not a very expensive item, but materials could be more of an outlay for some woodworkers, and then there was the problem of getting paid for their work. George Darlington, for example, had fourteen outstanding accounts totalling six pounds and five shillings at the time of his death; the size of each amount perhaps indicating the modest type of job usually undertaken by ordinary carpenters.⁽²⁾ In 1589 four carpenters were paid eight pence per day each for work at Childwall church⁽³⁾ and two small jobs by Giles Lyon cost four pence each - for a desk for the pulpit in 1584 and for repairs to the church gate in 1590.⁽⁴⁾ More substantial work obviously cost more, but it is almost impossible to separate the cost of materials from that of workmanship. In 1590 Randle Williamson was paid twenty shillings for making a pew and pulpit at Childwall, whilst William Standishstreet received more than

(1) See Table XXI.

(2) L.R.O., Will of George Darlington, Roby 1561.

(3) Child. Accs., p. 23.

(4) Pres. Accs., p. 113.

TABLE XXI: PROBATE INVENTORIES OF WOOD WORKERS.

<u>Name, Residence, Occupation.</u>	<u>Date of Inventory.</u>	<u>Craft Equipment, tools, stock.</u>	<u>Proportion of Total Inventory.</u>	<u>Agricultural Interests.</u>	<u>Inventory Total.</u>
George Darlington Roby Carpenter	1561	-	-	9 old horses cows crops	42-16- 8
Ralph Edgecar Liverpool Joiner	1578	joiner's work tools 10-0	03%	pigs	16- 8- 8
Peter Ireland Liverpool Joiner	1580	his mark or working bowl 1-6 tools 1- 2-6 3 dozen panel boards 2-0 6 short sawed boards 1-4 2 dozen mountings 1-0 1- 8-4	39%		3-12-10
Edward ap Griffiths Halewood Carpenter	1581	tools belonging to a wright 1- 1-0	03%	5 horses 5 cows pigs crops	31- 3- 2
Robert Swan Eccleston Thrower	1586	tools 1-2 wooden ware for a thrower 6-13-4 6-14-6	34%	corn	19-17-10
Thomas Bushell Bold Wheelwright	1590	working tools and 2 grindstones 1- 0-0 timber 10- 0-0 11- 0-0	12%	oxen 2 horses 7 cows pigs crops	89-10- 4
William Janion Halewood Wheelwright	1601 (aged only 30)	instruments of a wheelwright (incomplete)	(incomplete)	1 cow crops	7-19- 0

twelve pounds for his work on the church roof.⁽¹⁾ The estimates for a new stone court house in Widnes in 1593 included timber for the roof and one floor throughout the forty feet by twenty-three feet building, partitions, doors and windows. The timber costs were assessed at twenty-one pounds and the workmanship at six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence.⁽²⁾ This type of woodwork can have been rarely available; most carpenters most of the time must have existed on small commissions together with their agricultural interests. Yet the area did produce Speke Hall with sufficient expertise and manpower to prepare the timber and use it in a most accomplished way.⁽³⁾

In a limited way this small area of south-west Lancashire did provide some supplies of stone. The Liverpool mason and slaters obtained stone from quarries and delphs on the heath outside the town, although quantities were probably not great as in 1583 the men were ordered not to sell slates to 'foreigners' without a licence from the mayor.⁽⁴⁾ In 1573 two Liverpool slaters were fined in West Derby for taking flagstones and slates without permission, and presumably they would not have considered transporting the stone unless it was particularly desirable.⁽⁵⁾ A stone delph operated near Croxteth for

(1) Child. Accs., p. 28 and p. 52a.

(2) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 505.

(3) See p. 136.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 22, p. 231, p. 302, p. 459.

(5) Liv. R. O., West Derby Court Rolls, 920 SAL 1/87.

building there in 1581, whilst sandstone for work at Prescot church came from the quarry in Rainhill on Copt Holt waste and from Rainford delph.⁽¹⁾ However, it was necessary also to have some supplies fetched from Childwall parish - presumably from the sandstone quarries in Much Woolton township.⁽²⁾ These supplies were used obviously at Childwall church, but it was worthwhile also transporting stone from Rainford delph and from Knowsley - perhaps indicating various qualities and types of stone.⁽³⁾

Interestingly in the four parishes nine builders were known as masons and sixteen as slaters. Whether there was a clear distinction of work between the two titles in this area is not clear - certainly one mason had a number of slates in his possession.⁽⁴⁾ When the Duchy commissioners were planning a new court house at Widnes in 1593 they referred to masons for obtaining the stone, axing it and laying it at three shillings a square yard for the walls. A slater was to get and lay three rounds of slates and twenty-three shillings for a round.⁽⁵⁾ At Prescot church a mason was used for pointing the walls and steeple and repairing the porch, whilst a slater fetched slates from the delph and used them to slate and then moss the roof.⁽⁶⁾ Presumably in a

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 51 and p. 109.
P.R.O., DL 1/202 E 8.

(2) Pres. Accs., p. 114 and p. 134.

(3) Child. Accs., p. 6.

(4) See Appendix XIII and Table XXII.

(5) P.R.O., DL 44 No. 505.

(6) Pres. Accs., p. 35, p. 51, p. 55, p. 76.

part of the country with a considerable number of timber buildings slaters found more work than the masons. This factor is perhaps reflected in Liverpool in 1565 when a mason and his apprentice had to be fetched from Cheshire to repair the chapel, although at the time a number of slaters were available in the area.⁽¹⁾

Maybe surprisingly no thatchers are mentioned in this area as it can only be supposed that many sixteenth century buildings were thatched. Possibly with various streams in the area and a supply of reeds thatching was a domestic skill and not a specialist craft. In addition to the masons and slaters, one quarrier is specifically recorded, although many stone workers must have done their own quarrying. One roughwaller is recorded and one roughcaster.⁽²⁾

Alan Gogney, the roughcaster, had his own lime kiln in Juggler Street in Liverpool and presumably could have worked on both stone and timber-framed houses.⁽³⁾ His job may have been rather similar to that of Gilbert Whitstones, the Liverpool plasterer, who cannot have been that skilful nor that much in demand as he was for a number of years hayward in the town and is also referred to as a labourer.⁽⁴⁾

A somewhat similar level of expertise may have applied also to the few painters that are known; mostly they were used for whitewashing

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 294.

(2) See Appendix XIII.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 268.

(4) ed. A. M. Millard, Records of the Carpenters Company, Vol. VII, Wardens' Account Book 1592-1614, Isle of Wight 1908, p. 233.

the inside of the churches using lime purchased in Liverpool.⁽¹⁾

Some relatively new building techniques were appearing in south-west Lancashire, although probably in a rather limited way. When Sir Richard Molyneux was undertaking building work at Croxteth a brickmaker and his men were paid for making a brick kiln and supplying the bricks, whilst Francis Watmough Gentleman supplied more than eight hundred bricks for making a furnace to recast the bells at Prescott in 1585.⁽²⁾ Otherwise little trace remains of this craft.

Likewise glaziers and glass were available, although possibly used in only limited quantities. From the freeman rolls in Chester glaziers were operating there from 1571,⁽³⁾ but when exactly a glazier actually lived and worked permanently in the four parishes is not easy to discern. As early as 1555 a glazier was used at Prescott with his two servants to put in some old and some new glass - at three pence a foot for the old and nine pence a foot for the new glass. During the 1570 s and 1580 s an Ormskirk glazier was employed and from 1592 to 1601 Richard Brown undertook glazing both at Prescott and Liverpool. It is possible he also was from the Ormskirk area or had learned his craft there and moved a little further south.⁽⁴⁾ At Childwall by this time William Corker from

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 95, p. 134, p. 136.

(2) L.R.O., DDM 1/10 and 1/14.
Pres. Accs., p. 100.

(3) ed. J. H. E. Bennett, Chester Freeman Rolls 1392-1700,
Rec. Soc., Vol. Ll, 1906, p.p. 34-87.

(4) Pres. Accs., p. 34, p. 75, p. 80, p. 87, p. 95, p. 104, p. 125,
p. 137,
L.T.B. II, p. 549.

Liverpool was being used for new glazing at six pence a foot.⁽¹⁾

This would indicate a reducing price for glass and a measure of local availability. Supplies of glass may have been dependent on imports perhaps from south-eastern England through Liverpool, yet certainly by 1600 a glass furnace is known to have been operating at Bickerstaffe near Ormskirk.⁽²⁾

Bricks and glass were clearly available in south-west Lancashire well before the end of the sixteenth century, but their use may have remained fairly restricted. There seems to have been relatively little opportunity for 'polite' building so that the local craftsmanship in timber work and stone work found expression mostly in very utilitarian building. The two available probate inventories indicate that at least one mason and one slater were both quite comfortable farmers who were perhaps only part-time craftsmen.⁽³⁾ It is interesting to speculate on the extent to which local craftsmen like Hugh Hey were used for work such as at Speke Hall - he certainly owed money to Edward Norris Esquire for old and new slates - and the extent to which expertise was imported for a short time from elsewhere for the plaster ceilings and elaborate panelling.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Child. Accs., p. 56.

(2) D. W. Crossley, "The Performance of the Glass Industry in 16th Century England", Ec. H. R., Vol. 25, 1972, p.p. 422-430.
E. S. Godfrey, The Development of English Glassmaking 1560-1640, Oxford 1975, passim.

(3) See Table XXII.

(4) See p. 137.

TABLE XXII: PROBATE INVENTORIES OF STONE WORKERS.

<u>Name, Residence Occupation.</u>	<u>Date of Inventory.</u>	<u>Craft Equipment, tools, stock.</u>	<u>Proportion of Total Inventory.</u>	<u>Agricultural Interests.</u>	<u>Inventory Total.</u>
David Rushton West Derby Mason	1602	Work tools 10-0 Ashlars and broken stones 1-13-4 3 unhewn grindstones 3-0 1 pair of whernstones and an old millstone 6-8 Slates 3-4 2-16-4	03%	3 horses 4 calves 17 sheep 4 pigs Crops	98-19-10
Hugh Hey Speke Slater	1602	Flags, ashlar and slates 9-0 Ladders 3-0 12-0	01%	Horses Oxen Cattle Pigs Crops	75-18-0

c) The Service Trades.

One traditional economic activity during the sixteenth century was milling - an absolutely essential service in an agricultural community and undoubtedly of continuing importance in an area like south-west Lancashire.⁽¹⁾ Mills, of whatever type, represented a fixed asset and invariably belonged to the landowner. The profits from these mills were a traditional and expected perquisite of the landowners, although the mills themselves were certainly let and possibly sub-let.

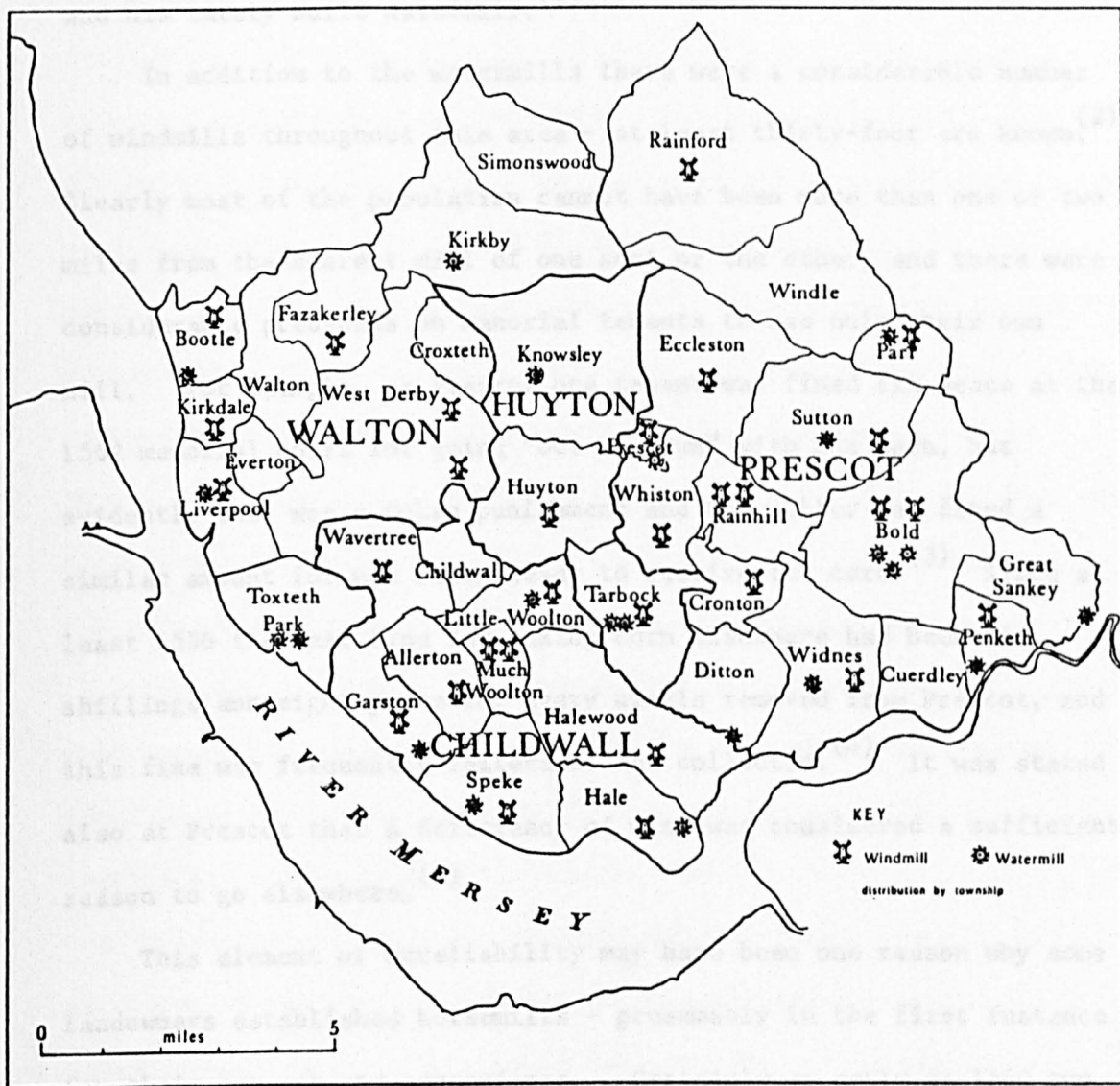
Predictably mills were found throughout the four parishes - their distribution corresponding quite closely to the manorial pattern and, to some extent, to population distribution.⁽²⁾ Because of their greater reliability watermills were found where possible in the area, even located sometimes on quite small streams. During the second half of the sixteenth century twenty-two watermills are known to have been in operation (and this is counting as one each the double mills under one roof that operated at Ditton Brook and Sankey Brook).⁽³⁾ Some indication of the continuing demand for a profit from these mills is provided by at least two instances of new building taking place. John Layton's lease from King's College, Cambridge, for Prescott Hall and its appurtenances in 1568 referred to his newly erected watermill on Rindle Brook,⁽⁴⁾ and in 1601 Edward

(1) See Chapter IV.

(2) See Map XI.

(3) B.L., Add. Ch. 52921.
L.R.O., DDLi, Box 256, n.n.

(4) Pres. Recs., p. 16.



MAP XI: WINDMILLS AND WATERMILLS
IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

(1) *ibid.*, p. 124.

(2) See Map 41.

(3) *ibid.*, p. 124.

(4) *ibid.*, p. 124, p. 125, p. 126, p. 127, p. 128.

(5) *ibid.*, p. 124.

Tarbock Esquire of Tarbock issued a new lease for his old watermill and his lately built watermill.⁽¹⁾

In addition to the watermills there were a considerable number of windmills throughout this area - at least thirty-four are known.⁽²⁾ Clearly most of the population cannot have been more than one or two miles from the nearest mill of one sort or the other, and there were considerable pressures on manorial tenants to use only their own mill. For example, at Prescott one tenant was fined six pence at the 1562 manorial court for going "out of town" with his corn, but evidently this was a token punishment and the miller was fined a similar amount for not being ready to receive the corn.⁽³⁾ Since at least 1556 the real fine for taking corn elsewhere had been six shillings and eight pence for every windle removed from Prescott, and this fine was frequently reiterated and collected.⁽⁴⁾ It was stated also at Prescott that a deficiency of wind was considered a sufficient reason to go elsewhere.⁽⁵⁾

This element of unreliability may have been one reason why some landowners established horsemills - presumably in the first instance for their own use and convenience. Certainly as early as 1560 two

(1) L.R.O., DDM 48/42.

(2) See Map XI.

(3) Pres. Recs., p. 151.

(4) Ibid., p. 134, p. 151, p. 181, p. 191, p. 204.

(5) Ibid., p. 134.

horsemills were operating at Bold for Richard Bold Esquire, two were established by 1577 at Kirkdale for John More Esquire, and two at Prescot by 1580 in association with the new hall.⁽¹⁾ A dispute in Liverpool illustrates the contention these horsemills could cause out of control of the landlord. One horsemill had been operating in the town since 1554, and in 1588 William More Esquire took his right to operate this mill to the Duchy courts.⁽²⁾ He claimed that he had the permission of the lessee of Liverpool's windmill and watermill - Sir Richard Molyneux - to operate his horsemill, but several of the town's more substantial merchants such as Giles Brooke, John Bird and Richard Shaw had also established their own horsemills. Giles Brooke's defence included the complaint that William More was pursuing the case out of his "private malice" and for his own profit when troops en route for Ireland who were delayed in the town by adverse weather created demands which could not be met by the traditional mills at times of calm weather.⁽³⁾

This case well illustrates the continuing desire by all landlords to protect their interests in mills and to secure advantageous leases. Where they were not the actual landowners, local gentry still vied with each other to acquire leases. Sir Richard Molyneux of Croxteth clearly regarded his lease from the

(1) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XI/13, Vol. XI1/6.
Pres. Recs., p.p. 29-30.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 62 G 2.

(3) P.R.O., DL 1 147 M 2.
Liv. R. O., 920 M00/945.

Crown of the two Liverpool mills - Town End Mill and Eastham Mill, the two West Derby mills - Town Mill and Ackers Mill - and Wavertree Mill as a very valuable asset.⁽¹⁾ This asset was then divided and sub-let, for example in 1587 Town End Mill was sub-let for twenty-eight years to William More Esquire for twenty-five shillings per annum, although the lease cost William More twenty pounds to obtain.⁽²⁾ Unfortunately little information is available concerning the actual valuations of mills. In 1560 William Norris Esquire of Speke sold Lee windmill in Little Woolton to William Brettergh Gentleman for sixty pounds (William Brettergh was already the lessee).⁽³⁾

Whatever the profits of the landowners or the original lessees, all of these mills needed millers to operate them. Altogether, therefore, there must have been at any one time at least fifty-six millers working in the four parishes - twenty-nine are known by name, but little more is known about them.⁽⁴⁾ Probably their work was seasonal and most were part-time farmers. John Webster, miller at Prescott, also kept an alehouse, whilst Hugh Appleton, miller at Bold, had weaving equipment recorded in his probate inventory.⁽⁵⁾ Many leases to the actual millers were often fairly short-term. In 1558 Eccleston windmill was let for six years to Edmund Forster the miller,⁽⁶⁾ and Town End Mill in Liverpool was let in 1557 to Thomas Bank for sixteen years at four pounds a year.⁽⁷⁾ With short-term

- (1) P.R.O., DL 1 147 M 2.
- (2) L.R.O., DDM 39/107.
- (3) L.R.O., DDLi Box 253/3 and /4.
- (4) See Appendix XIV.
- (5) L.R.O., Will of Hugh Appleton, Bold 1591.
- (6) Liv. R. O., 920 SAL 19/2.
- (7) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 242.

leases it must have been difficult to establish any family continuity in this occupation, although Thomas Bank did hand Town End Mill over to his son Ralph⁽¹⁾ and Edmund Challinor the miller at Speke was followed by his son William.⁽²⁾

How profitable this occupation was for the actual millers is not easy to assess. Only one probate inventory survives for a miller from this period - that of Alexander Smith who had been miller at Parr in 1559 and died at Windle in 1578 - still referred to as a miller.⁽³⁾ His possessions included just one cow, one calf and one pig and no crops at all; altogether his goods and chattels amounted to just ten pounds and eight pence. This one example can in no way be taken to represent the millers of this area, but it would seem that they were dependent on shortish-term leases very much at the whim of the local gentry and landowners. Their occupation was essential, but practised only intermittently, in an area of mixed agriculture, so perhaps in some respects they were regarded as an employee or a labourer, albeit with a specialism, working for the mill owners. Except in Liverpool, the corn they ground must have been mostly for local consumption, so whilst the millers were essential to the local economy they were not sharing in a particularly profitable part of it.

Another occupation associated with the agriculture of the area

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- (1) Liverpool University Archives, Norris Deeds 17/53.
 - (2) L.R.O., Will of Edmund Challinor, Speke 1601.
 - (3) L.R.O., Will of Alexander Smith, Windle 1578.
P.R.O., DL 1 44 B 18.

was that of maltster. Only eight maltsters are known⁽¹⁾ and their distribution in parts of Childwall and Prescot parishes may reflect local variations in farming practice and areas where barley was grown in sufficient quantities to make viable more than domestic production of malt.⁽²⁾ Most maltsters were, in fact, relatively prosperous farmers who were able to exploit a particular processing activity.

Because of the mixed nature of farm practice in this part of south-west Lancashire, butchers were an essential adjunct of the agricultural system. Livestock were an important source of food and the leather products a lucrative aspect of the economy for some. Predictably the butchers were concentrated in Liverpool where they could serve the largest market in the area and where, increasingly during the reign of Elizabeth I, they were able to benefit from levies of men passing through the port en route to Ireland.⁽³⁾ Nearly half of the known butchers came from Liverpool and at least nine others also operated their trade through the town. In addition to this concentration there was a smaller gathering of butchers at Prescot, although because of the type of agriculture, some butchers were found throughout the area.

In Liverpool, and to a lesser extent at Prescot, concentration was reinforced by the need of the butchers to use the markets at the

(1) See Appendix XV.

(2) See Chapter IV.

(3) See Appendix XVI and Chapter VII.

two places to distribute their meat - there was no way they could build up any amount of stock or use a shop premise. In Liverpool the Town Books make plain the necessity to appoint annually two 'setters of fleshboards' to superintend the butchers' stalls at the market.⁽¹⁾ Usually this task fell to two butchers, but for periods of time their widows continued the office, for instance John Taylor's widow from 1562 to 1573 and Hugh Brodhead's widow from 1573 to 1587.⁽²⁾ Because of the number of butchers using the market at the same time there seems to have been intermittent attempts by them to 'fix' or corner the trade to their mutual advantage - in 1590 five butchers were accused of operating as partners and in 1596 four of them.⁽³⁾

Developments of the butchery trade which must have long operated were the salting of meat for better preservation and the use of tallow from animals for various purposes particularly candles. Only one salter is known by that name - Gilbert Cropper of Whiston,⁽⁴⁾ although it seems likely that some butchers must have prepared their meat in this way. Cheshire salt was readily available via the Mersey. Candles were an essential item possibly domestically made by many people from their own tallow. In Liverpool where a larger market was available and shipping may have created an additional

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 60, p. 189.
L.T.B. II, p. 225, p. 531.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 189.
L.T.B. II, p. 126, p. 512.

(3) Ibid., p. 568, p. 722.

(4) See Appendix XVI.

demand two tallow chandlers are recorded.⁽¹⁾

Another occupation which provided a valuable foodstuff was that of fishing. Clearly this was of some consequence in south-west Lancashire, although exactly what was possible and available is not easy to discern. There must have been some fresh water fishing, but most streams in the four parishes were rather small and there is little evidence of fishponds except at Knowsley where they were located near the Earl of Derby's park early in the sixteenth century and near Croxteth where "troutes and iles" were caught in 1601.⁽²⁾ The River Mersey was much more important as a source of fish. Throughout the coastal manors of the area fishing rights were a perquisite of the lords of the manors and, as such, carefully recorded from Great Sankey, through Penketh to Speke, Garston and on to Kirkdale.⁽³⁾ When the Toxteth Park area was exploited late in the sixteenth century the fishing rights were leased out by the Earl of Derby.⁽⁴⁾ The only exception to this pattern of manorial control was at Widnes where copyholders of the manor claimed the right to free fishery in the river or marsh water from Ditton to Cuerdley as far as the middle of the stream of the Mersey.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Manchester Reference Library, Rental of Earl of Derby's Estates 1521, L1/54/2.
Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 120.

(3) Warrington Reference Library, Court Baron of Warrington 1592, Ms. 1175.
P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XIII/1.
Warrington Reference Library, Rental of Warrington 1587, Ms. 81.
P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. XI/22.
P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. VII/6.

(4) Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Ellesmere Mss., EL 395.

(5) P.R.O., DL 4 25/1.

The lords of the manors presumably exploited their resources for their own consumption, and also sub-let fishing rights - for example Edward Norris Esquire of Speke included fishyards in the Mersey in a lease to a Garston husbandman in 1583.⁽¹⁾ In appropriate areas there are some brief indications of fishing activity - mostly on a small scale and mostly by husbandmen or craftsmen. Of the seventy-four surviving probate inventories for Childwall parish during this period just four mention fishing nets - two men from Hale, one from Speke and one from Garston.⁽²⁾ From Prescot parish one hundred and ninety-six inventories survive, but only two mention nets and one of these - that of John Linaker from Cuerdley - also records a part share in a fishing boat.⁽³⁾ From all of Walton parish only one Liverpool merchant had some old nets and one farmer from Walton.⁽⁴⁾ This evidence seems very slight, although it would indicate that most Mersey fishing was undertaken as a part-time activity or supplementary employment by the farmers and craftsmen of the coastal area. The low level of activity

(1) B.L., Add. Ch., 52567.

(2) L.R.O., Will of John Whiting, Hale 1582 (nets 5/-).
L.R.O., Will of John Part, Hale 1590 (nets 1/-).
L.R.O., Will of Richard Johnson, Speke 1593 (nets 6/8).
L.R.O., Will of John Baxter, Garston 1589 (nets 3/-).

(3) L.R.O., Will of William Croft, Widnes 1591 (nets 5/-).
L.R.O., Will of John Linaker, Cuerdley 1593 (nets 13/- and part of boat 6/8).

(4) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Bavand, Liverpool 1588 (nets 2/-).
L.R.O., Will of Gilbert Ainsdale, Walton 1596 (nets 4/-).

recorded in probate evidence may, however, be misleading. In 1576 it was necessary for the Earl of Derby to convene an Admiralty Court in Liverpool in an attempt to prevent the use of herring boats in the Mersey and in an attempt to regulate the constriction caused by fishyards along the river; he ordered an eight yard channel to be maintained open in the river.⁽¹⁾

From Liverpool sea fishing was an obvious possibility - the principal catch seems to have been herring. This fishing began the week after Michaelmas along the North Wales coast and continued until about St. Andrew's Day at the end of November.⁽²⁾ In 1562 George Ashton had a small ship, a pickard, called the Fakon which sailed with a master and three crewmen. They sold herrings in Bristol and returned with a cargo of wheat.⁽³⁾ Hugh Kettle died in 1572 whilst fishing "in the northe".⁽⁴⁾ Presumably a number of vessels were involved in this intermittent small-scale activity; fishing boats had to pay only two pence per annum to the town.⁽⁵⁾ There were attempts to control the rubbish fishermen left about the town and to restrict the smoking of herrings in houses in Liverpool.⁽⁶⁾ From 1574 at least, fishing on Sundays was subjected to a twenty shilling fine, and from 1578 fishermen were not to mend nets and carry fish on Sundays until after evening prayer.⁽⁷⁾ After 1582 no sails were to be made in the

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 993.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 272.
L.T.B. II, p. 270, p. 993.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 183.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 22.

(5) L.T.B. I, p. 388.

(6) L.T.B. I, p. 246.
L.T.B. II, p. 344.

(7) L.T.B. II, p. 169, p. 302, p. 993.

chapel!⁽¹⁾

Although dealing in herring was by the barrel, on several occasions the water bailiffs were required to see that some fish was sold in small quantities - one or two pennyworth, and in 1595 six herrings for one penny.⁽²⁾ Not all fish sold in Liverpool came from local boats. Usually during Lent two or three pickards from Scotland, Ireland or 'the North' arrived in the town selling barrels of herring and small quantities of white fish or salmon.⁽³⁾ In 1573 eighty barrels of salted herrings were sold by Dublin men at sixteen shillings and eight pence a barrel.⁽⁴⁾

Clearly at some times of the year fish were available and fishing was quite common, but it was an intermittent and small-scale activity. In consequence sea fishing has left relatively little evidence in probate records, although what there is reinforces the subsidiary nature of the activity. Nicholas Rimmer of Walton left goods totalling nearly fourteen pounds with nets and ropes valued at sixteen shillings, whilst William Ainsdale of Kirkdale had nets worth six shillings and eight pence and an old boat valued at nearly seven pounds. However, he had also a yoke of oxen, cattle, horse, pigs and barley recorded amongst his total inventory of thirty-two pounds and five shillings.⁽⁵⁾

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 429.

(2) Ibid., p. 220, p. 689.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 155, p. 184, p. 304.
L.T.B. II, p. 584, p. 585.

(4) Ibid., p. 79.

(5) L.R.O., Will of Nicholas Rimmer, Walton 1594.
L.R.O., Will of William Ainsdale, Kirkdale 1578.

It is most unlikely that any individual in Liverpool depended solely on sea fishing as a means of livelihood. During the herring season greater numbers of men were involved, but during most of the year the crews of the fishing vessels must have found employment as sailors/mariners on trading vessels or in alternative occupations, During the period 1550-1600 seventy-three men are known to have served as sailors, but little is known about their activities.⁽¹⁾ Some are known for only a short length of time, but others clearly found their principal living over much of their lives from working at sea. Because of the nature of Liverpool's trade many of their voyages must have been coastal or to Ireland,⁽²⁾ but some did get to France and Spain.⁽³⁾ John Lambert returned to England in 1586 after twelve months and twenty days' captivity in Bilbao.⁽⁴⁾ Some families in Liverpool had a strong interest with the sea (or could find little alternative employment) - the Ainsdales, the Kettles, the Lawrences, the Rimmers and the Walkers all had three members of the family at sea during the second half of the sixteenth century. Several more families had two members who were sailors.⁽⁵⁾ These mariners could live in any of the few streets in the town - there does not seem to have been any concentration of occupation.

(1) See Appendix XVII.

(2) See Chapter VII.

(3) Ibid.

(4) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. IV, 1883, p. 250.
H.M.C., Mss. of Towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, 5th Report, London 1876, p. 578.

(5) See Appendix XVII.

Several mariners are known to have had other subsidiary or part-time occupations and in view of the uncertain nature of seafaring it would seem likely that many more had a dual type of employment.⁽¹⁾ Sailors, however, were not entirely without education; some made their mark on indentures and various documents, but almost as many were able to sign their name at least.⁽²⁾

The most direct nautical service provided in Liverpool was, however, the ferry crossing. This ferry right across the Mersey had belonged to Birkenhead Priory before passing to the Crown in the sixteenth century. The privilege had been leased by Sir Richard Molyneux, although of course he sub-let the crossing to various agents.⁽³⁾ For much of the second half of the sixteenth century the ferry boat was in fact shared, for example between Peter Gregory and Ralph Oliver in 1565.⁽⁴⁾ On occasions it could also be maintained by their respective widows.⁽⁵⁾ Most ferrymen worked the boat for only a few years - perhaps on a part-time basis or until a permanent mariner's job became available, although some families such as the Corbets and Jumpes maintained an intermittent interest over several generations. On occasions the ferrymen were referred to as labourers providing some indication of contemporary opinion of their

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) L.R.O., DDM 39/78.
R. Stewart Brown, Birkenhead and the Mersey Ferry, Liverpool 1925, p.p. 146-155.

(4) See Appendix XVIII.

(5) L.T.B. I, p. 283 and p. 359.

status. Two of the ferrymen were probably very recent settlers in Liverpool who were glad to find even temporary employment - John Gregory came from Dublin and Thomas Lorimer alias Scott came from Scotland.⁽¹⁾

A variety of restrictions governed the operation of the ferry and clearly a smooth service was not always provided. The boat must have been a sailing boat because if adverse weather or tide disrupted the crossing rowers could be hired.⁽²⁾ However, the ferrymen were not always available when their passengers were and quite frequently various ferrymen were presented at Liverpool assemblies for charging tolls from freemen of the town.⁽³⁾ The one-way fare was four and a half pence in 1572, but freemen, their wives and families were entitled to travel freely although charges were made for their goods and horses. The ferrymen, however, were obviously reluctant to undertake the crossing without remuneration.⁽⁴⁾ Another disruption to a regular service was caused by the ferrymen taking the boat elsewhere - presumably for a worthwhile fee - for example to Chester, Warrington and Eastham.⁽⁵⁾

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 17 and p. 672.

(2) Ibid., p. 63.

(3) Ibid., p. 214.

(4) Ibid., p. 62, p. 230, p. 250, p. 373, p. 506, p. 536, p. 569, p. 672.

(5) Ibid., p. 62.

The most prevalent service occupation, however, was that of providing food and drink. National legislation governed the licensing and operation of alehouses - enforced by the local magistracy with the assistance of local officers.⁽¹⁾ It is evident from surviving documentation that it was not easy to distinguish between permanent alehouses properly licensed and operating every day and more temporary phenomena; temporary in the sense that they were short-lived because the owner of the alehouse was seeking a short-term alternative means of livelihood, for instance a widow or a labourer, or temporary in the sense that the alehouses did not operate all the time because the owner felt it was only worthwhile on market days or at fair time. It seems likely that many of these more temporary phenomena were unlicensed alehouses, and also did not fulfil other legal requirements - for instance in 1586 the Lancashire justices tried to enforce the selling of ale by all alehousekeepers at not more than one penny per quart.⁽²⁾ This had to be reiterated certainly in Liverpool and compares with the price of two pence per gallon fixed by Prescott manor court in 1542.⁽³⁾

Some alehouses are known to have operated throughout all parts of the area, but the greatest concentrations were in Prescott and in Liverpool - presumably many of them temporary in the sense that they

(1) W. J. King, "The regulation of alehouses in Stuart Lancashire: an example of discretionary administration of the law" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 129, 1980, p. 32.

(2) B. W. Quintrell, Proceedings of Lancashire J.P.s at the Sheriff's Table during Assizes Week 1578-1694 in Rec. Soc., Vol. CXXI, 1981, p. 68.

(3) Pres. Recs., p. 97.

took advantage of marketing and fair days.⁽¹⁾ In 1562 twenty-four people were fined at Prescot for selling bread and ale unlicensed from their houses at fair time.⁽²⁾ Indeed, the vicar of Prescot, Thomas Meade, involved himself in a protracted dispute, with only limited effect, to reduce the number of alehouses in the town.⁽³⁾ In 1556 twenty-nine alehousekeepers had been listed in Prescot; and in 1583 the vicar was complaining that there were more "lewde typlinge houses" than in all of Cambridgeshire.⁽⁴⁾ By the time the Provost of King's College visited the town in 1592 nineteen alehouses were still listed in the town, and despite his protests to the steward of the manor, the Earl of Derby, there was one more making twenty alehouses in all by 1598.⁽⁵⁾ Clearly there was little serious local attempt to suppress these alehouses as the fine for an unlicensed operator at the manor court was only six pence.⁽⁶⁾ It would seem that running an alehouse was regarded as a legitimate way of supplementing income. A measure of local attitudes is reflected in the six shillings and eight pence fine Margaret Walley received for mingling good and 'ill' malt in her ale - this was serious, but an unlicensed alehouse was not.⁽⁷⁾ In

- (1) See Appendix XIX.
P. Clark, The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830, London 1983, p. 66.
- (2) Pres. Recs., p. 151.
- (3) See p.p. 510-511.
- (4) Pres. Recs., p.p. 136-137 and p. 298.
- (5) Ibid., p.p. 305-307.
- (6) Ibid., p. 151.
King, "The regulation of alehouses", p.p. 37-39.
- (7) Pres. Recs., p. 157.

Liverpool the town's assembly had formally pronounced in 1579 that there were too many ale and tippling houses in the town, yet only three years before they had, for example, agreed that Catherine Dial widow could bake and brew for the maintenance of herself and her poor family for a payment of only twelve pence a year.⁽¹⁾

The uncertain situation regarding the permanence of unlicensed and intermittent alehouses obscures the number of more substantial alehouses which did undoubtedly exist in the area. For instance, at Prescott Thomas Beasley 1578-1604, James Ditchfield 1571-1603 and Giles Lyon 1578 until his death in 1593 all managed alehouses.⁽²⁾

Despite this regularity of business, it seems unlikely, however, that the alehouses provided their owners with their sole means of income. The competition from other alehouses was too great, and local fairs, markets and trade too restricted to provide a flourishing single occupation. Alehousekeeping was a significant service occupation in terms of the numbers and type of people associated with it, yet in this area it was largely a bye-employment.⁽³⁾

This characteristic in itself says something about the service occupations available in south-west Lancashire during the second half of the sixteenth century. Millers, maltsters, butchers, fishermen

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 237 and p. 354.
Clark, English Alehouse, p. 79.

(2) See Appendix XIX.

(3) King, "The regulation of alehouses", p.p. 40-41.

were all providing their own type of processing and service in an essentially rural community. To some extent they were specialists, but their specialisms were very traditional and necessary in this type of economy. Services of a less essential, or even luxury, nature were almost non-existent. During this period Chester, for example, had several barbers, barber-surgeons and apothecaries,⁽¹⁾ but in these four parishes just one barber is known - Richard Lyle who lived in a house, possibly a chantry priest's house, in the chapelyard from 1590 until the early seventeenth century.⁽²⁾ Likewise only two surgeons are recorded although probably only one of them spent a brief period of time in Liverpool. William Dorter had his freeman's fine remitted in 1576 providing he took up residence in the town, but there is no sign that he ever did, and John Ulster alias Derby settled fairly briefly from 1592 until 1598.⁽³⁾ During the fifth Earl of Derby's sudden final illness at Knowsley a doctor had to be summoned from Chester, despite the delay of one day before his arrival.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Chester Freeman Rolls, p.p. 34-87.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 560, p. 715, p. 762.

(3) Ibid., p. 232 and p. 629.

(4) B.L., Harl. Mss. 247, f. 204.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INDUSTRIALISTS AND THEIR PRODUCTS.

- a) The coal industry.
- b) The textile industry.

a) The Coal Industry.

In contrast to the very modest developments taking place in the craft occupations considerable claims have been made - even in south-west Lancashire - for development in coal-mining. Early in the sixteenth century in this area there was little of an 'industrial' nature, yet there was coal-mining which was to be central to John Nef's thesis of an industrial revolution later in the century.⁽¹⁾ Much of Nef's argument related to the North-East of England and much of what he had to say has now been criticised - for example D. C. Coleman goes so far as to conclude, "there had not been anything worth calling an 'industrial revolution' ".⁽²⁾ Yet certain developments did take place in coal-mining in south-west Lancashire, although whether they could be called 'industrial' and/or 'revolutionary' by the end of the sixteenth century remains debateable.

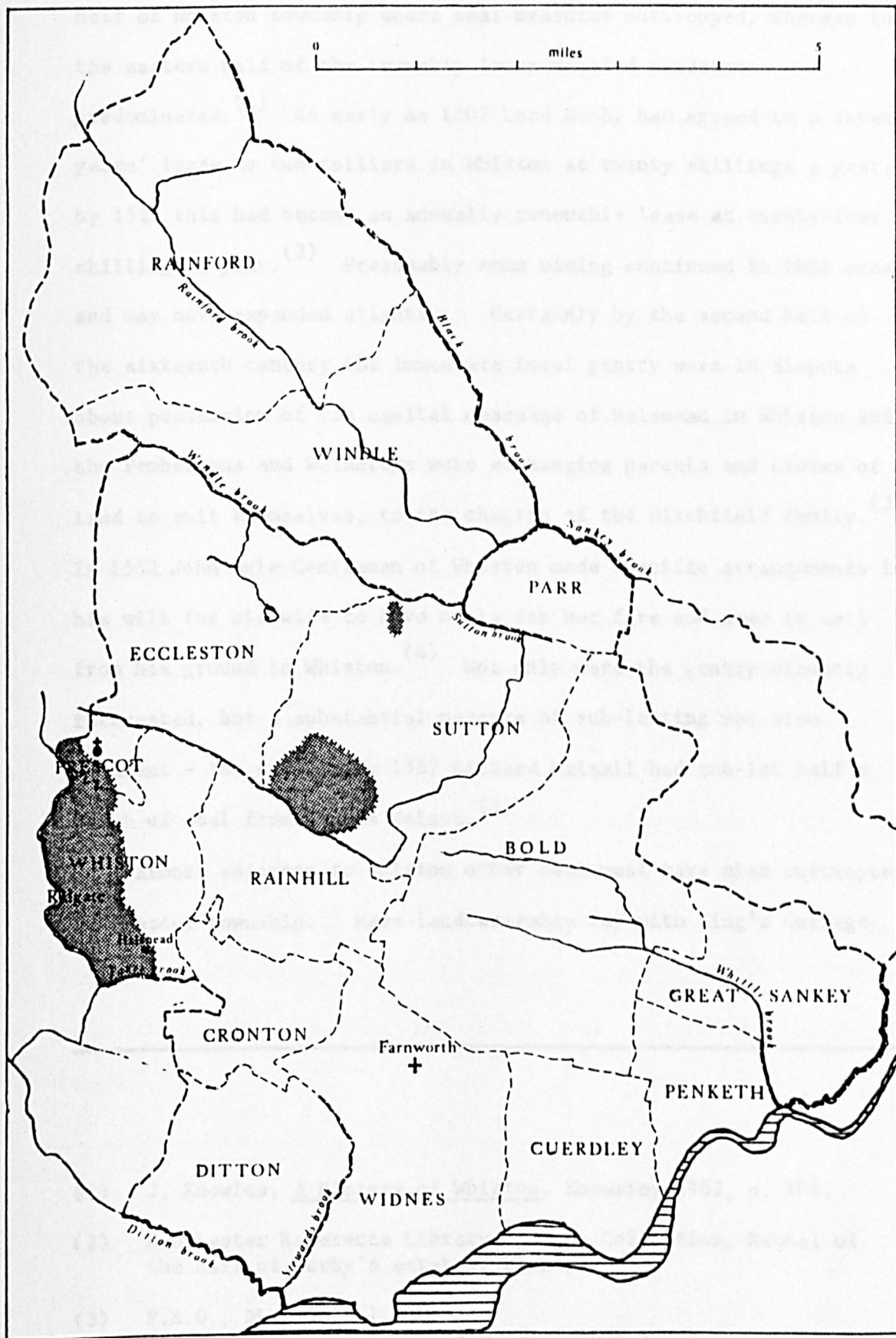
From the fourteenth century there had been references to cartloads of coal passing over Warrington bridge, but until the sixteenth century it has been claimed that coal was hardly ever burned domestically more than one or two miles from where it outcropped.⁽³⁾ Before the reign of Elizabeth I most inhabitants of south Lancashire and north Cheshire burned turf if sufficient wood was unavailable and coal output from a few scattered manors was

- (1) J. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, 2 volumes London 1932, passim.
- (2) S. M. Jack, Trade and Industry in Tudor and Stuart England, London 1977, passim.
D. C. Coleman, Industry in Tudor and Stuart England, London 1975, p. 16.
- (3) H. T. Crofton, "Lancashire and Cheshire Coalmining Records", T. L. C. A. S., Vol. VII, 1889, p. 34.
Nef, British Coal Industry, p. 12.

probably no more than a few score tons a year.⁽¹⁾ John Leland, in fact, referred to two areas of coal-mining in Lancashire - one mile from Wigan where "moche canel like se coole" was found and to "candle and cole pittes in divers parts of Darbyshire" (West Derby Hundred).⁽²⁾ Nef claimed that this small scale operation in south Lancashire developed considerably from 1550 onwards and that by the end of Elizabeth's reign mining was "developed extensively".⁽³⁾ Elsewhere in England landlords with natural resources on their properties were important exploiters of mining contributing much of the initial capital outlay.⁽⁴⁾ It might be expected, therefore, that the landowners of south-west Lancashire would be at the forefront of coal mining development, although there seems to have been a tendency for Yorkshire and Lancashire landowners to sub-let mines - possibly many times.⁽⁵⁾

In south-west Lancashire the evidence suggests that coal-mining was taking place in four specific areas - all of them in Prescott parish - during the sixteenth century.⁽⁶⁾ One area was the western

- (1) Nef, British Coal Industry, p. 60.
E. Kerridge, "The Coal Industry in Tudor and Stuart England: A Comment", in Ec. H. R., Vol. 30, 1977, p. 341.
- (2) ed. L. T. Smith, John Leland's Itinerary of England and Wales, London 1907, p.p. 41-43.
- (3) Nef, British Coal Industry, p. 61.
F. A. Bailey, "Early Coalmining in Prescott, Lancashire" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 101, 1949, p. 1-15.
- (4) Coleman, Industry in Tudor and Stuart England, p. 42.
- (5) Nef, British Coal Industry, p. 323.
- (6) See Map XII.
J. Langton, "The Coal Output of South-West Lancashire, 1590-1799" in Ec. H. R., Vol. 25, 1972.
J. Langton, "The Geography of the South-West Lancashire Mining Industry, 1590-1799", Ph.D. University of Wales, Aberystwyth 1969.



MAP XII: AREAS OF COAL MINING IN PRESCOT PARISH.

half of Whiston township where coal measures outcropped, whereas in the eastern half of the township lower mottled sandstone predominated.⁽¹⁾ As early as 1507 Lord Derby had agreed to a seven years' lease to two colliers in Whiston at twenty shillings a year; by 1521 this had become an annually renewable lease at twenty-four shillings a year.⁽²⁾ Presumably some mining continued in this area and may have expanded slightly. Certainly by the second half of the sixteenth century the immediate local gentry were in dispute about possession of the capital messuage of Halsnead in Whiston and the Pembertons and Wetherbys were exchanging parcels and closes of land to suit themselves, to the chagrin of the Ditchfield family.⁽³⁾ In 1562 John Ogle Gentleman of Whiston made specific arrangements in his will for his wife to have coals for her fire and some to sell from his ground in Whiston.⁽⁴⁾ Not only were the gentry directly interested, but a substantial measure of sub-letting was also apparent - for example by 1557 Richard Halsall had sub-let half a delph of coal from Thomas Nelson.⁽⁵⁾

Almost adjacent to Whiston other coal must have also outcropped in Prescot township. Here landownership lay with King's College,

- (1) J. Knowles, A History of Whiston, Knowsley 1982, p. 104.
- (2) Manchester Reference Library, Farrer Collection, Rental of the Earl of Derby's estates, L1/54/2.
- (3) P.R.O., DL 1 54/D 7.
L.R.O., Willis of Halsnead Papers, DDWi 8 and 9.
- (4) L.R.O., Will of John Ogle, Whiston 1562.
- (5) L.R.O., Will of Richard Halsall, Whiston 1557.

Cambridge, which held the manor and rectory.⁽¹⁾ By 1568 coal was obviously being exploited here as the College granted a ten years' lease for nine pounds per annum to John Layton, with the promise of a renewal to fifty years. He was to have the demesne of Prescott Hall with its windmill and watermill and "all that their coale myne or mynes or diggying of coales in the sayd glebe landes for the onelie fuell and fyre of the said John Laton, to be spent onelie in the sayd mansion howse, if any coales can there be founde".⁽²⁾ Some renewal of the lease was certainly made and in 1582 John Layton's son Philip obtained a further ten years' lease.⁽³⁾ Again in this area development seems to be taking place because by 1586 the vicar of Prescott was conveying information to the Provost of King's College about Philip Layton's exploitation of the coal mine, and a memorandum recorded that the mine in the ten acre wood was a good coal mine that itself could be worth a hundred pounds in addition to other places which may yet yield coal.⁽⁴⁾ By the 1590 s a fair level of activity was evident in the area with Philip Layton's colliers being fined at the manor court for felling trees in Prescott wood for their timbering for pit props and stakes and Philip Layton being ordered to close the "coal pyte eyes" which were in the highway in the wood.⁽⁵⁾ Production at this time may have reached over two thousand tons per annum.⁽⁶⁾

(1) See p. 507.

(2) Pres. Recs., p.p. 16-17.

(3) Ibid., p. 19.

(4) Ibid., p. 30 and p. 302.

(5) Ibid., p. 252 and p. 273.

(6) Langton, "Geography of South-West Lancashire Mining", p. 32.

Development at Prescot was clearly taking place during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign and the possibilities for profit, together with the dangers of sub-letting, were soon apparent. By 1583 complaints were being made to the Provost in Cambridge that coal was being mined illegally on copyhold land,⁽¹⁾ and during the 1590 s this activity caused continuing anxiety to the College authorities.⁽²⁾ Philip Layton already had his original lease and obtained a further licence in 1592 to sell his coal.⁽³⁾ However, all did not proceed entirely smoothly as he sub-contracted with two Prescot husbandmen for them to dig the coal on specified land and they were to pay Philip Layton three shillings for every ton they produced. In 1597 Philip Layton claimed that the two men had extracted between seven and eight thousand tons since 1594 which they had sold for more than one thousand marks. Perhaps the quantities were in dispute, but the two colliers refused to present accounts and to settle their debts, and when pressed by Philip Layton they and about ten other men armed with assorted swords, daggers, staves, pikes and pitchforks had damaged the gates and fences of Prescot Hall and made ways for carters into Prescot wood - presumably to enable coal to be more easily removed.⁽⁴⁾ A reasonable quantity of coal was being produced but for "various

(1) Pres. Recs., p. 299.

(2) Ibid., p. 304.

(3) Ibid., p. 22.

(4) P.R.O., DL 1 183/L 5.

considerations" Philip Layton sub-let Prescot Hall demesne and coal mines to Michael Doughty of Roby, Gentleman, in 1598.⁽¹⁾ Perhaps the local disputes or his own bad management proved too much for Philip Layton, or perhaps he was persuaded to sub-let because of other personal financial difficulties.

Something of a similar story was evident in the third area of coal mining - in Sutton township - where disputed exploitation led to a case in the Duchy court. The case was brought in 1589 by Richard Bold Esquire against principally Richard Eltonhead Gentleman, Richard Houghton and Roger Johnson who had all been illegally making enclosures on the common of the manor of Sutton - Sutton Heath. Within sixty roods of Richard Eltonhead's house several coal pits had been dug and exploited ever since about 1550 according to various depositions. Some of the coal was taken for use at Bold Hall and several individuals and the Eltonhead family claimed to have licences to obtain coal.⁽²⁾ Probably by the 1580 s coal production was expanding and new pits were being opened on the Heath, creating this dispute about ownership and licensing.

The fourth area in Prescot parish where coal was available was also in Sutton township - in the small Burtonhead manor area. During the 1550 s there had been considerable interest in the ownership of this manor - possibly occasioned by the realisation of coal. In 1554

(1) Pres. Recs., p. 23.

(2) P.R.O., DL 4 30/25.

the manor was granted for life to George Pemberton Gentleman of Whiston by Hamlet Ditchfield Gentleman of Ditton.⁽¹⁾ However, only a year later the manor was sold for four hundred pounds to a group of five gentlemen.⁽²⁾ In 1558 James Pemberton's (son of George) interest was bought out and in the same year part of the manor with "a mine of coals" sub-let to William Wolfall Gentleman.⁽³⁾ Little is known of the exploitation of this area but, possibly in connection with the sale of the manor again, a map of the locality was drawn in about 1580.⁽⁴⁾ Various features identify the exact location and in the centre of the map is the Hall of Burtonhead; in the field behind are five coal mines referred to as Pemberton's mines. The exact descent of ownership of the manor is unclear, but by the 1590 s the Pemberton family from Whiston still held a considerable interest. Various transactions were undertaken at the end of the century culminating in James Pemberton selling a portion of Burtonhead manor to Edward Orme of Tarbock in July 1602 who in August 1602 sold it to Edward Eccleston Esquire of Eccleston.⁽⁵⁾ Without good reasons it is hard to imagine James Pemberton parting with his asset of the coal mines, unless the entire series of deals were a financial ploy occasioned by the Pemberton family's persistent recusancy and they were operating in collusion with the Ecclestons - also prominent recusants.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Farrer Final Concords, p. 111.

(2) Ibid., p. 115.

(3) Ibid., p. 146.

(4) L.R.O., Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick Papers, DDSc 32/1.
See Map XIII.

(5) L.R.O., Deeds Enrolled of Bargain and Sale, QDD/9/12,
QDD/15/1, QDD/11/21.

(6) See Table LXI.



MAP XIII: BURTONHEAD MANOR IN PRESCOT PARISH c. 1580.

Because of the location of these four coal deposits in south-west Lancashire, transport was of crucial importance in providing sufficient incentive to exploit the finds. Certainly the area was not far from the coast, but initially roads were probably of considerable importance. From the available tables of highways and principal roads it is clear that all of south-west Lancashire was some distance from any main thoroughfare. The nearest road of national significance was the Cockermouth, Keswick, Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, Lichfield, Coventry to London road which passed via Warrington over the River Mersey.⁽¹⁾ This bridge was of fourteenth century date, although there were also fords and/or ferries at Widnes-Runcorn, Hale-Weston and Liverpool-Birkenhead.⁽²⁾ Most domestic trade was conveyed by road - by cart, pack or pannier - and the degree of traffic is testified to by the 1555 Highways Act.⁽³⁾ Nonetheless, according to T. S. Willan relatively little is actually known about this land transport.⁽⁴⁾ For bulky commodities costs could be high, possibly varying with the time of the year.⁽⁵⁾

For a commodity as heavy as coal this land transport was of considerable expense, yet by 1563 it was being conveyed by wain, cart or horseback into Liverpool.⁽⁶⁾ The regularity of this traffic was

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- (1) H. G. Fordham, "The Earliest Tables of Highways of England and Wales 1541-61" in Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 2nd Series, Vol. VIII, 1927-8, p.p. 350-353.
G. S. Thomson, "Roads in England and Wales in 1603" in E. H. R., Vol. XXXIII, 1918, p.p. 234-239.
- (2) W. Harrison, "Ancient Fords, Ferries and Bridges in Lancashire" in T. L. C. A. S., Vol. XII, 1894, p.p. 7-11.
- (3) J. A. Chartres, Internal Trade in England 1500-1700, London 1977, p. 40.
- (4) T. S. Willan, The Inland Trade, Manchester 1976, p. 2.
- (5) Ibid., p. 6.
Langton, "Geography of South-West Lancashire Mining", p.p.34-35.
- (6) L.T.B. I, p. 246.

such that by 1574 all people carrying turves or coals in wains into the town were to be obliged to pay two pence towards the repair of the pavements in the town.⁽¹⁾ Possibly domestic coal was often conveyed in smallish quantities by pack animal, but a few specific coal carts were recorded in probate inventories - one in Aigburth, one in Widnes, one in Parr and one in Windle.⁽²⁾ A measure of this regular local traffic is that Anne Wyke of Whiston was presented at the Quarter Sessions in 1601 for persistently refusing to cleanse a ditch and to keep a "way" repaired between her house and Foxes Brook so that the people of Ditton and Tarbock were obstructed in their carriage of coals.⁽³⁾

Likewise probate inventories do provide some indication of the local use of coal. Probably quantities of coal were affected by the time of year and the fact that very small quantities may have been unrecorded by the appraisers, but in an area of restricted woodland where turf had to be used for fuel, coal must have been a desirable domestic commodity. From the probate evidence it seems all sections of society could have supplies of coal ranging in value from a few shillings (which could represent a ton or more)⁽⁴⁾ to eighty shillings' worth.⁽⁵⁾ Presumably these coal supplies were usually

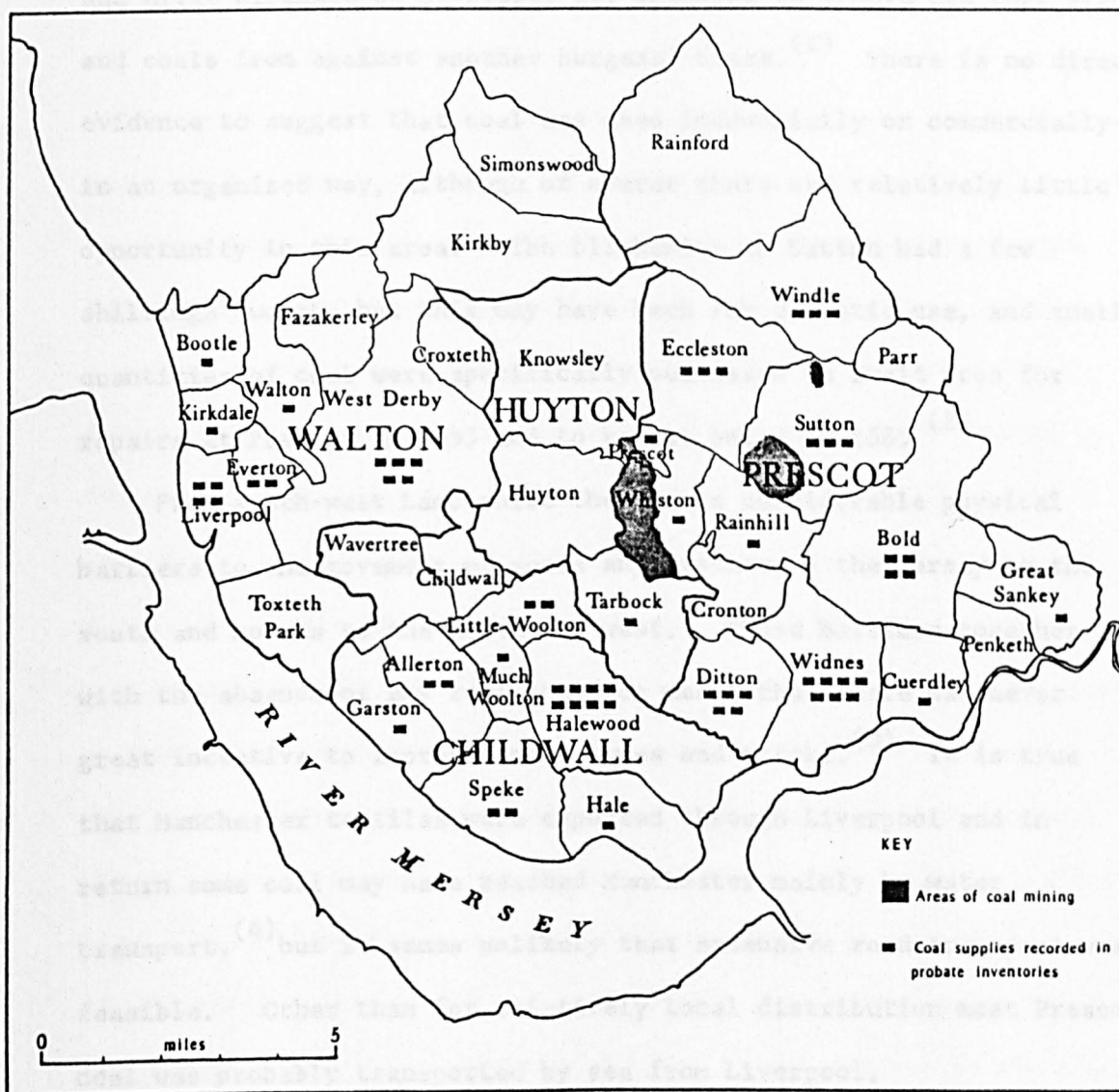
(1) L.T.B. II, p. 168.

(2) L.R.O., Will of William Brettergh, Aigburth 1583.
L.R.O., Will of John Denton, Widnes 1600.
L.R.O., Will of Richard Boardman, Parr 1602.
L.R.O., Will of Thomas Fox, Windle 1602.

(3) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 120.

(4) See p. 305.

(5) See Appendix XX and Map XIV.



MAP XIV: SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE COAL
SUPPLIES RECORDED IN PROBATE INVENTORIES.

(1) L.R.O., Will of Richard Bird, Liverpool 1593.
L.R.O. II, p. 344.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Henry Spackman, Sutton 1597.
L.R.O. II, p. 36 and p. 180.

(3) Walker, *Historical Geography*, p. p. 73-75.

(4) F. S. Wilson, *Disappearance of Coal in Great Britain*, 2nd series,
Vol. XXII, 1930, p. p. 260 and p. 261.

kept in a stack; Richard Bird of Liverpool had "one pyle of coles" and Miles Kirkdale of Liverpool was required to remove his turf stack and coals from against another burgess' house.⁽¹⁾ There is no direct evidence to suggest that coal was used industrially or commercially in an organized way, although of course there was relatively little opportunity in this area. The blacksmith in Sutton had a few shillings' worth, but this may have been for domestic use, and small quantities of coal were specifically purchased to smelt iron for repairs at Prescott in 1555 and to recast bells in 1585.⁽²⁾

From south-west Lancashire there were considerable physical barriers to the movement of goods any distance - the Mersey to the south and mosses to the north and west. These barriers together with the absence of any real commerce meant that there was never great incentive to improve local lanes and tracks.⁽³⁾ It is true that Manchester textiles were exported through Liverpool and in return some coal may have reached Manchester mainly by water transport,⁽⁴⁾ but it seems unlikely that extensive road transport was feasible. Other than for relatively local distribution most Prescott coal was probably transported by sea from Liverpool.

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- (1) L.R.O., Will of Richard Bird, Liverpool 1595.
L.T.B. II, p. 344.
- (2) L.R.O., Will of Henry Boardman, Sutton 1597.
Pres. Accs., p. 36 and p. 100.
- (3) Walker, Historical Geography, p.p. 73-75.
- (4) T. S. Willan, Elizabethan Manchester in Chet. Soc., 3rd Series, Vol. XXVII, 1980, p.p. 56-57 and p. 119.

During the 1560 s there was some attempt in Liverpool to restrict the shipment of coal, for example regulations made in 1565 and 1568 to limit coal to domestic usage only.⁽¹⁾ However, at this time some coal was leaving the town,⁽²⁾ and these early restrictions may well have coincided with the first real growth in any volume of exported coal, and after early difficulties the restrictions were not reiterated. The real problem is to calculate the annual tonnage that was exported as the Port Book entries for Liverpool are not ideal sources; they are rarely complete for twelve consecutive months, coastal trade may or may not have been included, and as Liverpool was an outport of Chester plenty of scope for confusion arises.⁽³⁾ Table XXII demonstrates some possible calculations - sufficient to indicate limited growth. Mostly the coal was shipped in quite small quantities (as were most products from Liverpool) averaging between ten and fourteen tons per cargo.⁽⁴⁾ The seaward distribution of the coal was influenced by existing shipping patterns with a great dependence on coastal traffic and Ireland.⁽⁵⁾ The fluctuations in Irish demand may be due to inadequate record keeping, may be influenced by variable production levels, or may be the result of inconsistent demand caused by varying English activity in Ireland; certainly the 1599 expedition to Dublin took its own coal with it.⁽⁶⁾

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 246 and p. 400.

(2) See Table XXIII.

(3) P.R.O., Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer: Port Books, E 190. See p. 355.

(4) Nef, British Coal Industry, p. 387.

(5) See Chapter VII.

(6) Nef, British Coal Industry, p. 90.

TABLE XXIII: COAL EXPORTS FROM LIVERPOOL TO IRELAND.

	<u>Woodward</u> ⁽¹⁾	<u>Nef</u> ⁽²⁾	<u>Port Books</u> ⁽³⁾
1565- 6	247 tons	311 tons	-
1569-70	345	339	-
1573- 4	114	106	-
1582- 3	229	321	225
1584- 5	158	188	162
1588	429	-	-
1589	533	-	-
1592- 3	616	590	585
1593- 4	509	-	483
1597- 8	310	302	296
1600- 1			164
1602- 3			456

Some indication of the nature and level of production and scale of operation in Prescot parish can perhaps be obtained from the numbers of individuals involved in coal mining.⁽⁴⁾ A few men from Tarbock township in Huyton parish were involved - possibly in the adjacent township of Whiston; all other men, not surprisingly, came from various parts of Prescot parish. The difficulty lies in distinguishing the manner in which these individuals had some connection with mining. Some were the actual colliers doing the digging and extracting the coal. Probably this was rarely more than a part-time activity by men living in a convenient location or by

(1) Woodward, Trade of Elizabethan Chester, p. 17.

(2) Nef, British Coal Industry, p. 380.

(3) See p. 355.

(4) See Appendix XXI.

labourers employed on a more casual basis. George Ackers of Tarbock, for example, was referred to in 1592 as a labourer and in 1595 as a collier, whilst William Holland also of Tarbock was classified as a husbandman in his 1593 will, yet he was owed money for one 'work' of coal.⁽¹⁾ An indication of the financial status and other economic interests of these colliers is provided by two probate inventories. Richard Halsall of Whiston who died in 1557 left his half of a delph of coals to his son Henry, but his inventory recorded also oxen, seventeen cows, pigs and various crops amongst his assets. The total inventory valuation was £17-18-0, but Richard Halsall was owed thirty-six pounds by forty-five different debtors.⁽²⁾ In a similar way, William Litherland of Whiston had significant farm interests with cows, horses and sheep. He worked on land belonging to Peter Wetherby Gentleman and amongst his £35-19-4 inventory his appraisers assessed fifty 'works' of coal to be worth five pounds.⁽³⁾

In addition to the actual colliers, there were also those individuals responsible for distributing coal and/or making it available over a wider area.⁽⁴⁾ Whether they had a direct interest in mining - perhaps employing colliers - or whether they were genuine middlemen who purchased and then resold supplies of coal is difficult to discern. Henry Blundell of Prescot supplied coal between 1594

(1) L.R.O., Will of William Holland, Tarbock 1593.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Richard Halsall, Whiston 1557.

(3) L.R.O., Inventory of William Litherland, Whiston 1582.

(4) See Appendix XXII.

and 1604; at other times during this period he was referred to as a husbandman, yeoman and alehousekeeper. George Tapley of Prescot was active at least from 1566 to 1584 supplying coal to adjacent areas such as Ditton, Halewood and Wavertree - the largest single quantity recorded was ten tons. Robert Halsall of Sutton was owed payment for delivery of twelve tons of coal to Ditton in 1595. Some of these distributors, such as the above mentioned, were certainly not the landowners, but nevertheless some landowners did involve themselves in distribution. William Ditchfield and his son John from Ditton were both selling coal quite actively. John Ditchfield had eight 'loads' of coal in his possession at the time of his death in 1582 and he was owed for coal by eight different debtors - totaling quite a considerable quantity - eighty-two tons, three loads and five barrels in all. Intriguingly he had also nine tons of coal "at the bridge" - presumably Warrington for distribution further afield.⁽¹⁾ Beyond ten miles transport of coal for domestic consumption was probably too expensive.⁽²⁾

Coal distribution was also undertaken by women in this area. Margaret Tildesley a widow from Ditton was dealing in the Whiston area in 1586 and Margaret Ditchfield - widow of Robert - of Sutton was owed money by eleven debtors for coal supplies in 1594. Mostly in her case the quantities were quite small - all less than four tons. Her total inventory valuation amounted to £37-17-6 which scarcely suggests a level of comfort and prosperity, so presumably

(1) L.R.O., Will of John Ditchfield, Ditton 1582.

(2) Langton, "Geography of South-West Lancashire Mining", p. 54.

coal dealing was of considerable importance to her.⁽¹⁾

Most of these coal dealers appear to have been operating within quite a restricted geographical location, with just the suggestion that one or two operated further afield through Liverpool or over the Warrington Bridge. Transport costs from this area must have been very restrictive and confined demand largely to a local market. Within the locality coal, however, was a material of increasing interest and concern generating various disputes over its control. Within south-west Lancashire the price of coal fluctuated a little during the second half of the sixteenth century, but overall it seems that increased demand and production kept prices fairly stable despite inflation.⁽²⁾

TABLE XXIV: COAL PRICES IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.⁽³⁾

	<u>'ton'</u>	<u>'work'</u>	<u>'load'</u>
1566	1-2		
1576	1-6		
1577		3-0	
1579		3-0	
1582	2-4	2-0	1-8
1583		3-0	
1586			1-2
1589		3-0	
1593		2-8	
1602			8d

(1) L.R.O., Will of Margaret Ditchfield, Sutton 1594.

(2) See Table XXIV.

(3) From probate evidence and Pres. Recs.

Undoubtedly local demand for coal was increasing and undoubtedly south-west Lancashire production was increasing during the second half of the sixteenth century, with allowance made for the greater incidence of probate evidence by the 1590 s.⁽¹⁾ Not surprisingly local landowners continued to display considerable interest in mining profits. In 1592 Cuthbert Lathom Gentleman of Allerton in Childwall parish bequeathed to his son Richard his interest in a messuage and tenement in Wrightington near Wigan "with the cole mynes and all other proffytts and comodyties belonginge to the same".⁽²⁾ Cuthbert Lathom's acquisition was some miles away but the same interest in development continued near at hand. In 1602 Sir Robert Cecil received information that the Earl of Derby was having the possibility of mines explored in Knowsley Park,⁽³⁾ whilst by 1610 Sir Richard Molyneux was paying the colliers "that sought coles in Croxteth and Kirkby".⁽⁴⁾ These efforts do demonstrate the desire to extend exploitation, although by the end of the sixteenth century development was confined still to Prescott parish.

Despite greater production in the four areas of Prescott parish there is no evidence of changing methods of extraction, of more complex or elaborate pits, or of drainage systems. Locally coal-mining became a significant economic activity, but its development, its organisation and its value were scarcely 'revolutionary';

(1) See Appendix IV.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Cuthbert Lathom, Allerton 1592.

(3) H.M.C., Salisbury Manuscripts, Vol. XII, p. 167 and p. 548.

(4) L.R.O., DDM 4/1.
See J. T. Swain, "Industry and Economy in North-East Lancashire c.1500-1640", Ph.D. University of Cambridge, 1983, p. 277.

probably contemporaries never even regarded it as an industry. Coal-mining does not seem to have warranted great organisation, nor considerable capital outlay. Quarrying stone and slates, manufacturing bricks and glass, and mining coal must all have been regarded in much the same way; they were crafts requiring some expertise and practised often as a subsidiary employment by farmers and labourers.

b) The Textile Industry.

A traditional craft of much greater importance was that of textile manufacture. Certainly textile crafts were of considerable significance in south Lancashire in the sixteenth century, but whether developments warrant the use of the word 'industry' remains debateable.⁽¹⁾ The real textile centre in Lancashire was further east and from the 1540 s onwards Manchester and the area to the north in the Bury and Bolton region had important woollen production, whilst in this same area from the 1560 s fustian production developed. In comparison, in south-west Lancashire textile manufacture was of less importance and more varied, with woollens and linen being produced for mainly local domestic use. The type of activity which continued in this area was relatively little influenced by any continental or even national development.⁽²⁾

(1) See p. 319.

(2) N. Lowe, The Lancashire Textile Industry in the 16th Century, in Chet. Soc., 3rd Series, Vol. XX, 1972, passim. Walker, Historical Geography, p.p. 60-65.

Certainly during the second half of the sixteenth century nearly seventy weavers are known to have operated throughout south-west Lancashire; they were to be found in all four parishes with perhaps a slight preponderance in Childwall parish and in Liverpool.⁽¹⁾ Many weavers probably worked to suit local demand and possibly returned woven cloth to those who had supplied the raw material. In Star Chamber depositions of 1600 Edward Eccleston Esquire made it plain that the local weaver, Robert Gellibrand, intermittently was employed by him, and likewise William More of Kirkdale obviously paid three individual weavers to work for him.⁽²⁾ William Wainwright of Halebank had an item recorded in his probate inventory for "yarne at the wever" which was presumably his property to be returned to him.⁽³⁾

The type of cloth woven in this area is difficult to identify precisely. Probably not much woollen cloth was produced except from local wool supplies. Nonetheless, a variety of woollens such as rugs, friezes, kerseys as well as cottons were all narrow cloth produced on a loom operated by one man.⁽⁴⁾ In 1582 William More paid his three weavers for wool, kersey and buffet and also for weaving flax.⁽⁵⁾ Thomas Almond, the Allerton webster, had kersey, white cloth and russett cloth.⁽⁶⁾ Likewise the Liverpool weaver, John Gower, had woollen reeds and flaxen and canvas reeds amongst his

(1) See Appendix XXIII.

(2) P.R.O., STAC 5, A 43/14.
L.R.O., DDK 1542/4.

(3) L.R.O., Inventory of William Wainwright, Halebank 1601.

(4) Lowe, Lancashire Textile Industry, p.p. 3-4.

(5) L.R.O., DDK 1542/4.

(6) L.R.O., Inventory of Thomas Almond, Allerton 1609.

possessions.⁽¹⁾ Probably woollen weaving was quite limited and many weavers were accustomed to dealing with both woollen and linen cloth. There is relatively little evidence of crafts associated with woollens; only three shearmen are mentioned in the area and four dyers.⁽²⁾ Reference to fulling mills is also rare - only one is recorded in the sixteenth century, that at Tarbock in 1554.⁽³⁾

There is much more reference to the use of flax and hemp for various fabrics in this part of Lancashire. Some weavers were specifically referred to as linen weavers and from probate evidence many more clearly concentrated on manufacturing products from flax and hemp.⁽⁴⁾ Obviously they used some local supplies⁽⁵⁾ but also outside resources as well. Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century Liverpool imported some Irish flax and yarn, mainly from Dublin and Drogheda. By the 1590 s these imports were at record levels.⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) L.R.O., Inventory of John Gower, Liverpool 1594.
(2) See Appendix XXIII.
(3) P.R.O., DL 7, Vol. X/46.
(4) See Appendix XXIII.
(5) See Table XVI.
(6) Woodward, Trade of Elizabethan Chester, p.p. 8-25.
See Table XXV.

TABLE XXV: IMPORTS OF LINEN YARN AND WOOL AT LIVERPOOL.⁽¹⁾

	<u>Yarn in packs</u>	<u>Wool in stones</u>
1565- 6	356	630
1569-70	66	546
1572- 3	209	338
1573- 4	198	380
1575- 6	119	668
1579-80	524	2411
1582- 3	424	1247
1584- 5	422	70
1588	843	-
1589	1216	-
1592- 3	1488	2487
1593- 4	1555	1506
1597- 8	43	194

What exactly was woven with this yarn is hard to evaluate, but probate records certainly mention flaxen cloth, hempen cloth and canvas.⁽²⁾

Considerable preparation was necessary with both flax and hemp before it could be woven. After pulling it was soaked for up to twelve days, creating a foul smell, whilst the stems rotted. The flax was then dried over a fire and when dry beaten (or gighed) to separate the fibres before carding.⁽³⁾ In Liverpool itself this flax preparation was both noisome and a fire hazard. A bye-law of about 1540 punished the drying of flax in houses in the town with a fine,

(1) Woodward, Trade of Elizabethan Chester, p. 14.

(2) L.R.O., for example, Inventory of Edmund Wainwright, Halebank, 1574; Inventory of John Thomason, Halebank, 1594; Inventory of Richard Tatlock, Simonswood, 1603.

(3) Jenkins, Craft Industries, p.p. 14-24.

and in 1556 because the practice continued the fine was doubled to six shillings and eight pence.⁽¹⁾ Even so the practice still continued.⁽²⁾ Giggling flax in houses was also forbidden, but, nonetheless, practised,⁽³⁾ and water supplies around the town were used for soaking the flax or washing yarn.⁽⁴⁾ It is evident from the individuals presented for these offences that a considerable assortment of people in the town were involved in flax preparation in some way.

In addition to this basic preparation, probably about four or five people were necessary to undertake sufficient carding and spinning to keep one weaver supplied with yarn. Throughout south-west Lancashire spinning wheels were a fairly common item recorded in probate inventories; they were to be found in all parts of the area and amongst all classes in society.⁽⁵⁾ However, as far as it is possible to discern they were less likely to be found in the more urban areas - only three were listed in Liverpool and three in Prescott. Particularly in Childwall parish, perhaps with a greater production of flax, and in those households where three and four spinning wheels were recorded, yarn production must have been a significant by-employment.⁽⁶⁾

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 9 and p. 64.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 264.

(3) Ibid., p. 52, p. 160, p. 303, p. 423, p. 490.

(4) Ibid., p. 303, p. 457, p. 475, p. 661.

(5) See Table XXVI.

(6) See Table XVI.

TABLE XXVI: SPINNING WHEELS RECORDED IN PROBATE INVENTORIES.

	<u>Number of Probate Inventories recording spinning wheels</u>	<u>Percentage of Total inventories</u>	<u>Occupations of those with spinning wheels</u>
<u>Childwall Parish.</u>	$\frac{40}{74}$ (9 x 1 wheel 23 x 2 wheels 8 x 3 wheels) Valued at 6d, 8d, 10d, 12d, 13d each	54%	13 husbandmen 5 yeomen 3 gentlemen 6 widows 1 spinster 1 carpenter 1 weaver 10 unknown status
<u>Huyton Parish.</u>	$\frac{15}{36}$ (8 x 1 wheel 6 x 2 wheels 1 x 4 wheels) Valued at 10d, 12d each	42%	7 husbandmen 2 yeomen 1 gentleman 1 widow 4 unknown status
<u>Prescot Parish.</u>	$\frac{74}{196}$ (23 x 1 wheel 45 x 2 wheels 5 x 3 wheels 1 x 4 wheels) Valued at 4d, 6d, 8d, 10d, 12d, 14d, 16d each	38%	17 husbandmen 13 yeomen 7 gentlemen 11 widows 2 spinsters 4 weavers 1 mercer 1 wheelwright 1 labourer 17 unknown status
<u>Walton Parish.</u>	$\frac{27}{73}$ (13 x 1 wheel 9 x 2 wheels 3 x 3 wheels 2 x 4 wheels) Valued at 4d, 6d, 7d, 8d, 10d, 12d each.	37%	4 husbandmen 8 yeomen 2 gentlemen 1 mason 1 tailor 1 blacksmith 2 weavers 1 marchant 7 unknown status

Much of the fabric manufactured in south-west Lancashire was produced by independent weavers who obtained their own supplies of yarn and disposed of their own finished products. There is no real evidence of complex organization or great clothiers who characterised the west of England.⁽¹⁾ In 1572 permission was obtained for four weavers in Liverpool to establish a guild, although they clearly had some difficulty in enforcing their monopoly.⁽²⁾ Compared with the substantial guilds which had operated for some time elsewhere in England this level of activity was very slight.⁽³⁾ There were a few drapers and merchant tailors operating from Liverpool and, to a lesser extent, from Prescot, but their activities were probably fairly restricted.⁽⁴⁾ Quite a number of yeomen and husbandmen, particularly from Childwall parish, had supplies of various fabrics recorded in their probate inventories and perhaps dealt through local markets in a very modest way.⁽⁵⁾

Some cloth was exported from Liverpool mainly to Ireland, but much of it may have originated from East Lancashire, Yorkshire and

(1) P. J. Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England, London 1962, passim.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 26 and p. 407.

(3) D. M. Palliser, "The Trade Guilds of Tudor York" in ed. P. Clark and P. Slack, Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 London 1972, p.p. 86-112.

(4) See Chapter VII.

(5) For example, L.R.O. Inventory of Edmund Wainwright, Halebank, 1574 (he had 28 ells of hempen cloth), Inventory of John Thomason, Halebank, 1594 (he had 60 yards of flaxen cloth), Inventory of John Plumpton, Halewood, 1602 (he had linen cloth valued at 20 shillings and woollen cloth valued at 12 shillings).

Cumberland. (1)

TABLE XXVII: EXPORT OF CLOTH FROM LIVERPOOL TO IRELAND. (2)

	<u>Kersies</u>	<u>Dozens</u>	<u>Straights</u>	<u>Friezes</u>	<u>Cottons</u>	<u>Fustions</u>
1565-6	119	58	92	-	81	6
1573-4	8	34	82	-	39	2
1584-5	6	21	45	4	161	-
1592-3	7	29	27	134	125	3½
1593-4	29	14	56	138	171	2
1597-8	13	2	12	63	134	2

A degree of confusion over the marketing of cloth is perhaps indicated by the attempts to regulate weights and measures. In 1560 the Liverpool authorities attempted to impose the standards of eighteen pounds to a stone for quantities of wool, flax and hemp and the use of a brasen or iron yard. Confusion must have continued and in 1581 it was agreed to revert to the use of the webster's weight of nineteen pounds to a stone. (3) Not surprisingly disputes were possible, such as in 1581 when Catherine Stockley was fined at Prescot for cutting cloth with untrue measures. (4)

The products of most south-west Lancashire weavers were probably in the main intended for local domestic consumption, and this helps to explain the presence of tailors working in the four parishes. (5) With a predominantly local market, they were found

(1) See Table XXVII.

(2) Woodward, Trade of Elizabethan Chester, p. 15.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 148.
L.T.B. II, p. 409.

(4) Pres. Recs., p. 229.

(5) See Appendix XXIII.

throughout the area with a concentration of twenty of the forty-eight tailors in Liverpool where a guild was established in 1559.⁽¹⁾ Not all sewing, however, was undertaken by tailors. At Prescott various women were paid for their workmanship in sewing surplices for the church.⁽²⁾ Probably much finishing of linen - such as items of clothing, bedding and tablewear - was done by women, although the detail of this is largely unrecorded.⁽³⁾ The only specialist clothing manufacturers that are recorded are the father and son Liverpool hat makers, although the two felt makers may have practised similar skills.⁽⁴⁾

Hemp, in addition to its use for coarse cloth, could have been used also for the manufacture of rope and nets. If the fibre was spun into yarn it was possible to use that for a great variety of twines, ropes and nets which must have been produced domestically by a great many households in the area.⁽⁵⁾ If the fibre was plaited and twisted various thicknesses of rope could be made, but it is a reflection of Liverpool's modest shipping that only two specialist rope-makers are known.⁽⁶⁾ Like the drying of flax and hemp, the tarring of rope was regarded also as a fire hazard.⁽⁷⁾

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 112.

(2) Pres. Accs., p. 39 and p. 56.

(3) See Chapter VIII.

(4) See Appendix XXVI.

(5) Jenkins, The Craft Industries, p.p. 18-20.
Pres. Accs., p. 39.

(6) See Appendix XXVI.

(7) L.T.B. II, p. 423 and p. 472.

It is clear from the probate inventories that in this area no fortunes were to be made from the manufacture of textiles.⁽¹⁾ The great majority of weavers had considerable investment in their agricultural interests and, in fact, there may have been few genuinely full-time weavers, except perhaps in Liverpool where John Gower provides the best example of a specialist weaver producing a diversity of cloth. Even he, however, had only modestly valued equipment and a very poor total inventory valuation. Many weavers were probably amongst the poorest craftsmen, and there seems every reason to suppose that tailors were in a similar situation. Tailors required next to nothing by way of tools and equipment; their skill was their marketable commodity but it seems unlikely to have paid well in this area.

(1) See Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII: PROBATE INVENTORIES OF CLOTH WORKERS.

<u>Name, Residence, Occupation.</u>	<u>Date of Inventory.</u>	<u>Craft Equipment, tools, stock.</u>	<u>Proportion of Total Inventory.</u>	<u>Agricultural Interests.</u>	<u>Inventory Total.</u>
Edward Deane Rainhill Weaver	1572	20 yards of flax 16-0 14 ells of canvas 7-0 8 yards of tow hemp 4-0 wool 2-0 hemp and flax 8-0 17 dizens of flax 8-0 2- 5-0	06%	cattle crops	40-11- 6
John Part Widnes Weaver	1577	1 loom, 1 warpstick, 1 wheel and reeds 16-0	02%	cows sheep pigs crops	46- 1- 8
Brian Hayward Parr Weaver	1578	yarn and linen cloth 1- 0-0	-	oxen cattle crops	(incomplete)
William Birchall Parr Weaver	1581	weaving loom and equipment 1- 0-0 yarn 10-0 1-10-0	08%	2 horses 4 cows crops	18-19- 6
Henry Milner Wolfall Weaver	1581	work tools 6-8 14 dizens of flax 16-4 19 ells of tow hemp 14-0 1-17-0	11%	4 cows 13 sheep 2 pigs hay	17- 5- 3
John Hutchen Huyton Weaver	1582	a standing pair of looms 10-0	26%	1 pig	1-18- 6
Thomas Blundell Bold Weaver	1586	2 looms 1- 0-0 yarn 2- 5-0 3- 5-0	04%	cattle sheep pigs	79- 0- 0
Henry Holland Tarbock Weaver	1587	14 dizens of hemp 6-0 16 dizens of flax 10-0 16-0	01%	oxen 12 cows 4 horses crops	65- 5- 2
John Part Hale Weaver	1590	yarn and 20 dizens of hemp 1- 0-0 loom and equipment 5-0 spinning wheel 1-0 1- 6-0	11%	2 horses 2 cows crops	11- 7- 4
James Johnson Wavertree Weaver	1591	1 loom 8-0 another loom and equipment 12-0 yarn 2-6 combs and wheel 1-3 1- 4-2	19%	2 horses hay	6- 4- 0
John Derbyshire Bold Weaver	1591	yarn 12-0 2 looms and equipment 1- 0-0 1-12-0	04%	cattle sheep crops	38-12- 2
Hugh Appleton Bold Weaver	1592	yarn 8-0 cloth in the loom 10-0 2 spinning wheels 8 18-8	06%	5 cows pigs barley	15-15- 2

Thurstan Bewsley Cuerdley Weaver	1592	1 old loom spinning wheel cloth and yarn	10-0 8 <u>20-0-0</u> 20-10-8	33%	cattle horses crops	61- 8-10
Hugh Lea Rainhill Weaver	1592	2 pairs of looms and reeds hemp, flax, yarn and cloth wool	1- 6-8 1-10-0 <u>13-4</u> 3-10-0	04%	cattle sheep horses crops	84- 4- 8
Miles Slack Farnworth Weaver	1593	3 looms hemp linen yarn	1- 0-0 13-4 <u>4-0</u> 1-17-4	08%	4 cows 1 horse crops	24- 3- 8
John Thomason Halebank Weaver	1594	yarn 14 lbs. flax 3 stones of hemp 60 yards flaxen cloth	1-15-0 14-0 18-0 <u>2- 2-0</u> 5- 9-0	12%	oxen 3 cows 3 horses 12 sheep crops	45-16- 4
John Gower Liverpool Weaver	1594	3 pairs of looms 8 flaxen reeds 8 canvas and 10 hemp reeds 1 double twill reed 8 broken reeds 9 woollen reeds 4 Spanish reeds 2 spinning wheels shuttles coffer in the shop 2 pots to make starch in	1- 6-8 4-0 3-4 8 1-0 5-0 2-0 1-8 6 6 <u>4-0</u> 2- 9-4	18%	None	14- 1- 1
Thomas Higginson Kirkdale Weaver	1596	wool and tow hemp tow a pair of old looms and old reeds and warp stock	9-0 10-0 <u>3-0</u> 1- 2-0	20%	2 cows 5 sheep 3 lambs crops	19-13- 8
Richard Atherton Kirkby Weaver	1602	2 pairs of looms, 1 warp stock and reeds tow cards and wool cards 12 yards of hempen cloth	1-13-4 8 <u>8-0</u> 2- 2-0	03%	cattle sheep pigs crops	60-11- 5
Ralph Sherlock Parr Weaver	1603	loom and equipment	1- 0-0	-	cattle sheep crops	(incomplete)

Much has been written about industrial growth during the sixteenth century, but the exact terminology remains difficult. It is doubtful if contemporaries regarded any economic activity in south-west Lancashire at this time as 'industrial'. The scale of operation in textile manufacture and in coal mining was not sufficient to create fundamental reorganization and redirection of organization.⁽¹⁾ Urbanization in south-west Lancashire was too slow to create large new markets, and trading links were too restricted to provide substantial markets elsewhere. There were significant developments in coal mining in particular and, to a lesser extent, in textile manufacture in the four parishes but the scale of change was not dramatic. Little evidence suggests that new technology and the economic projects of southern England reached south-west Lancashire.⁽²⁾ Latter day terminology might consider these economic activities as industrial, but to those involved in them in the sixteenth century and to those benefitting from their products they surely were regarded as crafts.

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- (1) G. Unwin, Industrial Organization in the 16th Century and 17th Century, Oxford 1904, passim.
Coleman, Industry in Tudor and Stuart England, passim.
- (2) J. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England, Oxford 1978, p.p. 4-13.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MERCHANTS AND THEIR MERCHANDISE.

- a) The merchants and their wealth.
- b) Institutions of trade.
- c) Coastal trade.
- d) Overseas trade.
- e) Irish trade.
- f) The market area of south-west Lancashire.

a) The Merchants and their wealth.

A considerable amount has been written of the size and categorization of pre-industrial towns. Three tiers can be distinguished from the small, corporate market town (such as Birmingham and Winchester), to the middle-sized, more sophisticated town (such as Lincoln and Worcester), to the large, regional cities (such as York and Exeter) - with London in a class of its own.⁽¹⁾ Yet whilst studying the urban situation in this period, towns cannot be divorced from their rural settings.⁽²⁾ In the four parishes of south-west Lancashire during the sixteenth century only two places were regarded by the local population as towns, although it is doubtful whether even one of these would have been so considered in a national context.

Liverpool, despite being small, was regarded as a town; "Lyverpole is one haven town havinge a grete nombre of inhitantes in the same and also grete concurse of strangers "⁽³⁾ At this time, 1548, Liverpool was estimated by the chantry commissioners to have four hundred houseling people - or a population of about five hundred and fifty.⁽⁴⁾ Prescot town is hard to isolate from its large parish

(1) P. Clark and P. Slack, Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700, London 1972, passim.
J. Patten, English Towns 1500-1700, Folkestone 1978, passim.

(2) Ibid., p. 17.

(3) Raines, History of the Chantries of Lancashire, p. 83.

(4) Ibid., p. 84.
See p. 39.

of one thousand houseling people, but in 1592 the vicar claimed quite clearly that the town contained about four hundred people.⁽¹⁾ Neither of these concentrations of population may have ranked very highly on a national scale, yet Liverpool and Prescott within the four south-west Lancashire parishes were the most likely locations for merchants to live and trade.

TABLE XXIX: MERCHANTS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.⁽²⁾

<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Draper</u>	<u>Grocer</u>	<u>Mercer</u>	<u>Merchant Tailor</u>	<u>Pedlar/ Chapman</u>	<u>Total</u>
106	6	1	15	2	4	134

At Prescott just twelve men are known to have traded as merchants during the period 1550-1600: maybe five or six at any one time.⁽³⁾ In rural areas in the four parishes three individual merchants are known, one in Bold township, one in Cuerdley township and one in West Derby township. However, in Liverpool during this same period one hundred and fourteen men found their livelihood as some type of merchant: perhaps fifty - fifty-five at any one time.⁽⁴⁾ This classification has been taken to include some elements of specialization, although this existed to only a very restricted extent.⁽⁵⁾

The concentration of mercers was at Prescott, where nine of the

(1) Raines, History of the Chantries of Lancashire, p. 79.
Pres. Recs., p. 300.
Pres. Recs. at Cambridge, IV 24 (3).
See p. 39.

(2) See Appendix XXIV.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

twelve merchants were so described. Clearly in Liverpool most merchants were more generally involved in trade and specialization of name rarely used. Many Liverpool merchants were in fact ship owners, part owners or ship masters.⁽¹⁾ However, a measure of the small scale operations of many of these individuals is found in the use by the town of a common warehouse. In 1572 the town's Assembly agreed to rent the old chapel (St. Mary del Key) as "the townes new warehouse", although little permanent came of this proposed use and by 1584 Robert More was renting it for thirteen shillings and four pence a year.⁽²⁾ Likewise the possibility of negotiating 'town bargains' of particular commodities on behalf of citizens testifies to relatively small scale operations.⁽³⁾

During the sixteenth century merchant families may have survived often only two or three generations, for instance in Exeter and at Worcester where families lasted rarely more than three generations on the town's council.⁽⁴⁾ In the late medieval period in the north of England, in fact, few merchant families survived one or two generations through frequent division of estates and poor survival in the male line.⁽⁵⁾ Even by the later sixteenth century in Winchester office-holding dynasties were usually of no more than two

(1) See p.p. 353-356.

(2) L.T.B. II p. 64 and p. 483.

(3) L.T.B. I p. 172 and p. 182.

(4) W. G. Hoskins, 'The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter' in ed. S. T. Bindoff, Elizabethan Government and Society, London 1961, p. 168.
A. D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century, Leicester 1973, p.p. 185-6, p. 226.

(5) J. I. Kermode, "The Merchants of Three Northern English Towns" in ed. C. H. Clough, Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England, Liverpool 1982, p. 16.

generations.⁽¹⁾ At Prescot there is some evidence of two and three generation families of merchants - the Bower, Lyme and Taylor families, and in Liverpool certainly two and three generation mercantile operations were in existence - the Abraham, Bailey, Bannester, Barker, Bolton, Chambers, Crosse, Johnson, Lawrence, Mather, More, Rainford, Secum, Sekerston, Walker and Winstanley families.⁽²⁾ But two generations of merchants were much more common than three, and the great majority of even quite successful merchants failed to provide for family continuity - for instance George Ashton, Thomas Bastwell, Thomas Bavand, John Bird, Alexander Garnet, Robert Wytter.⁽³⁾ Perhaps just, if not more, common than father and son operations were commercial transactions by brothers such as in the Bannester, Bird, Crosse, More, Secum and Walker families.⁽⁴⁾

Migration into towns and cities was important in the sixteenth century to replace population lost through plague and other diseases and, therefore, often quite liberal attitudes towards apprenticeship and admissions to freedom prevailed. During the late century over seventy per cent of apprentices in Northampton were immigrants, at Oxford over seventy per cent of apprentices came from more than five miles away, and at Cambridge over eighty per cent of witnesses in

(1) A. B. Rosen, "Economic and Social Aspects of the History of Winchester, 1520-1670," Oxford D.Phil., 1975, p. vi.

(2) See Appendix XXIV.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

University and Consistory courts were not born in the town.⁽¹⁾ A similar scale of migration was evident in London where during a similar period most city rulers were not native Londoners.⁽²⁾ Indeed during the sixteenth century the majority of Winchester's population was born elsewhere - about half in the county of Hampshire and a further twenty-nine per cent in more distant places.⁽³⁾

In south-west Lancashire there was probably not such widespread migration into the area as economic opportunities were relatively restricted, but some apprentices did come from outside the area and some merchants certainly moved into Liverpool to operate.⁽⁴⁾ William Crook and Robert Wytter were from Frodsham, Miles Fells from Bidston, Peter Starkey from Great Budworth - all in Cheshire; Richard Hitchmough was from Widnes and Thomas Bastwell from Upholland - in south Lancashire.⁽⁵⁾ John Mainwaring was probably a member of one of the leading families in Nantwich.⁽⁶⁾ Thomas Bavand was the son and brother of significant Chester merchants.⁽⁷⁾ John Crosse, described in 1562 as 'esquire' of Chorley and Liverpool,

- (1) M. Siraut, "Physical Mobility in Elizabethan Cambridge" in L.P.S., No. 27, 1981, p.p. 65-70.
- (2) F. F. Foster, "Politics and Community in Elizabethan London" in ed. F. C. Jaher, The Rich, the Wellborn and the Powerful, Urbana, Chicago 1973, p. 110 and p. 126.
- (3) Rosen, "Economic and Social Aspects of Winchester", p. 138.
- (4) See p.p. 434-442.
- (5) See Appendix XXIV.
- (6) Ibid. and E. Garton, Tudor Nantwich, Chester 1983, p. 11 and p.p. 77-78.
- (7) See Appendix XXIV.

had bought land in Liverpool, Fazakerley and Walton the previous year from William Chorley of Chorley, and apparently moved to Liverpool to become seriously involved in commercial ventures.⁽¹⁾ Only Richard Hodgson who settled in Liverpool during the 1570 s is described as a "northern merchant".⁽²⁾ A few individuals also came to Liverpool because of their official appointments such as Richard Andleser who became Searcher in 1563 and remained in the vicinity until 1597, and Thomas Wickstead who was appointed Chester's deputy Customer in 1573 and predominantly functioned from Liverpool.⁽³⁾ By 1581 he was part-owner of a ship, a merchant and factor for several other merchants with six or seven warehouses. In 1592 he had lately removed from the town.⁽⁴⁾

By the Elizabethan period the actual subsidy rolls provide no real guide to a person's wealth, but they can be used for their indication of those wealthy enough to pay at all and for comparisons.⁽⁵⁾ At Norwich the pyramidal social structure is demonstrated by the 1525 subsidy assessments; two and a half per cent of contributors owned forty per cent of the city's wealth. These twenty-nine men were individually all assessed at more than one hundred pounds. Below them were a middle group of fifty-two men assessed between forty and ninety-nine pounds. Altogether in

(1) Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 249.
L.R.O., DDSH No. 190.
See p. 163.

(2) L.T.B. II p. 172.

(3) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XIV A 2, Vol. XLI A 11, Vol. XXXVI M 5.
L.T.B. II, p. 97.

(4) Ibid., p. 625.

(5) See p. 122.
See Table XXX.

TABLE XXX: LIVERPOOL SUBSIDY ASSESSMENTS 1563-1599.

<u>1563</u>		<u>1572</u>		<u>1581</u>		<u>1581</u>		<u>1593</u>		<u>1599</u>	
John Crosse	land £3	John Crosse	land £4	John Crosse	land £4	John Crosse	land £4	John Crosse	land £4	John Crosse	land £4
Thomas Secum	land £2	Thomas Secum	land £2	Thomas Secum	land £2	Thomas Secum	land £2	Ralph Secum	land £2	Ralph Secum	land £2
Robert Corbet	goods £7	Robert Corbet	goods £6								
Alexander Garnet	goods £7										
Ralph Sekerston	goods £8	Ralph Sekerston	goods £6								
		William Secum	goods £3	William Secum	goods £6	William Secum	goods £6				
		Ralph Burscough	goods £5	Ralph Burscough	goods £5	Ralph Burscough	goods £5				
				John Mainwaring	goods £5	John Mainwaring	goods £5				
				Robert More	goods £4	Robert More	goods £4	Robert More	goods £4	Robert More	goods £4
						John Bird	goods £5	John Bird	goods £5	John Bird	goods £5
						Thomas Wickstead	goods £4				
								Richard Hodgson	goods £6		
								William Colborne	goods £5		
										Wm. Dixon	goods £6
										Giles Brooke	goods £5
P.R.O. E.179/131/211		<u>L.T.B. II</u> p.p. 815-816		P.R.O. E.179/131/234		<u>L.T.B. II</u> p.p. 816-817		B.L. Add.Ch. 53074		P.R.O. E.179/131/272	

Norwich probably six per cent of the population owned sixty per cent of land and goods.⁽¹⁾ Throughout the period the Liverpool assessments were headed by the Crosse family, although their mercantile contribution and classification is imprecise. At times they were involved in trading ventures, but the family was a particular case of gentry/merchant combined interest.⁽²⁾ The only freeholder in the town in addition to the Crosse family was the Secum family which did provide active merchants.⁽³⁾ Otherwise a very small number of Liverpool merchants were assessed for subsidy contributions at very low levels. (For comparison, in Norwich in 1576 five men were assessed at over thirty pounds each and altogether nine hundred and seventy-five men at over three pounds each.)⁽⁴⁾ The relative poverty of Liverpool merchants was evident in 1588 when those able to loan money to the Queen were listed - only John Crosse was mentioned, but there is no record of his contribution.⁽⁵⁾

However, the dominant financial situation of this small group of subsidy contributors was clear in local taxation lists which survive, and these do allow for greater comparison with the still less wealthy merchants of the town.⁽⁶⁾ In the main little differentiated the wealth of the majority of the merchant class after the leading six or seven men. On a national scale they were all relatively poor. There were no merchants like those in York - possibly the sixth

(1) J. F. Pound, "The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich 1525-1575" in Past and Present, No. 34, 1966, p. 50.
See Table XXIX.

(2) See p.163 and p. 325.

(3) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2042 f.193.

(4) Pound, "Social and Trade Structure of Norwich," p. 53.

(5) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2219 f.14v and f.21.

(6) See Table XXXI.

TABLE XXXI: LIVERPOOL TAXATION ASSESSMENTS 1565-1594.

1565 Assessment for Repairs to Walton Church	1581 Subsidy	1592 Subsidy	1594 Subsidy
(M)John Crosse 2/-	(M)John Crosse 2/8	(M)John Crosse 3/-	(M)John Crosse 4/8
(M)Robert Corbet 2/-	(M)Thomas Bavand 2/-	(M)John Bird 2/10	(M)John Bird 4/8
(M)Alexander Garnet 1/6	(M)William Secum 2/-	(M)Ralph Secum 2/6	(M)Ralph Secum 3/4
(M)Thomas Secum 1/8	(M)Ralph Burscough 1/8	(M)Thomas Wickstead 2/4	(M)Robert More 3/-
(M)Ralph Sekerston 1/8	(M)Robert More 1/8	(M)Robert More 1/8	(M)Giles Brooke 2/8
Henry Bedford 1/4	(M)Thomas Secum 1/8	(M)William Secum 1/8	Edmund Rose 2/8
Ms Fairclough widow 1/4	Ms Anne More 1/8	(M)Giles Brooke 1/6	(M)Richard Hodgson 2/8
(M)Richard Andleser 1/4	(M)John Bird 1/4	Edmund Rose 1/6	Robert Berry 2/6
(M)Thomas Bavand 1/-	(M)John Mainwaring 1/4	(M)Richard Hodgson 1/2	William Dixon 2/-
(M)Thomas Rowe 1/-	(M)Edward Nicholson 1/4	Robert Berry 1/-	(M)William Colborne 1/8
(M)William Secum 1/-	(M)Thomas Wickstead 1/-	Thomas Gardener 1/-	(M)William Secum 1/6
(M)Thomas More 1/-	(M)Thomas Bolton 10d	(M)William Colborne 1/-	(M)Richard Bird 1/6
Ralph Jamison 10d	(M)Thomas Walker 10d	(M)Richard Bailey 10d	Thomas Gardener 1/6
(M)Ralph Burscough 10d		(M)Gilbert Formby 10d	(M)Gilbert Formby 1/4
Humphrey Webster 10d	etc.	John Gifford 10d	John Gifford 1/4
Thomas Inglefield 10d		(M)Edward Nicholson 10d	Thomas Rose 1/4
(M)Thomas Uttyn 10d		Evan Richardson 10d	(M)widow Richard Bailey 1/2
etc.		Margery Smith widow 10d	Margery Smith widow 1/2
		John Wakefield 10d	Roger Rose 1/-
		etc.	(M)Cuthbert Lawrence 1/-
			(M)Thomas Bolton 1/-
			Evan Richardson 1/-
			John Sandford 1/-
			(M)Edward Nicholson 1/-
			(M)Thomas Tarleton 1/-
			Robert Ball 10d
			(M)Henry Moneley 10d
			(M)Robert Blundell 10d
			(M)William Towers 10d
			(M)Thomas Bannester 10d
			(M)widow Thomas Knype 10d
			etc.

(M) = Known to be a merchant (See Appendix XXIV).

largest city in England - where a Company of Merchant Adventurers controlled all imported goods and where some merchants belonged to national companies such as the Muscovy and Eastland.⁽¹⁾

The nature and extent of Liverpool's trade was such that it scarcely provided considerable opportunity for acquiring significant wealth.⁽²⁾ The average merchant estates in both Exeter and Bristol could be more than nineteen hundred pounds.⁽³⁾ Many of the aldermanic class in Norwich during this period were keen to invest in land within a few miles of the city where they purchased rectories, tenements, pastures and mills.⁽⁴⁾ In 1585 a York alderman and draper died leaving debts of seventeen thousand pounds to four London merchant tailors, and even a Nantwich mercer left lands and leases worth over eighteen thousand pounds and shop goods of three hundred pounds in 1594.⁽⁵⁾ This type of wealth, however, was found only in larger towns and in particular economic circumstances. In Manchester only the Mosley family used their wealth to acquire landed estates, and restricted trade failed to produce in Chester very wealthy merchants.⁽⁶⁾ In Liverpool evidence is limited, but merchant probate inventories do not even reach the valuations recorded in Chester.⁽⁷⁾

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- (1) D. M. Palliser, "York under the Tudors: The Trading Life of the Northern Capital" in ed. A. Everitt, Perspectives in English Urban History, London 1973, p. 40.
- (2) See p.p. 357-412.
- (3) Hoskins, "The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter", p. 172.
- (4) J. F. Pound, "Government and Society in Tudor and Stuart Norwich 1525-1675", Ph.D., University of Leicester, 1974, p.p. 140-141.
- (5) Palliser, "York under the Tudors", p. 52.
Garton, Tudor Nantwich, p.p. 58-60.
- (6) T. Willan, Elizabethan Manchester in Chet. Soc., 3rd Series, Vol. XXVII, 1980, p. 30.
Woodward, Trade of Elizabethan Chester, p. 124 and p. 135.
- (7) See Table XXXII.

TABLE XXXII: PROBATE INVENTORIES OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE MERCHANTS 1550-1600.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Household Goods</u>	<u>Farm Goods</u>	<u>Trade Goods</u>	<u>Money</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Debts</u>
Robert Hitchmough Bold d.1598	37-13-4	73-17-6	4-1-8 (in the shop 46 ells of canvas, 23 ells of hemp, 20 yards of flaxen twill)	-	115-18-6	-
Richard Hitchmough Liverpool d.1574	21-12-6	1-6-5	40-10-0	-	63-8-10	8-0-0 owing to him
Richard Wolfall Liverpool d.1578	1-12-6	6-8	-	-	2-19-2	16-3 he owes to others 7-16-11 owing to him by 17 individuals - 3 for lent money, 1 for cow hire, 5 for cheese, 5 for cloth and 3 unspecified
Thomas Bavand Liverpool d.1588	105-14-7	16-16-2	24-6-10 (including 2 cables, ropes, 3 anchors, 1 sail, nets, 4 bales of hops, 17 windles of malt, bag of madder, bag of rice, 17 pails)	-	146-17-7	40-0-0 owing to him by Humphrey Brooke, Liverpool merchant
Richard Bird Liverpool d.1595	19-4-0	3-4	19-0-8 (including 5 barrels British salt, 34 yards Irish linen cloth, 27 table napkins, pitch, 16 windles malt, 4 gross playing cards, chain and sail)	15-0-0	53-8-0	-

Thomas Bolton Liverpool d.1597	22-13-1	4-16-0	4-10-0 (including a sail, 6 ells of hemp, 8 ells of canvas, 12 black hats, 12 children's hats, 60 undressed hats, hat blocks, etc., shop shelves)	-	31-19-1	144-2-0 owing to him
William Secum Liverpool d.1593	27-4-2	18-13-6 (includ- ing cows, 1 horse, pig, barley, plough, etc. and bed for ploughman)	57-19-11 (including in the shop - 49 felts, 4 hats, grey and black frieze, black, blue and green cotton, penistone, broadcloth, flannel, Kentish cloth, bays, kersey, Milan fustian, holmes, velure, tufted taffeta, grograine, oylett, buffen, worsted, canvas, buckram, sackcloth, silk rash, Durante, chaulet, silk, silk lace, thread, garters, gloves, buttons, girdles, 4 pairs of spectacles, 6 lbs. of pepper and 6 ounces of cloves. Most expensive item - 11 yards of Kentish cloth 4-8-0 Most expensive cloth - tufted taffeta 6/8 yard	1-10-0	105-7-7	-

It is unlikely that any Liverpool merchants had the level of wealth to approach the living standards in London and even other southern cities. In Exeter "the merchants lived in considerable ease, relieved by frequent touches of extravagance", and by the end of the century had plaster ceilings, wainscoted walls, some tapestries and a few pictures.⁽¹⁾ Even in Worcester there was a boom in building during the Elizabethan period.⁽²⁾ However, in Chester there is little evidence of this 'Great Rebuilding'; totally planned new houses were very rare and usually only slow renewal and/or extension took place facilitated by timber framed methods of construction.⁽³⁾

The total values of the Liverpool merchant inventories do not suggest luxury at all, although some must have afforded a measure of comfort.⁽⁴⁾ Thomas Bavand's inventory of 1588 listed all the wainscot and glass both in the parlour and all other chambers about the house at a value of eight pounds, although Thomas Bolton's inventory in 1597 recorded thirty-eight feet of glass throughout the house valued at only fifteen shillings.⁽⁵⁾ Richard Hitchmough, however, in 1574 had only laths of wood in his windows worth just

- (1) D. Portman, Exeter Houses 1400-1700, Exeter 1966, p. 39.
- (2) ed. A. D. Dyer, "Probate Inventories of Worcester Tradesmen 1545-1614" in Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series, Vol. 5, 1967, p. 3.
- (3) N. Alldridge, "House and Household in Seventeen Century Chester", lecture given to Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in March 1982.
- (4) See Table XXXII.
- (5) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Bavand, Liverpool 1588 and Will of Thomas Bolton, Liverpool 1597.

eight pence.⁽¹⁾ Inside their houses few merchants had items of individual value - William Secum had two playing tables, two pictures and a looking glass - scarcely luxury! Only Thomas Bavand had a large proportion of his wealth invested in household goods including twenty-seven beds. He had also nineteen banqueting dishes, twenty silver spoons, five gilt bowls, two double gilt drinking bowls, one double gilt drinking cup and one double gilt salt.⁽²⁾ In comparison the other merchants had nowhere near this amount of possessions and only small items of plate - William Secum had silver worth nine pounds, Thomas Bolton had twelve ounces of silver worth three pounds, Robert Hitchmough had seven silver spoons valued at twenty-three shillings and four pence and Richard Bird had three gold and two silver rings.⁽³⁾

For all the Liverpool merchants farm goods were of little importance; none of them had any agricultural equipment but they did have a few animals. Richard Hitchmough had pigs and geese, Richard Bird just poultry, Robert Wolfall an old horse, Thomas Bolton one horse and two cows, and Thomas Bavand four horses, an ox, three cows, pigs and hens.⁽⁴⁾ Their wealth clearly lay in their trade goods and

- (1) L.R.O., Inventory of Richard Hitchmough, Liverpool 1574.
- (2) L.R.O., Inventory of Thomas Bavand, Liverpool 1588.
- (3) L.R.O., Inventory of William Secum, Liverpool 1593, Inventory of Thomas Bolton, Liverpool 1597, Inventory of Robert Hitchmough, Bold 1598, Inventory of Richard Bird, Liverpool 1595.
- (4) Ibid., and Will of Richard Hitchmough, Liverpool 1574, Inventory of Robert Wolfall, Liverpool 1578.

equipment. Only the merchant living in rural circumstances, Robert Hitchmough of Bold, had a substantial agricultural investment in his oxen, horses, cattle, pigs, poultry, wheat, oats, barley, beans, vetches, hay and tools.⁽¹⁾ For him the cloth trade was a subsidiary activity producing attractive alternative income.

W. G. Hoskins has written of the "revolution in the housing of a considerable part of the population" beginning in the 1560 s and becoming conspicuous by the end of the sixteenth century in terms of physical rebuilding, modernization of existing premises and refurbishing of houses with better and more extensive furniture and equipment.⁽²⁾ This assertion, however, is modified by the claim that in the North this rebuilding was not as extensive and delayed somewhat in implementation.⁽³⁾ Certainly enlargement and refurbishment would both have required money and motivation, and the merchant class should have had the opportunity for both. They had the chance to know of building work in London and other towns, and a measure of wealth to enable them to emulate what they had seen. It has been claimed that in towns unit houses were most common with narrow street frontages so that expansion behind onto the burgage plot and sideways into two, three or four units was most usual.⁽⁴⁾

(1) L.R.O., Inventory of Robert Hitchmough, Bold 1598.

(2) Hoskins, "Rebuilding of Rural England", p. 131.

(3) Ibid., p. 138.

(4) J. Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830, Harmondsworth 1953, p.p. 50-51.

In Liverpool evidence for merchant building activity is sparse and suggestive of little concerted substantial interest.

Residential patterns in pre-industrial cities are the subject of continuing debate as to whether the rich and powerful dominated the city centres or whether guild and occupational structures created their own patterns and zones. Certainly by the seventeenth century cities such as Newcastle and Exeter had peak residential areas.⁽¹⁾ In addition, changing patterns were possible because of building activity as in Worcester where by the 1570 s construction was on a significant scale.⁽²⁾ In Winchester, however, there was no population pressure to increase housing demand and so building was undertaken only by the wealthy for owner occupation.⁽³⁾ Precise details of building, structure, ownership and occupation are not easy to ascertain, for instance in Manchester where many individuals both owned and leased property and where valuations are almost impossible to discover.⁽⁴⁾

According to the various assessment rates and subsidy collections there is little indication of substantial growth in

- (1) J. Langton, "Residential Patterns in pre-industrial cities: some case structures from 17th century Britain" in Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers", No. 65, 1975, p.p. 1-8.
- (2) Dyer, City of Worcester, p. 163.
- (3) Rosen, "Economic and Social Aspects of Winchester", p. 127.
- (4) Willan, Elizabethan Manchester, p.p. 33-35.

Liverpool through the development of additional streets or housing.⁽¹⁾

TABLE XXXIII: NUMBERS OF CONTRIBUTORS TO LIVERPOOL TAXATION.⁽²⁾

	<u>1565 Ley for Walton Church</u>	<u>1566 Ley for Schoolmaster's Salary</u>	<u>1581 Subsidy Contributions</u>	<u>1581 Ley for Spanish Company</u>
Dale Street	56	53	60	68
Water Street	37	32	39	39
Castle Street	35	34	42	42
Milne Street	10	8	12	12
Chapel Street	17	7	16	19
Juggler Street	20	15	} 34	34
More Street	10	13		
Total	185	162	203	214

It is possible that these local taxation rolls are incomplete as not all inhabitants were required to pay, but the 1565 list does include forty-one contributors at only one penny each.⁽³⁾ It is hard to imagine that in a town of Liverpool's size there was a significant level of deliberate evasion; only those too poor to meet assessment levels must have been exempted. This seems likely in 1566, for instance, in Chapel Street. In 1565 eighty-two per cent of this street was assessed at three pence or less, whereas only fifty-five per cent of Dale Street was and thirty per cent of Water Street. Unfortunately no assessment is available at the end of the century

(1) See Table XXXIII and Map XV.

(2) L.T.B. I, p.p. 436-445.
L.T.B. II, p.p. 820-822, 826-829.

(3) L.T.B. I, p.p. 436-440.

with contributions at such a low level.

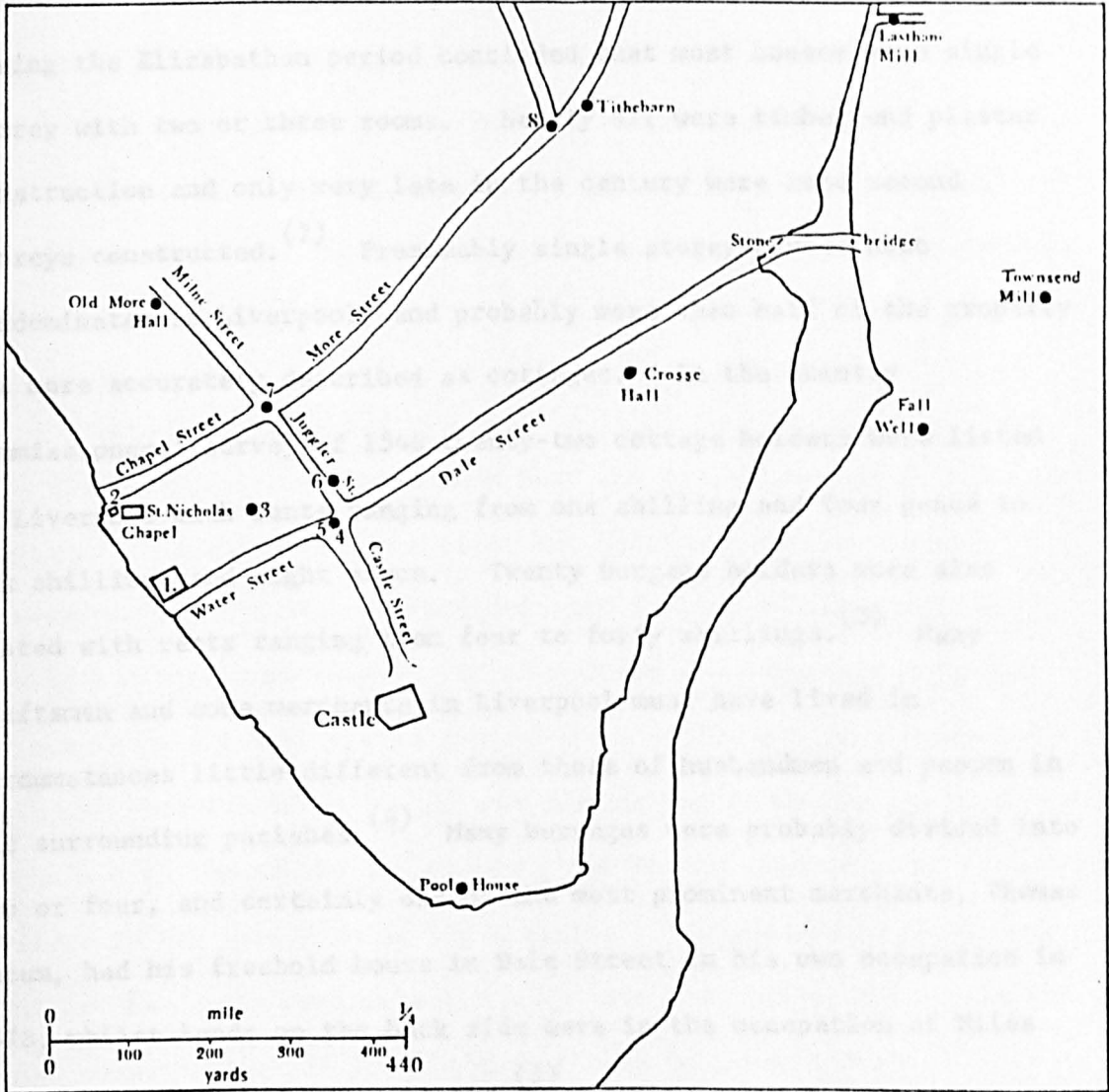
Amongst these assessment rolls it is clear that Chapel Street, More Street, Milne Street and Juggler Street had less substantial properties where assessment rates were often below average. In Castle Street and Dale Street there were some contributors paying less than average, but there were also some wealthier contributors, for example in 1566 Richard Andleser, William Secum and Thomas Inglefield in Castle Street and John Crosse, Thomas Secum and Ralph Jamison in Dale Street.⁽¹⁾ Water Street, however, appears to be the street with more prosperous and higher rated housing. In 1565 seven individuals (Robert Corbet, Ralph Sekerston, Alexander Garnet, Henry Bedford, Thomas Bavand, Thomas Rose and widow Fairclough) all paid one shilling or more towards repairs at Walton church; only two people did so in Dale Street, two more in Castle Street, and one in Milne Street (John Crosse, Thomas Secum, Richard Andleser, William Secum and Thomas More).⁽²⁾ This pattern changes little during the latter part of the sixteenth century, for instance in the 1581 subsidy assessment and in the 1594 subsidy contributions.⁽³⁾ In 1594 three men paid more than one shilling in Juggler and Chapel Streets, four in Dale Street and four in Castle Street, but fifteen people altogether paid more than one shilling in Water Street.

Just as there is little evidence of expansion in Liverpool's

(1) Ibid., p.p. 441-445.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 436-440.

(3) L.T.B. II, p.p. 820-822 and p.p. 824-826.



Based on ed. S. Nicholson, *The Changing Face of Liverpool 1297-1727* (Liverpool 1981)

KEY

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Tower of Earl of Derby | 5. Stocks |
| 2. St. Mary del Key Chapel | 6. Common Hall |
| 3. Granary | 7. White Cross |
| 4. High Cross | 8. St. Patrick's Cross |

MAP XV: LIVERPOOL DURING THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH I.

housing, there is also little evidence of rebuilding although it may have been taking place on a modest scale. There is just an isolated reference in 1575 to Ralph Burscough, merchant, building a "new hall" in Dale Street.⁽¹⁾ A survey of probate inventories from Leicester during the Elizabethan period concluded that most houses were single storey with two or three rooms. Nearly all were timber and plaster construction and only very late in the century were some second storeys constructed.⁽²⁾ Presumably single storey houses also predominated in Liverpool, and probably more than half of the property was more accurately described as cottages. In the Chantry Commissioners' survey of 1548 twenty-two cottage holders were listed in Liverpool with rents ranging from one shilling and four pence to six shillings and eight pence. Twenty burgage holders were also listed with rents ranging from four to forty shillings.⁽³⁾ Many craftsmen and some merchants in Liverpool must have lived in circumstances little different from those of husbandmen and yeomen in the surrounding parishes.⁽⁴⁾ Many burgages were probably divided into two or four, and certainly one of the most prominent merchants, Thomas Secum, had his freehold house in Dale Street in his own occupation in 1578, whilst lands on the back side were in the occupation of Miles Liptrotte - probably in a cottage.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid., p. 218.

(2) Hoskins, Provincial England, p.p. 102-106.

(3) Raines, History of the Chantries, p.p. 84-89.

(4) See Chapter IV.

(5) L.R.O., DDSH No. 202.

Wealth and evident growth and building expansion in Liverpool were severely limited. Merchants dominated the tax assessments of the town, but were not able to accrue lavish and substantial possessions nor indulge in considerable rebuilding of their property.⁽¹⁾ By any national standards the merchants of south-west Lancashire were 'poor', and by the end of the sixteenth century there were few real signs of improvement. This situation reflects the trading potential of the whole area and the restricted opportunities available to merchants.

b) Institutions of Trade.

In Liverpool there must have been the largest market in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire, but there was little specific provision for it - streets were designated for particular produce. Butter and eggs were sold at the High Cross and perennial attempts were made to prevent forestalling of such easily portable produce - without great success.⁽²⁾ The corn market was in Castle and Dale Streets with Lancashire sellers confined to the east side and Cheshire dealers to the west side of the streets.⁽³⁾ There was an attempt to confine the cattle market to the area near the castle, but it did not prove easy to restrict animals from access to other streets.⁽⁴⁾ Local interest was protected through the regulation that 'foreigners' could not buy until one hour after the market bell had been rung.⁽⁵⁾

Although there were few physical provisions for a market,

(1) See Table XXXI.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 108, L.T.B. II, p. 463, p. 568, p. 605, p. 652, p. 673.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 277.
See Map XV.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 350, L.T.B. II, p. 352.

(5) L.T.B. I, p. 278.

considerable interest was shown in regulating market activities. As in many parts of England intermittent attempts were made to enforce standard measures. In 1560 the town's Assembly specified that wool, flax, tallow and hemp was to be sold at eighteen pounds to the stone weight, and that the town would provide a banded barrel, a banded windle, a brasen yard and a beam and scales as standards.⁽¹⁾ Whether for these commodities transactions proceeded smoothly is not known, but only a few years later corn sales caused disputes and three attempts had to be made, in 1563, 1565 and 1566, to enforce the use of a standard windle of fifty-six quarts which was to be fastened with a lock to a bench in the hall.⁽²⁾ Intermittently interest in weights and measures continued, and 'leavelooker' officials were required to check brass, iron, lead and stone weights at sixteen ounces to the pound weight and that all yards, ells and sticks were measured against the iron standard.⁽³⁾ This did not, however, prevent William Pendleton buying with a "greate" measure and selling by "smale" measure in 1579.⁽⁴⁾ As late as 1582 disputes over websters' weights were resolved at sixteen ounces to a pound and nineteen pounds to a stone weight.⁽⁵⁾ Even water could cause

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 148.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 200, p. 276 and p. 305.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 222.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 307.

(5) L.T.B. II, p. 409.

problems, and in 1590 a new half-windle measure for water on ships was acquired and was to be included with the other measures taken on Saturdays by the 'leavelookers' to test with all other market weights and measures.⁽¹⁾

At both Prescot and Liverpool markets, stall or booths were used by some traders in the absence of any covered market facility. Probably not all traders availed themselves of stalls, but in Liverpool at least it was customary to appoint annually a 'setter of fleshboards' to superintend the placing and clearance of butchers' stalls, and from 1589 two town officers for 'booths' were appointed.⁽²⁾

In addition to market stalls, the presence of shops as retail outlets is the subject of some conjecture in the sixteenth century. They may have been operated by craftsmen as a part-time activity when stock had accumulated.⁽³⁾ This type of stock was common in Lincolnshire during both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁽⁴⁾ More genuine shopkeepers, however, depended solely on the retail sale of goods which they themselves did not produce. In Liverpool there

(1) L.T.B. II, p.p. 558-559.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 89 and p. 239.
L.T.B. II, p. 550 and p. 648.

(3) Willan, Inland Trade, p. 56.

(4) L. B. and M. W. Barley, "Lincolnshire Shopkeepers in the 16th and 17th Centuries", in The Lincolnshire Historian, Vol. 2, No. 9, 1962, p. 7.

is no substantial indication that craftsmen regularly operated shops, but there is some suggestion that a few specialised shops had appeared. Alexander Garnet had a draper's shop by 1564 and James Berry, not a freeman, was presented in 1567 for "openyng his shoppe and retaylyng his wares".⁽¹⁾ Robert Hitchmough who died in 1584 had certainly been operating a mercer's shop for some years.⁽²⁾ In all likelihood a small number of this type of shop operated during the second half of the sixteenth century. One intriguing comment refers to Jane Aspendine, a spinster, who had been keeping a shop in 1589 although not a freeman - the only reference to female involvement in retailing.⁽³⁾

At Prescot the term 'shop' was much more frequently used and it is possible to gather some details about it. The shops were usually sited in the market place such as that of the mercer John Bower which was on the south side of the churchyard by the style.⁽⁴⁾ One beside the court house belonged to Thomas Eccleston Esquire in 1555 and there were even shops under this court house. These shops were part of the perquisites of the manor, so Nicholas Tildesley had to obtain a grant from King's College to build a new shop at the east end of the church

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XIX G 1.
L.T.B. I, p. 346.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. LXXXIX H 13.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 560.

(4) Pres. Recs., p. 110.

(5) Ibid., p. 128, p. 304.

in 1575.⁽¹⁾ A letter of 1586 to the Provost of the College suggests that some shops were being concealed from the manor's deputy steward.⁽²⁾ These shops were undoubtedly often sublet; Edward Birchall let the shop in his burgage to Edward Wainwright in 1553, and Robert Worseley sublet his quarter of a shop to a tanner.⁽³⁾ Normally, however, these assets were inherited by next of kin such as Edward Wainwright's son Robert in 1571 and Thurstan Fairhurst's daughter Alice in 1558.⁽⁴⁾ Some shops were also taken by individuals not resident in Prescot town, for instance the tanner from Windle or the Halewood yeoman who acquired Alice Fairhurst's shop. A butcher from Whiston had a shop on the south side of the court house, and in 1578 Henry Blundell from Bold took over Robert Wainwright's shop.⁽⁵⁾ The geographical extent of these arrangements provides a further indication of the dominant influence of Prescot's market.⁽⁶⁾

Some details survive to explain the type of property these shops were. They were usually called 'shops' but the term 'booths' was also used and in 1575 one was referred to as a shop or 'stall'.⁽⁷⁾ The new shop built for Nicholas Tildesley was to be five yards by two and a half yards in extent, whilst the 1592 survey recorded Henry Eccleston's shop beside the court house as four yards by two yards.

(1) Ibid., p. 291.

(2) Ibid., p. 303.

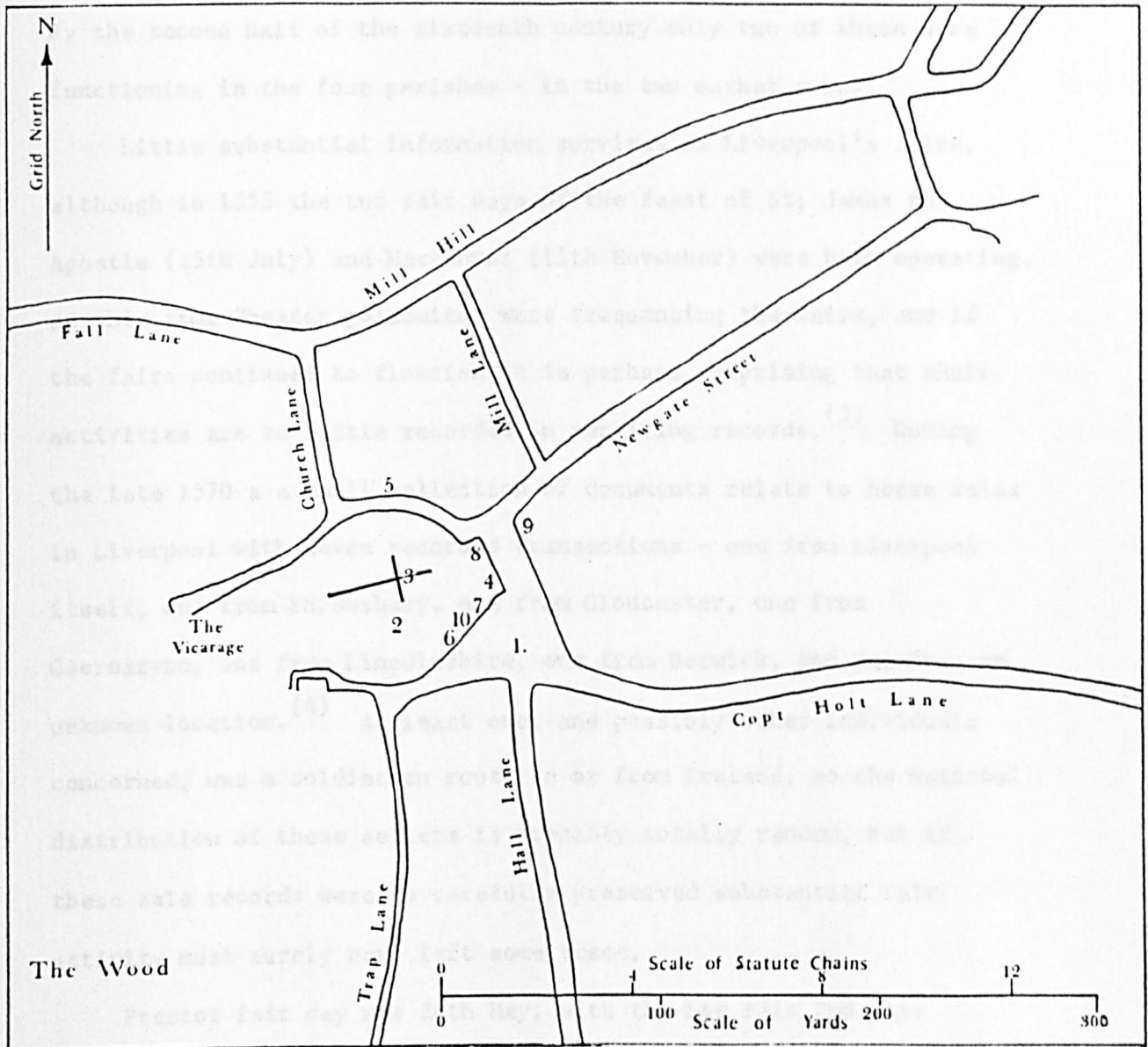
(3) Ibid., p. 123, p. 131 and p. 142.

(4) Ibid., p. 141, p. 178.

(5) Ibid., p. 131, p. 141, p. 154, p. 158, p. 203.

(6) See p. 399.

(7) Pres. Recs., p. 131, p. 203.



Based on Reconstruction in 1917 by J. A. Bailey
of 1592 Prescott Survey see - Prescott Records
edited J. Knowles (Knowlesley 1916)

KEY

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. Market Place | 6. Shop of Thomas Potter 1592 |
| 2. Churchyard | 7. Shop of Henry Blundell of Bold 1578 |
| 3. Church | 8. Shop of Henry Eccleston Esquire 1592 |
| 4. Courthouse | 9. Shop of Thomas Tarleton of Halewood |
| 5. School | 10. Shop built 1575 by Nicholas Tildesley |

MAP XVI: PRESCOT DURING THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH I.

south of the county fairs were recorded at Ormskirk, Wigan, Newton, Warrington, Farnworth, Prescot, Roby, Tarbock, Hale and Liverpool - their foundations dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁽¹⁾ By the second half of the sixteenth century only two of these were functioning in the four parishes - in the two market towns.

Little substantial information survives of Liverpool's fairs, although in 1555 the two fair days of the feast of St. James the Apostle (25th July) and Martinmas (11th November) were both operating. At this time Chester goldsmiths were frequenting the fairs, and if the fairs continued to flourish it is perhaps surprising that their activities are so little recorded in surviving records.⁽³⁾ During the late 1570 s a small collection of documents relate to horse sales in Liverpool with seven recorded transactions - one from Liverpool itself, one from Shrewsbury, one from Gloucester, one from Caernarvon, one from Lincolnshire, one from Berwick, and one from an unknown location.⁽⁴⁾ At least one, and possibly other individuals concerned, was a soldier en route to or from Ireland, so the national distribution of these sellers is probably totally random, but if these sale records were so carefully preserved substantial fair activity must surely have left some trace.

Prescot fair day was 24th May, with the Lee fair two days later.⁽⁵⁾ At both animals were of some significance, and in 1597

- (1) G. H. Tupling, "The Origin of Markets and Fairs in Medieval Lancashire" in T.L.C.A.S., Vol. XLIX, 1933, p.p. 75-94.
- (2) L.T.B. I, p. 47, p. 74.
- (3) L.T.B. I, p. 74. One fair is briefly mentioned in the Town Books in 1590 s - see L.T.B. II, p. 691.
- (4) L.T.B. II, p.p. 1007-1010.
- (5) Pres. Recs., p.p. 267-268.

seventeen oxen, two twinters, fifty beasts, one black cow, two mares and one nag were specifically referred to.⁽¹⁾ On this same occasion dealers were mentioned from Brereton and Great Budworth in Cheshire, from Brindle, Wigan, Much Hoole, Bootle, Fazakerley and Bold in Lancashire, from Yorkshire, and intriguingly Nicholas Fazakerley bought a mare from one Arthur Ladicke of Westham, Essex.⁽²⁾ Certainly for fair days two toll collectors were appointed for each street in Prescot - Houlte, Eccleston, Mylne Hill, Worsley and Knowsley Streets.⁽³⁾ Such activities as are recorded suggest a traditional agricultural fair was still functioning at Prescot in the late sixteenth century with a bias towards livestock transactions reflecting the farming interests of the area.⁽⁴⁾

Fair days could be used as debt paying dates and venues, as was Prescot fair by Henry Webster, a yeoman from Eccleston township.⁽⁵⁾ Two other wills from the four parishes indicate that fairs further afield were patronised by individuals from the area and debts were to be settled on Wigan fair day and Bolton fair day.⁽⁶⁾ During the latter part of the sixteenth century Prescot, and probably Liverpool, fair continued to have a local agricultural significance, but appears to have had restricted impact much beyond south-west Lancashire.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) ed. J. Knowles, Prescot Records: The Court Rolls 1602-1648, Knowsley 1980, p. 1.

(4) See Chapter IV.

(5) L.R.O., Will of Henry Webster, Eccleston 1594.

(6) L.R.O., Will of Robert Bannester, Eccleston 1603.
Will of John Seddon, Farnworth 1589.

A further opportunity for retail sales came from pedlars or chapmen, although by nature their activity has left little trace. Probably in towns their activities were restricted by interested parties, but in rural areas they were able to exploit such sales as they could find. They must, however, have been supplied by merchants and/or shopkeepers.⁽¹⁾ In Liverpool a few individuals certainly were referred to as pedlars, although at times they combined this activity with other forms of employment. William Scarisbrick (born 1548) from 1574 until 1603 lived in Castle Street apparently maintaining a fairly stable existence as a pedlar/mercator. Possibly both activities were not incompatible, or perhaps he was a successful pedlar who settled as a mercator.⁽²⁾ William Dalton of Dale Street (1587-94) was called only a "petty chapman", but John Corbet (1573-1600) combined the activities of a pedlar with those of a sailor - both intermittent and insubstantial forms of employment.⁽³⁾ William Sutch (1592-1603) was perhaps the disreputable face of the trade and in consequence was referred to as a "petty pyker".⁽⁴⁾ Other than this small number of Liverpool based pedlars, only Arthur Wilson of Prescott in 1600 appears in this category.⁽⁵⁾ Others may well have eluded documentation, and in 1568-71 there is evidence that pedlars' stalls were established in streets in Liverpool and were finally removed in an attempt to cleanse the streets.⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) Willan, Inland Trade, p.p. 54-55.
D. Hey, Packmen, Carriers and Packhorse Roads: Trade and Communications in North Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, Leicester 1980, p.p. 195-197.
- (2) L.R.O., DDB 1 23/15.
- (3) L.T.B. II, p. 507, p. 531, p. 603.
- (4) Ibid., p. 737, p. 807.
- (5) Pres. Recs., p. 275.
- (6) L.T.B. I, p. 388; L.T.B. II, p. 8.

Elusive as pedlars may be, packmen and carriers are yet more difficult to determine. They may well have often combined their business with farming activity, particularly for short distance carrying, and, therefore, few are ever likely to be recorded as specialist carriers.⁽¹⁾ It seems that roads were of a very variable standard, but at least tracks were quite extensively usable so that land carriage was substantial if expensive - possibly between four and twelve pence per ton mile.⁽²⁾ A packhorse probably conveyed about two hundred-weights as a full load, whereas two horses were required to pull a one ton cart.⁽³⁾ With Liverpool's port operations the immediate hinterland must have witnessed considerable part-time transporting activities, and some full-time carriers must have serviced long distance routes. Derbyshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire had regular carrying services to London during the reign of Elizabeth I,⁽⁴⁾ and more than likely on a limited basis so did south-west Lancashire although few individuals are known by name. Best recorded are the three men who operated from this area to Oxford and London on a reasonably regular basis and were used by John More of Kirkdale to convey goods and money to his son at University and at the Inns of Court.⁽⁵⁾ Alexander and Lawrence Webster of Prescott made

(1) Hey, Packmen, Carriers and Packhorse Roads, p. 205.

(2) Willan, Inland Trade, p.p. 4-7.

(3) Ibid., p. 12.

(4) Hey, Packmen, Carriers and Packhorse Roads, p. 211.

(5) See Chapter XII.

these journeys several times a year from 1561-1572, whilst William Litherland of West Derby was covering the same routes in the 1550 s and lived until 1587.⁽¹⁾ Although the direction of his travel is unknown, William Robertson of Ditton township was also recorded as a packman and yeoman between 1559-1571; perhaps he retired from his travelling before his death in 1592.⁽²⁾ Part of the activities of these carriers depended on the operations of Liverpool shipping, for example the conveying of tons of coal from the Prescot area into the town for shipment to Ireland.⁽³⁾ Other carrying into and from the area came from further afield in Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire and beyond.

The modest attractions of Liverpool's market and fairs were augmented by the availability of shipping. In general shipowners could come from every class in society and, although vessels could have a long working life with a low rate of depreciation, true ownership entailed many hazards. Part or half ownership was, therefore, an attractive proposition for any craftsman, yeoman, merchant or gentleman with any spare finance. Fleets were

(1) Liv. R.O., 920 MOO 937 a and b.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. LIV R 18.

(3) See p. 378.

exceptional and most individual interest was confined to one or two ships.⁽¹⁾ Success could be very precarious; a swift, long vessel called a frigate sank in a tempest and rough seas in the river off Liverpool in 1577, and in 1586 Richard Mather of the town was trying to claim recompense for his one new ship laden with goods to the value of about five hundred pounds which had been seized at Bilbao in Spain.⁽²⁾

In Liverpool there never were a great many ships during the sixteenth century and many of these were quite small. When a certificate of national shipping was made early in Elizabeth I's reign in 1560 no Liverpool vessels were over one hundred tons in size and the town was listed with sixty-one mariners. (Chester had two ships of one hundred tons each and seventy-four mariners, whilst London had twenty-two such ships and seven hundred and three mariners.)⁽³⁾ Five years later more precise details appear from the royal commissioners listing of twelve vessels in Liverpool of six tons or more.⁽⁴⁾ (At this time Bristol had sixty-eight such vessels.)⁽⁵⁾

- (1) G. V. Scammell, "Shipowning in England c. 1450-1550" in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, Vol. 12, 1962, p.p. 108-114.
J. Vanes, Port of Bristol in the 16th Century, Bristol Branch Historical Association, 1977, p. 13.
- (2) L.T.B. II, p. 241.
P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. CXLIII M 16.
- (3) P.R.O., State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I, SP 12/11/27.
- (4) L.T.B. I, p. 280.
- (5) Vanes, Port of Bristol, p. 13.

TABLE XXXIV: LIVERPOOL SHIPPING IN 1565. ⁽¹⁾

<u>Size in Tons</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Size of Crew</u>	<u>Probable Name of Ships</u>
40	1	12 men	<u>Eagle</u>
36	1	10 men	<u>Saviour</u>
30	1	8 men	<u>Henry</u>
20	1	7 men	<u>James</u>
16	2	6 men	<u>Falcon, Bartholomew</u>
15	2	5 men	<u>Elizabeth, Mary George</u>
12	2	5 men	<u>Sunday, Peter</u>
8	1	3 men	<u>Swallow</u>
6	1	3 men	<u>Good Luck</u>

Total 12 ships, 74 mariners

By 1577 when another list of national shipping was compiled Liverpool was recorded with six topmen all under one hundred tons - whereas Chester had ten such vessels and one over one hundred tons.⁽²⁾ More detail emerges in 1582, when Liverpool had ten ships all less than eighty tons, ten masters and forty-six mariners. (Nationally the total at this date was one hundred and seventy-seven ships over one hundred tons, seventy-four ships of between eighty and a hundred tons, and one thousand, three hundred and forty-three ships of less than eighty tons.)⁽³⁾ During the last twenty years of the century no further detailed listings are available, although in 1597

(1) Number of ships from L.T.B. I, p. 280, and probable names from Port Books - see note 3, p. 357.

(2) D. B. Quinn and A. N. Ryan, England's Sea Empire, London 1983, p.p. 55-56.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/156/45.

all new ships built since 1581 with a twenty-five pounds royal allowance were recorded. There were forty-six in total, but only one from Liverpool - the Eagle of two hundred tons built in 1590.⁽¹⁾ By 1601, when Liverpool's mayor was complaining of excessive use of the town's ships for transport to Ireland, he mentioned twenty barques from Liverpool being requisitioned.⁽²⁾

From more detailed sources⁽³⁾ it is clear that Liverpool never had any large vessels during the sixteenth century. Certainly the two hundred tons Eagle mentioned as being built in the town in 1590 never sailed from the port, and the list of ten ships made in 1582 appears to overestimate their tonnage - for example, the Hope recorded at sixty tons was entered in the Port Books at thirty tons, and the Lantern recorded at thirty-six tons was in the Port Books at twenty-six tons. With the eventual contraction in Continental trade

(1) P.R.O., SP 12/250/33.

(2) H.M.C., Salis. Mss. Vol. XI/466.

(3) Liverpool Town Books contain detailed references to some vessels, but the most comprehensive listings available are in Liverpool Port Books. Following an Exchequer order these books begin in 1565 and continue with some gaps to the end of Elizabeth I's reign. In ten years the records of the Searcher survive, in just two years the records of the Surveyor, in seven years the records of the Controller and in fourteen years the records of the Customer survive. Sometimes these records survive alone for one year and in a few years they overlap such as the Searcher, Surveyor and Customer records Michaelmas 1592-3 (E 190/1326/8 and /9 and /25) and the Searcher, Customer and Controller records Michaelmas 1597-8 (E 190/1327/16, E 190/1325/23, E 190/1327/22). The main gaps in the records exist for 1567-8, 1571, 1577, 1581, 1588-9 and 1599.

there was no incentive in Liverpool to acquire larger vessels,⁽¹⁾ and so by the end of the century ships were no larger than they had been in 1565.⁽²⁾ The list of known Liverpool shipping during the second half of the sixteenth century is probably somewhat misleading as some vessels were more than likely renamed during the period. This certainly happened in the case of the Gift of God which was renamed the Marigold by 1585.⁽³⁾ The Valentine of 1598 could conceivably be the Strange as Richard Mather and Thomas Nelson as masters had interests in both.⁽⁴⁾ Most Liverpool vessels seem to have been independently owned or shared by two men; for instance, Thomas Uttyn was the sole owner 1558 to 1582 at least of the thirty-five ton Saviour, Thomas Bastwell was the sole owner of the eight ton Swallow, whilst the fourteen ton Sunday was jointly owned by William Walker and Thomas Mason and the thirty-six ton Michael by Edward Nicholson and John Williamson.⁽⁵⁾ Many of these shipowners also sailed as their own masters - such as Thomas Uttyn and Thomas Mason - although not necessarily on every voyage. During any one year it was quite possible for two or three men to captain the ship on different voyages, although the permutations of captains available from Liverpool was not great at any one time.⁽⁶⁾ As master, shipowner, merchant many men had a very real and immediate interest in the success of their voyages. The extent and success of these voyages in turn had a strong influence on the viability of other marketing institutions in south-west Lancashire.

(1) See p.p. 369-371.

(2) See Appendix XXV.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1325/17.

(4) See Appendix XXV.

(5) Ibid.

(6) See Appendix XXV.

c) Coastal Trade.

As a small port coastal traffic was of considerable significance within the overall trade of Liverpool, and because of its geographical location the counties of north-west England, north Wales and western Scotland were obvious regular links. Likewise the Isle of Man and Ireland were inevitable directions for voyages, whereas more distant European connections were always more difficult to sustain.

There were few substantial ports further north in Lancashire than Liverpool, but ships from a number of small harbours regularly used the town. Every year coasting traffic from Alt and from Preston predominated amongst these Lancastrian visitors - perhaps four or five different vessels from these ports making several visits to Liverpool in any one year.⁽¹⁾ For example, in 1579 the Jesus, the Trinity, the Mary, the Michael and the Mathew - all from Alt - visited Liverpool, their tonnage varying from six to thirteen tons.⁽²⁾ Usually these coastal ships were no greater than ten tons. From the limited detail in the Port Books it seems that much of this Lancastrian coastal traffic involved foodstuffs - peas, beans, barley and wheat - in both directions and a variety of Liverpool's imports such as salt and iron being trans-shipped northwards.⁽³⁾ Presumably this coastal traffic reached as far as Lancaster where intermittently Liverpool's town officials were required to attend, such as the recorder Adam Pendleton who was there about town business in 1579.⁽⁴⁾

(1) P.R.O., E 190/1324/6 and /19, E 190/1325/1 and /9, E 190/1326/26, E 190/1327/2.

(2) P.R.O., E 190/1324/19 and /22.

(3) Ibid.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 317.

Cumberland ports were also very small, predominantly fishing villages such as Workington and Ravenglass from which pickards of seven, eight or nine tons caught mainly herring which were sold at Liverpool and Chester. They returned with salt and mixed cargoes, and only occasionally did Liverpool vessels venture in that direction with salt, iron, nails, alum and wine.⁽¹⁾ In 1573 two Liverpool ships took grain and malt to Workington and Milnthorpe whilst the Jesus in 1581 was loaded with iron, pitch, wine and other merchandise.⁽²⁾ Coastal traffic in the Port Book records is admittedly limited, but such indications as are available suggest that the volume of Cumberland trade was increasing during the reign of Elizabeth I. In 1587 eight ships had left Liverpool for that area carrying nails, flax, alum, coal and fells, whereas between February and September 1594 twenty-one ships departed with wheat, barley, peas and beans, and in 1602-3 twelve ships left for Workington, twelve for Ravenglass and thirteen for Milnthorpe carrying barley, oats, peas, beans, wheat, iron and pitch.⁽³⁾ The nature of the cargoes suggests that food supplies played an important part in this increasing trade, but information survives for too few years for conclusive comments. Kendal, however, did have a modest textile industry and Liverpool, although not convenient, was still one of the nearest ports for the distribution of this cloth - Kendal cotton. As early as 1555 a Kendal merchant was bound over to keep the peace in Liverpool and this modest contact was probably maintained.⁽⁴⁾ In 1586 the Elizabeth of

(1) See Map XVII.

P.R.O., State Papers Domestic, Addenda, SP 15/13/13.

P. H. Fox, "Cumberland Ports and Shipping in the reign of Elizabeth" in Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, N.S. Vol. XXI, 1921,

(2) L.T.B. II, p.p. 107-108.

(p.p. 77-79.

P.R.O., Exchequer Queen's Remembrancer: Special Commissions E 178/499.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1325/21, E 190/1326/26, E 190/1327/2, E 190/1328/2 and /7.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 44, p. 179.



MAP XVII: THE IRISH SEA AND LIVERPOOL TRADE.

Ravenglass brought horseshoe nails, flocks and Kendal cottons into the port.⁽¹⁾

Further north Scottish ports were of little attraction because there was no substantial commodity to trade and in consequence were rarely visited by Liverpool vessels. Every year a few Scottish fishing vessels reached Liverpool, especially during the herring season - two pickards in 1561, and again in 1562, and still at this level by the 1590 s.⁽²⁾ Intermittently a larger Scottish vessel visited Liverpool, presumably en route from elsewhere, such as the James of thirty tons in 1576 carrying bay salt from Brittany or the Grace of God in 1579 with a cargo of cod fish, sheep fells and old brass.⁽³⁾ Amongst illegal trading some barley and oat malt was being conveyed from Liverpool to Scotland in 1581.⁽⁴⁾

Liverpool may have been of only peripheral attention to Scottish vessels, but to the Isle of Man the town was of considerable importance. Like Ireland the Isle of Man was dependent on luxuries supplied through Liverpool and Chester - the only exports being sheep fells, wool, hides and herrings.⁽⁵⁾ Just once, in 1597, a Liverpool ship from the Isle of Man was recorded with a cargo of wool, tallow, goose grease and puffins!⁽⁶⁾ The island also had a political link with Liverpool through the Earls of Derby and the Governor's castle and residence was at Castletown.⁽⁷⁾ Imports were, therefore, quite varied but were supplying only a small population with cloth, hats, iron, coal, salt, treen cups, etc..⁽⁸⁾ A measure of this trade was

(1) P.R.O., E 190/1325/21.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 138, p. 134; L.T.B. II, p. 535, p. 687.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1324/9 and /19 and /22.

(4) P.R.O., E 178/499.

(5) Woodward, Trade of Chester, p. 36.

(6) P.R.O., E 190/1327/16 and E 190/1325/23.

(7) W. Blundell, A History of the Isle of Man 1648-56, Manx Society, Vol. XXV, 1876, p. 71.

See p. 57.

(8) Ibid., p. 83.

conducted by Manx vessels, for example four in 1570 - the Margaret of six tons, the Katherine of four tons, the Mary of eight tons and the Sunday of sixteen tons, usually sailing from Douglas or Castletown.⁽¹⁾ Some of this trade was in the hands of coastal vessels from Alt or Wallasey, and some was carried by Liverpool ships such as the small eight ton Michael or the twenty-six ton George.⁽²⁾ During the second half of the sixteenth century this connection with the Isle of Man remained stable, but of limited potential.

The Wirral peninsula and the north Wales coast were also areas of geographic proximity for Liverpool, but again of limited potential by nature of the land and economy. It was a sparsely populated coastline with few inland communications and only Beaumaris on Anglesey had a population possibly over one thousand.⁽³⁾ It had been a town of some local significance with overseas contacts to France and Spain, yet royal commissioners in 1595 reported that no foreign ship had visited the port during the last twenty years.⁽⁴⁾ In fact a substantial part of Beaumaris' traffic to Ireland and north Wales had been taken over by Liverpool and Chester ships.⁽⁵⁾ Liverpool's interest extended to Conway, Caernarvon, Pwllheli and Barmouth, although it was an interest involving only a few ships a year.

Usually one or two Liverpool ships in a year called at Beaumaris

(1) P.R.O., E 190/1323/12.

(2) P.R.O., E 190/1324/21 and /22 and /4 and /6.

(3) G. D. Owen, Elizabethan Wales, Cardiff 1962, p. 94.

(4) Ibid., p. 129.

(5) E. A. Lewis, Welsh Port Books 1550-1603 in Cymmrodorian Record Society, No. XII, 1927, p. xxv and p. xxxvii.

such as 1577 when the Margaret of sixteen ^{tons} called en route from Waterford to Liverpool with Irish frieze, russet mantles and hops, or 1597 when the Ellen of twenty tons stopped with seven tons of salt, half a ton of iron and eight tons of empty casks.⁽¹⁾ By the end of the century, however, this north Wales trade was more typically in foodstuffs - wheat, barley, oats, malt, peas and beans together with some tons of coal. From Michaelmas 1602 until Michaelmas 1603 sixteen ships left Liverpool for this area - one to Conway, two to Barmouth, three to Caernarvon and ten to Beaumaris - ranging from eight, to twelve, fourteen and twenty tons.⁽²⁾ Additional contacts with Wales appear intermittent such as the Julian of Pembroke which reached Liverpool in 1587 and the George of Milford in 1603 with cargoes of herring.⁽³⁾ In 1563 men from Beaumaris appeared at Liverpool court, by 1582-3 Welsh Alice (Alice Wynne) had become notorious in the town, and a painter from Ruthin had settled in Liverpool by 1601.⁽⁴⁾ However, little evidence suggests major trading contacts or organized regular travel except the north Wales coasting traffic.

Supplementing Liverpool's regular coastal trade there were two other limited sources of traffic. Very occasionally ships from elsewhere in England reached the port as did the Mary Grace from the west country in 1585 with a mixed cargo worth about one thousand

(1) Ibid., p. 245, p. 280.

(2) P.R.O., E 190/1328/2 and /7.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1325/21 and E 190/1328/2 and /7.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 225.
L.T.B. II, p. 792, p. 423.

pounds.⁽¹⁾ This arrival and cargo appear so singular that they were worthy of special note. Likewise occasionally south-west Lancashire gentry chartered local shipping for their own purposes. Only the Earl of Derby did this for personal transport services as from time to time he had occasion to visit the Isle of Man, for instance in May 1583 when the Eagle, the Lantern and the Michael were hired from Liverpool to convey the Earl, his Council, and his men and their horses to the island.⁽²⁾ More usually the gentry and the Earl used smaller vessels for the import of household requirements, such as the eight ton Mary used in 1570 for twenty barrels of bay salt, a bag of feathers and two pipes of muscadine for the Earl, the eight ton Michael used in 1574 with rye and wine for Sir Richard Sherburne, or the Mary John in 1598 with sack for Cuthbert Halsall Esquire.⁽³⁾ This type of traffic, however, was never substantial and more frequently many gentry used normal shipping.

d) Overseas Trade.

In contrast to this localized distribution trade, Liverpool could support fairly long distance enterprises. The late sixteenth century witnesses great changes in the "character and direction" of the overseas trade of the nation - implemented through trading companies and to new geographic areas.⁽⁴⁾ However, the great concentration of this trade remained through London, so major change

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 710.

(2) P.R.O., E 190/1325/1 and /9.
See Chapter II.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1323/12, E 190/1324/6, E 190/1325/23,
E 190/1327/16 and /22.

(4) P. Ramsey, Tudor Economic Problems, London 1963, p.p. 47-48.

was directed from there and there was relatively little likelihood of Liverpool playing any significant part in developments.⁽¹⁾

Provincial ports were all affected by their location and the geographic opportunities that offered.⁽²⁾ Liverpool's major directional advantage lay across the Irish Sea, with some access to the Atlantic and to France and Spain.⁽³⁾

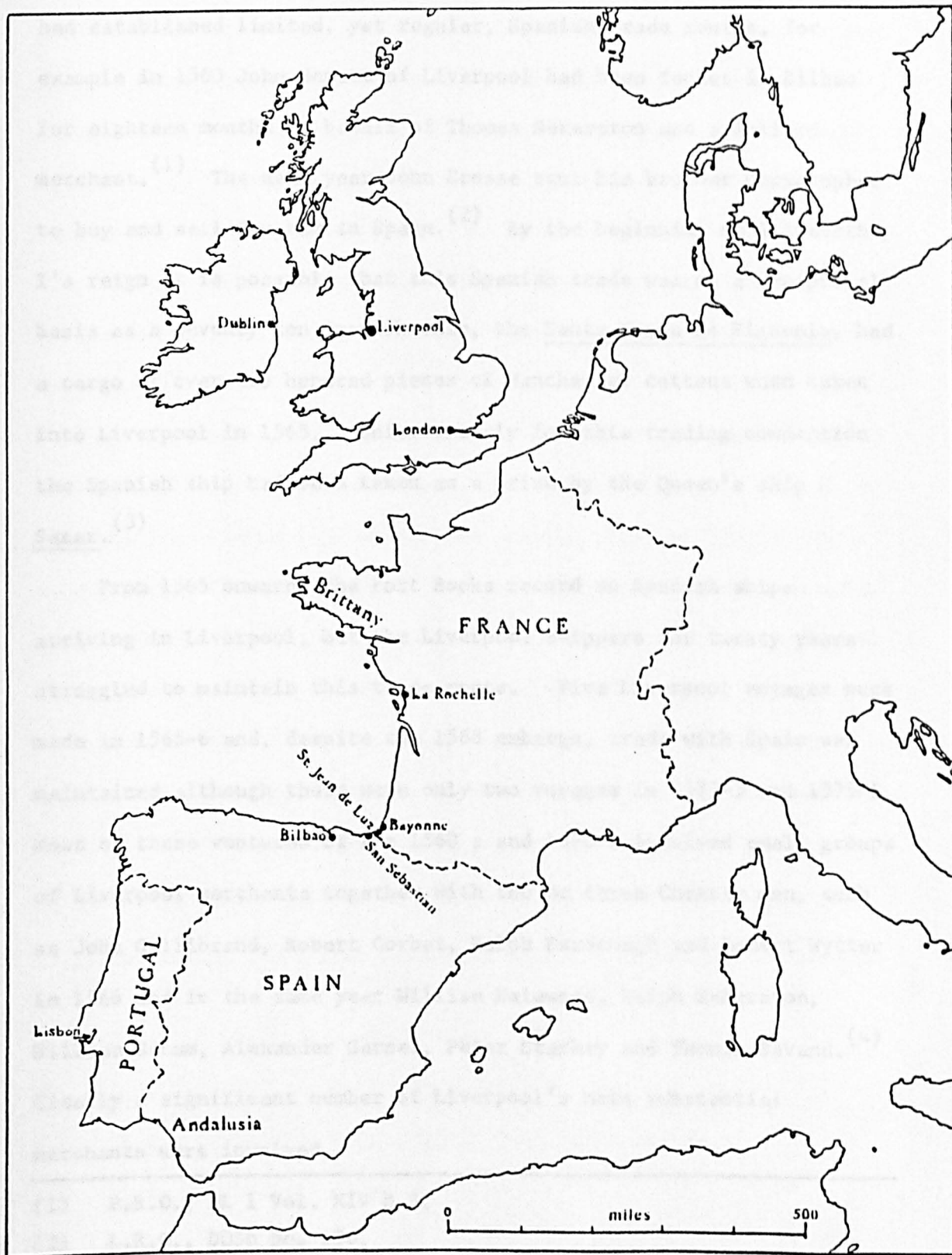
TABLE XXXV: CONTINENTAL CONNECTIONS FROM LIVERPOOL.⁽⁴⁾

	<u>1565-</u> <u>1566</u>	<u>1569-</u> <u>1570</u>	(in- com- plete) <u>1572-</u> <u>1573</u>	<u>1575-</u> <u>1576</u>	<u>1579-</u> <u>1580</u>	<u>1582-</u> <u>1583</u>	<u>1584-</u> <u>1585</u>	<u>1592-</u> <u>1593</u>	<u>1593-</u> <u>1594</u>	<u>1597-</u> <u>1598</u>
<u>Spain</u>	xxxxxx		xx	xxx	xxxx	xxxxxx xxxx	xxxxxx xxxx			
<u>Portugal</u>	x									
<u>France</u>	xxo	xxooo	xxxxo	xo	x	x	xx			

x by Liverpool ships.
o by Continental ships.

As Table XXXV demonstrates, Spain was the most important Continental trading location for Liverpool ships. After encouragement in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries reasonable English trade with Spain had been established.⁽⁵⁾ During

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- (1) Ibid., p. 54.
R. Davis, English Overseas Trade 1500-1700, London 1973, p. 17.
- (2) T. S. Willan, Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade, Manchester 1959, p. 67 and p.p. 87-89.
- (3) See Map XVIII.
- (4) See Note (3), p. 355.
- (5) P. Croft, The Spanish Company in London Record Society Publications, Vol. IX, 1973, p. vii.



MAP XVIII: WESTERN EUROPE AND LIVERPOOL TRADE.

the mid sixteenth century Mary Tudor's brief reign had given some encouragement to this route, but then difficulties had appeared in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. By this time Liverpool clearly had established limited, yet regular, Spanish trade routes, for example in 1563 John Hewett of Liverpool had been factor in Bilbao for eighteen months on behalf of Thomas Sekerston and a Salford merchant.⁽¹⁾ The next year John Grosse sent his brother Christopher to buy and sell for him in Spain.⁽²⁾ By the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign it is possible that this Spanish trade was on a reciprocal basis as a seventy ton Spanish ship, the Santa Maria de Bignonia, had a cargo of over two hundred pieces of Manchester cottons when taken into Liverpool in 1565. Unfortunately for this trading connection the Spanish ship had been taken as a prize by the Queen's ship Sacar.⁽³⁾

From 1565 onwards the Port Books record no Spanish ships arriving in Liverpool, but the Liverpool shippers for twenty years struggled to maintain this trade route. Five Liverpool voyages were made in 1565-6 and, despite the 1568 embargo, trade with Spain was maintained although there were only two voyages in 1572-3 and 1575-6. Most of these ventures of the 1560s and 1570s involved small groups of Liverpool merchants together with two or three Chester men, such as John Gellibrand, Robert Corbet, Ralph Burscough and Robert Wytter in 1566 and in the same year William Halewood, Ralph Sekerston, William Secum, Alexander Garnet, Peter Starkey and Thomas Bavand.⁽⁴⁾ Clearly a significant number of Liverpool's more substantial merchants were involved.

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XIV B 3.

(2) L.R.O., DDSH No. 196.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 284, p.p. 302-3.

(4) P.R.O., E 190/1324/4 and /9.

During this period almost exclusively the Liverpool merchants sent cargoes of Manchester cottons to Spain. On rare occasions the cargoes were supplemented with Northern dozens and herrings.⁽¹⁾ The great majority of these voyages were to Bilbao so that return cargoes of iron and train (whale) oil could be obtained. Intermittently these imports to Liverpool were modified by small amounts of pitch, liquorice and Castile soap.⁽²⁾ On just three occasions the voyages went to the adjacent Spanish port of San Sebastian where cargoes were very similar, although with the addition of oranges and lemons.⁽³⁾ Just once, in 1573, a ship went to Andalusia - still with Manchester cottons.⁽⁴⁾

Although maintained during the first half of Elizabeth's reign this Spanish trade cannot have been easy; as early as 1567 Ralph Sekerston, a Liverpool merchant, had claimed that the king of Spain was preparing for invasion.⁽⁵⁾ However, the legal and illegal trade with Spain was increasingly profitable and this helped the formation of the Spanish Company in 1577 intent on controlling all trade to the Iberian peninsula.⁽⁶⁾ As in other commercial companies, Londoners dominated but some members came from Southampton, Exeter, Bristol and Hull.⁽⁷⁾ By 1578 the Company was in correspondence with Liverpool merchants and the Company's deputy in Chester tried to enforce its

(1) Ibid., E 190/1324/9 and /21 and /22.

(2) Ibid., E 190/1323/4, E 190/1324/21 and /22.

(3) Ibid., E 190/1324/21 and 22, E 190/1325/1 and /9.

(4) Ibid., E 190/1324/4 and /6.

(5) P.R.O., SP 12/44/56.

(6) Croft, Spanish Company, p. xiii.

(7) Ibid., p. xvii.

trading monopoly.⁽¹⁾ From 1578-1581 Liverpool contested the situation with petitions to the Privy Council and with a special ley to finance representatives attending in London. The mayor and aldermen visited the Earl of Derby at Knowsley to solicit his advice and aid, and through this combination of activity were successful.⁽²⁾ However, the efforts of the Liverpool merchants to maintain their important, but nationally insignificant, trade with Spain were of only short-lived effect. From 1579-1585 the Liverpool-Spanish trade flourished again - Robert Wytter, Giles Brooke, Humphrey Brooke, John Bird, Robert More, Peter Starkey, Ralph Winstanley, Nicholas Abraham, Richard Mather, Thomas Bavand, Richard Hodgson and Thomas Bannester all contributing to sustain the Bilbao connection with the Manchester cotton exports and the iron and oil imports.⁽³⁾

By 1585 war with Spain ensured the eventual collapse of Iberian trade.⁽⁴⁾ Some Liverpool merchants were clearly involved directly in the conflict. Richard Mather claimed in 1586 that he was "a poor merchant venturer" with one new ship laden with goods to the value of five hundred pounds that had been seized in Bilbao to his great impoverishment.⁽⁵⁾ In July 1586 Nicholas Abraham, a Liverpool merchant, and John Lambert, a Liverpool seaman, testified before the mayor of Weymouth that they had been prisoners in Bilbao for over

- (1) Ibid., p. xix.
Woodward, Trade of Chester, p. 78.
- (2) L.T.B. II, p. 359, p. 386-7, p. 390, p. 402, p. 405, p. 415,
A.P.C., Vol. XIII/206 and /207.
- (3) See Table XXXV.
P.R.O., SP 12/150/12.
P.R.O., E 190/1325/1 and /9 and /17.
- (4) ed. M. A. S. Hume, Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved in the Archives of Simancas, Vol. III, London 1896, No. 38, pp. 45-47.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. CXLIII, M 16.

twelve months; they reported the preparations of "700 sailles of shippes" to invade England.⁽¹⁾ Two years later, in September 1588, an informant in St. Jean de Luz told Sir Francis Walsingham that the Spaniards had taken three or four fishing boats from the north of England.⁽²⁾

After 1585 no further direct Liverpool shipping with Spain was recorded in the Port Books.⁽³⁾ However, during the 1590 s some Spanish products reached Liverpool via Ireland. The first recorded trans-shipment of Spanish iron arrived in Liverpool from Drogheda in 1590 - along with a cargo of yarn, skins and wheat.⁽⁴⁾ Almost every year afterwards quantities arrived from either Drogheda or Dublin, but in only small amounts such as one ton at a time, although there might be as many as twelve Liverpool ships in any one year carrying this amount.⁽⁵⁾ Principally these transactions seem to have been negotiated by merchants formerly involved in the direct Spanish trade - John and Richard Bird and Giles Brooke.⁽⁶⁾ A measure of the difficulty and inadequacy of these supplies is provided by the arrival in Liverpool in 1603 via the Isle of Man of seven tons of 'Dansk' iron.⁽⁷⁾ To what extent Liverpool merchants were responsible directly for continuing relations with Spain is impossible to accurately judge, but in 1595 there was some form of connection as the Privy Council received information from William

(1) H.M.C., Mss. of Towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, 5th Report, London 1876, p. 578.

(2) P.R.O., SP 15/30/110.

(3) See Table XXXV.

(4) P.R.O., E 190/1325/23, E 190/1326/28.

(5) P.R.O., E 190/1326/8, /19, /25 and /26.
L.T.B. II, p. 687.

(6) P.R.O., E 190/1326/8, /19, /25, /26, E 190/1327/16 and /22 and

(7) P.R.O., E 190/1328/2 and /7. /30.

Lambert of Liverpool who had been in Lisbon.⁽¹⁾ In the same year some Englishmen were landed in Mount's Bay including Robert Kettell - sailor and barque master from Liverpool - who had been forced to serve in the Spanish galleys for fourteen weeks.⁽²⁾

By the end of the sixteenth century not only had Iberian trade virtually disappeared from Liverpool, but the other Continental connection of the mid century, France, no longer held a significant Liverpool link. From the 1560 s to the mid 1570 s French traders had frequented Liverpool, including five ships 1569-70 and several Liverpool ships had sailed to French ports.⁽³⁾ In 1559 two French ships laden with wine had reached the Mersey and bartered with Liverpool merchants for 'cottons', whilst other traders appeared in 1561 and 1562.⁽⁴⁾ This trade was not entirely trouble-free because of England's involvement at Le Havre and in 1563 a French prize was brought into Liverpool. This clearly made an impression when it "shot off a noble peall of gones ... the lyke never herd in thiese parties of England and Wales".⁽⁵⁾ Perhaps in retaliation, in March 1564 a vessel from Waterford was chased by Frenchmen into Liverpool.⁽⁶⁾ In 1565 another French ship from St. Jean de Luz was taken on the seas and brought to Liverpool, although later released.⁽⁷⁾ Despite these seizures of the early 1560 s some French ships continued to trade with the town usually bringing salt - for

(1) P.R.O., SP 12/252/58.

(2) Ibid., SP 12/253/33.

(3) See Table XXXV.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 127, p. 180, p. 188.

(5) Ibid., p. 221, p. 224.

(6) P.R.O., SP 63/10/26 and SP 63/10/27.

(7) A.P.C., Vol. VII/271 and/305.

instance twenty-six tons in 1566 and another in 1570 from Brittany.⁽¹⁾ Normally these French ships returned with cargoes of Manchester cottons and coal which were the two commodities carried by Liverpool merchants to France.⁽²⁾ The majority of Liverpool ships traded with St. Jean de Luz and to a lesser extent with Bayonne and La Rochelle - all in south-west France where it was possible to obtain cargoes of iron, pitch, resin, train oil and other products which were clearly Spanish such as in the ship returning from St. Jean de Luz in 1573 with Spanish iron.⁽³⁾ The train oil was produced by the Basque whalers from both France and Spain with their long summer voyages to the Labrador coast of North America.⁽⁴⁾

The principal Liverpool merchants operating in this part of France were, not surprisingly, usually the same men that were involved in the Spanish trade - John Crosse, John Corbet, John Gellibrand, Thomas Sekerston, Ralph Sekerston, George Rainford, Robert Wytter, Robert More and Giles Brooke.⁽⁵⁾ However, by the 1570 s and up to 1585 these French voyages had reduced to only a few a year.⁽⁶⁾ By the late 1580 s and the 1590 s direct connections with France had all but disappeared; one indirect link remained with the import through Liverpool of French wine. Thomas Secum and Robert Johnson were both mentioned as vintners in 1566, and by 1573 so were Austin Turner,

(1) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 and /9 and /12.

(2) Ibid.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1324/4 and /6.

(4) Quinn and Ryan, England's Sea Empire, p. 135 and p. 151. J. A. Tuck and R. Grenier, "16th Century Basque Whalers in America" in National Geographic, Vol. 168, No. 1, July 1985, p.p. 40-71.

(5) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 and /9, E 190/1324/4.

(6) See Table XXXV.

James Chambers, Thomas Inglefield and Thomas Wignall - all of whom were accused of illegally storing wine in their houses.⁽¹⁾ Probably they had committed the same offence as Thomas Bavand and Ralph Burscough who had landed French wine at Liverpool in 1571 and unloaded them before they could be gauged - sack, Gascon claret and white wine.⁽²⁾ This type of traffic continued until 1585 on a limited scale, but direct French contact had almost disappeared and instead south-west Lancashire wine supplies must have reached the area indirectly from other English ports.⁽³⁾

The French and Spanish trade had gone from Liverpool by the end of the sixteenth century and had not been replaced by alternative Continental destinations. There are a few isolated references to trade with or from other areas but vessels reached Liverpool perhaps only in exceptional circumstances - a Hull ship arrived with Danish rye in 1563 and a Hamburg merchant with a similar cargo.⁽⁴⁾ In 1564 on behalf of the High Court of Admiralty some merchants in Liverpool appraised an old Flemish style barque.⁽⁵⁾ An initiative in 1566 resulted in a Liverpool ship supported by seven merchants reaching Lisbon in Portugal with a cargo of Manchester cottons, but the enterprise was not repeated.⁽⁶⁾

Geographical restrictions together with the limitations of its hinterland and transport ensured that Liverpool's foreign trade

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 331.
L.T.B. II, p. 82.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XLV A 24 and A 25.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1325/17.
Woodward, Trade of Chester, p. 42.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 202 and p. 227.

(5) P.R.O., High Court of Admiralty, HCA 1/36/156.

(6) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 and /9.

remained at best modest and by the end of the sixteenth century had virtually disappeared. Limitations of wealth in the society of south-west Lancashire hindered investment on a large scale which might have revitalised this trade. From the 1570 s onwards London witnessed considerable acceleration of economic investment by merchants and gentry particularly through joint-stock companies, even if this support may have been sporadic and short-term.⁽¹⁾

For Liverpool trade across the Atlantic offered perhaps the most likely direction of diversification. The 1582 publication of Richard Hakluyt's Divers Voyages stimulated propaganda for Atlantic travel and colonising schemes, and in 1582-3 Sir Humphrey Gilbert sold eight and a half million acres of North America to Catholics - many of them from Lancashire.⁽²⁾ Uncertain details for a 1582-3 reconnaissance voyage refer to the surveyor/artist as one Thomas Bavin (possibly the son of Thomas Bavand of Liverpool).⁽³⁾

These schemes collapsed but one ship, the Golden Hind, returned from the Newfoundland area under Captain Edward Heyes.⁽⁴⁾ Edward Heyes of Liverpool continued substantial contacts with North America 'schemes' and also links with his home area. He was related to a Liverpool merchant, John Mainwaring, and referred to himself 'of

- (1) T. K. Rabb, Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England 1575-1630, Cambridge Massachusetts 1967, p.p. 26-27.
- (2) D. N. Durant, Raleigh's Lost Colony, London 1981, p.p. 7-8.
- (3) Quinn, New American World, p. 239.
- (4) Quinn and Ryan, England's Sea Empire, p.p. 41-42. See p. 164.

Liverpool' in his will.⁽¹⁾ It is hard to conceive that Edward Heyes did not promote a little interest in his schemes in south-west Lancashire.

Antony Molyneux, the youngest son of Sir Richard Molyneux of Croxteth, according to his will of 1585 was then residing in London having spent part of his career travelling with Sir Francis Drake.⁽²⁾ When the colonising patent was regranted to Sir Walter Raleigh plans moved further south and a colony was established at Roanoke Island. Ralph Lane was left as Governor with a military establishment of one hundred and eight men, including Thomas Fox, Edward Kettell, Thomas Parre, Richard Parre, Robert Young, Thomas Heskett, John Wright, Randal Lathom and Richard Ireland.⁽³⁾ This colony returned, but was replaced in 1587 by what was intended as a self-supporting community of one hundred and ten individuals including Henry Berry, Richard Berry and John Wright.⁽⁴⁾ Surname spellings were variable and identification of many colonists is very uncertain (even speculative), but the above mentioned names are certainly suggestive of south-west Lancashire families. Quite positively one Liverpool mariner, John Young, served for twelve months on a privateer operating in the West Indies 1593-4.⁽⁵⁾ These tentative links and contacts with the New

- (1) C.R.O., Will of John Mainwaring, W.S. 1588 36/93, 94.
Inventory of John Mainwaring, W.S. 1597 45/63, 64.
L.R.O., Will of Edward Heyes, Liverpool 1602.
- (2) G. Molineux, Memoir of the Molineux Family, Private Pub. 1882, p. 142.
- (3) Durant, Raleigh's Lost Colony, p. 67, p. 103, p.p. 165-166.
Quinn, New American World, p. 288.
- (4) Ibid., p. 321.
Durant, Raleigh's Lost Colony, p. 167.
W. S. Powell, "Roanoke Colonists and Explorers: An Attempt at Identification" in North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. 34, 1957, p.p. 202-226.
- (5) K. R. Andrews, English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies 1588-1595 in Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, Vol. CXL, 1959, p.p. 253-254.

World indicate a certain willingness in south-west Lancashire to diversify interests, but also demonstrate limited resources and abilities.

e) Irish Trade.

In the absence of substantial Continental trade by the late sixteenth century, Irish routes formed the backbone of the commerce of Chester and Liverpool although the Irish coinage was so debased it is surprising that trade survived at all.⁽¹⁾ Other English ports, such as Bristol, were involved but north-western England dominated Irish trade routes. Only in relation to other trade was the Irish connection so important to the North-West, and Liverpool did possess a slight advantage over other ports in its nearness to Dublin and its proximity to the south-east Lancashire textile industry.⁽²⁾ In the 1530 s John Leland had noted that Irish merchants frequented Liverpool and that Manchester men bought their Irish yarn in the port.⁽³⁾ Perhaps for other reasons William Camden was able to comment that Liverpool "is the most convenient and frequented place for

- (1) A. K. Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade in the 16th Century, London 1929, p. 200 and p. 208.
- (2) Woodward, Trade of Chester, p. 5.
- (3) ed. L. T. Smith, J. Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales, London 1907, p.p. 40-41.

setting sail into Ireland."⁽¹⁾

The most important product of sixteenth century Ireland was fish - herring, salmon and cod - sold to foreign traders and by Irish ships which usually amounted to about four a year at Liverpool.⁽²⁾ Because of the nature of the Irish economy hides, both from wild and domesticated animals, were the second staple export - salted rather than cured.⁽³⁾ Some wool and woollens were available, but mostly of inferior quality and, in consequence, wool-fells were of greater importance.⁽⁴⁾ During the sixteenth century the export of linen yarn steadily increased, so that by about 1570 the industry around Manchester was largely dependent on this Irish yarn which had obvious significance for Liverpool and the opportunities for trans-shipment via the Mersey.⁽⁵⁾ This geographical bias prevailed throughout the century and sheep fells, calf fells, wool and yarn easily predominated amongst Liverpool's imports.⁽⁶⁾ On a lesser scale some animal products were exported such as tallow and even livestock by late in the century.⁽⁷⁾ Also small quantities of old brass, rye and flax intermittently appeared.⁽⁸⁾

(1) William Camden, Britannia, p. 790.

(2) P.R.O., E 190/1324/21 and /22.

(3) Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade, p.p. 41-70.

(4) Ibid., p. 79 and p. 222.

(5) Ibid., p. 88.

(6) See Table XXXVI.

(7) Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade, p. 107.

(8) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4.

TABLE XXXVI: THE IMPORT OF FELLS, WOOL AND YARN AT LIVERPOOL. ⁽¹⁾

	<u>Sheep fells</u>	<u>Calf fells</u>	<u>Wool and Flocks</u> (in stones)	<u>Yarn</u> (in packs)
1565- 6	37500	6480	630	356
1569-70	18650	3200	546	66
1572- 3	46620	9150	338	209
1573- 4	47500	9300	380	198
1575- 6	67900	8600	668	119
1579-80	95550	8400	2411	524
1582- 3	69300	6050	1247	424
1584- 5	58560	7550	70	422
1592- 3	105000	3850	2487	1483
1593- 4	154800	8400	1506	1555
1597- 8	51050	6650	194	43

Despite its small population and internal transport problems, Ireland was an ideal market for luxury products including edible ones. Virtually every year wine, hops and malt were despatched from Liverpool, as well as a variety of good quality cloth and less expensive, serviceable materials such as Manchester and Rochdale friezes, Manchester and Kendal cottons, kerseys and northern dozens. ⁽²⁾

To accompany the fabrics and for other uses all kinds of haberdashery products were exported - buttons, mirrors, combs, pants, gloves, hats and stockings. ⁽³⁾ Salt, iron, bags of nails and soap - both Flemish and Castilian - were important necessities for which there was always a steady market. ⁽⁴⁾ Many other luxury goods were available, perhaps in

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- (1) Woodward, Trade of Chester, p. 8. Unfortunately, relative values are not easy to assess.
- (2) Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade, p.p. 132-147, p.p. 150-155. P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 - E 190/1323/7 passim.
- (3) Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade, p. 160. P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 - E 190/1328/7 passim.
- (4) Ibid.

small quantities - pewter, pots and pans, cutlery especially Hallamshire knives, spices, paper, dyestuffs such as madder, ochre and alum, fish-hooks, chairs, treen cups and glasses, and groceries such as prunes, aniseed, onions, ginger and liquorice.⁽¹⁾

Important and commonplace as these mixed cargoes remained for Liverpool ships en route to Ireland, they were mostly assembled from commodities from a variety of places. The predominant local product which was increasingly exported was coal.⁽²⁾ Export quantities appear to have risen during the late 1560 s and 1570 s, then stabilized for a fifteen-twenty year period, and then risen substantially again during the 1590 s - this latter period being associated closely with military activity.⁽³⁾ From Liverpool it can be concluded only that this coal was mined in the Prescot area less than ten miles away.⁽⁴⁾ It must have been conveyed by road to Liverpool and then was almost always transported by the shipowner/master, not by independent

(1) Ibid.

(2) See Table XXIII, p. 302.

(3) See p.p. 383-385.

(4) See Chapter VI.

merchants nor the coal producers.⁽¹⁾ Often coal was the shipowner's part of a mixed cargo shared with other merchants. Quantities varied but the smallest regular shipment was six tons, with quite often ten or twelve tons being conveyed, and twenty tons being the largest regular cargo. Exceptionally greater quantities were possible, such as the thirty-eight tons to France in 1583 or the twenty-six tons to Ireland in 1603.⁽³⁾ Demand during the 1590s was met by more voyages not by larger cargoes.

For Liverpool trade Ireland had the virtue of proximity, which in the event may have turned out to be a mixed blessing. It was not an easy area to trade with because it was relatively undeveloped economically with Ulster province, for example, being almost inaccessible by road.⁽³⁾ The principal towns, however, were coastal although Dublin - the main administrative and commercial centre - had a poor harbour. Drogheda was, therefore, much more important for trade whilst Waterford was of some significance in southern Ireland.⁽⁴⁾ Overwhelmingly Liverpool ships used Dublin and Drogheda during the second half of the sixteenth century; a pattern which did not change, although military activity towards the end of the century may have influenced some voyages.⁽⁵⁾

(1) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 - E 190/1328/7 passim.

(2) Ibid.

(3) N. P. Canny, The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565-76, Hassocks Sussex, 1976, p. 2.

(4) Ibid., p.p. 4-6.
Woodward, Trade of Chester, p. 25.

(5) See Table XXXVII.

TABLE XXXVII: SHIPS SAILING BETWEEN LIVERPOOL AND IRISH PORTS. ⁽¹⁾

	<u>To Irish Ports.</u>							<u>From Irish Ports.</u>										
	Dublin	Drogheda	Dundalk	Carrickfergus	Carlingford	Waterford	Ballyshannon	Dublin	Drogheda	Dundalk	Carrickfergus	Carlingford	Waterford	Wexford	Youghal	Ballinhey	Ard	Lough Foyle
1565- 6	18	10						16	16				3	1				
1569-70	15	15						21	13	2			1	3				
1572- 3	9	16		4				6	23	2	2	1		1				
1573- 4	11	14		10				(Unavailable)										
1575- 6	2	11		2		2		9	19	2				2				
1579-80	13	23	1		1			23	31	3				3				
1582- 3	22	19	1					34	17	2		3		2				
1590- 1	12	14			3			17	16	1		2	7	3				
1592- 3	38	29	4		8			41	27	7		4	4	1		1		
1593- 4	34	28	6		4	2		41	31	7		2	1					
1597- 8	18	13		1	2			13	11	1	5		2	1				
1603- 3	18	18		2	6	2		22	13	2	1	13		1		1	1	

Irish merchants from these towns had to use factors, associates and servants to obtain goods from the interior, usually through territorial agreements with provincial lords. ⁽²⁾ Small groups of Irish merchants operated together using one Liverpool ship - a not unusual example the twenty merchants from Drogheda using the Bartholomew in 1566 with a Liverpool master. ⁽³⁾ On Liverpool ships Irish merchants dominated regular trade in imports and exports - a situation unchanged from the 1560 s to the 1590 s. Competition amongst the Irish and

(1) P.R.O., E190/1323/4 - E 190/1328/7 passim.

(2) Canny, Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland, p.p. 4-5.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1323/9.

English merchants was a source of potential dispute, so serious in 1575 that the Earl of Derby was ordered to liaise with local justices to settle a protracted quarrel between some Dublin merchants and John Crosse and his son.⁽¹⁾ By 1598 there were so many merchants from the minority ports of Waterford and Wexford in Liverpool that the town's Assembly agreed that in future they should pay hallage tolls.⁽²⁾

Despite the predominant position of Irish merchants there must also have been co-operation with Liverpool merchants who were used as factors/servants. As early as 1539 a Liverpool merchant was using a 'servant' in Drogheda to sell his silks and kersey, and many Liverpool merchants distributed goods for the Irish such as William Golborne who dealt in 1569 for Thomas Bitagh and Henry Shaggars of Dublin and David Fleming and Mathew Flynn of Drogheda.⁽³⁾ For a twenty years' period Thomas Bavand of Liverpool served as factor for a variety of Irish merchants.⁽⁴⁾

To Elizabeth I Ireland was, in some respects, an unwelcome inheritance which the government wished to keep secure but on which it was unwilling to spend money.⁽⁵⁾ However, events forced the attention of the Elizabethan government onto Ireland, and resulting military activity was of considerable significance for Liverpool and south-west Lancashire. As early as 1559 the rebellion of Shane O'Neill prompted the despatch to Ireland of the Earl of Sussex as

(1) A.P.C., Vol. VIII/392.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 750.

(3) Pleadings and Depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancaster, Rec. Soc. Vol. XXXV, 1887, p. 119.

(4) P.R.O., E 190/1323/12.
Ibid. and E 190/1325/1 and /9.

(5) Canny, Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland, p. 30.

Lord Deputy with six-seven hundred men.⁽¹⁾ A level of military engagement continued although his two Ulster campaigns in the summers of 1561 and 1563 achieved little.⁽²⁾ During the 1560 s the Leix and Offaly plantations were authorised and in 1565 a new Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, was sent to cope with the still unsettled condition. By this time it was clear that Liverpool was being used for transport of personnel such as the Lord Deputy with his horses, fine apparel, treasure and staff.⁽³⁾ A regular supply of provisions was also important and in 1567 over a three month period supplies for one thousand men were sent from Liverpool to Carrickfergus.⁽⁴⁾ The level of activity, however, reduced only to be revived by the rebellion of Fitzmaurice in Munster in 1569. A modest measure of military activity, therefore, remained and colonising plans continued simultaneously into the early 1570 s.⁽⁵⁾

During the 1570 s the level of English military activity gathered momentum and as it did, so did Liverpool's involvement. In August, 1573, the Earl of Essex as Captain-General left the town with two hundred horsemen and four hundred footmen for Carrickfergus in seventeen Liverpool ships and supplies of wheat, malt, oats, beer and biscuits followed.⁽⁶⁾ Reinforcements were necessary both from Lancashire and further afield, for example six hundred Lancashire men

(1) C. Falls, Elizabeth's Irish Wars, London 1950, p. 83.

(2) Canny, Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland, p. 39.

(3) Ibid., p. 36.
L.T.B. I, p. 292.
A.P.C. Vol. VII/264.

(4) P.R.O., SP 12/42/9 and SP 63/10/19, SP 63/10/24.

(5) Canny, Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland, p. 61, p. 69, p. 78 and p.p. 86-87.
 Falls, Elizabeth's Irish Wars, p. 105.

(6) L.T.B. II, p.p. 119-121.
A.P.C. Vol. VIII/113.
P.R.O., E 190/1324/6.

in October 1573 and London footmen in July 1574.⁽¹⁾ Wounded men were returned to Liverpool and their interpretation of the situation in Ireland must have been dreadfully vindicated by the wreck of the Swan - a ship belonging to John and Thomas Winstanley - off the Irish coast in February 1574; the crew were "most viliouslie murdered, slayne, and cut in peces as the vilyst kynd of fleshe"⁽²⁾

During the 1570 s the level of activity scarcely abated before the Desmond rebellion of 1579 inspired renewed efforts by Elizabeth's government. The rebellion was not suppressed until 1582-3.⁽³⁾ In consequence the despatch of soldiers from Liverpool was maintained; some of the Berwick garrison were transferred through the town and carpenters and masons were sent to improve fortifications in Ireland.⁽⁴⁾ From 1583 the transportation reduced somewhat, but never disappeared. Lancashire troops and levies from other countries were more intermittently despatched for the next decade.⁽⁵⁾

In 1593, however, much more serious trouble developed for the English forces in Ireland and the new greater level of activity had serious effects on Liverpool shipping.⁽⁶⁾ By June 1593 six vessels

- (1) B.L. Harl. Mss. 2219 f.50 v.
A.P.C. Vol. VIII/185 and /202.
P.R.O. SP 63/47/32.
- (2) L.T.B. II, p.p. 147-8.
- (3) Falls, Irish Wars, p. 115 and p. 142.
- (4) B.L. Harl. Mss. 1926 No. 13 f.31 and No. 21 f.34 v.
A.P.C. Vol. XI/223, /224 and /296.
A.P.C. Vol. XII/106 and /361.
P.R.O. SP 12/131/62, SP 12/131/77, SP 12/132/58, SP 63/68/50.
- (5) B.L. Harl. Mss. 1926, No. 14 f.31 and No. 36 f.51 v.
A.P.C. Vol. XIV/339.
A.P.C. Vol. XVI/317 and /331.
A.P.C. Vol. XVIII/144 and /297.
P.R.O. SP 12/245/26 and SP 63/137.
- (6) Falls, Irish Wars, p. 175.
See J. J. N. McGurk, "The Recruitment and Transportation of Elizabethan Troops and their Service in Ireland 1594-1603", Liverpool Ph.D. 1982.

were stayed for transporting six hundred men, with more following in 1593 and 1594.⁽¹⁾ In conjunction with Chester the mid 1590 s saw ever increasing frequency of shipping - coping, for example, with one thousand men at a time in 1595.⁽²⁾ Provisions from Liverpool were shipped to Dublin, Drogheda and Carlingford, and by March 1596 Liverpool's mayor had to write to the mayor of Chester to protest that he could no longer stay shipping because none was available and that there were not five seafaring men in the town.⁽³⁾ Certainly in April 1596 nearly one thousand and three hundred men were transported from Liverpool, although well over two hundred were left behind and an additional thousand men were shipped in the next few months.⁽⁴⁾ When writing to obtain more munitions at Dublin in 1597 Lord Deputy Burgh suggested "that the conveniency of shipping commonly serveth at Liverpool rather than the river of Chester" and this opinion was reinforced the next year when companies of foot were sent from Chester to Liverpool "for their more nearness of shipping".⁽⁵⁾

In fact ⁱⁿ 1598-9 more reinforcements than ever before were sent to Ireland as activity moved to Lough Foyle following the disaster at Yellowford and the appointment of the Earl of Essex as Lord

- (1) P.R.O., SP 12/250/27.
A.P.C. Vol. XIV/326.
H.M.C. Mss. City of Chester, 8th Report, Appendix Part II,
London 1881, p. 375.
- (2) P.R.O., SP 12/251/61.
A.P.C. Vol. XXV/281 and /315.
A.P.C. Vol. XXVI/164.
H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. VI/436.
Falls, Irish Wars, p.p. 189-211.
- (3) P.R.O. SP 63/183/98 and SP 63/187/151.
- (4) P.R.O. SP 63/188/25 and SP 63/194/46.
- (5) P.R.O. SP 63/198/70 and SP 63/199/92.
H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. VIII/117.

Lieutenant.⁽¹⁾ In February 1599 Captain Davies from Liverpool reported the despatch of two thousand and three hundred men and over five hundred horses.⁽²⁾ With the appointment of Lord Mountjoy as Lord Deputy in 1600 even winter campaigns were organized.⁽³⁾ Shipping by this time was certainly operating on a shuttle basis returning for men left behind.⁽⁴⁾ As activity intensified the unfamiliar areas brought dangers of their own, such as the Liverpool ships that ran aground at Lough Foyle in May 1600 through lack of pilots.⁽⁵⁾ The rate of shipping transport demanded by the government and the desirability of using Liverpool as a departure port was not as popular as it had been. The mayor of Liverpool complained bitterly that at the time of the Lough Foyle campaign twenty ships from the town had been used and only two from Chester.⁽⁶⁾

Much of Ireland was actually uncultivated and much of the remainder devoted principally to pastoral agriculture, which meant there were few resources for maintaining any number of foreign troops particularly in a fixed garrison.⁽⁷⁾ As early as 1565 the Earl of Derby had been notified by the Privy Council to help arrangements

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- (1) P.R.O. SP 63/202/60 and /83, SP 63/205/41.
A.P.C. Vol. XXVIII/610.
A.P.C. Vol. XXIX/167, /490 and /577.
A.P.C. Vol. XXXI/23 and /318.
H.M.C. Mss. City Chester, p. 397.
- (2) P.R.O. SP 63/203/36.
H.M.C. Cal. Salisbury Mss. Vol. IX/86, /97 and /133.
- (3) Falls, Irish Wars, p.p. 253-263.
- (4) H.M.C. Salisbury Mss. Vol. X/12 and Vol. XIV/136.
- (5) P.R.O. SP 63/207/59.
- (6) H.M.C. Salis. Mss. Vol. XI/466.
- (7) Falls, Irish Wars, p. 33.
D. B. Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish, Ithaca, New York, 1966, p. 14.
- (8) Falls, Irish Wars, p. 189.

for provisions to Ireland, suggesting that local knowledge and influence was regarded as a valuable asset.⁽¹⁾ In 1566 the Queen's Victualler spent gold and silver in Liverpool to obtain wheat, malt, cheese and barrels of butter.⁽²⁾ By 1574 the Privy Council was corresponding directly with the mayor of Liverpool to ensure his co-operation with storage and transport of victuals - quoting six shillings and eight pence a ton for shipment to Carrickfergus.⁽³⁾ During the mid 1580 s there were maybe six and a half thousand men in Ireland and by the mid 1590 s about nine thousand men being supplied from England. In 1599 it has been estimated sixteen thousand footmen and more than one thousand horsemen all needed victualling.⁽⁴⁾ Clearly the government had great concern with the prices being charged for supplies and, for instance in 1581, the mayor of Chester was asked to certify local prices to the Privy Council.⁽⁵⁾ In 1579 the victualling allowance for men en route to Ireland had been three pence a meal per man and four pence a day for horses.⁽⁶⁾ Victuallers may well have brought up several months' supply at a time to cope with demand and this could, of course,

(1) A.P.C. Vol. VII/318.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 329.

(3) A.P.C. Vol. VIII/185.

(4) Falls, Irish Wars, p. 142, p. 189, p. 232.

(5) H.M.C., Mss. City of Chester, p. 397.

(6) A.P.C. Vol. XI/264.

L.T.B. II, p.p. 323-4.

See C. F. Routledge, "Liverpool and Irish Politics in the 16th Century" in A Miscellany presented to J. M. Mackay, Liverpool 1914, p.p. 155-156.

seriously affect local prices - as was the case in 1595.⁽¹⁾

Nonetheless local merchants were probably significant beneficiaries at least in the early days of providing the bulk of supplies; in 1580 the mayor of Chester was specifically ordered to use only known merchants from his city, from Liverpool and from North Wales.⁽²⁾ From 1574 Thomas Bavand of Liverpool was established as a recognized victualler; he supplied many of the provisions on five hundred ships to Carrickfergus with coal, biscuits, butter, cheese, barley, malt, wheat, oats and beer. In 1575 he was referred to as 'servant' to Lord Deputy Sidney when further supplying Carrickfergus.⁽³⁾ His activities as supplier continued, but not always smoothly. He was paid five hundred pounds in September 1580, yet by December Thomas Bavand was complaining directly to Lord Burghley that he had loaded a ship at his own expense with barley, malt and one thousand pounds of butter. Nevertheless by 1585 he was still a substantial supplier of Her Majesty's garrison.⁽⁴⁾

With the level of activity during the 1590 s demands for supplies must have expanded enormously in difficult harvest circumstances. The principal Liverpool victualler by this time was Giles Brooke who was using various ships such as the Steven,

- (1) P.R.O. SP 12/251/61.
B. Pearce, "Elizabethan Food Policy and the Armed Forces" in Ec. H. R., Vol. 12, 1942, p.p. 44-45.
- (2) A.P.C. Vol. XII/215.
City of Chester R.O., Mayor's Military Papers M/MP/3/32.
- (3) P.R.O., E 190/1324/6 and /9.
- (4) P.R.O., SP 63/76/28 and /70, SP 63/78/8, SP 63/79/19 and /21.
P.R.O., E 190/1325/17.

the Valentine, the Gift of God, the James and the Christopher.⁽¹⁾

Usual victuals were wheat, beans, cheese, hops, barley, malt, biscuits, beer and canvas for biscuit bags, but all manner of materials could be involved such as over two hundred pieces of framed timber, unframed timber, joists and boards sent to Londonderry in 1601.⁽²⁾ The demand, however, could create local difficulties. In 1588 in a dispute over the leasing of the Queen's mills in Liverpool it was claimed that horsemills and handmills were necessary to cope with supplies to soldiers at times of calm weather, and after the poor 1590 s harvests in 1596 justices were ordered to prevent any shipment of grain except to Ireland because of dearth in the area.⁽³⁾ At least those Englishmen in Ireland recognized the suitability of Lancashire and Cheshire victualling as the complaints of 1599 indicate when supplies of butter and cheese from the East of England were decayed and corrupted by the time they reached the troops.⁽⁴⁾

Excessive demand on local food resources was not the only difficulty faced in south-west Lancashire because of troop transportation. It is evident that town authorities in Liverpool and Chester dreaded contrary winds which might delay embarkation of levies. In the winter of 1565-6 Sir Henry Sidney lost much of his

(1) P.R.O., E 190/1327/30, E 190/1328/2 and /7.

(2) P.R.O., SP 63/183/98.
Liv. R. O., Liverpool Deeds, 920 LIV 5/1.

(3) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO/945.
A.P.C. Vol. XXV/258.

(4) P.R.O., SP 63/205/109.

shipping in severe weather, and delays in April 1567 caused soldiers at Liverpool to be sent to Chester and then returned to Liverpool.⁽¹⁾ When two hundred men were delayed in Liverpool in 1574 the mayor of Chester was authorised to make extra financial allowance for them.⁽²⁾ So serious was this type of problem that in 1581 the "late mutynous disorder and disobedience of certen solildyers" at Liverpool and Chester was reported to the Privy Council. The Queen's Victualler recommended that an example be made of the three hundred troops involved at Liverpool.⁽³⁾ Nothing as serious was reported again, but the problems of large numbers of transient troops did not go away. Still in 1601 men were missing through deficiency and discharge or desertion from many detachments.⁽⁴⁾

The increased pressures of transport during the 1590 s together with harvest difficulties did bring specific difficulties to Liverpool. In March 1596 the mayor claimed that over the previous few years the town had been "surcharged with a multitude of soldiers" and also inflicted with the return of poor and sick men who "did so infect a number of houses with the disease of that country ". According to the mayor many honest householders were dead, their homes dissolved and their goods dispersed so that the town could scarcely accommodate three hundred foot soldiers although the

(1) Falls, Irish Wars, p. 59 and p. 94.
L.T.B. I, p. 338.

(2) A.P.C. Vol. VIII/279.

(3) A.P.C. Vol. XIII/64.
P.R.O., SP 63/83/34.
City of Chester R. O., M/MP/3/46.

(4) A.P.C. Vol. XXXII/359.

shipping could accommodate twice that number. He referred specifically to "the dearth, as you yourself know" and to Liverpool's problems in having no common bakers, nor brewers, nor biscuit makers.⁽¹⁾ One month later mayor Robert More referred again to the foot soldiers in the town - some of whom were sick and some of whom were in prison.⁽²⁾ Perhaps as a result of lack of response to these complaints in December of 1596 when adverse weather delayed soldiers for five weeks in the town the mayor ordered that the men should no longer be victualled, gave them all twenty pence and a passport for Chester; he kept the captains' horses to defray outstanding debts, discharged shipping and gave the saddles to the shipowners to offset their costs.⁽³⁾ Still the pressure must have continued and in 1601 there were protests that more than seven hundred men could not be lodged in the town at one time.⁽⁴⁾

At times what must have made this accommodation and provisioning situation appear much worse was the unnecessary staying of shipping and difficulties over payment. For example, in June 1593 there had been very considerable activity to ferry troops to Ireland, but by August shipping was being released only through the intervention of the Earl of Derby. In 1601 when mayor Giles Brooke wrote to the Privy Council he mentioned the "great provision of

(1) P.R.O., SP 63/187/51.

(2) P.R.O., SP 63/188/25.

(3) P.R.O., SP 63/196/25 and /26.
A.P.C. Vol. XXV/478.

(4) "Salisbury Mss., Part II" in Cheshire Sheaf, Vol. XI, 1914, p. 59.

Lough Foyle" which had used twenty Liverpool ships to the great detriment of Liverpool shipowners whose vessels were "so often stayed and so seldom employed".⁽¹⁾ The Irish Wars had at first provided Liverpool shipping with dangerous, but welcome, activity which by the late 1590s had become a serious burden and disruption to more established overseas trade. The intermittent use of shipping at unpredictable intervals at times of international dispute must, however, have provided a certain measure of encouragement to piracy and smuggling.

The level of international piracy probably fluctuated in seriousness with the vagaries of foreign policy, but at times Liverpool men were undoubtedly on the receiving end. In 1562 the Earl of Derby complained to the Privy Council of losses he had sustained when pirates took his ship.⁽²⁾ More precise was the claim of Robert Wytter to Secretary Walsingham in 1581 that whilst trading to Spain he had been several times "spoiled" by Frenchmen and lost more than three hundred pounds. In consequence he had to use a small boat, the Michael, to earn a poor living trading to Ireland, and then in 1578 in foul weather this boat had been driven ashore in Scotland where it was seized by the local lord with over one hundred pounds' worth of cargo. The crew had been imprisoned, although they had finally escaped to Ireland and returned to Liverpool. Robert Wytter had even visited the king of Scotland at some expense but could not recover his losses.⁽³⁾ In 1586 two pirates were operating

(1) "Salisbury Mss." in Cheshire Sheaf, p. 58.

(2) A.P.C. Vol. VII, p. 107.

(3) P.R.O. SP 12/150/12.

off the North Wales coast intercepting Chester, Irish and Liverpool vessels,⁽¹⁾ but international activity remained most dangerous and in 1595 Richard Bird was captured from his barque the Marigold near the coast of France. He was transferred to a Spanish man-of-war and never heard of again!⁽²⁾ Later in the same year a Spanish pirate operating in the Irish Sea took a Liverpool and a Drogheda barque.⁽³⁾

However, it was just as likely that, thanks to the fortunes of the seas, Liverpool men saw the beneficial side of piracy. In 1581 the Court of Admiralty established by the Earl of Derby impounded in Liverpool forty-eight "balletts of pastel" taken by pirates from French merchants of Paris and Toulouse.⁽⁴⁾ In this case some of the goods were available to be returned, but much more likely was the situation of 1588 when a German ship from Bremen was pirated by Captain Anthony Weekes and brought into the Isle of Man, where its goods were dispersed. Despite requests, it proved impossible for the Earl of Derby to recover these goods and his officers on the island were viewed with some suspicion by the Privy Council.⁽⁵⁾ There may also have been direct involvement in acts of piracy. A Lancashire pirate, Thomas Wolfall (perhaps from Huyton parish), arrived at Bardsey Island off Anglesey in 1563 with a foreign barque loaded with wheat and rye which he had captured in the English Channel. When accused of piracy Wolfall claimed to have a letter of

(1) P.R.O., SP 12/193/16.

(2) L.R.O. typescript with probate inventory of Richard Bird of Liverpool 1595.

(3) P.R.O., SP 63/180/45.

(4) A.P.C. Vol. VIII/212.

(5) A.P.C. Vol. XVI/367.

marque from the Earl of Warwick.⁽¹⁾ (A man of the same name - Thomas Wolfall - together with one Henry Asmolde were wanted by the Privy Council in 1577 for counterfeiting, and in 1588 Thomas Wolfall, 'servant' to the Earl of Derby, was on a Liverpool ship at St. Jean de Luz.)⁽²⁾ In 1591 testimony in the High Court of Admiralty over the Edward of Mersey - called a pirate - may have been concerning the ship of Edward Tarbock.⁽³⁾

In addition to piracy it is also virtually impossible to know the level of smuggling - or illegal importing - that went on; local officials were too few and may well have connived at activities. Clearly there was a measure of uncertainty over procedures, and a complaint by the mayor in 1573 resulted in a deputation attending the Privy Council and Court of Exchequer. Customs formalities were reiterated and fees for domestic journeys were not to amount to more than twelve pence for one complete transaction. The Customer, Comptroller and Searcher might search vessels for prohibited or concealed merchandise but they were not to charge for their actions nor unnecessarily delay merchants.⁽⁴⁾ However, in the 1570 s comment had been made that Liverpool merchants were resisting the vigilance of the Customer at Chester and exporting goods without paying customs, and in the early 1580 s a level of evasion and illegal trade was still present - "there be very many unlawful conveyances in divers

(1) Owen, Elizabethan Wales, p. 137.
P.R.O., HCA 1/36 fos. 245-298, 363-391.

(2) A.P.C. Vol. X/84.
P.R.O., SP 15/30/110.

(3) P.R.O., HCA 3/176, 184 and 185.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 98.
P.R.O., Exchequer Queen's Remembrancer: Customs Accounts,
E 122/196/4.

other creeks of Cheshire, Wales and Lancashire ... and the owners and merchants there do refuse to obey her Majesty's officers of the ports ". Ships often departed and returned without making any entry, invoice or outvoice for their goods, and Liverpool ships confused the issue further by using Wallasey, Frodsham and Otterspool for unloading.⁽¹⁾

In an area like south-west Lancashire with several anchorages away from the direct supervision of Chester all sorts of evasion and fraud were possible. Merchants could trade without appropriate licences such as the four Liverpool men who had imported wine whilst not authorised vintners.⁽²⁾ Likewise the holders of the monopoly of imported bow staves brought a case in the courts of Exchequer, Requests and Common Pleas against their deputy in Liverpool - John Crosse, Junior - who had broken all his obligations.⁽³⁾ Indeed, Chester's deputy Customer - Thomas Wickstead - who operated in Liverpool from 1573 was accused in 1581 of using his office to favour his own commercial affairs. He was part-owner of a ship, traded as a merchant, and had six or seven warehouses from which he discharged wares "at his pleasure and keepeth his original book private ". In particular he received goods from London which he then conveyed illegally to Ireland.⁽⁴⁾

In addition to deceit, evasion and fraud, actual smuggling was also a strong possibility. A detailed account of such activities

(1) P.R.O., Exchequer Queen's Remembrancer: Special Commissions, E 178/499.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 82.

(3) P.R.O., Records of the Court of Requests: Proceedings, REQ 2 33/112.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 97.
P.R.O., E 178/499.

was provided for the Exchequer by a Chester customs official who claimed that in 1583 at about ten o'clock in Liverpool chapelyard Giles Brooke and four other merchants kept watch and unlawfully loaded a ship with three wain loads of barley and calf skins. They threatened the official with bills and staves. In another incident later in the same year Giles Brooke equipped with a pikestaff, Nicholas Abraham with a cudgel and four more men actually struck the same official whilst trying to unload a cart of tallow onto the Lantern. Giles Brooke clearly had had enough of this eavesdropping and spying and threatened to cut off the official's ears if he found him there another night. ⁽¹⁾

Smuggling on this scale - five barrels of tallow - is indicative of relatively unimportant and insignificant overseas trade of Liverpool. During the second half of the sixteenth century some changes had taken place; Liverpool ships no longer went to Spain and France, no French ships reached Liverpool, coal had become increasingly valued as a local exportable commodity, and transport of troops and supplies to Ireland had reached overwhelming proportions. Yet a very great deal had not changed; the predominant export and import commodities were unchanged, and coastal traffic and the Irish trade remained the basis of Liverpool's activities. During 1565-6 twelve Liverpool ships were recorded in the Port Books making overseas voyages (including two to Spain and two to France), and during 1602-3 twelve Liverpool ships were again recorded making

(1) P.R.O., E 178/499.

overseas voyages (all to Ireland).⁽¹⁾ It has been claimed that important as the Irish trade obviously was to Liverpool it, nonetheless, "survived rather than prospered" during the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ International, national and local circumstances did not favour the development of overseas trade from Liverpool during this period, and clearly this was no basis for mercantile expansion and prosperity.

f) The Market Area of South-West Lancashire.

In general terms the volume of internal trade in England is notoriously difficult to measure and assess when it was largely untaxed and incompletely recorded - whether this involved movement by coastal shipping, inland waterway or road.⁽³⁾ Indeed it can be claimed "very little is known about roads and land transport in this period, and very little may ever be known",⁽⁴⁾ whilst the dealings of fairs, markets, pedlars, craftsmen and shops are impossible to discern fully.

The extent of influence of a market's economy depended on the resources of local agricultural land, on the industrial potential of an area and on external trade connections - together with features of local geography and transport facilities.⁽⁵⁾ Work in Preston has used distance to the next available markets, homes of stallengers and rolls of out-burgesses to conclude that the key area dominated by Preston's market lay within a seven miles radius. Between seven and twelve miles the market's influence was still very considerable.⁽⁶⁾

(1) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 and E 190/1323/2 and /7.

(2) Patten, English Towns, p. 233.

C. N. Parkinson, The Rise of the Port of Liverpool, Liverpool 1952, p. 37.

(3) J. A. Chartres, Internal Trade in England, 1500-1700, London 1977, p.p. 9-12.

(4) T. S. Willan, The Inland Trade, Manchester 1976, p. 2.

(5) See Chapters IV and VI.

(6) H. B. Rodgers, "The Market Area of Preston in the 16th and 17th Centuries" in Geographical Studies, Vol.VI, No.1, 1956, p.p.46-55.

At Manchester during the reign of Elizabeth I it has been postulated that there was an inner zone of influence with a seven-twelve miles radius and an outer zone or hinterland of up to twenty miles.⁽¹⁾

Using debt lists from probate inventories the market area of Worcester has been calculated as an area of ten-twelve miles from the city, although Worcester by the second half of the sixteenth century was quite industrialized with important cloth and other manufacturing concerns.⁽²⁾

The extent of the influence of Liverpool's market is difficult to determine precisely as insufficient probate debt lists survive and inadequate commercial records are available. Disconnected indications are all that can be used. The Town Books refer to individuals from Everton, Formby, Prescott, Huyton and Crosby using Liverpool market - a not unexpected catchment area of about eight miles.⁽³⁾ Some individuals, although living just outside the town, regarded themselves as economically of the town, for instance several men from the adjacent townships of Everton and Kirkdale.⁽⁴⁾ A little further afield in the four parishes frequent and regular contact was possible, such as James Allanson of Much Woolton in Childwall parish who traded in iron through Liverpool during the 1570 s.⁽⁵⁾ Over a distance of about seven miles on its side of the Mersey Liverpool's market was probably dominant, and much beyond this had some influence; John Lee of Ormskirk, for example, sold his shoes in Liverpool.⁽⁶⁾ The town's overseas trade must also have encouraged some widening of the hinterland to the advantage of the domestic market. However, the

(1) Willan, Elizabethan Manchester, p.p. 77-97.

(2) Dyer, City of Worcester, p. 133.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 396, p. 722 and p. 764.
See Map XIX.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 335 and p. 553.

(5) Ibid., p. 172.

(6) Ibid., p. 307.



MAP XIX: DOMESTIC MARKETS OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

strongest influence in delimitating the market area during the later sixteenth century was probably transport time and cost and in consequence the proximity of competing market centres. Ormskirk to the north-east and Prescot to the east must have both functioned in this way. (A Rainhill yeoman in fact had a house and yard in Ormskirk which he sublet to a shoemaker.)⁽¹⁾

Prescot market was traditionally held on Sundays, although in 1557 an attempt to regulate its operation had prohibited selling from the beginning of Matins until Mass has ended.⁽²⁾ By 1586 the vicar, Mr. Meade, was writing to the Provost of King's College at Cambridge in the hope that the Sunday market was shortly to be "reformed" because, without cost, royal consent had been obtained for a Tuesday market - to commence in August 1586. The vicar wanted the Provost to direct his steward, the Earl of Derby, to assist in suppressing Sunday trading activities.⁽³⁾ Possibly in connection with this transfer, or coincidentally, from 1587 onwards a clerk of the market was appointed by Prescot manor court.⁽⁴⁾ Whether the move to a Tuesday market affected the overall viability of trading is impossible to assess now, but certainly the change in day had been made reluctantly and only with substantial initiative from a new vicar and external pressure.⁽⁵⁾ In a parish as large as Prescot the

(1) L.R.O., Stanley of Crosse Hall Papers, DDCr 36/42.

(2) Pres. Recs., p. 139.

(3) Prescot Records at Cambridge IV (19).

(4) Pres. Recs., p. 237, p. 257, p. 260, p. 266, p. 270, p. 274.

(5) See p. 510.

attractions of a Sunday market at a time when church attendance was obligatory (even if not enthusiastically supported) must have been hard to recreate on Tuesdays. Still less comment indicates the extent of the dominance of this market at Prescott, but the geography of south-west Lancashire and the agriculture of the area probably ensured that Ormskirk, Wigan and Warrington formed the boundaries of this influence.⁽¹⁾ Attendance at Prescott church sited in such a place in so large a parish must have influenced economic practices.⁽²⁾

Money lending, goods on credit, payment by instalment were all commonplace transactions of sixteenth century business - maybe not desirable, but evidently essential if the local economy was to operate.⁽³⁾ Not less than anyone else, the merchants had to participate in these areas of operation; however, it is extremely difficult to separate commercial business using credit and instalments from true money lending, particularly as some merchants were likely to have available cash.⁽⁴⁾ Unfortunately, relatively few merchant probate records survive from the four parishes in this period and no 'good' merchant debt lists. Only in the probate records of some craftsmen are there indications of some areas with which Liverpool had commercial transactions. Two joiners owed money at distances up to ten miles away in Knowsley, Halebank and Tarbock,

(1) See Map XIX.

(2) See Map VI, p. 36.

(3) See Chapter XIII.

(4) An Act of 1571 permitted the taking of interest providing that the rate did not exceed ten per cent.
B. A. Holderness, "The Clergy as Money-lenders in England 1550-1700" in ed. R. O'Day and F. Heal, Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800, Leicester 1981, p. 197.

whilst a yeoman and a glover both owed money in Bolton, and George Ackers a gentleman owed one person in Drogheda in Ireland.⁽¹⁾ A glover was owed money from the Wirral, and a weaver from Farnworth and Prescott, both quite near, and also from Manchester and the Isle of Man. A shoemaker was expecting money from Knutsford in Cheshire and also from Drogheda.⁽²⁾ William Lyme the mercer from Prescott who died in 1603 had six outstanding small debts including one in London.⁽³⁾ Thomas Bolton, a Liverpool merchant who died in 1597, left an extensive family including four legitimate and two illegitimate children for whom he made provision in Liverpool. His inventory itself totalled only just under thirty-two pounds including little of real value, yet debts owing to him amounted to over one hundred and forty-four pounds. This total was owed by at least sixteen different individuals - some small items and bills, but also more substantial individual amounts, for example thirty-three pounds from William Part, twenty pounds from Richard Harrington and Mr. John Molyneux of West Derby and ten pounds by Richard Hodgson, a fellow merchant.⁽⁴⁾ Debts amongst Exeter merchants could range from ten to over sixty per cent of the whole value of estates.⁽⁵⁾ There is

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- (1) L.R.O., Will of Ralph Edgecar, Liverpool 1578, Will of Peter Ireland, Liverpool 1580, Will of Thomas Hitchmough, Liverpool 1591, Will of John Smith, Liverpool 1590, Will of George Ackers, Liverpool 1588.
- (2) L.R.O., Will of John Smith, Liverpool 1590, Will of John Gore, Liverpool 1594, Will of James Melling, Liverpool 1603.
- (3) L.R.O., Will of William Lyme, Prescott 1603.
- (4) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Bolton, Liverpool 1597.
- (5) Hoskins, "Elizabethan Merchants", p.p. 172-174.

insufficient evidence in south-west Lancashire to be conclusive, but debts could indeed cover this range of proportions. Robert Hitchmough, Richard Bird and William Secum had no recorded debts; they amount to 12.6 per cent of the valuation of Richard Hitchmough's inventory, 27.2 per cent of Thomas Bavand's, 451.7 per cent of Thomas Bolton's and 266.1 per cent of Robert Wolfall's - the impoverished linendraper.⁽¹⁾ The extent and nature of these debts, however, must have depended on many variable circumstances - some personal such as age, character and family circumstances and some environmental such as the nature of domestic and overseas trade in south-west Lancashire.

At Liverpool market attempts were made to protect local interests from outsiders such as the Bolton and Blackburn men selling iron and wood in 1564 and the Bolton, Wigan and Manchester merchants bringing hops, tallow and soap into the town in 1582.⁽²⁾ During the 1580 s and 1590 s a number of Wigan merchants regularly traded through Liverpool to Ireland importing old brass, wool and herrings. Ralph Barrow, for example, was a Wigan pewterer presumably acquiring reasonably priced raw materials.⁽³⁾ By 1603 another Wigan man was selling cattle through Liverpool market.⁽⁴⁾ Accounts of the family of Lord Mounteagle at Hornby Castle in north Lancashire indicate that a servant rode to Liverpool and Chester in 1582 to purchase wine on two occasions.⁽⁵⁾ The Shuttleworth family from Smithills near Bolton used

(1) See Table XXXII.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 156, L.T.B. II, p. 428.

(3) P.R.O., E 190/1324/21, E 190/1325/1 and /9, E 190/1325/21, E 190/1326/8.

(4) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. CLXVII M 2.

(5) W. H. Chippindall, A 16th century survey and year's accounts of the estate of Hornby Castle Lancashire in Chet. Soc., N.S. Vol. 102, 1939, p.p. 115-119.

York, Manchester, Warrington, Chester and also Liverpool for commodities, for instance sack and claret wine, iron and pitch from the town in 1583-4. Twelve pounds' worth of Spanish iron was obtained from Liverpool in 1593 - clearly worth the ten shillings and four pence carrying cost.⁽¹⁾

The most substantial Lancashire connection, however, was with the Manchester area. During the early 1560 s Adam Byrom of Salford was trading in Spanish iron using John Hewett as his factor in Liverpool and had difficulty recovering money he had loaned to Thomas Sekerston for merchandise.⁽²⁾ So substantial was Adam Byrom's business that he leased Lady Mercer's Hall in Juggler Street until 1568.⁽³⁾ By 1564 Alexander Garnet's shop in Liverpool stocked Manchester rugs and from the 1560 s onwards a number of Manchester merchants exported and imported goods through Liverpool - sometimes operating independently and sometimes in co-operation with Liverpool merchants.⁽⁴⁾ Principally Manchester narrow cloths - cottons, kerseys, rugs and friezes - were the commodities being moved through Liverpool,⁽⁵⁾ but more varied transactions were possible. From the 1560 s until the 1590 s Richard Fox of Manchester sent hops, soap, alum, aniseed and nails to Dublin and Drogheda in Liverpool ships and in return imported linen yarn and wool.⁽⁶⁾ Francis Pendleton, Ralph

- (1) ed. J. Harland, The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall 1582-1621 in Chet. Soc. Vol. XXXV, 1856, p. 18 and p.p. 80-81.
- (2) L.T.B. I, p. 170.
P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XIV B 3.
- (3) L.T.B. I, p. 354.
- (4) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XIX G 1.
- (5) Willan, Elizabethan Manchester, p.p. 51-56.
- (6) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 and /9 and /12, E 190/1324/4 and /9 and /21 and /22, E 190/1326/8 and /19.
L.R.O., Crosse of Shaw Hill Papers, DDSH No. 199.

Bibby, Richard Newton, Simon Mallon and Henry Pendleton all traded during this same period in similar commodities, although Simon Mallon specialised rather more in the import of leather fells.⁽¹⁾ John Ashton of Ashton-under Lyme was a major importer of wool.⁽²⁾ At times these Manchester merchants were obliged to store their commodities in Liverpool for periods of time and there must have been numerous opportunities for fraud, such as that in 1583-4 which provoked a serious breach of the peace between George Rainford, a Liverpool merchant, and Henry Pendleton of Manchester.⁽³⁾

This substantial economic connection with Manchester was maintained by both land and water transport. Pickards and small boats were certainly used for travel from Liverpool via the Mersey to Frodsham and Warrington, and the owner of Liverpool's largest vessel in 1565 - the forty ton Eagle - had also a very small barque for local work.⁽⁴⁾ This same connection with Frodsham and the north Cheshire shore was important for modest economic links with the area itself, such as Thomas Wytter the Frodsham merchant who was importing hides through Liverpool during the 1590 s,⁽⁵⁾ and for connections to central Cheshire particularly the Nantwich salt area. At the time of the disastrous fire in Nantwich in 1583 property in the town was owned by Humphrey Brooke, three members of the Sekerston family, Thomas

(1) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 and /9 and /12, E 190/1326/26, E 190/1327/2 and /16 and /22, E 190/1328/2 and /7.

(2) Ibid., E 190/1326/8 and /19 and /25.

(3) L.T.B. I, p.p. 496-498.
L.R.O. Recognisance Books, QSB 2/1 f.34.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 292.

(5) P.R.O., E 190/1325/23, E 190/1327/16.

Wickstead and John Corbet - all of whom more than likely had direct Liverpool links.⁽¹⁾

Further afield Kendal merchants from Cumberland used Liverpool particularly during the 1560 s and 1570 s to export their Kendal cottons,⁽²⁾ a Yorkshire butcher was in Liverpool in 1567, and a rich stock of goods from a Yorkshire clothier was lost at sea in 1574 in a Liverpool ship.⁽³⁾ Also during the 1560 s the Liverpool merchants Alexander Garnet and Ralph Sekerston personally frequented Barnsley fair.⁽⁴⁾ Even with the Midlands a few intermittent connections existed; a Coventry man was in Liverpool court in 1563 and a Coventry mercer had a debt claim in the town the next year.⁽⁵⁾ By the 1580 s and 1590 s Hallamshire knives were often to be found amongst the exports from Liverpool.⁽⁶⁾

Still more distant, but not surprisingly, Liverpool also had direct links with London. The capital's dominant trading position meant that a "national market was emerging" during this period.⁽⁷⁾ Some London merchants, therefore, had interests covering the North-West. In 1559 a Londoner was selling Breton salt and iron in Liverpool, another was mentioned in 1561 and three more in 1562.⁽⁸⁾ In 1564 Henry Mathew, a London grocer, supplied calico cloth, pepper, saffron, raisins, dates and sugar to Adam Pendleton in Liverpool.⁽⁹⁾

(1) Garton, Tudor Nantwich, p.p. 77-79.

(2) P.R.O., E 190/1323/4 and /12, E 190/1324/4 and /6.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 338, L.T.B. II, p.p. 147-148.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 138, p. 204.

(5) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XIX E 24.

(6) P.R.O., E 190/1325/1 and /9 and /21, E 190/1326/8 and /9 and /25 and /26.

(7) Willan, Inland Trade, p. 41.

(8) L.T.B. I, p. 129, p. 172, p. 184, p. 186.

(9) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XX M 14.

This type of connection steadily continued, but does not seem to have appreciably expanded. In 1580 John Wanton, a London grocer, had dealings with John Crosse of Liverpool, and in 1583 four London merchants were trying to reclaim debts from Richard Hitchmough.⁽¹⁾

When necessary, despite a distance of two hundred miles, transport between the North-West and London could be quite prompt. The proclamation devaluing the coinage was made in London on 27th September 1560 and on 28th September proclaimed in Chester, Manchester and Preston and the precept from the sheriff published in Liverpool.⁽²⁾ Normally journeys took somewhat longer, but many of the merchants and town's hierarchy must have been familiar with the capital. In 1555 the mayor and a friend were there on the town's business and later in the year, from 5th October until 22nd December, Thomas More and Mr. Sekerston were there "partlye" on further official duties.⁽³⁾ Usually some disputed business necessitated travel in person, such as the mayor and the two bailiffs appearing at the Admiralty Court in Southwark in 1561 over a grounded Dublin vessel, or Mr. Sekerston representing the town's opinion in the disputed parliamentary election of 1563.⁽⁴⁾ On other occasions quite clearly town business was transacted by those already in London for other purposes, for example when Thomas More obtained a Duchy warrant for the schoolmaster's stipend in 1564 (which he subsequently lost

(1) L.R.O., DDSH No. 203.
P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. LXXXIX H 13.

(2) C. E. Challis, The Tudor Coinage, Manchester 1978, p.p. 121-122.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 41, p. 53.

(4) Ibid., p. 166, p.p. 218-219.

from his saddle-bags at Daventry on his way home), and when four merchants, Ralph Sekerston, Robert Corbet, William Secum and Thomas Bavand, hired a schoolmaster whilst in the capital in 1566.⁽¹⁾ Costs of overland travel are imprecise because it is difficult to know the total expense involved. Travel to London, however, was clearly possible if quite expensive. Robert Wytter allowed fifty shillings for himself and horse provender and thirteen shillings and four pence for his horse hire for a journey to London and back in 1574, whilst Henry Dam was allowed forty shillings towards horse hire for his journey in 1581.⁽²⁾ The normal length of the journey may have been somewhat variable but in 1573 a Liverpool deputation to the Privy Council breakfasted at the mayor's hall on 20th April and probably reached London on 27th April. They secured their award on 8th May and left the city on 9th May to reach Liverpool again on 16th May.⁽³⁾

Domestic transport was possible to Liverpool from virtually all parts of England; frequently, however, it was not desirable. Liverpool and Prescot provided the only two market centres in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire, but both were of relatively modest size with dominant catchment areas of perhaps seven miles each. In fact there was a specific arrangement between these two markets whereby Prescot traders had special privileges in Liverpool and were not treated as 'foreigners' - for instance Robert Hitchmough

(1) Ibid., p. 256, p. 301, p. 320.

(2) L.T.B. II, p.p. 181-182, p. 406.

(3) Ibid., p. 98.

of Prescot was a regular frequenter of Liverpool market in 1580.⁽¹⁾ However, the Liverpool merchants were nervous of this competition and in 1586 fears were voiced that the system was being exploited. It was claimed that two merchants who had sold their land at Prescot were still claiming freedom in Liverpool.⁽²⁾ This anxiety to protect their interests and to guard against outside competition testifies to the realisation of the limitations of the Liverpool/Prescot markets. Without substantial growth in population domestic trade whether through markets, fairs, shops or pedlars was of finite proportions.

Despite this situation and its deterrence to the development of more substantial trade, extensive geographical contacts were possible which brought some goods to the domestic markets and principally to the port for export. The variety of products leaving for Ireland is evidence of this⁽³⁾ as are the landed interests of one Edward Johnson who died in 1601. His will described him as a merchant of Liverpool who left the bulk of his property to a niece - including a brewhouse in Liverpool and a burgage. But the will was proved in London and other properties were recorded between Wakefield and Barnsley, in Leeds, at Skipton, at Burton-in-Kendal, two miles from Kirkham in Lancashire and at Ashbourne in Derbyshire.⁽⁴⁾ Perhaps the most tantalising glimpse, however, of goods which could be available in Liverpool is provided by the cargo carried by Thomas Knype whose

(1) Ibid., p. 356.

(2) Ibid., p. 517.

(3) See p.p. 377-378.

(4) P.R.O., PROB 11, 36 Woodhall, Edward Johnson of Liverpool 1601.

barque perished in 1594 and whose goods were cast shore from Liverpool to Formby.⁽¹⁾ Much was retrieved and an inventory made for the Court of Admiralty.⁽²⁾ There was one hamper containing felt, velvet, ruffs, taffeta, a doublet and forty-three hat bands, another hamper with forty treen cups, nine piggins, twenty-two knives, nine pairs of spurs, five damask sword hilts, four pommels, thirty-two sword handles and eleven dozen wool cards, and a third hamper with seventy-four treen cups, one bent ladle, fourteen sword handles and twelve dozen wool cards. A portmanteau contained a shirt, three falling bands, two ruffle bands, a handkerchief, seven knives and two purses, and a fardel had twenty-six wooden bottles, two bags of nails, one lantern and one copper pan. Further metal goods were found including two dozen spurs, two dozen flat locks, ten round locks, twelve capcase locks, two clout needles, two dozen locks and a small bag of brass. There were also two dozen treen cups and fifty-six earthen cups. The principal receptacle, however, was a chest containing cloth breeches, a cloak, four bolts of silk, two and a half pieces of fustian, two papers of round silk girdles, a paper of shot silk, six velvet girdles and six French silk girdles, ten papers of bon lace, seven pieces of velvet lace, a hank of silk lace, a gross of statute lace, a paper of black silk and a paper of coloured silk, two hundred and sixteen silver buttons, seventy-two gold buttons, five hundred and seventy-six silk buttons, five hundred and seventy-six copper buttons, a dozen pairs of Grouse gloves, twelve

(1) L.R.O., DDK 1402/28.

(2) L.R.O., DDM 16/2.

silk purses, twenty-four children's purses, forty-eight small purses, twenty-four small looking glasses, six broken looking glasses, twelve fine knives, thirteen dozen knives, two dozen silk tassels for knives, twenty-two sword blades, two dozen pens and inkhorns, two bolts of crewel garters and three dozen French garters and girdles! There was also a bag of hops worth nothing after its excursion into the sea and it was cast on the dung hill!⁽¹⁾ Liverpool's domestic trade potential may not have been that great by the end of the sixteenth century, but the town was by no means isolated from supplies for those that could afford them.

However, in the sixteenth century all towns were "frail" both demographically and economically; fire, plague and war could all cause serious disruption.⁽²⁾ Not only did Liverpool have to contend with these natural misfortunes, but also the prolonged effects of English campaigns to Ireland and war with Spain. Before these international affairs can have had substantial effect Liverpool had been referred to by one of its own merchants and member of Parliament, Ralph Sekerston, in 1567 as "your graces decayed towne of Liverpole".⁽³⁾ Twenty years later the situation cannot have been much improved as in 1586 when the Earl of Derby received instructions for coastal watches and beacons, he reported that "Lyverpool the towne beinge verie poore and unable to bear the charge".⁽⁴⁾ By the late 1580s the war against Spain was having serious consequences,

- (1) L.R.O., DDK 1402/28.
- (2) Patten, English Towns, p. 17.
- (3) L.T.B. I, p.p. 332-336.
- (4) P.R.O., SP 12/192/37.

and during the 1590 s involvement in Ireland escalated substantially. Such was the effect that by 1599 the wage of the keeper of the warehouse in Liverpool was reduced "in regard of the smale trade or trafique that nowe is ... untill God send better traffique ".⁽¹⁾ In 1601, when mayor Giles Brooke wrote to Sir Robert Cecil pleading the interests of his town, he claimed Liverpool "being already so far impaired as hard it is at the time of our election to find a sufficient man to be our magistrate, some being dead, some departed into the country, and others of the best account ready to leave the town if redress be not had ".⁽²⁾

Despite these comments, it was possible that by the end of the sixteenth century the volume of Liverpool's trade had surpassed that of Chester and thus established predominance in the North-West. In part this was because of Liverpool's advantages and in part because of Chester's problems, but by this date the town and its merchant community had not grown commensurately.⁽³⁾ This situation was clearly evident to contemporaries, and the mayor of Liverpool complained bitterly in 1601 that Privy Council letters had been directed to Chester and that Chester was abusing its position to direct the staying of shipping; "they will so insult over us as now

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 779.

(2) H.M.C., Salis. Mss. Vol. XI/465-467.

(3) Woodward, Trade of Chester, p.p. 2-3, p. 61, p. 127.
 J.A. Picton, Chester and Liverpool in their Ancient Commercial Relations, Liverpool 1836, p.p. 5-17.
 R. C. Jarvis, "The Head Port of Chester; and Liverpool, its Creek and Member" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 102, 1950, p.p. 69-79.

they term us to be a member of Chester, and by that means challenge a superiority over us."⁽¹⁾ The dispute was taken by Liverpool to Star Chamber in 1602.⁽²⁾

In Liverpool the merchant community was just flexing its muscles, albeit still with considerable influence from the local gentry and the Earl of Derby; elsewhere in the four parishes there had been little opportunity for any mercantile spirit to develop as Prescot with its manorial government was dominated by its steward, the Earl of Derby.⁽³⁾ This did not necessarily mean that town identity could not develop - Manchester, Darlington and Peterborough all had this type of administration and developed.⁽⁴⁾ But Prescot had restricted economic potential and few merchants, so that by the end of the sixteenth century it hovered on the brink of growth as a town or stagnation as a large village.

- (1) Salisbury Mss., Pt. II, p. 465 in Cheshire Sheaf, Vol. XI, 1914, p. 59.
- (2) B.L. Harl. Mss., 2173, f.85 r. and v.
- (3) See Chapter II.
- (4) Willan, Elizabethan Manchester, p.p. 2-4, p. 39.
N. Sunderland, Tudor Darlington, Durham 1974, p. 2, p. 17.
W. T. Mellows and D. H. Gifford, Elizabethan Peterborough in Northamptonshire Record Society, Vol. XVIII, 1956, p.p. xxxiii-xxxv.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DEPENDENTS AND THEIR WELFARE.

- a) Women.
- b) Apprentices.
- c) Servants and labourers.

Many contemporary commentators testify to the Elizabethans' hierarchical view of society, but the precision of this structure is described usually at the higher levels.⁽¹⁾ Status and/or occupation determined the situation of many in this structured classification, yet the substantial base of society presented a much more indeterminate and uncertain amalgam. The designation of labourer or servant could ensure that contemporaries saw this individual amongst these lowest levels, although this was not necessarily accurate. The use of the word 'servant' implied a certain dependent relationship, but not always at a humble level. Those dependent on others - widows, the aged, apprentices, the unemployed, for example - could also be grouped amongst the base of society.⁽²⁾ Their exact social and economic situation and their potential for movement into other ranks of society was, however, subject to great variation. Contemporary Tudor attitudes and lack of abundant source material have ensured that this base of society remains largely indeterminate, but this imprecision can create many misconceptions.

a) Women.

The status of half of the population of sixteenth century England - women - is testified to by two contemporary phenomena;

- (1) W. Harrison, The Description of England, London 1587, reprinted G. Edelen, Ithaca, U.S.A., 1968, p.p. 94-123.
T. Wilson, The State of England, A.D. 1600, in Camden Miscellany Vol. XVI, Camden Society 3rd Series Vol. LII, 1936, p.p. 16-26.
- (2) L. Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700" and A. Everitt, "Social Mobility in Early Modern England" in Past and Present, Vol. 33, 1966, p.p. 16-73.

firstly, their relative, although by no means total, absence from documentation, and secondly, by the continuing use in south-west Lancashire of patronymics in the designation of females. In all the surviving registers for this area the use of the suffix 'daughter' was moderately well used until the end of Elizabeth I's reign, and the use of 'wife' is occasionally apparent.⁽¹⁾

TABLE XXXVIII: USE OF PATRONYMICS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

	<u>Dates register available.</u>	<u>Use of 'daughter'.</u>	<u>Use of 'wife'.</u>	<u>Last recorded use.</u>
Huyton Parish.	1578-1603	8	-	1600
Childwall Parish.	1557-1603	36	2	1602
Hale Chapelry.	1572-1603	28	8	1603
Walton Parish.	1586-1603	9	-	1602
Prescot Parish.	1573-1603	11	-	1596
Farnworth Chapelry.	1538-1603	21	-	1602

Certainly the use of these patronymics was disappearing, but their residual appearances in documentation suggests a traditional and conservative view of the status of women by the male scribes of the area. This prevailing opinion was bolstered by the authority of law which continued to restrict severely female participation in legal

(1) Based on Registers of Huyton, Childwall, Hale, Walton, Prescot and Farnworth.

processes and the recognition of female rights.⁽¹⁾ Notwithstanding these circumstances, the essential economic contributions female made in an essentially rural community were undoubtedly recognized and protected during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾

Within male organized legal processes provision for daughters was clearly a male dominated procedure. At all levels of society provision for daughters ultimately centred around negotiated marriage arrangements, and in many senses there is little reason to suppose that daughters were treated less favourably than sons. In south-west Lancashire there is slight evidence that very early marriage was still contracted during the second half of the sixteenth century - usually for precise economic reasons, although only disputed provisions were likely to create substantial documentation. In 1563 Thomas Fletcher, aged 19-20, refused to take Anne Whitfield, aged 18, as his wife although witnesses testified that they had been married at Childwall church in 1554; the marriage had been negotiated because Thomas' father was in debt and money from Anne's father would secure repayment.⁽³⁾ Likewise Robert Webster was married at Kirkby chapel when he was twelve years

(1) See M. L. Cioni, "The Elizabethan Chancery and Women's Rights" in ed. D. J. Guth and J. W. McKenna, Tudor Rule and Revolution, Cambridge 1982, p.p. 159-168.

(2) See F. G. Emmison, Elizabethan Life: Home, Work and Land, Chelmsford 1976, p.p. 93-102.

(3) ed. F. J. Furnival, Child Marriages, Divorces and Ratifications in the Diocese of Chester 1561-6, Early English Text Society 108, London 1897, p.p. 23-24.

old in 1564 to secure inheritance of a tenement, but by 1570 he was refusing to accept Alice Rylance as his wife.⁽¹⁾

More usually marriages were contracted at an appropriate age, but with considerable care to the provision of the daughter's 'portion' as a reflection of her father's economic situation. Few details survive from amongst the husbandman/yeoman section of society in south-west Lancashire. Many marriages were arranged when a son was able to take over the tenement of his deceased father, and so his name together with that of his intended wife was then written into a new lease - for instance in 1584 Edward Hunt, a husbandman from Much Woolton, and his intended wife Dorothy Pilkington took over his father's property,⁽²⁾ just as William Mercer and Margaret Knolle of Oglet in Speke did in 1595 and Richard Thomasson and Jane Hastie of Aigburth in Garston did in 1599.⁽³⁾ At other times it seems likely that marriage was contracted when a vacant tenement became available from outside the family, as in 1585 when William Abbott and his intended wife Margaret Catton leased the Much Woolton property of William Tyrer deceased.⁽⁴⁾ In these circumstances it is usually impossible to know what financial contribution the bride brought to

(1) C.R.O., Consistory Deposition Books, EDC 2/9 f.1.

(2) University of Liverpool, Norris Deeds 213.

(3) B.L., Add. Ch. 52626 and 52648.

(4) University of Liverpool, Norris Deeds 216.

the marriage, although a few brief indications are available. In Walton parish according to indentures of 1555 Cicely, the daughter of yeoman Richard Worsley, was to have a moiety of a tenement in Fazakerley and twenty pounds when she married yeoman Richard Bridge.⁽¹⁾ A little earlier in 1546 Henry Justice, a yeoman from Tarbock, had paid fourteen pounds at the marriage of his daughter to the son of a Halewood yeoman.⁽²⁾

Probate evidence from the four parishes makes it abundantly clear that daughters could be substantial beneficiaries of testamentary arrangements. Provisions clearly depended on the age and marital status of the testator, but, allowing for this, daughters were usually treated quite generously and often on a par with sons. Most married men left their assets to their children to be equally divided amongst them (albeit one son may have been named already on the lease for the property); the value of the bequest, therefore, depended on the testator's assets and on the number of surviving children. For example, Robert Taylor of Ditton, Mathew Ellam of Parr and Thomas Ranicars of Penketh all left half of their assets to their one daughter, whilst John Standish of Cuerdley left his one daughter two-thirds of his possessions.⁽³⁾ Alternatively one-third of the possessions of William Whitfield of Little Woolton had to be

(1) Liv. R. O., Lancashire Deeds, 920 LAN 1/19.

(2) B.L., Add. Ch. 52486 and 52487.

(3) L.R.O., Wills of Robert Taylor Ditton 1582, Mathew Ellam Parr 1591, Thomas Ranicars Penketh 1592, John Standish Cuerdley 1592.

These arrangements were not unusual in the Northern Province of the Church. See J. I. Kermodé, "The Merchants of Three Northern English Towns", p. 10.

divided amongst four surviving daughters and a half of the assets of Oliver Hey of Eccleston amongst his six daughters.⁽¹⁾ Sometimes testators emphasized the provision of their daughters such as Robert Lathom of Rainford who bequeathed one-third of his goods to his wife, another third to his son and daughter, and the remaining third to this same daughter.⁽²⁾

These provisions for daughters were all in addition to arrangements for surviving wives.⁽³⁾ Widowers, clearly, did not have this provision to make and could well leave even more to daughters - usually with quite equitable distributions, for example Edward Challinor of Speke who remembered his grandchild with a small bequest and left most of his chattels to be equally divided between his son and daughter.⁽⁴⁾ Likewise widows predominantly left their goods to their children and so it was possible for substantial assets to come to daughters. Ellen Lathom of Bold and Margaret Ashbrook of Cuerdley both left a half of their possessions to one daughter, whilst Alice Wakefield of Parr and Elizabeth Ellam of Parr bequeathed all of their goods to their only child - in both cases a daughter.⁽⁵⁾ On the other hand another widow, Maud Gudicar of Ditton, did indeed leave her possessions to her daughters, but, with six of them to

(1) L.R.O., Wills of William Whitfield, Little Woolton 1594 and Oliver Hey, Eccleston 1581.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Robert Lathom, Rainford 1584.

(3) See p.p. 425-427.

(4) L.R.O., Will of Edward Challinor, Speke 1602.

(5) L.R.O., Wills of Ellen Lathom, Bold 1584, Margaret Ashbrook, Cuerdley 1596, Alice Wakefield, Parr 1598 and Elizabeth Ellam, Parr 1598.

receive a share, each portion cannot have been very great.⁽¹⁾

From this probate evidence it seems clear that usually every effort was made to be fair to all children and so little precise discrimination of individual names survives.⁽²⁾ The accidents of survival and age at death were perhaps the greatest influences on the eventual provision many daughters received. The written intention, however, did not necessarily mean that all females received the bequests made to them. William Tarbock Esquire died having made substantial arrangements in favour of his wife and two daughters, but this settlement was contested by his brother from 1566 until at least 1594.⁽³⁾ At local and national levels Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, similarly caused enormous legal and family disputes by the testamentary provisions he made for his wife and three daughters in 1594.⁽⁴⁾

Outlay for daughters during their fathers' lifetimes could also be substantial and involve considerable legal documentation. Marriage settlements were negotiated at appropriate levels. In May 1566 covenants were drawn up for the marriage of Mary, daughter of the Earl of Derby, to Lord Stafford, who by September 1567 had received at least nine hundred pounds.⁽⁵⁾ Almost at the same time her sister Jane

- (1) L.R.O., Will of Maud Gudicar, Ditton 1590.
- (2) R. A. Houlbrooke, The English Family 1450-1700, London 1984, p. 240.
C. Howell, "Peasant Inheritance Customs in the Midlands 1280-1700" in ed. J. Goody, J. Thirst and E. P. Thompson, Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800, Cambridge 1976, p.p. 140-145.
- (3) P.R.O., DL 4 7/7, DL 4 7/7.
L.R.O., DDLi Box 134, four unnumbered documents.
P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. CXXIV, M 7.
- (4) L.R.O., DDK 6/20 and 6/21.
See p.p. 87-88.
- (5) L.R.O., DDK 6/5, 6/9.

married Lord Dudley and by January 1568 he had received a fifteen hundred pounds' marriage portion from the Earl.⁽¹⁾ A little lower down the social scale Anne, the sister of Sir Richard Bold, had received five hundred marks from her father's will in 1553 and then a dowry of eight hundred pounds from her brother when she married Francis Thurland Esquire of Tunstall in north Lancashire in 1568. This money was paid in instalments until completion in 1573.⁽²⁾ At almost the same level Sir Richard Molyneux settled land worth one hundred pounds per annum on Bridget, daughter of John Caryll Esquire (Attorney General of the Duchy of Lancaster) in 1558 when she married his son and heir William. Bridget's marriage portion was six hundred pounds.⁽³⁾

Somewhat lower again on the social scale Edward Norris Esquire contracted for his daughter Margaret to marry the eldest son of Edward Tarbock Esquire in 1583. Edward Tarbock agreed to settle thirty pounds on Margaret as her jointure and Edward Norris agreed to pay four hundred marks as the marriage settlement - half at once and half in 1584.⁽⁴⁾ A year later another daughter of Edward Norris - Emily - married the son of Richard Blundell Esquire of Crosby. On this occasion lands worth twenty pounds per annum were conveyed to

(1) L.R.O., DDK 6/6, 6/10.

(2) Manchester Reference Library, Miscellaneous Lancashire Depositions, Bold of Bold Charters, L1/51/9/11 No. 172.

(3) L.R.O., DDM 17/85, 17/86.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52575, 52577, 52786.

Emily and her father agreed to a dowry of five hundred marks.⁽¹⁾ The costs to Edward Norris were perhaps offset, and necessarily so, by arrangements in the same year, 1584, for his son and heir William to marry Eleanor the sister of Sir Richard Molyneux - her dowry was one thousand marks. In return Edward Norris had to provide the couple with an annual rent of sixty pounds from lands in Childwall, Walton and Prescot parishes.⁽²⁾

For a Liverpool merchant/gentleman Thomas Secum it was appropriate to settle a messuage in Dale Street and land in the townfield on his proposed daughter-in-law - Catherine, the daughter of John Poley Gentleman of Melling. John Poley paid sixty pounds as his daughter's marriage portion, and both fathers agreed to provide the couple with ten pounds.⁽³⁾

Elaborate provisions of these types clearly took a number of years to be fully implemented, so that the potential for dispute and difficulty was always there. In 1570 John Crosse Esquire of Liverpool received ten pounds from John More of Bank House as the final instalment of a one hundred and fifty pounds' dowry paid on the marriage of John More's daughter Alice to John Crosse; at least four previous contributions had been paid since 1567.⁽⁴⁾ Edmund Molyneux was left to pay his brother-in-law Edward Norris Esquire of Speke the

(1) L.R.O., DDB1 54/78.

(2) B.L., Add. Ch. 52585, 52583.

(3) L.R.O., DDSH No. 202.

(4) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 255.
H.M.C., Mss. Captain Stewart of Alltyrolyn, Llandyssil, 10th Report, Part IV, 1885, p. 60.

twenty pounds per annum annuity arranged by his father to his sister Mary - the wife of Edward Norris.⁽¹⁾ In another alliance between these two families, in return for a handsome dowry,⁽²⁾ Edward Norris was prepared to devise his mansion house at Speke, his mills at Speke and Garston and extensive land in Childwall parish for sixty years after his death to Sir Richard Molyneux at the marriage of his son William Norris to Eleanor Molyneux.⁽³⁾ With considerable lengths of commitment it was quite likely that one party died before all provisions were completed. Following the death of her husband Thomas Butler, Anne granted all her widow's goods, chattels and lands in 1579 to her father - Edward Norris. Three years later Dame Anne released her widow's lands to her son and in return he agreed to pay her six hundred marks in two instalments. By 1583, however, she was receiving a seventy pounds' per annum annuity from her father which continued until 1597.⁽⁴⁾ Another of Edward Norris' widowed daughters, Martha, likewise necessitated further protracted arrangements, and in 1598 Edward Norris agreed to pay her brother-in-law James Anderton one hundred marks a year over seven years to complete his daughter's

(1) Liv. R. O., Norris Papers, 920 NOR 2/490, 638, 625, 648.

(2) See p. 422.

(3) Liv. R. O., Norris Deeds, 920 NOR 17/14.

(4) B.L. Add. Ch. 53046.
Warrington Reference Library, Bold Deeds MS. 677.
B.L. Add. Ch. 53050.
Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 2/632.

one thousand marks' dowry, whilst James Anderton maintained Martha for the same period of time with a like amount of sixty pounds a year. Only six months later this arrangement was modified by both parties and ^{widow} Martha's share of her husband's property was returned to James Anderton in repayment of her dowry. Two years later Martha was still negotiating with her father over the return of gifts to her by her late husband. ⁽¹⁾

Even elaborate plans could at times come to nothing. By about 1600 William More Esquire of Kirkdale was in legal dispute with his son John because this son had married without his father's knowledge and was using family property in Milne Street in Liverpool. ⁽²⁾ At the other end of the financial scale, William Barrow of Simonswood also brought a case in the Duchy courts against Elizabeth Tatlock, a widow whom he had engaged to marry. He had provided her with various clothes - a broadcloth gown, a velvet gown and a silk hat - and money for the marriage dinner, but she had in fact married another and William Barrow wanted his investment refunded. ⁽³⁾

Where possible, provision for daughters was clearly substantial and carefully considered according to the economic means of the father. This policy could involve great difficulties for the wealthy in meeting their commitments and for the less wealthy in

(1) B.L., Add. Ch. 52638, 52643, 52694.
Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 2/534.

(2) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO/285.
P.R.O., DL 4 43/49 and DL 1 Vol. CLXIV M 9.

(3) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XLIV B 3.

raising even small amounts of ready cash. The unknown factor in potentially complex negotiations is the degree to which daughters were at all party to and willing participants in individual arrangements. It has been claimed that for landowners daughters were seen as more useful in terms of their provision and marriage settlements than were younger sons.⁽¹⁾

In some ways provision for widows was less open to personal decision than was provision for daughters; common law required that for her life a widow was entitled to maintenance from one-third of her husband's assets and to provision of accommodation - albeit in one-third of their former home.⁽²⁾ This anticipated provision could be recognized at the time of marriage, for instance in the surrendering of one-third of his land to the use of his wife arranged by John Norland a customary tenant at Widnes in 1595.⁽³⁾ Much further up the social scale, Richard Bold Esquire made careful arrangements for assorted properties in Bold, Whiston, Sutton, Sankey, Widnes, Burtonwood, Windle and Liverpool to be the marriage jointure for his son's wife.⁽⁴⁾

In view of this basic common law provision other arrangements may well have been made during the lifetimes of various couples, so

- (1) J. P. Cooper, "The Pattern of Inheritance and Settlement by Great Landowners from the 15th-18th Centuries" in Goody, Thirsk and Thompson, Family and Inheritance, p. 213.
- (2) J. Goody, "Inheritance, property and Women: some comparative considerations" in Ibid., p.p. 10-36.
- (3) Liv. R. O., 920 LAN 1/21.
- (4) L.R.O., De Hoghton of Hoghton Papers, DDho 21 and 22.

that testamentary evidence may well represent the wishes of only those who had some specific reason for making a will - over and above more routine inheritance provision.⁽¹⁾ However, from the surviving wills made by married men in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire it is clear that the minimum provision sufficed for half of the individuals and for the other half more substantial arrangements were made.⁽²⁾ In just more than one-quarter of cases this amounted to half of the assets of the husband being allocated to the widow. At times this division is explained by the other half being left to one child only, but in many other instances several children shared half of the assets and the widow solely had the other half - the decision may well have been made dependent on the ages of the children involved.⁽³⁾

TABLE XXXIX: PROVISION IN WILLS BY
MARRIED MEN FOR THEIR WIVES, 1550-1600.

	<u>One-third to wife</u>	<u>One-half to wife</u>	<u>Majority to wife</u>	<u>All to wife</u>	<u>Total</u>
Huyton Parish	7	10	3	2	22
Childwall Parish	28	14	2	-	44
Walton Parish	27	13	4	6	50
Prescot Parish	62	34	22	9	127
<u>Total</u>	51%	29%	13%	7%	243

(1) See N. R. Evans, "Testators, Literacy, Education and Religious Belief" in L.P.S. No. 25, 1980, p. 43.

(2) See Table XXXIX.

(3) Howell, "Peasant Inheritance" in Goody, Thirsk and Thompson, Family and Inheritance, p.p. 140-145.
M. Spufford, "Peasant Inheritance Customs and Land Distribution in Cambridgeshire from 16th-18th Centuries" in Ibid., p.p. 156-173.

In a small percentage of cases the widow inherited all her husband's assets; in not quite every case presumably because there were no surviving children.⁽¹⁾ However, in a larger percentage of instances the widow lost only a small proportion of the total assets, usually because her husband's will made a few specific bequests payable before the widow received the remainder. These bequests were more likely to be made when there were no children to consider and instead godchildren, nieces, nephews, sisters and brothers might secure small recognition with a cash payment - or occasionally with an animal or chattel.⁽²⁾

Widows, with their recognized right to some accommodation and an interest in their late husband's possessions, could be attractive remarriage propositions.⁽³⁾ They might already hold viable economic assets and/or they might have tenancy interests in desirable properties. Equally, for a widow with no children or young children fairly speedy remarriage might be an economic necessity in order to get any land cultivated. In 1583 Edward Norris Esquire granted a new lease to James Georgeson and his intended wife, Jane Richardson widow, on a messuage in Speke that had formerly been in the

- (1) For example, L.R.O., Wills of Oliver Cowley, Eccleston 1592, Henry Kidd, Cuerdley 1597, Richard Johnson, Sutton 1601, Henry Wainwright, Ditton 1603.
- (2) For example, L.R.O., Wills of Edward Potter, Parr 1577, Robert Wolfall, Liverpool 1578, William Lea, Penketh 1579, James Garnett, Eccleston 1589.
- (3) V. Brodsky, "Widows in Late Elizabethan London: Remarriage, Economic Opportunity and Family Orientations" in Bonfield, Smith and Wrightson, The World We Have Gained, p.p. 123-128.

possession of her deceased husband.⁽¹⁾ Two years later virtually the same arrangement was made for the widow of John Pendleton to obtain a new lease with her intended husband Thomas Bradshaw, who moved from Cheshire to settle on the property in Speke.⁽²⁾

Although widows' rights were clearly recognized, those of surviving children were not forgotten. The lease Edward Norris granted in 1588 to William Wainwright and his wife Elizabeth was for the messuage in Speke previously held by her deceased husband, but the lease was to run only until Elizabeth's son by her first marriage, Thomas Cooke, came of age. No further details were specified, and in 1593 a new lease was indeed granted to Thomas at the same rent although the entry fine cost thirty pounds.⁽³⁾ Quite commonly in south-west Lancashire new leases did recognize provision for widows. For example, when Edward Tarleton of Much Woolton took out a new lease in 1595 for himself and his intended wife his widowed mother was guaranteed half of the house.⁽⁴⁾ Likewise in Speke, Robert Hey secured one-third of his messuage to his widowed mother for the remainder of her life in his new lease of 1603.⁽⁵⁾

The recognition of widows' property rights appears not to be in doubt, but in individual cases implementation was not necessarily easy without family co-operation. Two cases in the Duchy courts illustrate some of the inherent problems; in 1570 Thomas Molyneux brought an action against his mother who had remarried and refused to forfeit her former widow's property in West Derby, whilst in 1563 Anne Harrington widow of Huyton tried to seek redress after having been

(1) B.L., Add. Ch., 52576.

(2) Ibid., 52597 and see also 52631.

(3) Ibid., 52609 and 52623.

(4) University of Liverpool, Norris Deeds 230.

(5) Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 17/3.

forcibly removed from her dower lands by one George Stockley with whom her son had conspired!⁽¹⁾

These disputes are a reminder that notwithstanding at times positively generous arrangements for both daughters and widows - it was 'provision' by their fathers or husbands. As a daughter or when married, women had virtually no opportunity to make independent decisions and to dispose of their assets as they wished. Jane, the widow of Richard Bold Esquire, provides a sad example of this. Within a few years of her husband's death she remarried John Edwards Esquire of Chirk in Denbighshire, and rapidly Jane's Bold property was leased to her second husband's cousin to help repay John Edwards' debts. By 1605 John Edwards had removed to live in London, apparently against his wife's wishes, yet he could write "if she will be peevish and wilfull and not obey my lawfull directions, lett her look for the like kindnesse at my hands again "⁽²⁾

Only during widowhood did some measure of independence come to most women should they have chosen to use it. For many with surviving children there was probably little wish to do other than live out their lives as comfortably and securely as possible with some member of their family. Provision in wills left by widows demonstrates this close family attachment; in the overwhelming majority of cases they left their own possessions to their surviving children, with a few token bequests to godchildren, grandchildren, brother or sister.⁽³⁾ Where there were no surviving children then

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XLIII M 5 and Vol. XV H 11.

(2) ed. S. M. Ffarington, The Farington Papers in Chet. Soc., Vol. 39, 1856, p.p. 145-148.

(3) See Table XL.

almost always the principal, and possibly substantial, beneficiaries were brothers and/or sisters and their families. In the case of only three individuals in the area, through apparent absence of any family, did widows choose to divide their possessions amongst a variety of friends and neighbours - for instance Anne Bolton of Walton in 1594 made bequests of items of clothing and household possessions to eighteen such people and Elizabeth Thornton of Ditton who distributed her goods to nine individuals in 1578.⁽¹⁾

TABLE XL: WILL PROVISIONS BY WIDOWS 1550-1600.

	<u>Predominantly son and/or daughter</u>	<u>Predominantly brother and/ or sister</u>	<u>Predominantly friends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Huyton Parish	8	1	-	9
Childwall Parish	9	1	1	11
Walton Parish	6	1	1	8
Prescot Parish	26	9	1	36
<u>Total</u>	77%	18%	5%	64

These provisions, whilst demonstrating a small degree of independent choice by these women - albeit usually only a few days before death - also raise issues of the economic and social standing of these widows. To what extent were they usually almost totally dependent on their children for accommodation and livelihood? To what extent did sibling links operate strongly? To what extent was

(1) L.R.O., Will of Anne Bolton, Walton 1594 and Will of Elizabeth Thornton, Ditton 1578.

independent survival possible? Such listings of tenants that survive from the four parishes suggest that, allowing for minor fluctuations depending on accidents of mortality, one-sixth - one-fifth of all properties could at any one time be held by women.⁽¹⁾ Certainly their numbers would never have given them great weight and voice in manor courts and manorial administration, but equally they must always have been seen as part of the local economy - even if only until their sons were old enough to take over or until they themselves remarried. Few precise details of manorial machinery survive, but there are indications from two manors in the area that women tenants had to provide appropriate officials; in 1559 and 1569 widows were responsible for supplying one of the four burleymen in West Derby and in 1561 for providing one of the four constables,⁽²⁾ whilst in Little Woolton women cottagers shared with their male counterparts in providing one of the two constables both in 1570 and 1586.⁽³⁾ Clearly women were expected to take their place in the rota for officials although there is no evidence that they served any of the offices themselves. In 1572 the widow of John Bridge hired George Brombill to act as constable for the year to fulfil her

(1) See Table XLI.

(2) Liv. R. O., Salisbury Papers, 920 SAL 1/67, 70 and 80.

(3) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924 Little Woolton Court Books, fos. 203-204.

obligations and this seems to have been what was expected.⁽¹⁾

TABLE XLI: WOMEN AMONGST LISTINGS OF
TENANTS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE 1550-1600.

	<u>Place</u>	<u>Total Tenants</u>	<u>Women Tenants</u>	<u>Women as % of total</u>
1565	Liverpool ⁽²⁾	175	26	15%
1576	Liverpool ⁽³⁾	38	8	21%
1580	Great Sankey ⁽⁴⁾	31	6	19%
1581	Liverpool ⁽⁵⁾	203	21	10%
1587	Liverpool ⁽⁶⁾	46	10	22%
1587	Great Sankey ⁽⁷⁾	31	5	16%
1598	Liverpool ⁽⁸⁾	49	8	16%
1600	Speke ⁽⁹⁾	45	5	11%
1600	Garston ⁽⁹⁾	32	5	16%
1600	Much Woolton ⁽⁹⁾	25	2	8%

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- (1) Ibid., f. 205.
See M. Levine, "The Place of Women in Tudor Government" in Guth and McKenna, Tudor Rule and Revolution, p.p. 109-123.
- (2) L.T.B. I, A Fifteenth Assessment for the Repair of Walton Church, p.p. 436-440.
- (3) Liv. R.O., Rental of William More, 920 MOO/256.
- (4) L.R.O., Documents Purchased, D.P. 170, f. 73.
- (5) L.T.B. II, Roll of a Fifteenth and a Tenth, p.p. 819-822.
- (6) Liv. R. O., Rental of William More, 920 MOO/267.
- (7) Warrington Reference Library, Rental of Warrington, Ms. 81.
- (8) Rental of Chantry Lands quoted in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 39, 1888, p.p. 165-166.
- (9) University of Liverpool, Norris Deeds 237.

In addition to maintaining the operation of a tenement few other economic possibilities can have been open to women, although their contribution to many aspects of the economy in a rural area of predominantly subsistence agriculture cannot be over-emphasized. Possibly some widows maintained the occupational practices of their former husbands, for instance Margaret Ditchfield and coal distribution,⁽¹⁾ Elizabeth Bold and tanning,⁽²⁾ or even Cicely Gregory and Blanche Oliver and the Liverpool ferry.⁽³⁾ For many married women and widows alehousekeeping provided the easiest, most available alternative means of income.⁽⁴⁾ One normally hidden influence women had on the local economy must have been as agents of choice in the purchasing of food, clothing and household goods - the bulk of local trade and distribution. In 1587 William More's daughter Eleanor was paid for the taffeta, buckram, fustian and sarsenet she had acquired on a visit to Chester⁽⁵⁾ and in 1610 Sir William Norris' mother acknowledged receipt of a ten pounds' instalment of the fifty pounds her son owed her every year - in 1613 she confirmed that she had received the full amount since the death

(1) See p. 304.

(2) See p. 242.

(3) See p. 282.

(4) See p. 286.

(5) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO/267.

of her husband seven years previously.⁽¹⁾ These two women from the upper levels of society had money to spend and the opportunity to choose where and when; at lower levels of society for the majority of women available finance must have been very limited but they still retained some influence or choice.

Just like the other half of the population, some women lived in exceedingly comfortable circumstances; the majority did not. There is, however, no specific indication that material surroundings might be any worse for women, particularly widows, than for men. Elizabeth Bold of Cranshaw, Bold widow might leave goods which her appraisers valued at over seven hundred pounds, and equally Ann Birch of Bold spinster might possess only thirty shillings' worth;⁽²⁾ the poor were poor whatever their situation in life.⁽³⁾

b) Apprentices.

Sixteenth century thought and policy placed great belief and hope in the efficacy of an apprenticeship system,⁽⁴⁾ although in an area with an economy such as that of south-west Lancashire its application at best must have been always limited. Craft and trade

(1) Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 2/621 and 495.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Elizabeth Bold, Bold 1596.
L.R.O., Will of Ann Birch, Bold 1602.

(3) See p. 643.

(4) See Statute of Artificers: An Act touching divers orders for artificers, labourers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices, 1563: 5 Eliz. 1, quoted in G. R. Elton, The Tudor Constitution, Cambridge 1968, p.p. 466-470.

apprenticeships were available in Liverpool and Prescot, but both were such small towns and rural crafts were so limited in number and scale of operation.⁽¹⁾ Outside Liverpool the only reference in the four parishes to an apprentice is George Lathom in Whiston, but to whom and for what occupation is unknown.⁽²⁾ Rather more detail emerges from the Liverpool Town Books with their references to apprentices and their indentures. Clearly apprenticeship was recognized and practised, but the evidence remains on a rather restricted scale - partly because records from all years are evidently not available and partly because the records are not systematic. However, even for those years which are better documented the five new apprentices of 1584 remain a peak total,⁽³⁾ although there were enough apprentices in the town for occasionally the Town Books to refer to them as a group - usually for regulation such as the attempt from 1564 onwards to confine apprentices to their masters' houses after 8.00 p.m. when the one hour curfew bell began to toll.⁽⁴⁾

Predominantly the boys came from the town, but others came from within the four parishes - even as far away as Sutton and Rainhill.⁽⁵⁾ Beyond this area a variety of places within the North-West region

(1) See Chapter V.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Thomasine Wirrall, Whiston 1590.

(3) See Appendix XXVI.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 246 and p. 270.

(5) See Appendix XXVI.

provided other apprentices - a few from Lancashire, a few from Cumbria, a few from Cheshire and North Wales, and, understandably, a few from the Isle of Man.⁽¹⁾ Length of indenture could also vary with seven years most common, but with many less - six, five, four and even three years. Equally possible was a longer length of service - eight, ten, thirteen and, exceptionally, fifteen years.⁽²⁾ These variations were probably dependent on the starting age of apprentices, so that age at completion was almost more important than length of training. Seven girls also became registered as apprentices usually to Liverpool merchants and their wives; presumably these girls became little more than household servants until they reached the age of twenty-two and even twenty-nine. Only in a few cases is it possible to trace apprentices finally becoming freemen of the town.⁽³⁾

Whilst serving their apprenticeship it is not easy to classify these children and young people within the population. Their economic circumstances were very basic and their assets virtually non-existent, although some certainly had enough money to be buying unlawful goods such as salt.⁽⁴⁾ Potentially some apprentices were to become future mayors and leading merchants of the town, such as Ralph

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 397.

Burscough, Giles Brooke and John Bird. In consequence, conditions for apprentices may have been widely varied; for instance Peter Williamson apprenticed to a mariner in 1602 was allowed carriage of two barrels of the best commodity on each voyage, and Thomas Johnson, also apprenticed to a mariner, was to spend a year in France learning the language providing his father found his food and lodgings for that year. (1)

Outside south-west Lancashire much greater possibilities existed, but through a combination of lack of economic pressure in the area and poor transport facilities few seem to have placed their sons in more distant apprenticeships. It might be that few were able to afford the necessary costs, but from the small numbers of those who did this does not seem to be a generally applicable argument. Apprenticeship opportunities were considerable in London, (2) but recruits from the four parishes remained restricted during the second half of the sixteenth century. No entries are recorded in the Stationers' Company and only one in the Scriveners' Company - Richard Lea from Sutton in Prescott parish in 1591. (3) Perhaps the nature of these two companies militated against Lancashire interest! Somewhat more boys were apprenticed to the London carpenters - nine from 1533 to 1614;

- (1) L.T.B. II, p. 977 and p. 937.
- (2) See G. D. Ramsay, "The Recruitment and Fortunes of Some London Freemen in the mid 16th Century" in Ec. H. R., Vol. 31, 1978, p.p. 526-540.
- (3) ed. E. Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640, Vol. II: Entries of Apprentices, London 1875, ed. F. W. Steer, Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357-1628, London Record Society Publications, Vol. IV, 1968, p. 41.

scarcely a headlong flight!⁽¹⁾ Nearly all the boys' fathers were recorded as husbandmen - seven in all - with Edward Rawson's father as a blacksmith and William Whitstones as a plasterer. It seems likely if it was possible for these boys to get to London, so could a great many more had they so chosen. In every instance except one the term of training was for seven years (eight in the case of Richard Dodson) and all the apprentices were scarcely boys when they were sent to the city. Their age is known in seven instances - one was eighteen years old, two were nineteen, two were twenty, one was twenty-four and one twenty-five years old when the apprenticeship began. It cannot have been only parental decision which took these young men to London; in view of their ages they themselves must have made some positive decisions. Of the nine, only Richard Dodson is recorded becoming a freeman after his completed apprenticeship.⁽²⁾

In addition to London other provincial towns might have attracted apprentices from south-west Lancashire, but little evidence remains. Bristol and Norwich both were large enough to offer possibilities, but the wish to go to Bristol seems to have waned in the mid sixteenth century and the wish to go to Norwich seems scarcely to have existed. Five boys went from Liverpool to apprenticeships in

(1) ed. B. Marsh, Records of the Carpenters' Company, Vol. III Court Book 1533-73, Oxford 1916; Vol. VI Court Book 1573-94, London 1939; Vol. V Wardens' Act Book 1571-91, London 1937; Vol. VII Wardens' Accounts Book 1592-1614, Isle of Wight 1968. (James Milner, Garston 1579, James Assiks, Garston 1580, Jeffrey Celie, Kirkby 1581, Richard Dodson, Kirkby 1582, Richard Haulton, Prescott 1583, John Potter, Liverpool 1588, Edward Rawson, Prescott 1592, John Woodborne, Kirkby 1598, William Whitstones, Liverpool 1605).

(2) Ibid., Vol. V, p. 240.

Bristol between 1533-1542, but none at all in the decade after.⁽¹⁾ Throughout the second half of the century only one possible south-west Lancashire boy appears amongst the Norwich apprentices - Mathew Dixon who was placed for nine years with a shoemaker in 1580.⁽²⁾ (Interestingly, one of the 1530 s apprentices to Bristol - Gilbert Corbet who went to become a hooper - died in London in 1563 as a joiner.)⁽³⁾ Chester was a more accessible town with undoubted links with south-west Lancashire.⁽⁴⁾ However, from quite substantial apprenticeship records for the town only slight Lancashire contact is evident. During the Elizabethan period four apprentices from south-west Lancashire served their training in Chester - two with mercers, one with an ironmonger and one with a shoemaker. This small sample suggests contact with the more prosperous members of society - two sons of gentlemen and two sons of yeomen.⁽⁵⁾

An indication of another type of apprenticeship is provided, however, by two of the wealthier families of the area. John More Esquire of Bank House Kirkdale arranged an eight years' apprenticeship for one of his younger sons, Thomas, to a merchant tailor of London in 1564,⁽⁶⁾ and likewise at the end of the century in 1598 William, the grandson of Edward Norris Esquire of Speke, was sent for nine years to another London merchant tailor.⁽⁷⁾ These two

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- (1) ed. E. Ralph and N. W. Hardwick, Calendar of the Bristol Apprentice Book, Part I 1532-42, Bristol Record Society Publications, Vol. XIV, 1948, Part II 1542-1552, Vol. XXXIII, 1980.
- (2) ed. W. M. Rising and P. Millican, Index of Indentures of Norwich Apprentices, Norfolk Record Society Vol. XXIX, 1959.
- (3) B.L. Add. Ch. 52851.
Calendar of Bristol Apprentice Book, p. 40.
- (4) See Chapter VII.
- (5) Chester City R. O., Mayors Records, Apprenticeship Books, M/Ap/B/1 f. 109, f. 161, f. 163, f. 173.
Lawrence son of William Ditchfield Gentleman of Ditton.
Thomas son of John Cooke Gentleman of Little Woolton.
Richard son of William Robertson yeoman of Ditton.
Edward son of Thomas Fazakerley yeoman of Allerton.
- (6) Liv. R. O., 920 M00/251.
- (7) Liverpool University, Norris Deeds 236.

cannot have been the only gentry links with the apprenticeship system; these families could have afforded to be selective and decisive when they so chose (just as they could afford to send their children abroad for their education).⁽¹⁾ Those special cases aside, however, apprentices were usually regarded in the same category as servants, such as in the bye-laws of Liverpool where servants and apprentices were prohibited from playing cards, dice, bowls and other unlawful games "invented or to be inventyd".⁽²⁾

In addition to some mobility necessitated by apprenticeship, other opportunities for movement out of south-west Lancashire in search of employment undoubtedly existed, although perhaps there was not the pressure on employment felt elsewhere in England.⁽³⁾ Whether this mobility was specific and directed to particular places and/or occupations is debateable, as only indirect hints of such movement survive. Probably London was the principal magnet as a few random references testify. John Davison in 1579 was referred to as a yeoman in Kirkdale, but five years later, with the same designation, he lived in London.⁽⁴⁾ Thomas Berry from not far away in Bootle by 1569 was established as a London merchant, although his brother continued to trade in Liverpool.⁽⁵⁾ These two men possibly had some little substance when they moved to London, but Arthur Bower from Prescott in 1557 cannot but have hoped opportunities would be better in the South when by 1565 he had become a barber in King Street, Middlesex.⁽⁶⁾ Maybe some similar motive and/or personal difficulty

(1) See p. 619.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 4.

(3) J. Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England, London 1971, p.p. 5-6.

(4) Liv. R. O., 920 M00 754, 755, 756 and 758.

(5) Liv. R. O., 920 M00 977.
L.T.B. II, p. 894.

(6) Pres. Recs., p. 165.

prompted Richard Cooke of Little Woolton when he left the township in 1565. He had been married when under age in 1553 and had remained in the area until leaving "to servie to London because he had very litle livinge at home". By 1569 he had been "at London as he talkes" and had found employment as one of the Queen's stable; his return to south-west Lancashire was brought about by a wish to gain a divorce.⁽¹⁾

For some there must have been the opportunity to serve as soldiers, although it is not possible to know whether this opportunity was sought after by any young volunteers from the area or whether because of the levies some found greatness thrust upon them.⁽²⁾ The possibilities are demonstrated by Edward Pendleton of Much Woolton; from 1566-1583 he was a husbandman in the township, but in 1585 his wife Margaret surrendered the lease on their messuage after her husband had died "in her Majesty's service overseas".⁽³⁾ Other men must have gone abroad to fight - some returned, such as Henry Halsall of Whiston who was a poor maimed soldier in 1602.⁽⁴⁾ Because of the various levies that Lancashire could not escape the four parishes must have been liable to provide soldiers throughout Elizabeth's reign.⁽⁵⁾ Perhaps this enforced mobility contributed to some

(1) C.R.O., EDC 2/8 f. 274-5.

(2) See p.p. 381-385.

(3) Liverpool University, Norris Deeds 217.

(4) Pres. Accs., p. 142.

(5) For example, L.R.O. Hesketh of Rufford Papers, DDHe 61/13.

voluntary movement.

Other movement from the area was more specifically linked with educational opportunities for some and the possibility of attendance at university.⁽¹⁾ Many scholars did return to south-west Lancashire, but others obviously found preferment elsewhere.⁽²⁾ More random and less susceptible to speculation over motives is the case of Peter Davison from Appleton in Widnes who in 1579, aged forty, was a serving man in Paswich, Essex,⁽³⁾ or the daughter of a Farnworth family who had married a man from Stoke in Staffordshire.⁽⁴⁾ Opportunity was certainly available for short distance and quite widespread mobility. Apprenticeship may well have accounted for a substantial proportion of this movement, but it is by no means the only explanation.

c) Servants and Labourers.

The terms 'servant' and 'labourer' covered a great range of people in sixteenth century England. At times they could be almost interchangeable words, at times they were used in a wide, generalised manner, at other times they conveyed a specific and precise connotation. Labourers could have been rural and urban based wage earners making a living in a variety of occupations which might or might not have offered

(1) See Chapter XII.

(2) See p. 483.

(3) P.R.O., DL 30/12/133.

(4) L.R.O., Will of Miles Slack, Widnes 1593.

permanent and full-time employment. Most of them clearly were agricultural labourers at the lower levels of the rural hierarchy, but whether in that category through birth, misfortune, choice, temporary circumstances or otherwise is usually virtually impossible to discern. Many servants likewise may have been only at a transitory stage in their career, whilst others may have found it impossible to escape their situation.

Care has to be taken, however, in defining the role of servants; some so-called 'servants' were only that because they operated in a specific relationship to a superior. Edward Norris Esquire of Speke granted a sixty years' lease on a messuage in Garston to Robert Chawner "his servant" and husbandman in 1601 and another in 1588 on a messuage in Speke to Hugh Hey - yeoman and servant.⁽¹⁾ Clearly neither of these two men were at the lowest levels of south-west Lancashire society and neither was in any way a household servant. Whether the two men had previously worked in some capacity at Speke Hall, or whether after their new leases they were expecting to continue to function in some way on behalf of Edward Norris, is unclear. The case of Thomas Molyneux of Garston is, however, more straightforward. In 1556 and 1558 he certainly was a trusted 'servant' of Sir William Norris and on occasions delivered moneys to

(1) Liv. R.O., 920 NOR 17/8.
B.L., Add. Ch. 52607.

London for him.⁽¹⁾ Presumably service to the family continued until 1583 when Edward Norris granted to Thomas Molyneux, yeoman of Garston, a messuage in Speke and Garston and pastures in Allerton making recognition of his faithful work; the lease was in the names of Thomas, his wife and eldest son Edward.⁽²⁾ Some indication of the type of work Thomas Molyneux was undertaking is provided by his activities with power of attorney when taking seisin of lands in West Derby and Fazakerley in 1581, and his duties as clerk of Little Woolton manor court. Usually he acted only as clerk, but when Edward Norris was unexpectedly called away in 1584 his "trustie servante Thomas Molyneux" held the court as his deputy.⁽³⁾ Thomas Molyneux died aged sixty-five in 1592 after a lifetime's service to the one family and still 'servant' to Edward Norris Esquire, but also yeoman and even 'gent.' by the end of his life. A measure of his success was his property in Speke and Garston and the knowledge that his eldest son Edward, aged thirty-six in 1592, was able as yeoman/gentleman to continue the work of his father.⁽⁴⁾

Whilst repeatedly called 'servants', the Molyneux family was in no sense at the lowest levels of society; they obviously were adequately, if not well, rewarded for their services and ranked in a

(1) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924 f. 113 and f. 115.

(2) B.L., Add. Ch. 52574.

(3) Ibid., 53031.
B.L., Add. Mss. 36924, f. 226.
P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. CXXIV 29/36.

(4) P.R.O., Records of the Court of Star Chamber, STAC 5 A 38/31.
L.R.O., Will of Thomas Molyneux, Garston 1592.

rural community as superior to many. This type of yeoman/servant operating in an administrative, clerical and legal capacity for their masters was found throughout the four parishes in restricted numbers, for example Robert Williamson - yeoman, servant and steward to Edward Tarbock Esquire in Tarbock, Henry Berry - yeoman and servant to William More Esquire in Kirkdale, and Christopher Phipp - yeoman and steward to Richard Bold Esquire in Bold.⁽¹⁾ Probably at an even more superior level were the 'servants' in the area of the Earls of Derby - Ralph Sutton Gentleman and then his son Edward from Knowsley who were deputy stewards of Prescott, Michael Doughty Gentleman of Roby who was bailiff of Toxteth Park, and John Gifford Gentleman of Liverpool who was keeper at Toxteth Park.⁽²⁾

A further reflection of this section of society is found in a significant minority of surviving wills from the four parishes. Quite commonly the testator's wife, son, daughter or brother was named as executor with another relation, friend or neighbour as overseer or supervisor of the will. In a reasonable number of cases - forty in a total of three hundred and ninety-eight wills - testators named their immediate 'master' as supervisor, which would appear to

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XXIV 33/43.
P.R.O., DL 4 43/49.

(2) Farnworth Register, p. 113.
Pres. Recs., passim.
Hasler, The House of Commons, Vol. II, p.p. 50-51.
P.R.O., REQ 2 200/38.
P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. CLXXII D 4.

suggest a significant recognition of this dependent relationship, an expectation that the 'master' would fulfil his obligations and perhaps an awareness that a superior with local influence might be the most sensible individual to name for this capacity. The expectation was spelled out by James Arnott who hoped that Richard Lathom Esquire, his overseer, would be a "good master" to his wife and children, and similar sentiments were expressed by John Richardson with regard to George Ireland Esquire.⁽¹⁾ (Intriguingly, Edward Barrow a yeoman from Halewood referred to his overseer as "the right worshipful my said dear friend Edward Norris Esquire").⁽²⁾ Significantly this arrangement was made much more commonly in Childwall and Prescott parishes than in the other two south-west Lancashire parishes reflecting probably closer supervision of landlord/tenant relationships than was possible in Huyton and Walton parishes.⁽³⁾

In comparison with this rather specialised and superior type of servant, household servants were much more numerous and mostly at the lower levels of the social hierarchy. Some individual households in the area could employ considerable numbers of indoor and outdoor servants - mostly with board and lodging provided, but also others living nearby and travelling to work. The example to the area, if not the county, was set by the Earls of Derby with their peripatetic

(1) L.R.O., Will of James Arnott, Childwall 1564 and Will of John Richardson, Halebank 1582.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Edward Barrow, Halewood 1594.

(3) See Appendix XXVII.

household travelling in south Lancashire and to London. Knowsley Hall must have maintained a skeleton maintenance staff which swelled considerably when the Earl and/or members of his family were in residence.⁽¹⁾ With a reputation for the scale and style of his household the third Earl reputedly had about one hundred and forty servants and dependents in this household in 1561, whilst the fourth Earl continued to maintain one hundred and eighteen servants and daily attendants in 1587.⁽²⁾ These figures may be only approximations - for instance one hundred and forty-five persons were on the Derby roll by 1590 - but clearly they represent substantial scale and specialization of duties.⁽³⁾ Not surprisingly there were kitchen maids, cooks, footmen and laundresses, but also there were two trumpeters, a coachman, a candleman, gardeners, carpenters and a slaughterman. There were also the family's personal servants and those servants assigned to the senior officers of the household - the steward, the comptroller and the receiver-general who had three servants each.⁽⁴⁾

Not surprisingly the Derby household set the tone for other sometimes sizeable gentry households in the area. It is impossible

(1) See Chapter II.

(2) ed. F. R. Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 1 and p. 27.

(3) Ibid., p. 88.

(4) Ibid., p. 23.

to estimate how many individual servants these households contained, although one imagines their size was an evident indication of the wealth and standing of the master. Isolated and random events make reference to servants in their livery coats, such as William Bowker and William Whitfield at Tarbock in 1589 from the household of Edward Tarbock Esquire,⁽¹⁾ or Edward Williamson in 1601 in the livery of Edward Norris Esquire.⁽²⁾ The note of Sir Richard Molyneux's "livery" servants in the late sixteenth century refers to forty-four outside the four parishes, one in Liverpool, one in Walton, two in Kirkby, twelve in West Derby and six in his household.⁽³⁾ Those liveried servants can, however, have been only a small proportion of the total staff employed in gentry households. Unfortunately, few gentry probate records are precise enough to allow an estimation of their total employees.

The inventory of Percival Harrington Esquire of Huyton Hey dated 1609 lists servants' bedding in the servants' chamber, the gatehouse chamber, the nursery and the buttery chamber and mentions also the milk house, the old larder, the kitchen, the great and little butteries - all of these rooms suggesting quite a number of servants were necessary for the operation of the household.⁽⁴⁾ John Ireland

(1) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 57/30.

(2) Ibid., A 38/31.

(3) L.R.O., DDM 11/15.

(4) L.R.O., Will of Percival Harrington, Huyton 1609.

Esquire of the Hutte in Halewood did not die until 1633 but the rooms listed in his probate inventory probably indicate provision that was there in the late sixteenth century - a dry larder, a wash house, a buttery, a salt house, a wain house, a brew house, a wine cellar, a nursery, a meal loft, a bolting house, a larder, a kitchen, a gate house - again rooms presenting work for a reasonable number of household staff.⁽¹⁾ Although the gentry of the area provided for a pool of domestic service,⁽²⁾ most of the personnel probably came from within the household itself or from the fairly immediate locality - such as William Holland of Much Woolton who died as a young man with all his possessions in his coffer at Speke or William Woods of Bold who worked as a serving man at the Hall.⁽³⁾

More imprecise, however, are the very numerous servants employed by all sorts of other people in society, sometimes singly and sometimes in small groups. At times the explanation seems obvious such as specific tradesmen or craftsmen employing 'servants' or workmen necessary to their occupations. Two wheelwrights, a blacksmith and a carpenter who mentioned their servants all seem to be in this category.⁽⁴⁾ At other times 'servants' appear to be

(1) L.R.O., Will of John Ireland, Halewood 1633.

(2) See Chapter III.

(3) L.R.O., Will of William Holland, Much Woolton 1582 and Will of Catherine Bold, Bold 1580.

(4) L.R.O., Wills of Thomas Bushell, Bold 1590, George Mercer, West Derby 1592, Henry Watmough, Eccleston 1572.
P.R.O., Exchequer Queen's Remembrancer, Special Commissions E 134/41 Eliz./East 16.

principally farm labourers who perhaps were distinguished as servants because they lived in with their employers. In this category Henry Walker a Cuerdley yeoman employed one man 'servant', Baldwin Smith a Widnes yeoman had work for two male servants, and even a Knowsley husbandman had one servant.⁽¹⁾ Other 'servants' appear to have been principally domestic household servants - usually female - employed perhaps because the family could afford additional help in the burdensome and numerous domestic chores, or because it was necessary to employ such help because of sickness, incapacity or old age. Examples from this category are quite numerous and occasionally they are specifically referred to as 'servant maids'.⁽²⁾ In addition to these various types of servant other 'servants' appear to have fulfilled a less immediately obvious role and at times to have been employed by the less likely members of the community. Several husbandmen with apparently no great wealth employed maid servants and some widows with virtually no

(1) L.R.O., Wills of Henry Walker, Cuerdley 1602, Baldwin Smith, Widnes 1562 and Roger Dey, Knowsley 1592.

(2) See for example, L.R.O., Wills of Catherine Tarleton, Halewood 1588, Griffith ap Edward, Halewood 1581, Edward Holland, Halewood 1594, John Naylor, Liverpool 1584, William Birchall, Parr 1564, Brian Hayward, Parr 1578, John Gerrard, Windle 1599.

assets had their 'servants'.⁽¹⁾

The total number of these servants employed throughout the community is impossible to estimate; at least one hundred and twenty-two are known by name from probate and other random sources.⁽²⁾ Some of these may have been primarily farm labourers, others young men and women seeking employment before marriage and settlement into the farming community, others may have been relations or friends of their employer needing maintenance. Anne More of Liverpool referred to five servants in her will including Anne, daughter of William Walker deceased, her goddaughter and maid servant.⁽³⁾ Bequests in wills suggest some continuity of association and fifty out of three hundred and ninety-eight suitable wills do make some mention of servants, but overall length of service may have been variable with some servants being employed for a lifetime and others for a year or less. Death of an employer (outside the gentry households) must have created at best great uncertainty of continuity of service and at worst immediate termination of employment.

A number of wills refer to unpaid wages⁽⁴⁾ and this highlights the

(1) See for example, L.R.O., Wills of Elizabeth Cooke, Little Woolton 1593, Jane Taylor, Prescot 1597, Ellis Bourgh, Eccleston 1579.
P.R.O., STAC 5 A 38/31. Ralph Hitchmough and his wife from Much Woolton had few assets, but had a servant maid Margery Farrer.

(2) See Appendix XXVIII.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Anne More, Liverpool 1590.

(4) See for example, L.R.O., Will of William Birchall, Parr 1564.

vulnerable economic circumstances many servants probably had to contend with. Board and lodgings may well have been provided - possibly quite comfortably and possibly not much worse than those of the employer - but cash wages may have been difficult to find and pay regularly. The only substantial indication of the range of wages possible in this area is provided by the 1587 rental of William More Esquire:-⁽¹⁾ to be paid quarterly

1 man servant	at £8- 0-0 per annum
5 male servants	at £5- 6-8 per annum
2 male servants	at £4- 0-0 per annum
1 female servant	at £3-12-0 per annum
1 man servant	at £2-16-0 per annum
2 female servants	at £2-13-4 per annum
1 female servant	at £2-12-0 per annum
2 male servants	at £2- 8-0 per annum
1 female servant	at £2- 4-0 per annum
2 male servants	at £1-16-0 per annum
2 female servants	at £1-12-0 per annum

For the most part the male servants were better paid, but for both men and women a scale existed. Nine more senior servants (including only one woman) received more than three pounds and twelve shillings, whilst the other eleven servants (including five women) received gradations of two pounds and sixteen shillings or less. Whether this money was regularly paid, even in arrears, must have been of some consequence to the employees, but what options they had were the money not to have been paid seems limited.

(1) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO/267.

Only three wills and their probate inventories survive from individuals identified as servants; they demonstrate both the extremely limited resources of household servants and a close relationship with their masters. John Denton from Bold township was employed at Sutton by the widow of Alexander Holland Gentleman; in his will of 1580 John left his bedclothes to his mistress, items of clothing to three friends and other clothing to his sister and cousin.⁽¹⁾ The inventory reflects his few personal possessions and comforts:-

3 coffers	4-0
mattress, bolster, 3 coverlets and blankets	12-0
coals and treenware	2-0
bow, arrow and quiver	2-0
back clothes	<u>13-4</u>
	1-13-4

Ellis March, also from Bold, was employed by Hugh Pollet, a yeoman. His will of 1592 likewise made various small personal bequests of amounts of money and items of clothing to two brothers, a sister and her child, with eleven bequests of clothing, coffers and money to presumably friends, a tawny coat to his master, five shillings to his mistress and two shillings and a shirt to John Pollet.⁽²⁾ The bequests in cash totalled three pounds and one shilling and can scarcely have been paid from Ellis March's only assets - his back clothes, valued at thirteen shillings and four pence; he did, however, have debts due to him amounting to over five pounds.

(1) L.R.O., Will of John Denton, Bold 1580.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Ellis March, Bold 1592.

Nicholas Smith of Bold was employed by Mistress Margaret Curren at the time of his death in 1591. He named her as his executrix and bequeathed her forty shillings. In addition he left some clothing to his sister, his second best doublet and breeches to his father, and assorted items of clothing and forty shillings amongst seven other individuals.⁽¹⁾ Presumably the monetary bequests were to be paid from the four pounds, fifteen shillings and six pence Mistress Curren owed him in arrears of wages. Expenses were to be defrayed also out of this - his will costing one shilling, nine pence to the poor, costs during his sickness fourteen pence, and his funeral charges totalling seven shillings and six pence; Nicholas Smith also had seven debts amounting to eighteen shillings and five pence. His only assets were his clothing - three doublets, two jerkins, three pairs of stockings, two pairs of hose, a hat, a coat, a flaxen shirt and a work day shirt and four pairs of shoes - valued at one pound, nine shillings and six pence. Like the other two servants from Bold township, Nicholas Smith was from a local family, a young man without responsibilities and able to move around, but had so far chosen to work locally and with the certainty that if he lost his employment he had no assets to fall back on except those of his family.

Length of service in some households may, however, have eventually brought some reward if Edward Norris Esquire of Speke is in

(1) L.R.O., Will of Nicholas Smith, Bold 1591.

any way typical of the attitude of some masters to their servants. Fragmentary evidence suggests that he did make some recognition of his servants in later life and provided them with tenements on his property. In 1591 Part's farm in Ditton was let to William Pendleton, Edward Norris' servant, for "services" heretofore rendered.⁽¹⁾ Four years later Henry Rochdale was granted a three life lease on a messuage in Much Woolton for faithful service.⁽²⁾ Still more specifically Edward Norris let a house in Much Woolton to Roger Bury and his wife in 1599 providing he remained as household cook during the lives of Edward and his wife.⁽³⁾ Cooks were clearly of some concern, because in 1602 John Rose servant and head cook was granted a messuage in Garston and Allerton which he kept until surrendering it in 1629 - still serving as head cook.⁽⁴⁾

These provisions by Edward Norris emphasize the imprecision of the word 'servant' during the sixteenth century. Two of his favourable leases were granted to household servants who worked in the kitchens at Speke Hall; the other two were possibly to similar servants or possibly to labourers who had hitherto worked for Edward Norris in a variety of capacities about his land and property. It

- (1) Liverpool University, Norris Deeds 224.
- (2) L.R.O., DDLi Box 253, n.n.
- (3) Liverpool University, Norris Deeds 234.
- (4) Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 17/11.

is likely that many rural tenants with only small acreages had to augment their income with work as wage labourers.⁽¹⁾ Many labourers, therefore, may have found employment only seasonally and/or intermittently. Other agricultural labourers may have had virtually full-time employment, as a 'servant', working for a yeoman or husbandman and because of their age, absence of opportunity to inherit a tenement, or size of family commitment had little likelihood of alternative employment.

Circumstances for labourers, therefore, were rather variable depending on the nature and terms of their employment. For young men with the opportunity to move and/or inherit property the future was not totally bleak, but for labourers with family ties living in insecure accommodation with intermittent income the prospects were much less optimistic. Access to food supplies seems almost crucial. From surviving documentation there is little evidence of tenancies at will in this area, so presumably most labourers who were in independent accommodation were in cottages sub-let by yeomen and other farmers. There is little detail of the proliferation of cottages in the four parishes although in 1592 George Ackers a labourer from Huyton was presented for building a cottage on only two roods of land at Tarbock

(1) See A. Everitt, "Farm Labourers" in ed. J. Thirsk, The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV 1500-1600, Cambridge 1967, p. 398.

(not on the four acres as required by statute).⁽¹⁾ The only other reference to this type of offense was in the same year in Sutton township.⁽²⁾

Just four labourers' probate inventories provide a little indication of the standard of living conditions which were endured by men - who might have been living in their own cottages or sharing accommodation with others.

TABLE XLII: LABOURERS' PROBATE INVENTORIES 1590-1603.⁽³⁾

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Crops and Animals</u>	<u>Equipment</u>	<u>Household Goods</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<u>Total Valuation</u>
Thomas Mercer	Dec. 1591	Sutton	1 cow 1-13-4	spade and hatchet 1-3	brass pan 1-0-0 coverlet 5-0 bedstocks 2-8 1 little & 1 large coffer 5-5	16-0	4- 3-8
Henry Ashcroft	Dec. 1592	Bold	1 heifer 1- 6-8 hay 10-0	yarn and tow 10-0 spinning wheel 2-0	brass and pewter 2-3-4 silver ware 6-8 bedding 16-0 treen ware 10-0 fire 8-0	6-8	6-19-4
Christopher Ellowe	August 1593	Childwall	4 kine 5- 6-8		brass pot & coffer 4-0	6-8	5-17-4
Henry Parker	March 1603	Bold	beasts 3-13-4		coffer & bedstocks 9-0 ironware 5-0 brass and pewter 1-0-0 kneading trough 6 2 sheets 6 iron grate 8-0	10-0	6- 6-4

(1) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 39.

(2) Ibid., p. 65.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Mercer, Sutton 1591, Will of Henry Ashcroft, Bold 1592, Will of Christopher Ellowe, Childwall 1593, Will of Henry Parker, Bold 1603.

Christopher Ellowe's limited possessions suggest he was perhaps lodging with others in Childwall parish, but the other three labourers may well have had their own or shared cottage. Henry Ashcroft's will mentions his eldest son and other children so perhaps they were a family unit, whereas Thomas Mercer's will makes mention only of two brothers and a sister in the area. Christopher Ellowe had few close relations but even he remembered his nephew, three nieces, a godchild and his illegitimate son. These family details from the locality suggest that all four of these labourers came from south-west Lancashire and probably from within the four parishes; they may have travelled to seek work, but not very far.

All four labourers had debts owing to them at the time of their deaths. Thomas Mercer claimed to have been owed a great deal more than he himself was worth - his debts from eight individuals totalling over twenty-three pounds of which about half was due from his own two brothers and one sister. Similarly Christopher Ellowe had debts from ten individuals of over twenty-one pounds in all. Somewhat less in total Henry Parker had seven people owing him a total of just under fourteen pounds including five pounds from Thomas Penketh Gentleman - perhaps arrears of wages. More precisely Henry Ashcroft had debts totalling only seven shillings and four pence but these included seventeen pence for hoeing work, eleven pence for ditching, two shillings for weeding and two shillings for providing thatch and fuel. In 1593 Liverpool attempted to fix husbandry labourers' wages at no more than three pence per day.⁽¹⁾

Existence at this level can have been only precarious and unpleasant for much of the year. Despite this there is only a little

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 637.

evidence of some of the activities that labourers must have felt obliged to undertake to augment their meagre livelihood. Edward Mercer, a labourer from Kirkby, was presented at the 1591 Quarter Sessions for cutting hollies and hazels, just as Thomas Derbyshire, a labourer from Ecclestone, was accused of felling two ash trees in 1600.⁽¹⁾ Providing fuel and building materials was one possibility, providing food was another. Two labourers from Walton and Fazakerley were presented for entering closes, whilst much more dramatically Alexander Cartwright, a labourer from Rainford, had a hand gun, powder and bullets and shot large numbers of birds in the marshes.⁽²⁾

Rural labourers, however, were not the only members of this section of society in the area; Liverpool appears to have had a core of town labourers presumably working also for wages on a regular or less than regular basis. Some typical types of employment were undoubtedly no different than those found outside the town - thatching, daubing, ditching, threshing,⁽³⁾ whilst others may have been connected with the greater concentration of craftsmen in the town and its maritime activities.⁽⁴⁾ Some sailors, for instance, were clearly regarded as little more than labourers.⁽⁵⁾ In the town, however,

(1) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 21 and p. 79.

(2) Ibid., p. 20 and p. 79.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 197.

(4) See Chapters V and VII.

(5) See p.p. 281-282.

labourers did have a certain recognition that was surely valuable in protecting their interests from itinerant and more casual labour. From 1576 onwards it is plain from the Town Books that some labourers secured their freedom - four men in 1576, one in 1579 and 1582, two two in 1588, one in 1590 and 1594, three in 1596 and one more in 1600.⁽¹⁾ Freemen labourers say something about the state of the economy in Liverpool and about the accepted status of labourers in the community in south-west Lancashire. Accommodation in Liverpool in shared tenements and in cottages built at the back of burgages must have been available and accessible.⁽²⁾

The tantalising difficulty with all of these labourers is to distinguish them from servants, and, either separately or together, estimate how large a section of society they represented. Estimates have been made - such as they could total between one-quarter and one-third of the rural population,⁽³⁾ or more specifically in late sixteenth century Myddle in Shropshire they could represent between one-fifth and one-quarter of the population.⁽⁴⁾ Certainly in south-west Lancashire there seems little reason to suppose that the proportion in Liverpool was much different from that of its surrounding area.⁽⁵⁾ Labourers and agricultural servants were found

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 238, p. 328, p. 420, p. 532, p. 566, p. 666, p. 696, p. 719 and p. 787.

(2) See p. 665 and, for example, L.T.B. II, p. 204.

(3) Everitt, "Farm Labourers" in Thirsk, Agrarian History, p. 398.

(4) D. G. Hey, An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts, Leicester 1974, p.p. 169-170.

(5) See Appendix XXIX.

throughout the area and at any one time were a significant and vulnerable group in society - probably not more than one-quarter of the population, if that.⁽¹⁾ Many individuals were for a period of their lives categorized as labourers but had reasonable expectations of moving to tenements or businesses by inheritance. In the extensive interrogations made in Childwall parish following cattle maiming attacks⁽²⁾ eleven labourers are mentioned - eight from Speke, one from Garston, one from Allerton and one from Much Woolton.⁽³⁾ One was certainly called labourer and servant. One young man was aged twenty-six and another aged twenty. Four of them in the next few years were referred to as husbandmen. These young men, maybe not surprisingly, took part in the cattle attack or, at the very least, appeared at the interrogations rather than their fathers, who had rather more to lose. In a sense they were indeed all labourers, but they were local young men at a stage in their working lives in their own community. Somewhat different were those harder to distinguish - labourers with few reasonable prospects, few local connections, insecurity and insufficiency of accommodation and employment who in difficult times could have no resources and no means of support.

(1) See Chapter IV.

(2) See Chapter I.

(3) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 38/31.