



Seventeenth-Century Week St. Mary,

Cornwall,

including an edition of the probate records,

1598 to 1699.

S. A. Raymond.

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of History of the University of Adelaide.

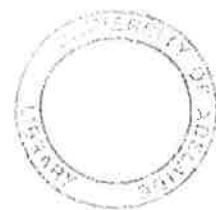
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Abstract

This thesis is a history of a small, remote, seventeenth-century North Cornish parish, together with an edition of its probate records. Topography, demography, mobility, the structure of land ownership and occupation, wealth, credit, agriculture, occupations, material possessions, literacy, religious beliefs, and inheritance customs are analysed. Week St. Mary's pastoral economy was based on a dispersed pattern of land ownership, and small family farms. The inventories reveal no really wealthy inhabitants; conversely, extreme poverty amongst local people was also rare, despite the fact that wealth levels were low. Wealth increased considerably towards the end of the century; this increase was associated with improved material goods, the beginnings of literacy amongst women, and, arguably, the growth of religious commitment. These changes took place within an unusually stable social structure. Inheritance customs, combined with the demographic pattern, ensured that the structure of land ownership and occupation remained stable from the mid-sixteenth century until well into the nineteenth century. Diffusion of control over land, combined with the dispersed settlement pattern, produced a society of petty capitalists who saved their wages whilst in service in order to purchase a lease and secure their own livelihood in the market.

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My interest in researching the history of Week St. Mary was first stimulated when I was appointed librarian of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in 1975. The research I then began grew like Topsy, and I have accumulated many debts over the years to those who have assisted me. Colleagues and former colleagues at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Ballarat College of Advanced Education, and Deakin University - and especially successive inter-library loans librarians - have rendered much assistance.

This thesis is based primarily on documents held at Cornwall County Record Office, Devon County Record Office, and the Public Record Office. The staff at all three offices have rendered much assistance, without which this thesis could not have been completed. I have also consulted documents held by the British Library, West Devon Record Office, the West Country Studies Library at Exeter, the Devon and Cornwall Record Society, the Kenneth Spencer Library of the University of Kansas, and the Royal Institution of Cornwall. I am grateful for the assistance provided by the staff at all these institutions. I am particularly grateful to H.L.Douch of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, whose knowledge of the sources for Cornish history is probably

unsurpassed. He answered many questions by mail, and went beyond the call of duty in providing me with a copy of his transcript of that portion of the 1569 muster roll relating to Week St. Mary, which he was then preparing for publication.

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The present rector of Week St. Mary, Father Edwards, kindly granted permission for me to obtain a microfilm of the Week St. Mary parish register. I am also indebted to Cornwall Record Office and the Public Record Office for allowing me to edit documents in their care for the present work. The two maps were drawn for me by Ray Duplain of Deakin University's School of Social Sciences, and I am grateful for his assistance.

My supervisor, Wilfrid Prest, has done much to assist in the completion of this thesis. Most of the work for this thesis has been completed at locations far distant from Adelaide, and consequently our meetings have depended on our respective travels. The history of Week St. Mary has been discussed in places as varied as a snack-bar in Chancery Lane, and a lounge at Tullamarine airport.

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Preface

This thesis consists of two volumes. Volume 1 comprises a history of Week St. Mary in the early modern period, which is here taken to mean the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Little evidence survives for the sixteenth century; consequently, the bulk of the thesis is concerned with the seventeenth century. The most important evidence is provided by the probate records; these have been edited in volume 2. They have been arranged and numbered in the manner described in appendix 2, and references to individual documents are made in accordance with that numbering system.

A full bibliography is provided at the end of volume 1. This includes places of publication, which are omitted in footnote citations. The names of authors and titles have been given as they appear on title-pages or in the actual journals referred to; therefore different forms of the same name may appear, for example, H.M.Spufford and Margaret Spufford. A number of titles referred to frequently are cited in abbreviated form; a list of abbreviations is provided below. The term 'op.cit' is only used where the work mentioned has been cited in full within the previous two pages.

The probate records of the Archdeaconry of Cornwall are in the process of being sorted, numbered, and indexed ; the Cornwall Record Office has recently published indices giving the new call numbers for the period 1600-1650.

These numbers, for the most part, are not included in this thesis, since its completion was too far advanced before they became available. However, they are easily ascertainable from the printed indexes.

Abbreviations

For books, the place of publication is London, except where otherwise stated.

B.L.	British Library
B.T.	Bishops' Transcripts
C.R.O.	Cornwall Record Office
<u>Community of South Elmham</u>	Evans, Nesta, <u>The Community of South Elmham, 1550-1640.</u> University of East Anglia M. Phil. thesis, 1976.
<u>Contrasting Communities</u>	Spufford, Margaret, <u>Contrasting Communities: English villagers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.</u> 1974.
<u>Cornwall Hearth ... Taxes</u>	T.L. Stoate, ed., <u>Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes, 1660-1664: direct taxation in Cornwall in the reign of Charles II,</u> Bristol, 1981.
<u>Cornwall in the 17th Century</u>	Whetter, James, <u>Cornwall in the 17th Century: an economic history of Kernow.</u> Padstow, 1974.
<u>Cornwall Protestation</u>	T.L. Stoate, ed., <u>The Cornwall Protestation Return, 1641,</u> Bristol, 1974.
D.R.O.	Devon Record Office.
<u>English Rural Community</u>	D.G. Hey, <u>An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts.</u> Leicester, 1974.
<u>Farm and Cottage Inventories</u>	Francis W. Steer, ed., <u>Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex, 1635-1749.</u> 2nd ed., Chichester, 1969.
<u>Goods and Chattels</u>	Moore, John S., ed., <u>The Goods and Chattels of Our Forefathers: Frampton Cotterell and district probate inventories, 1539-1804.</u> Frampton Cotterell and District Historical Studies, 1. 1976.

Kirtlington

Griffiths, Matthew,
Kirtlington: an Oxfordshire
 community, 1500-1750.
 University of Oxford D. Phil.
 thesis, 1979.

P.R.

C.R.O., Week St. Mary parish
 register.

P.R.O.

Public Record Office.

Poverty and Piety

Wrightson, Keith, and Levine
 David, Poverty and Piety in
 an English village: Terling,
 1525-1700. 1979.

R.I.C.

Royal Institution of Cornwall.

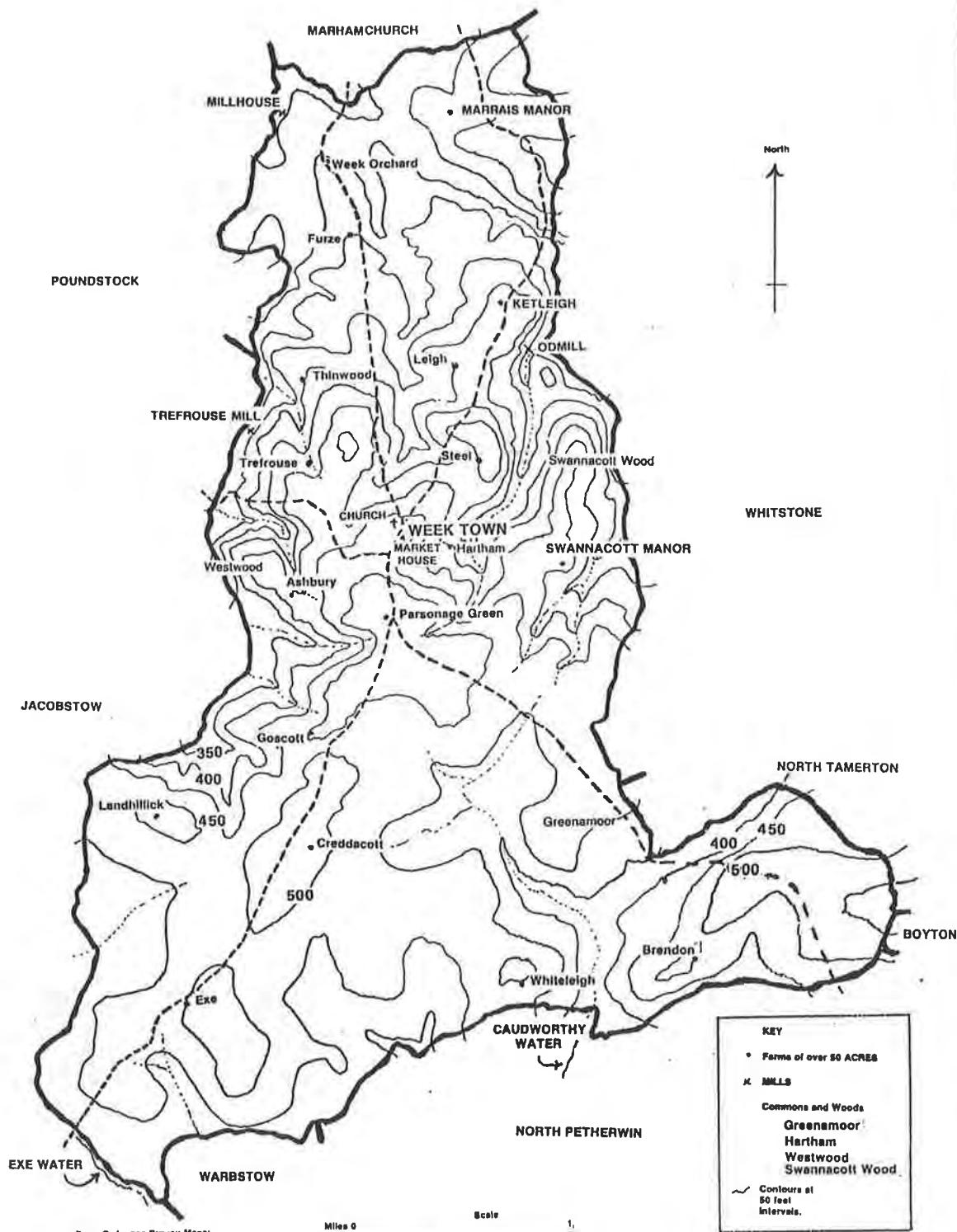
Survey of Cornwall

Carew, Richard of Antony, The
 Survey of Cornwall, &c, ed.
 F.E. Halliday, 1953.

Yeomen and Colliers

Trinder, Barrie, and Cox, Jeff,
Yeomen and Colliers in Telford:
 probate inventories for Dawley,
 Lilleshall, Wellington, and
 Wrockwardine, 1660-1750. 1980.

WEEK ST. MARY In the Early Modern Period

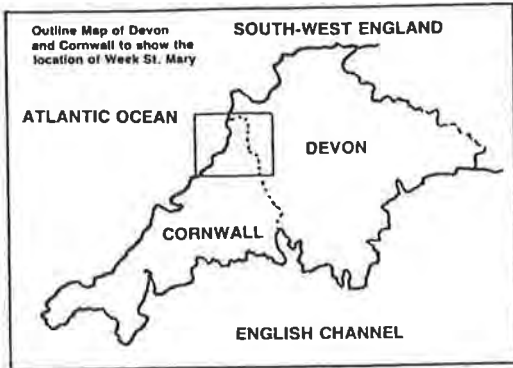


From Ordnance Survey Maps:
DUDE (Sheet 88 20/30) and
UPPERTAMAR VALLEY (Sheet XY29/39)

KEY

- Farms of over 50 ACRES
- x MILLS
- Commons and Woods
 - Greenamoor
 - Hartham
 - Westwood
 - Swannacott Wood
- ~ Contours at 50 feet intervals.

North Cornwall and North-West Devon: Parishes within 10 miles of Week St. Mary



Chapter 1: Introduction

Probate records from seventeenth-century Week St. Mary take four major forms: wills, inventories, administration bonds, and administrator's accounts¹. Wills² were normally written, but could be nuncupative, that is, spoken. They directed the disposition of moveable goods and chattels. On the death of a testator, the executor was required to take the will to the relevant court - for Week St. Mary, usually the court of the Archdeacon of Cornwall - and to exhibit with it an inventory which itemized and valued those goods and chattels³.

Leasehold property was not subject to probate jurisdiction, and was not listed or valued

1. The process of probate is described in Ralph Houlbrooke, Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570, 1979, pp.89-116, and, more briefly, in Anthony J. Camp, Wills and Their Whereabouts, 1963, pp.ix-xii. See also J.S.W.Gibson, Wills and Where to Find Them, 1974, pp.xiv-xvi, the editors' introductions to the various published collections of probate records listed in the bibliography below, and Cornwall Record Office, Guide to Cornish Probate Records, 1984, passim.
2. Strictly speaking, the will is distinct from the testament. Wills devise land; testaments bequeath personalty. Camp, op.cit, p.x, uses the term 'will' for both, and this practice is adopted here.
3. For the law relating to probate inventories, and the procedures involved in preparing them, see Nancy and Jeff Cox, 'Probate inventories: the legal background', Local Historian, 16(3 & 4), 1984, pp.133-45 and 217-227. See also the same authors' 'Valuations in probate inventories', Local Historian, 16(8), 1985, pp.467-77. and 17(2), 1986, pp.85-100.

in inventories.¹ If no will had been made, a relative would apply for the grant of administration; such grants are recorded in administration bonds. The administrator was normally required to render an account of his administration. Other documents relating to probate which exist for West St. Mary include commissions to take oaths, a renunciation of the office of executrix, interrogatories, depositions, and sentences.

The value of probate records as historical sources is now widely recognised.² They survive in great quantity for many parts of the world, including almost all English counties,³ Europe,⁴ and North America.⁵ The importance

1. There was a "minefield of restrictions and qualifications" for the administrator to negotiate before leasehold property could safely be entered in the inventory, cf. Cox, 'Legal background', op cit, p.220. Cox also discusses other items excluded from inventories.
2. Two general surveys may be cited: Philip Riden, ed., Probate Records and the Local Community, 1985, and Ad Van Der Woude and Anton Schuurman, eds., Probate inventories: a new source for the historical study of wealth, material culture, and agricultural development: papers presented at the Leeuwenborch Conference (Wageningen, 5-7 May 1980), 1980.
3. The only exception is Devon, where the probate records were destroyed in the bombing of the Exeter probate registry in 1942. See, however, Charles Worthy, ed., Devonshire Wills: a collection of annotated testamentary abstracts..., 1896, and Margaret Cash, ed., Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 11, 1966. Worthy includes a handful of Cornish wills.
4. See Ad Van Der Woude, op cit, for some representative studies. Scottish and Irish probate records have also been studied; see Robert S. Barclay, ed., Orkney Testaments and Inventories, 1573-1615, Scottish Record Society, N.S. 6, 1977, and Alan Gailey, 'The Ballyhagen Inventories, 1716-1740', Folk Life, 15, pp.36-64.
5. Gloria L. Main, 'Probate records as a source for early American history', William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 32, 1975, pp.89-99.

of the evidence they provide has been demonstrated in studies of agriculture, wealth, social structure, vernacular architecture, religious belief, diet, and a variety of other subjects.¹ Nevertheless, in England their full exploitation has scarcely begun. Few historians, and fewer editors of texts, have examined wills and probate inventories together.² The scope for a statistical approach to the documents is immense: few, if any, studies have exploited them to the limit of their potential.³ There has been little attempt to make regional comparisons based upon them.⁴

1. No less than 487 different works are listed by Mark Overton, A Bibliography of British Probate Inventories, 1983.
2. This point is made by Richard T. Vann, 'Wills and the family in an English town: Banbury, 1550-1800', Journal of Family History, 4, 1979, p.348, and by Philip Riden, ed. Probate Records and the Local Community, 1985, p.2. Published editions of probate records including both wills and inventories include J.M.Bestall and D.V.Fowkes, eds., Chesterfield Wills and Inventories, 1521-1603, Derbyshire Record Society, 1, 1977; Lionel M. Munby, ed. Life and Death in Kings Langley: wills and inventories, 1498-1659, 1981; Hartley Thwaite, ed., Abstracts of Abbotside Wills, 1552-1688, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 130, 1968; and William E. Preston, ed., Wills Proved in the Court of the Manor of Crosley, Bingley, Cottingley and Pudsey, in Co. York, with inventories and abstracts of bonds, Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society Local Record Series, 1, 1929.
3. Gareth Haulfryn Williams, 'Probate Records: a source for folk life studies', Folk Life, 20, 1982, p.12.
4. A notable exception to this rule is John Hatcher and T.C.Barker, A History of British Pewter, 1974, pp.81-141.

The history of material life in England, for which probate records provide essential evidence, has not been subjected to adequate analysis¹. The evidence they provide on wealth distribution has not been utilised. Holderness's work on credit has not been followed up². Many editions of wills and inventories have been published, but few editors have felt obliged to justify their editorial methodology, or even to state what it is³.

1. The most significant contributions in this field are contained in the introductions to published collections of probate records, especially Yeomen and Colliers, and Farm and Cottage Inventories. See also Margaret Spufford, The Great Reclothing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century, 1984; Ruth Bidgood, 'Household and personal possessions in Radnorshire wills of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries', Radnorshire Society Transactions, 51, 1981, pp.16-28; Gabriel Olive, 'Furniture in a West Country parish', Furniture History, 12, 1976, pp.17-23, and Rachel P. Garrard, 'English probate inventories and their use in studying the significance of the domestic interior', in Ad Van Der Woude, op cit, pp.67-8.
2. B.A.Holderness, 'Credit in a rural community, 1660-1800: some neglected aspects of probate inventories', Midland History, 3, 1975, pp.94-115, and 'Credit in English rural society before the nineteenth century, with special reference to the period 1650-1720', Agricultural History Review, 24, 1976, pp.97-109.
3. S.A.Raymond, 'On the editing of sixteenth and seventeenth century English probate records', Archives, 17(76), 1986, pp.33-4. See, however, Alice Hanson Jones, American Colonial Wealth: documents and methods, 2nd ed., 1977, vol.1, pp.25-36.

The intention of this thesis is, firstly, to provide an edition of seventeenth-century probate records for Week St. Mary¹, which includes all the information that the historian is likely to require, and secondly, to provide a socio-economic history of the parish in that period, together with biographical sketches of all persons for whom probate records survive. In this task, the evidence of the probate records has been drawn on heavily; however, that information has been set in context by using the evidence of the parish register, numerous deeds and leases, various lists of names, glebe terriers, inquisitions post mortem, other records from the law courts, and a variety of other minor sources. Land ownership was dispersed, and consequently the large numbers of surviving deeds are balanced by an almost total lack of rentals and surveys, and of manorial court rolls. Cornwall has no surviving quarter sessions records, and it has not been possible to consult the act books of the Archdeaconry of Cornwall,² most of the court rolls of the Hundred of Stratton,³ or the various records of royalist and parliamentary administration from the years of the Civil War and Interregnum.⁴ There

1. Including one account for 1597, which was exhibited in 1607, and a 1598 will proved in 1601.
2. The four earliest act books, dating from 1592 to 1620, are discussed in J.A. Vage, 'Ecclesiastical discipline in the early seventeenth century: some findings and some problems from the Archdeaconry of Cornwall', Journal of the Society of Archivists, 7(2), 1982, pp.84-105.
3. i.e. those held in the Duchy of Cornwall office.
4. These are listed in Mary Coate, Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660, 2nd ed., 1963, pp.385-7 and passim.

are no church-wardens, or constables' account books.¹ As Marshall has pointed out, basic local documents are unevenly distributed parish by parish, and the full set of linkages advocated by Macfarlane is usually impossible to achieve.² The ideal 'total' history cannot be written, since sufficient evidence does not survive. For Week St. Mary, lack of evidence prevents consideration of a number of important topics: local and ecclesiastical government, crime, and the poor law. It also severely limits discussion of a variety of other topics, especially demography and religion. The parish register is reliable for most of the century, but contains too few entries for a full population re-constitution to be worthwhile.³

The lack of certain documents does not, however, prevent a theoretical commitment to 'total' history. The collection of all surviving documents pertaining to the history of a particular place and period is not mere antiquarianism, but an essential preliminary to the study of all aspects of human life within a specific context.⁴ It is true that

1. Alan Macfarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities, 1977, pp.38-80, notes the major sources of evidence that may be available for the history of an English parish.
2. J.D. Marshall, 'The study of local and regional 'Communities': some problems and possibilities', Northern History, 17, 1981, p.206.
3. According to the criteria suggested by Wrigley; cf. E.A. Wrigley, ed., An Introduction to English Historical Demography from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century, 1966, p.105.
4. Alan Macfarlane, 'History, anthropology, and the study of communities' Social History, 5, 1977, p.650.

there are many questions which cannot be answered in a community study. Paradoxically, it is precisely those questions which most relate to the concept of community which are the most difficult to answer from local historical documents. If community is a question of consciousness,¹ then we need to study attitudes and beliefs. It is notoriously difficult to discover direct evidence relating to these concepts in early modern local records, although some inferences can be made. This, however, is only one aspect of the totality of human life; there are many other aspects demanding investigation at the local level. Although community itself may be difficult to study, surviving documents provide a great deal of evidence concerning life in communities.²

Probate records are the major usable source of evidence for seventeenth-century Week St. Mary.³ These records include 117 wills, 139 inventories, 43 administration bonds, 10 administrators' accounts, commissions to take oaths, certificates of oaths taken and one renunciation of the

1. Clive Holmes, Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire, History of Lincolnshire, 7, 1980, p.3. In the southern Massif Central, community was "a spiritual, or rather a psychological condition in the main", according to P.M. Jones, 'Parish, seigneurie, and the community of inhabitants in southern central France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', Past and Present, 91, 1981, p.102.
2. Darrett B. Rutman, 'Community Study', Historical Methods, 13(1), 1980, p.29, and the sources cited there.
3. A few Week St. Mary probate records were destroyed when the Exeter probate registry was bombed in 1942. A list of these is given in appendix 1.

office of executrix.¹ There are also a few interrogatories and sentences, which have not been edited here.² These documents provide valuable evidence on wealth, agriculture, occupations, material life, literacy, religion and inheritance. These issues have been investigated in depth, after a brief consideration of the physical and demographic setting, and a more detailed investigation of the pattern of land-ownership and occupation - the latter based primarily on numerous deeds and leases. An attempt has also been made to provide biographical sketches of all decedents. In this task, all surviving evidence that has been traced has been used.

Finally, the aim has been to establish, where possible, broad trends over time, and to draw comparisons with findings from other parts of the country. In this context, Whetter's work on seventeenth-century Cornwall's economy has proved extremely useful in placing Week St. Mary within its regional context, and in establishing that the statistics derived from probate records are not unrepresentative, but relate to developments in the rest of Cornwall.

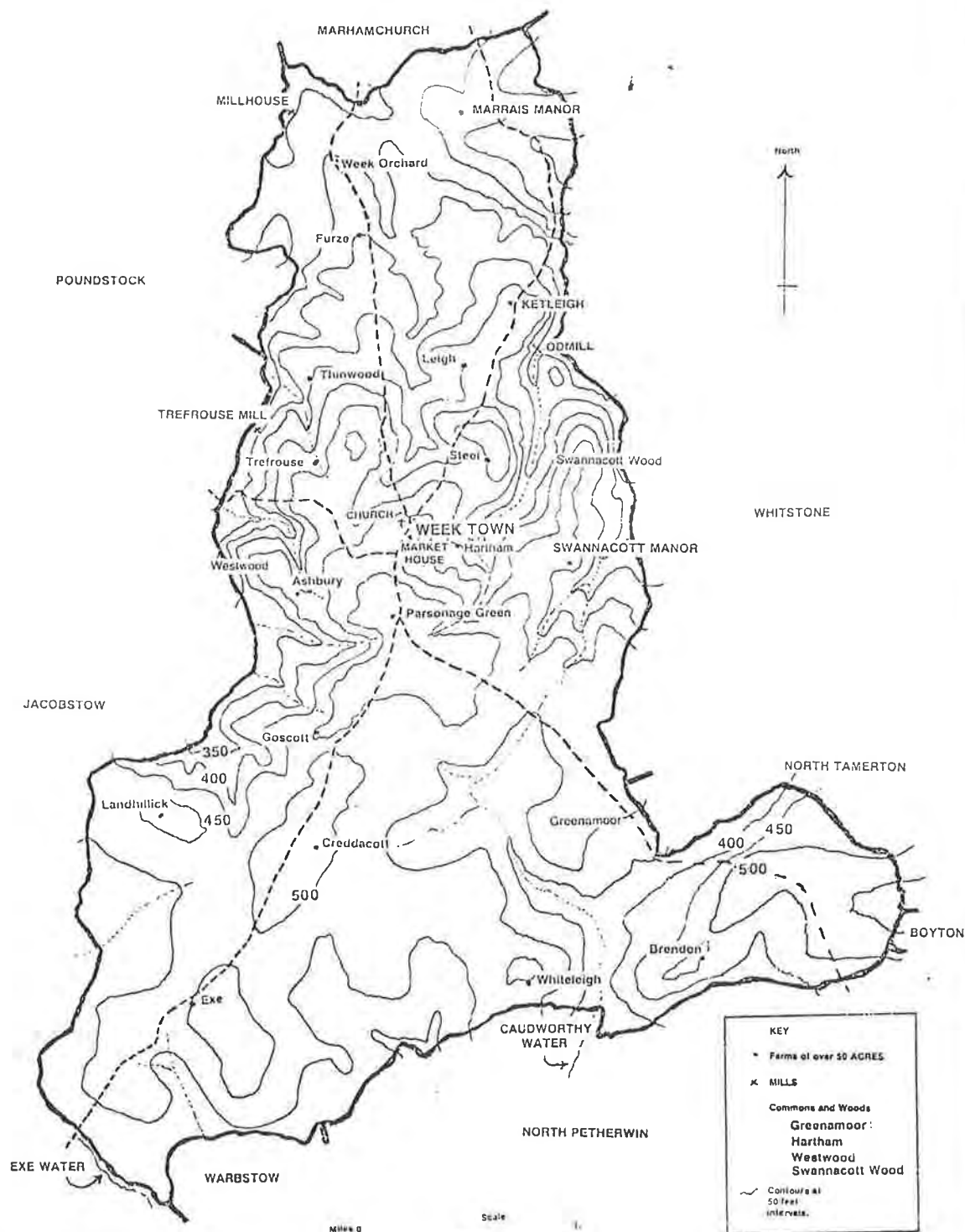
1. Almost all of these documents emanate from the records of the Archdeaconry of Cornwall. The only exceptions are eleven wills proved in the Prerogative Court, all but one of which date from the Interregnum, and a very unusual testament found in an inquisition post mortem. The testamentary work of the Cornish Archdeaconry court continued throughout the Civil War years; the last Week St. Mary will proved in that court before the Restoration was that of Judith Trick, proved 8.2.1648/9 (87W). See Christopher Kitching, 'Probate during the civil war and interregnum, part 1: the survival of the prerogative court in the 1640s', Journal of the Society of Archivists, 5, 1976, p.284, for the hiatus in ecclesiastical court records after this date.
2. These relate to the estates of Richard Sutcott (11), and Thomas Colwill, (57).

Chapter 2: The Physical Setting

"Wind-blown and desolate".¹ Baring-Gould's description of Week St. Mary in the nineteenth century was probably even truer two centuries before he wrote, despite the fact that contemporaries were somewhat kinder. "St, Mary Week standeth in a fruitful soil skirted with a moor, coarse for pasture and cumbrous for travellers".² That, at least, is how Richard Carew of Antony viewed the parish in 1602. Week St. Mary is situated in a region described by Leland in the sixteenth century as "rather hylle than montaynenius, and ... very fertile of gras and corne".³ For Defoe, in the eighteenth century there was nothing "worth our making any remark" in the Hundred of Stratton, and the country between Launceston and Bideford was "wild and barren".⁴ The local market towns of Holsworthy and Stratton did not merit his notice. Week St. Mary was remote even from them. Its church was over five miles distant from Stratton to the north, while both Holsworthy to the east, and Launceston to the south, were over ten miles away.

1. S. Baring-Gould, A Book of the West; being an introduction to Devon and Cornwall, [Vol.2] Cornwall. 2nd. ed., 1902, p.146.
2. Survey of Cornwall, p.188. The "frutefull soyle" is also mentioned in John Norden, Speculi Britanniae Pars: a topographi call and historical description of Cornwall, 1728, p.58.
3. R. Pearse Chope, ed., Early Tours in Devon and Cornwall, 1967, p.12. Chope reprints a number of early topographical descriptions of Devon and Cornwall.
4. Ibid, pp.170 and 175.

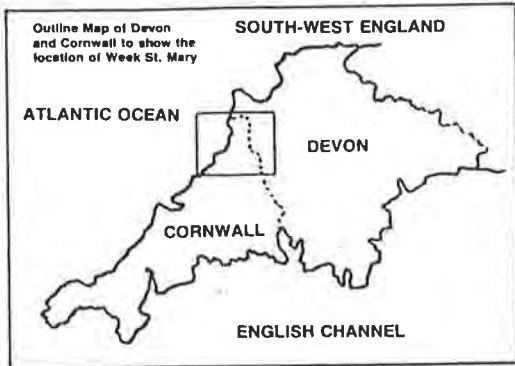
WEEK ST. MARY In the Early Modern Period



KEY	
•	Farms of over 50 ACRES
x	MILLS
Commons and Woods	
	Greenamoor:
	Hartham
	Westwood
	Swannacott Wood
~	Contours at 50 feet intervals.

From Ordnance Survey Maps:
DUDE (Sheet SS 20/30) and
UPPERTAMAR VALLEY (Sheet KY29/39)

North Cornwall and North-West Devon: Parishes within 10 miles of Week St. Mary



The pseudonymous 'Ashworthy', in North Devon, is not far from Week St. Mary; Williams's description of the area is equally applicable to the adjacent areas of North Cornwall¹. Both areas lie on the heavy, poorly drained, and infertile soils of the culm measures, which are deficient in lime and phosphates; on flat, plateau surfaces, such as occur at Greenamoor, the boggy ground encourages reeds and rushes to invade pasture fields². Both areas experience high rainfall, with strong and persistent winds, resulting in "wind-sculptured trees" all pointing north-eastward³. In Week St. Mary, as in 'Ashworthy', the fields are totally irregular in shape, and are enclosed by substantial hedges. In both areas, the poorer land tends to be in those parts which are furthest from the village; the distribution of common land, usually the poorest land, clearly illustrates this⁴.

Week St. Mary is a parish of dispersed settlement, situated in a remote region of North Cornwall, roughly triangular in shape, and bounded by streams on all three sides. To east and west these flow northward in steep-sided, thickly-wooded valleys, coming together at the most northerly point in the parish at a height of eighty-three feet above sea level. Between these two streams the land rises to a maximum height of 549 feet

1. W. M. Williams, A West Country Village: Ashworthy: family kinship and land, 1963, pp.3-4. See also his 'The social study of family farming', in Dennis R. Mills, ed., English Rural Communities: the impact of a specialised economy, 1973, pp.118-9, and Frank Barlow, ed. Exeter and its Region 1969, p.218.
2. W.G.V. Balchin, The Cornish Landscape, The Making of the English Landscape, 2, Rev. ed., 1983, pp.41 and 46. The deficiency in lime was made good by sea-sand from Bude and Widemouth Bay; cf. *ibid*, p.42, and the references cited below, p.152, n.4.
3. Balchin, *op.cit.*, pp.39-40 and 93.
4. Williams, West Country Village, *op.cit.*, p.36.

at Reeve House, in the centre of the parish. The hill fort at Ashbury, and the church are prominent landmarks, overlooking the valleys to the north. To the south, the land descends less steeply towards the valley of the Otter, giving rise to several small streams, including Caudworthy Water and Exe Water, which are tributaries of the River Otter. The various streams provided power for mills at Trefrouse, Odmill, Millhouse, and Marrais¹. The total area of the parish in the seventeenth century was 5824 acres.

The place-names of the parish indicate that much of it was originally thickly wooded; elsewhere, there was much furze, brambles, and, in the south of the parish, open marshy moorland². The glebe, a typical farm, had a total area of about fifty-three acres; in 1727, twenty-three acres were barren³. The land was farmed in small closes, rarely of more than ten acres; they were surrounded with "earth hedges"⁴. The field pattern was of the 'in- and out-field' variety. The typical farmstead was surrounded by arable land and meadow; beyond this lay pasture land, and beyond again

1. On corn mills generally, see Balchin, op. cit, pp.113-4. Detailed evidence for the existence of these mills is cited below.
2. See J. B. Gover, Place Names of Cornwall, (Typescript at R.I.C.), pp.33-7, especially for the explanation of the etymologies of Leigh, Kettleigh, Whiteleigh, Bowdah, Brendon, Furze, Haydah, and Greenamoor.
3. Richard Potts, ed., A Calendar of Cornish Glebe Terriers, 1673-1735, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 19, 1974, p.172.
4. Ibid, p.172. See also Robert Dymond, 'Devonshire fields and hedges', Journal of the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, 4, 1856, pp.132-48.

lay furze, wood, and unreclaimed moorland. The arable - the 'in-field'-could be easily manured with household and farm-yard waste, whilst the 'out-field' might be broken up and cropped at long intervals, then being allowed to revert to pasture or furze¹. Furze as fuel was of such importance to the household economy that it has been described as a "rotation crop" by Fox². In Week St. Mary there is little evidence of the communal sharing of land discussed by Rowe³, although stitches are mentioned in deeds of 1677 and 1679 concerning Kitsham Great Meadow⁴.

The process of clearing virgin land was still progressing in the seventeenth century. It has been estimated that some twenty per cent of Devonshire

1. Harold S. Fox, 'Outfield cultivation in Devon and Cornwall', in Michael Havinden, ed., Husbandry and Marketing in the South-West, 1500-1800, 'Exeter Papers in Economic History', 8, 1973, pp.19-38; John Rowe, Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution, 1953, pp.211 and 224; Samuel Colepresse, 'A Geographical account of Devonshire and Cornwalle', ed. R.G.F. Stanes, Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 96, 1964, pp.276-7; N.J.G. Pounds, 'The Lanhydrock atlas', Antiquity, 73, 1945, pp.21-2; H.P.R.Finberg, Tavistock Abbey: a study in the social and economic history of Devon, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, N.S., 2, 1951, pp.32-5.
2. Fox, op cit, p.27.
3. Rowe, op cit, pp.212-5. See also Fox, op.cit, p.31, and Ann Preston-Jones and Peter Rose, 'Medieval Cornwall', Cornish Archaeology, 25, 1986, pp.151-3.
4. West Devon Record Office, 52/4, 52/5/1, and 58/5/2. Stitches are also mentioned in the neighbouring manor of Wadfast, in the parish of Whitestone, in 1535; cf. T.L.Stoate, ed., A Survey of West Country Manors, 1525, 1979, p.157. See also the map of strip-field patterns in A.H.Shorter, W.L.D.Ravenhill, and K.J.Gregory, Southwest England, 1969, p.107. A stitch was a ridge or balk of ploughed land.

was still under its natural vegetation in 1600¹. Cornwall probably had an even higher proportion of waste; the county has been described as a "series of cultivated oases set in a large expanse of moor"². Even in 1817, it was reckoned that a fifth of the county was waste³. According to Fraser, the greater part of the Hundred of Stratton consisted of "waste and boggy land"⁴. The common wastes of Greenamoor, Hartham, Westwood, and Bakesdown remained unenclosed until the nineteenth century⁵; according to Carew, Thomasine Bonaventure, who subsequently became Lady Mayoress of London, kept sheep on Greenamoor in her youth⁶. Elsewhere, there are references to the "newe hedge in Odwood" in 1613⁷, to closes "lately seperated and devided" in 1648⁸, and to land recently "taken in and fenced" in 1697⁹. In a 1613 lease, the

1. W.G.Hoskins, 'Relamation of the waste in Devon, 1550-1800', Economic History Review, 13, 1943, p.84.
2. Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, p.72.
3. C.S.Gilbert, An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall, 1817, p.384. According to Robert Fraser, General View of the County of Cornwall, with observations on the means of its improvement, 1794, pp.56-7, only one-third of the county was "under a regular course of husbandry". Another third was "in furze crofts", and the remaining third was waste.
4. Fraser, op cit, p.26.
5. For its enclosure in 1871, see D.R.O., 2569B/Box 0/1. Greenamoor's earlier settlement history is discussed by Ann Preston-Jones and Peter Rose, 'Medieval Cornwall', Cornish Archaeology, 25, 1987, pp.140-3.
6. Survey of Cornwall, p.188.
7. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease, 1.12.1613, John Beaford to William Badlym, re Wood Park Meadow.
8. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease, 14.12.1648, George Hele to John Keen, re Wood Park.
9. R.I.C., GAT 5/24. Lease, 22.1.1697, George Phillipps to Joseph Bond, re Langdon Hays.

tenant was granted permission to root up timber trees, and "make firme land of the same where they so growe"¹. As Hoskins puts it, there was a "steady nibbling at the edges of the waste"². At Hartland, some sixteen miles north of Week St. Mary, such "nibbling" between 1566 and 1842 resulted in farms increasing their acreage by at least fifty per cent³. It has been suggested that field-names such as 'furze', 'broom', and 'moor' indicate intakes from the waste in the early modern period: such names are common in Week St. Mary⁴.

Woods were obviously important in the seventeenth century. There were several large areas of woodland - including Swannacott Wood, Odwood, and Westwood. Most farmers had trees growing on their property; leases frequently refer to oak, ash, and elm. The Glebe, for instance, had nine acres of coppice in 1679⁵. Wood was freely available from the substantial "earth hedges"⁶ which were, and are, a major feature of the Week St. Mary landscape. Hooker noted that "when the hedges be to be newe made they do

1. See note 7, p.13.
2. Hoskins, op.cit, p.85.
3. Ibid, p.86.
4. Ibid, p.87; C.R.O., FS.3/919, Week St. Mary tithe apportionment, 1840.
5. Richard Potts, ed., A Calendar of Cornish Glebe Terriers, 1673-1735, 'Devon and Cornwall Record Society', N.S., 19, 1974, p.172. Oak and ash were the dominant types of trees throughout the South West; cf. Giles V. Harrison, 'The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall', in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.5:1640-1750, part 1: regional farming systems, 1984, p.387.
6. Potts, op.cit, p.86.

yeeld good store of woode and fuell"¹.

Even the poorest land had its value; the right to collect furze as fuel was sufficiently important to merit a mention in a few wills². Andrew Boorde, writing in 1540, observed of the Cornish that "furrres and turues is their chief fewel"³. The moors at Greenamoor, Hartham, and Westwood served as common pasture for the manor of Swannacott. There was also common pasture at Bakesdon Down⁴.

The village of Week Town lay at the centre of the parish; it had been laid out as a borough in the thirteenth century⁵. There were, however, many small farm houses and hamlets dotted about the parish in isolated positions, usually sited on a sheltered hill-side, away from the difficult terrain of the valley bottoms and the moor, where land could be more easily worked. More than two-thirds of the forty-eight place-names identified by Gover are the names of places known to have been inhabited in the seventeenth century⁶.

1. William J. Blake, 'Hooker's Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 47, 1915, p.344. See below, pp.166-8 for the management and uses of woodland.
2. See, for example, 52 W. See also N.J.G.Pounds, 'The Lanhydrock atlas', Antiquity, 73, 1945, p. 22, and John Rowe, Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution, 1953, p.224.
3. R. Morton Nance, 'Andrew Boorde on Cornwall circa 1540', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 22, 1928, p.368. For the importance of furze at Skardon to the inhabitants of Launceston, see A. L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall: Portrait of a society, new ed., 1969, p.38.
4. D.R.O., 96M/Box 115/24.
5. D.R.O., ED/M/11.
6. J. B. Gover, Place Names of Cornwall, (Typescript at R.I.C.), pp. 33-7. There are earth-works at Swannacott and Goscot which indicate that they were probably larger hamlets than they are today; for Goscot, see the plan in Ann Preston-Jones and Peter Rose, 'Medieval Cornwall', Cornish Archaeology, 25, 1987, p.149. For Swannacott, see C.S.Gilbert, An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall, vol.2, 1820, p.538.

Chapter 3: The Demographic Setting

A variety of sources provide evidence on the size of Week St. Mary in the sixteenth century¹. In the subsidy of 1525, 43 persons were assessed; the subsidy roll of 1543 lists 80 tax-payers². In 1547, the chantry certificate puts the number of "housling people", that is, communicants, at 150³. The 1569 muster roll lists 93 able-bodied men⁴. In 1586, the earliest estimate of total population puts the "number of soules" at 700⁵.

The 1543 and 1569 figures are probably the most reliable. The 1525 figure must be considered of dubious value for demographic purposes in light of the figure for 1543; it is highly improbable that population almost doubled between these years. The chantry certificate estimate must also be considered too low; if Stephens's argument that "housling people" constituted 60% of the population be accepted⁶, then the certificate

1. Some sources for both the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries are discussed in John Patten, 'Population distribution in Norfolk and Suffolk during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Institute of British Geographers Transactions, 65, 1975, pp.45-65.
2. T. L. Stoate, ed., Cornwall Subsidies in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1524 and 1543 and the Benevolence of 1545, 1984, pp.147-8.
3. A transcript is printed in P.L.Hull, 'The endowment and foundation of a grammar school at Week St. Mary by Dame Thomasine Percival', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S., 7(1), 1973, p.52.
4. H. L. Douch, ed., The Cornwall Muster Roll of 1569, 1984, p.122.
5. Albert Peel, ed., The Second Part of a Register, 1915, p.107.
6. W.B.Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 1973, p.21. Julian Cornwall, 'English population in the early sixteenth century', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 23, 1970, pp.32 and 42, argues that population estimates in chantry certificates were erratic, and that "in view of the uncertainty as to the proportion of the population they represent", little worthwhile use can be made of them.

indicates a population of c.250, which is rather lower than the figure indicated by the 1543 subsidy. Perhaps the 1547 commissioners left out a 'C' from their certificate: 250 "housing people" would indicate a population of c.417 people. The 1586 estimate is also of doubtful value; it was probably based on a sketchy knowledge of the parish, and was over-generous.¹

The 1543 and 1569 statistics have the advantage that they are based on counts of names. The 1543 list may not be complete, but comparison with that for 1569 suggests that few names are missing.² The absence of those assessed on wages in this list is not the problem that it is in East Anglia, since it is likely that wage-earners were few;³ there were only three in 1525. There were at least eighty households in the parish in 1543; using Arkell's multiplier of 4.3, that gives a total population of c.345.⁴ The muster roll of 1569 is a complete listing

1. A.L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall: portrait of a society, new ed., 1969, p.339.
2. On the comprehensiveness of the 1524 subsidy in a Devonshire parish, see Norman Annett, 'North Molton: the pre-census population', Devonshire Association ...Report and Transactions, 108, 1976, pp.74-5. Schofield, cited in Contrasting Communities, p.12, argues that the lay subsidies of the 1540s were probably superior, and covered more taxpayers, than those of the 1520s. For the value of muster rolls as a demographic source, see E.E. Rich, 'The population of Elizabethan England', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 3, 1950, pp.247-65.
3. On this problem in East Anglia, see Patten, op.cit, p.54.
4. Tom Arkell, 'Multiplying factors for estimating population totals from the Hearth Tax', Local Population Studies, 28, 1982, p.55. This multiplier was developed in the context of the hearth tax; it is unlikely, however, that the size of households changed significantly in the intervening century.

of all able-bodied men; using Rich's multiplier of 4 gives a population of c.370.¹

For the seventeenth century, the evidence of the protestation return of 1641/2, the hearth tax of 1662-4, and the Compton census of 1675, is reinforced by that of the parish register.² In 1641/2, 139 adult males signed or made their mark on the protestation.³ In order to obtain a crude estimate of total population, Hoskins suggests doubling this figure (to include women), and adding 40% to account for those under eighteen.⁴ This gives a total population of c.470, which is rather high if the number of baptisms in the parish register is taken into account. The average number of baptisms per year in the 1640s was 11.7; this gives an unacceptably low birth rate of c.25 per 1,000 population, the norm being between 28 and 40⁵. In 1662, the hearth tax return records 80 householders, indicating a population of c.345 if Arkell's multiplier 4.3 is used.⁶ This figure, as

1. Rich, *op.cit*, pp.247-65.
2. The value of the first three of these sources for demography are reviewed by Anne Whiteman, ed., The Compton Census of 1676: a critical edition, Records of Social and Economic History, N.S., 10, 1986, pp.lix-lxxvi. See also John Patten, 'The hearth taxes, 1662-1689', Local Population Studies, 7, 1971, pp.14-27, and Tim Unwin, Late Seventeenth Century Taxation and Population: the Nottinghamshire hearth taxes and Compton census, Historical Geography Research Series, 16, 1985, especially pp.31-41.
3. Cornwall Protestation, p.273.
4. W.G. Hoskins, Local History in England, 2nd. ed., 1972 p.173.
5. Nigel Goose, 'The ecclesiastical census of 1563: a cautionary note' Local Population Studies, 34, 1985, pp.46-7.
6. Tom Arkell, 'Multiplying factors for estimating population totals from the hearth tax', Local Population Studies, 28, 1982, p.55.

one might expect from a tax return, is low when compared to the average number of baptisms in the 1660s; it yields an unacceptably high birth rate of c.43 per 1,000. The Compton census of 1676 records 250 "conformists". If these constituted 60% of the population, as suggested by Hoskins, then the total population was c.420.¹ Comparison of this figure with the average of 13.1 baptisms per year in the 1670s indicates a birth rate of 31.19, which is within acceptable limits.

These calculations are liable to considerable error, both in the raw data, and in the multipliers used to convert raw data into estimated total population. Indeed, Laslett has argued that "it now seems best to abandon the quest for a single multiplier" that can be used to convert household numbers into total population.² Arkell has suggested that population totals obtained by using his multiplier of 4.3 "should be regarded as having around them a range of at least plus or minus ten per cent, and possibly fifteen per cent"³. The rates of population turnover that can be

1. Hoskins, op.cit, p.173. The critical problem here is determining the age of first communion. On this, see Patten, op.cit, pp.56 and 59.
2. P. Laslett, 'Size and structure of the household in England over three centuries, part 1: mean household size in England since the sixteenth century', Population Studies, 23, 1969, p.211. This position is supported by John Patten, 'Population distribution in Norfolk and Suffolk during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Institute of British Geographers Transactions, 65, 1975, p.53.
3. Arkell, op.cit, p.55.

Table 3.1: Estimated Total Population Calculated
from the Parish Register

From:	<u>Baptisms</u>	<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Burials</u>
1600-1619	420	336 to 364	327
1620-1639	402	336 to 364	396
1640-1659	396	336 to 364	398
1660-1679	420	462 to 500	441
1680-1699	453	366 to 396	474

Table 3.2: Baptisms and Burials

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Baptisms</u>	<u>Burials</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1600s ¹	118	84	34
1610s ²	117	93	24
1620s	147	149	-2
1630s	121	107	14
1640s	117	122	-5
1650s	147	135	12
1660s	149	153	-4
1670s	131	132	-1
1680s	154	105	49
1690s	148	156	-8
<u>Totals</u>	<u>1349</u>	<u>1236</u>	<u>113</u>

1. The parish register commences in 1602; therefore these figures are for eight years only.
2. The register for 1610 and the first quarter of 1611 is missing; therefore, these figures are for $8\frac{1}{4}$ years only

derived from the calculations presented above lend point to the arguments of Arkell and Laslett. Such rates of turnover are directly contradicted by the parish register evidence discussed below. Calculations from the sources discussed above may, however, be usefully compared with statistics derived directly from the parish register.

Two methods of calculating total population from parish register evidence have been proposed. Hoskins¹ has suggested multiplying the average number of marriages per year by 120 or 130. An alternative method proposed by Cox² is to multiply the mean number of baptisms by thirty. A third method is to multiply the mean number of burials per year by 31.³ The results of using these three methods are presented in table 3.1. Most of the results vary, but, taken in conjunction with the evidence already adduced, it may reasonably be estimated that the population of Week St. Mary between 1543 and 1699 probably fluctuated between 330 and 500.

The parish register provides the most reliable evidence for establishing trends in population change. The register

1. W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England: essays in social and economic history, 1963, p.189.
2. As reported by C.C. Taylor, 'Population studies in 17th-century and 18th-century Wiltshire', Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 60, 1965, p.100.
3. Taylor, op.cit, p.102. For comments on this method, see R.S. Schofield, 'Some notes on aggregative analysis in a single parish', Local Population Studies, 5, 1970, p.14, and Victor Skipp, Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674, 1978, pp.120-1.

has been subjected to the checks for plausibility proposed by Eversley¹ and its evidential value has been confirmed. The evidence presented in the next chapter suggests that net migration was small, and can therefore be ignored in the following argument.

The comparison of baptisms and burials in table 3.2 indicates that there was a rise in population during the seventeenth century, but that it was not continuous throughout the century.² Moderate growth took place in the first two decades of the century, and in the 1680s; there was also minor growth in the 1630s and 1650s, but for the other decades of the century, population neither increased or decreased. This pattern is similar to that detected by Whetter in analysing the registers of

1. D.E.C. Eversley, 'Exploitation of Anglican parish registers by aggregative analysis' in E.A. Wrigley, An Introduction to English Historical Demography from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, 1966, pp.54-5.
2. It is unfortunate that the parish register only commences in 1602, missing the plague outbreak of 1591-2, which caused high mortality in St. Columb Major, a parish about thirty miles to the south-west. Cf. Norman J.G. Pounds, 'The Population of Cornwall before the first census', in Walter Minchinton, ed., Population and marketing: two studies in the history of the South-West, Exeter Papers in Economic History, 11, 1976, pp.26-7. On this outbreak of plague, see also R.B. Outhwaite, 'Dearth, the English crown, and the crisis of the 1590s' in Peter Clark, ed., The European Crisis of the 1590s: essays in comparative history, 1985, p.36. Twenty per cent of the 300 English parishes under observation in 1592 experienced a fifty per cent increase in burials.

eighty-five Cornish parishes.¹ He found moderate growth in the first forty years of the century, followed by a static situation until c.1670, when growth began again. The final decade, according to Whetter, "had the same characteristics as the period before the civil war, relative over-population and an under-employed labour force".² In their study of the population history of England, Wrigley and Schofield did not use any Cornish parish register; Hartland, Devon, is the nearest parish whose register was analyzed.³ Nevertheless, there is a remarkable similarity between their findings, those of Whetter, and those of the present study. Wrigley and Schofield found a steady growth in population until 1640, followed by fifty years of stagnation, and a resumption of growth in the 1690s.⁴ That resumption of growth began somewhat earlier in Cornwall than in the rest of England.

It remains to consider the population of Week St. Mary in relationship to the population of other local parishes. In this context, it is not sufficient to compare the total

1. Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.8-10 and 207-10. See also Greg Finch, 'The population of Hartland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Devon Historian, 19, 1979, p.12-22, and Norman Annett, 'North Molton: the pre-census population', Devonshire Association...Report and Transactions, 108, 1976, pp.85-99, for studies of nearby Devonshire parishes. Their conclusions broadly agree with those of Whetter.
2. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.10.
3. E.A Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, The Population History of England 1541-1871: a reconstruction, 1971, pp.40 and 485-6.
4. Ibid, pp.161-2.

number of adult males, or the total number of taxpayers. Whilst such figures may be useful in an area of nucleated settlement, they are less useful in the dispersed settlement area that was North Cornwall. It is more valuable to calculate the density of population. This has been done for the hundred of Stratton in table 3.3.¹ The figures in each column are not comparable since they are based on statistics compiled in different ways for different purposes. However, the rank order of the parishes is significant. Week St. Mary consistently had a low population density between 1543 and 1662 in relationship to the rest of the hundred. The highest population density was to be found - as expected - in Stratton, the local market town, and in low-lying parishes immediately adjoining it, that is Poughill and Marhamchurch. Parishes in the south - Jacobstow, Week St. Mary, Boyton, and North Tamerton, were on higher ground and poorer soils, and consequently had lower population densities.

1. For maps of population densities for Cornwall in 1567, 1642, and 1664, see Norman J.G. Pounds, 'The population of Cornwall before the first census', in Walter Minchinton, ed., Population and Marketing: two studies in the history of the South-West, Exeter Papers in Economic History, 11, 1976, pp.15,17, and 18. At all three dates, population density was low compared to the rest of the county other than Bodmin Moor.

Table 3.3: Population Distribution: Stratton Hundred

	<u>Taxpayers/Adult Males per hundred acres</u>							
	1543 ¹	Rank Order	1569 ²	Rank Order	1641/2 ³	Rank Order	1662 ⁴	Rank Order
Boyton	.9	12	1.0	12	2.4	8=	1.2	9=
Bridgerule West	1.8	3	2.4	4	2.9	6	2.3	2
Jacobstow	1.5	6=	1.5	8=	N/A		1.5	6
Kilkhampton	1.3	10=	1.4	11	3.2	4=	1.1	11
Launcells	1.7	4=	1.8	5	3.2	4=	1.4	7=
Marhamchurch	1.5	6=	2.7	3	4.3	3	1.9	4
Morwenstow	1.3	10=	1.7	6=	2.4	8=	1.2	9=
North Tamerton	1.7	4=	1.7	6=	2.4	8=	1.0	12
Poughill	3.1	2	4.2	2	6.3	2	2.2	3
Stratton	3.7	1	5.4	1	12.1	1	8.3	1
Week St.Mary	1.4	7	1.5	8=	2.4	8=	1.4	7=
Whitstone	1.5	6=	1.5	8=	2.6	7	1.7	5
Hundred	1.6		1.9		3.1		1.7	

1. T.L. Stoate, ed., Cornwall Subsidies in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1524 and 1543 and the Benevolence of 1545, 1984, pp.141-149.

2. H.L. Douch, ed., The Cornwall Muster Roll of 1569, 1984, pp.122-132.

3. Cornwall Protestation, pp.277-80.

4. Cornwall Hearth ... Taxes, p.xvi.

Parish acreages used in this table are as given in J. Polsue, ed., Lake's Parochial History of the County of Cornwall, 4 vols., 1867-73.

Chapter 4: Geographic Mobility

It is current orthodoxy that, in the early modern period, geographical mobility was "one of the most striking characteristics" of English communities.¹ Clark has argued that, at the close of the seventeenth century, some two-thirds of the population had experienced some form of migration.² Youths were highly mobile, whether as servants in husbandry, or when seeking marriage partners. They did not, however, travel great distances.³ Much greater distances - sometimes hundreds of miles - were travelled by the transitory poor in search of work. On the other hand, most rural communities had a solid core of stable, usually substantial, families, who were closely linked to each other, and who played the dominant role in local affairs.⁴ The boundaries of parishes did not mark the boundaries of most rural dwellers' horizons. In the Gloucestershire manor of Westonbirt, "neighbourhood" in the early eighteenth century included six or seven agricultural villages which were within walking distance.⁵

1. Keith Wrightson, 'Aspects of social differentiation in rural England, c.1580-1660', Journal of Peasant Studies, 1, 1977, p.37. See also Poverty and Piety, p.69, and Cicely Howell, 'Stability and change, 1300-1700: the socio-economic context of the self-perpetuating family farm in England', Journal of Peasant Studies, 2, 1975, pp.468-82.
2. Peter Clark, 'Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', Past and Present, 83, 1979, pp.65 and 67.
3. Ann Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England, 1981, pp.49-69.
4. See, for example, English Rural Community, p.8; W.G.Hoskins, The Midland Peasant: the economic and social history of a Leicestershire village, 1957, p.143. See also, however, English Rural Community, pp.117-8, on the instability of some of the largest tenant farmers in Myddle, Shropshire.
5. David Rollinson, 'Property, ideology and popular culture in a Gloucestershire village, 1660-1740', Past and Present, 93, 1981, p.89.

Week St. Mary was not a 'social isolate'¹. Nevertheless, parish boundaries were important, as the Week St. Mary boys who were whipped whilst perambulating the boundary with Whitstone in January 1694/5 could doubtless testify.² The extent to which inhabitants had dealings with non-parishioners was limited by the time and trouble involved in travelling; the intention of this chapter is to define those limits. It is necessary to "explore the geography of extravillage relationships", and to establish the dimensions of the greater world within which the people of Week St. Mary lived and moved³.

The major emphasis in the study of geographic mobility to date has been placed on the question of migration. Considerable effort has been devoted to the demographic aspects of migration. Little attention, however, has been paid to the nature and extent of other contacts between inhabitants of different parishes⁴. It is the intention here to examine both questions in the Week St. Mary context, using all relevant evidence.

1. Poverty and Piety, p.75.
2. P.R.
3. Poverty and Piety, p.75.
4. See, however, Paul S. Seaver, Wallington's World: a puritan artisan in seventeenth-century London, 1985, pp.95-104, on the connections developed with distant parts by a London artisan. Wallington's "network of connections" stretched to France and Germany, to Massachusetts and Connecticut. For the extent of extra-parochial contacts in fourteenth-century Broughton, Huntingdonshire - which were somewhat wider than in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary - see Edward Britton, The Community of the Vill: a study in the history of the family and village life in fourteenth-century England, 1977, pp.179-90.

The listings of inhabitants used in chapter three to establish the size of the community may also be used to suggest broad trends in migration. Of particular value in this context are the subsidy rolls of 1525, 1543, and 1600¹, the muster roll of 1569², the protestation return of 1641/2³, and the 1662-4 hearth tax assessment⁴. The value and limitations of these sources are well known⁵. The 1569 and 1641/2 listings are the most useful, since they can be assumed to provide complete enumerations of all adult males. Table 4.1 indicates the number of inhabitants in each list, together with the number of surnames.

Table 4.1: Statistics from Listings of Inhabitants.

	<u>Inhabitants</u>	<u>Surnames</u>
1525	32	30
1543	80	45
1569	95	55
1600	32	26
1641/2	136	73
1662-4	80	51

1. The two earliest rolls have been published; cf. T.L. Stoate, ed., Cornwall Subsidies in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1524 and 1543, and the Benevolence of 1545, 1984, pp.147-8. The 1600 roll is P.R.O., E179/88/265.
2. H.L. Douch, ed., The Cornwall Muster Roll of 1569, 1984, p.122.
3. Cornwall Protestation, p.273.
4. Cornwall Hearth ... Taxes, pp.35-6.
5. The value of the subsidy rolls for studying migration was first recognised as long ago as 1915; cf. S.A. Peyton, 'The village population in the Tudor lay subsidy rolls', English Historical Review, 30, 1915, pp.234-50. For the use of the muster rolls, see E.E. Rich, 'The population of Elizabethan England', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 3, 1950, pp.247-65.

A mere eight surnames occur in all six lists, namely, Clifton, Colwill, French, Leigh, Orchard, Pethick, Trewin, and Wheare. This figure, however, hides the fact that several of these families had numerous branches. There were three Colwills in 1543, five in 1569, and no less than ten in 1641/2. There were four Leighs in 1543 and three in 1641/2. Two Cliftons paid the subsidy in 1524, and five paid hearth tax in 1662-4.

The men who bore these names constituted a solid core of stable, fairly substantial families, who are frequently mentioned in probate records and other documents. However, the majority of families did not remain in the parish for more than two or three generations. Of the thirty surnames listed in 1525, only twenty remained in 1543. By 1600 there were only thirteen - a figure which remained almost constant in 1641/2 and 1662-4. The pattern of surname disappearance is shown in table 4.2. It is evident from this table that a large proportion of surnames - at least a third, and up to seventy per cent - disappeared between each listing¹. Some of these 'disappearances' are due to the nature of the listings. The 1525, 1543, 1600, and 1662-4 listings are tax lists, and therefore do not include residents who did not pay tax. This may be why some surnames which appear in both 1525 and 1662-4 are excluded from one or more of the other lists. The surnames in question are Cole, Marrais,

1. It has been argued that even in the most static parishes, two-thirds of the families would disappear in the course of a century. Cf. Peter Spufford, 'Population mobility in pre-industrial England', Genealogists Magazine, 17, 1973, p.539.

Nicholl, Pearce, and Prust. The Marrais family were definitely resident throughout the period, but were not substantial enough to pay the 1600 subsidy. The Prusts, by contrast, are known to have been resident in Ladock, nearly forty miles away, in 1623¹.

It is not possible to construct accurate statistics for the mean annual rate at which surnames disappeared, or to identify trends in 'disappearance' rates from these figures. The best guide to the rate of disappearance in the sixteenth century is given by comparing the 1543 listing with that for 1569 - the latter being a reasonably complete enumeration of resident adult males. In the space of twenty-six years, twenty-one surnames disappeared, that is, just under one per year². For the seventeenth century, a comparison of the 1641/2 listing with the 1662-4 listing yields the most reliable result. No less than forty-three surnames disappeared in the course of two decades - just under two per year. This figure includes six instances where two men bore the same name in 1641/2, and two where three men did. It does not, however, take into account changes in the number of surnames which had more than one representative in each list. There were twenty fewer such names in 1662-4 than in 1641/2. This reduction was probably due primarily to the fact that individuals were being listed in 1641/2, whereas in 1662-4 the unit of reckoning was heads of

1. C.R.O., Archdeaconry of Cornwall probate records, P464/1. Will of Henry Prust. See also 124 and 142.
2. This includes two instances where father and son were both taxed in 1543, namely, the Prusts and the Welas, and one instance the same surname, Saunders, was borne by three men.

Table 4.2: Surname Disappearances

<u>Listing</u>	<u>No. of surnames in list</u>	<u>No. remaining in</u>				
		<u>1543</u>	<u>1569</u>	<u>1600</u>	<u>1641/2</u>	<u>1662-4</u>
1525	30	20	16	13	14	13
1543	45	-	24	13	15	13
1569	55	-	-	14	16	15
1600	26	-	-	-	16	16
1641/2	75	-	-	-	-	32

Table 4.3: New Surnames

<u>Listing</u>	<u>No. of surnames in list</u>	<u>No. new since</u>				
		<u>1525</u>	<u>1543</u>	<u>1569</u>	<u>1600</u>	<u>1641/2</u>
1543	45	22				
1569	55	39	30			
1600	26	13	13	12		
1641/2	75	60	56	56	57	
1662-4	51	13	11	15	17	19

household . The 1662-4 list is, of course, a tax list; it is, theoretically, less complete than the 1641/2 listing. Some allowance must be made for exemption from, or evasion of, the hearth tax. The accuracy of the list may, for the present purpose, be tested against the marriage register, and also against the evidence assembled in the present volume. A search of the marriage register between 1664 and 1700 yields the surnames of five men, and seven women, who were listed in 1641/2 but not in 1662-4¹. The women, of course, may have had no male relative in the parish. A will provides one additional surname.²

In addition, a further eight surnames occur after 1664 in the probate records with no indication of residence³. These figures, taken together, suggest that between forty and forty-seven men - probably heads of households - left the parish in the middle decades of the seventeenth-century, or perhaps two per year.

1. The mens' surnames were Davy (two instances), 1675, Dyer, 1689, Seccombe, 1667, Veale, 1674, and Wills, 1669. The women were Ortin, 1665, Walker, 1666, Metherell, 1669, Finch, 1673, Metherell, 1674, Hawton, 1675, Mill, 1679. For Seccombe, see also 120.

2. Treweeks, 159 W.

3. The names in question are Brabin, 120W, Edgecombe, 127 W, Gibbs, 133 C and 138 C, Reed, 128 C, 131 W, Tom, 119 W, Veal, 113 W, Walker, 121 W and 130 W, and Willes, 120W.

Some of these migrants were replaced by immigrants. Table 4.2 indicates the number of new surnames in each listing. It is evident that, over the long-term, many families migrated to the parish. A comparison of the 1641/2 listing with that of 1569 - both being reasonably complete lists of the adult male population - shows that no less than fifty-six of the seventy-four surnames listed in 1641/2 were not present seven decades earlier. In the short term, however, immigration was low. This is clearly indicated by a comparison of the 1641/2 and 1662-4 listings. There were a mere nineteen tax-payers listed in 1662-4 who bore surnames which are not to be found in the 1641/2 list. Two of these - Sir John Rolle, and Mr. Speccott - were not immigrants at all, but long-established landowners who had not been actually resident in 1641/2¹. These figures suggest that, in the years of the civil war and interregnum, immigration accounted for slightly less than one new family per year. The net rate of emigration, therefore, may have been about one family per year.

This calculation does not fully account for the migrations of servants - although their numbers were small in Week St. Mary. It cannot, therefore, be directly compared to the population turnover rate of five per cent per annum found by Laslett at Clayworth,

1. John Speccott's name heads the list of contributors to the aid of 1612-13; cf. P.R.O., E179/88/287.

Nottinghamshire between 1676 and 1688¹. The preceding calculations may, however, be compared to calculations made by Styles for two villages in Warwickshire².

At Barcheston, only one-seventh of the families named in the hearth-tax roll of 1662/3 had been in the parish before 1600. At Lighthorne, the proportion was two-thirds. Thirty per cent of surnames listed in Week St. Mary's 1662-4 hearth tax roll had been present in the late sixteenth-century. The differences may be accounted for in terms of the structure of land ownership and occupation. At Barcheston, enclosure for pasture had been undertaken by the lord in the early sixteenth-century, and much land was let at lease. The interest of inhabitants in its lands was limited, and therefore mobility was high. Lighthorne, by contrast, was a classic open-field village, where the demesne had been parcelled out amongst the tenants. Its inhabitants had greater control over land, and were therefore less mobile. Week St. Mary had few families without land; however, long leases of ninety-nine years or three lives provided a degree of

1. Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations, 1977, pp.65-7.
2. Philip Styles, Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History, 1978, p.103. A number of other calculations are cited by Peter Spufford, 'Population mobility in pre-industrial England', Genealogists Magazine, 17, 1973, pp.420-1. For a study of migration in the urban environment, see Jeremy Boulton, Neighbourhood and Society: a London suburb in the seventeenth century, 1987, pp.206-227.

stability. There was, admittedly, no permanent attachment to the land, as at Lighthorne, and therefore mobility was higher.

There were, perhaps, five types of migration. These included those occasioned by marriage, by entry into, and exit from servanthood, by the movement of whole families or households, and by the long-distance migration of 'travellers', that is, paupers.¹ The fifth category covers individuals migrating for other reasons, for example, scholars, carriers, chapmen, etc.. For Week St. Mary, the only categories which can be analysed are those for which the parish register provides evidence. Little can be said about the migration of servants, and nothing about the migration of whole families, or of other categories.

The parish register lists forty marriages in the seventeenth century where at least one partner came from another parish. This constitutes fifteen per cent of all Week St. Mary marriages. There may have been more non-parishioners who were not recorded as such, and this figure cannot therefore serve as an adequate guide to the proportion of those who were married who migrated - although it does set a lower limit. It may be assumed that these forty marriages were a random sample of non-parishioners. In seven instances, both parties were non-parishioners, most

1. Some of these categories are suggested by Laslett, *op.cit*, p.68.

of whom travelled between nine and twenty-two miles in order to marry in Week St. Mary - despite the fact that, with one exception, the couples concerned came from the same parish or parishes much closer to each other than they were to Week St. Mary. The exception concerned a bride from North Hill, some thirteen miles to the south, and a groom from Parkham, eighteen miles to the north. Week St. Mary was a convenient half-way point.¹

Of the remaining thirty-three marriages, it may be assumed that, in each case, one of the parties lived in Week St. Mary. It follows that at least one of the parties in each of these marriages migrated in order to marry. In ten cases one partner came from within five miles of Week St. Mary; in a further ten cases, one partner came between five and ten miles. None came further than twenty-five miles: one came from Padstow, two from Great Torrington, and one from St. Breock. Week St. Mary marriage partners were drawn from a wider radius than was the case in both Myddle, Shropshire, and Kirtlington, Oxfordshire. In these places, nearly all found a spouse within ten miles of their home.² Week St. Mary's

1. All distances are based on straight lines drawn between parish churches.
2. English Rural Community, p.201; Kirtlington, p.91.

experience was more akin to that of Wharfedale, Yorkshire, where twenty-six per cent of marriage partners marrying away from home travelled more than ten miles¹.

It has been possible to identify fourteen marriages of Week St. Mary inhabitants which took place outside the parish. These show a similar pattern: nine (64%) took place within five miles, and only one falls outside the twenty-five mile limit: Florence Rolle married Peter Bennett of Perranarworthal, some fifty miles to the south-west². Both were members of county families.

It is not possible to determine the importance of marriage in relationship to total migration into and out of Week St. Mary. Laslett has argued that, at Clayworth, Nottinghamshire, and Cogenhoe, Northamptonshire, marriage was relatively insignificant as a cause of migration, accounting for eleven per cent and under five per cent of migrants respectively³. The fact that there were at least forty marriages in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary where at least one

1. Bessie Maltby, 'Parish registers and the problem of mobility', Local Population Studies, 6, 1971, p.41. I have re-worked Maltby's figures for the present purpose.

2. See 6.

3. Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations, 1977, p.70.

party was a non-parishioner lends support to the suspicion that marriage was of greater importance as a factor in migration there than at Clayworth or Cogenhoe. The evidence is, however, insufficient to permit sensible calculations to be made.

The parish register also lists forty-five baptisms of the children of non-parishioners. In five cases, their parents were described as 'travellers' or 'strangers', that is, presumably, the 'sturdy beggars' against whom quarter sessions fulminated¹. In 1687, no less than 250 such 'travellers' received relief from the overseers of Morwenstowe, which lies on the main road between Bideford and North Cornwall². In the same year, in the more remote north Devon parish of Hartland, relief was given to 166 men and women, most of whom "had a passe"³. Many of these had travelled great distances; a large percentage were Irish, giving support to Carew's earlier assertion that "Ireland prescribeth to be the nursery" of poor migrants⁴. Others came from Scotland, France, the

1. A transcript of a quarter sessions order regarding vagabonds is inserted in the parish register between the entries for 1679 and 1680.
2. F.C.Hamlyn, A History of Morwenstowe after the the Restoration, 1930, p.113.
3. Ivon L. Gregory, ed., Hartland Church Accounts, 1597-1706, 1950, pp.329-31.
4. Survey of Cornwall, p.139.

Low Countries, Italy, 'Turkey', and English counties as far distant as Lincolnshire and Sussex. Many claimed to be seamen or soldiers¹. Parish register entries of baptisms and burials provide the only direct evidence for the presence of such poor 'travellers' in Week St. Mary, but it is unlikely that its experience of them differed markedly from that of Morwenstowe or Hartland, both of which lie within twenty miles.

Twenty-six of the non-parishioners who had their children baptised in Week St. Mary came from within five miles of the parish; a further six travelled between five and ten miles, and none came further than twenty-one miles. The reasons for baptising infants at Week St. Mary, rather than in the home parish, were probably primarily ones of convenience; in 1608 a Jacobstow child was baptised in Week St. Mary simply because the Jacobstow parson was absent from his parish.² Clerical connections also played a role: in the early years of the century, the rector John Kerlake, baptised several Risdon children. John Risdon was parson of Parkham, Devon; William Risdon, who was presumably related was successively vicar of Abbotsham,

1. Gregory, op.cit. See also R. Pearse Chope, The Book of Hartland, 1940, pp.106-24.

2. P.R.

Devon, and parson of Whitstone. On one occasion, a "base child" from Altarnun was baptised. His parentage was unknown; presumably the Week St. Mary overseers had agreed to maintain him for some reason.

Thirty-seven burials of non-parishioners are also recorded in the parish register. Seven of these were 'travellers' or their children, and one, in 1649, was Irish - presumably, at this date, a refugee. Fourteen (38%) came from within five miles; eight (22%) from between five and ten miles. Three came from beyond the twenty-five mile radius: from St. Lawrence, Exeter (forty-two miles), St. Johns (thirty miles), and Barnstaple (forty miles). The register also notes that one parishioner was buried at Probus, nearly forty miles to the south-west. It may be presumed that most of these decedents died in the parish. The parish register tells us why two of them were present in Week St. Mary at their death. One John Warren, from St. John, was visiting the rector, John Kerlake. The other was David Wheare, who, with his mother, had been "brought with a pass" from Marhamchurch, although his mother claimed settlement in Poundstock.

The evidence for mobility is not confined to listings of inhabitants and the parish register; many other

documents may be utilised. It has been possible to identify non-Week St. Mary kin for twenty-three of the decedents who left probate records¹, using a combination of wills and a variety of documentary evidence. These twenty-three decedents had a total of thirty-two kin resident in other parishes. The term 'kin' includes parents, grand-parents, siblings, and 'cousins'; the latter term includes uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces, as well as the modern 'cousin'. Thirteen lived within five miles of Week St. Mary, and a further nine were within a radius of ten miles. All but two lived within twenty-five miles; the two exceptions were William Marten, Anne Marten's 'cousin', who lived in Plymouth in 1697², and Thomas Clifton, the grand-father of Thomas Clifton (122), who resided at Lyons Inn, Middlesex, in 1612³. The only other person from Week St. Mary known to have been resident in London in the early modern period was the famous Dame Thomasine Percival, the wife of London's lord mayor in 1498-9⁴.

1. This excludes relationships established by the marriages discussed above.
2. See 164 W.
3. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease, 20.8.1612. John Beaford and John Beaford to Thomas Clifton, re Stapleton.
4. P.L.Hull, 'The endowment and foundation of a grammar school at Week St. Mary by Dame Thomasine Percival', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S. 7(1), 1973, pp.21-54.

The only other evidence relating to migration is indirect, and concerns the presence of servants in the community¹. Servants were highly mobile: they were hired for a year at a time, and Kussmaul has calculated that between half and two-thirds moved on at the end of their year's service to another master, another parish². The relatively low proportion of servants to total population in Week St. Mary means that their share in the pattern of total migration was probably low in comparison to other communities which have been studied. Unfortunately, detailed statistics are not available; it has not been possible to trace the geographic origin of even one servant.

The evidence so far discussed has been primarily concerned with migration. It has been suggested that surnames disappeared from Week St. Mary at the rate of about two per year, and were replaced by new surnames at the rate of about one per year, in the mid-seventeenth century. It has also been suggested that few migrants travelled more than ten miles to re-settle, although the marriage register suggests a wider radius of up to twenty-five miles. Very few went beyond this limit; those who did were either

1. See below, pp.181-4 and 225-7.
2. Ann Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England, 1981, p.54.

of the better sort, for example, wealthy yeomen like the Prusts, and members of 'county' families like Florence Rolle, or they were the 'strangers' whose origins are not known. Interestingly, similar limits continue to apply to most local families in twentieth-century 'Ashworthy'.¹

The connections which rural dwellers had with other parishes were not, however, confined to migration. There were innumerable contacts between the inhabitants of Week St. Mary and dwellers in other local parishes. The great majority were, of course, unrecorded. The probate records, in conjunction with a number of other sources, do, however, enable us to identify and analyse a few of these contacts. Five categories have been identified: land ownership, other economic contacts, such as loans, legacies to non-kin, witnesses and praisers, and contacts on probate business.

Twenty-four decedents are known to have owned lands in nine other parishes. This included twenty-three tenements - some of which descended through two or three decedents. Fourteen were within a five-mile

1. W.M. Williams, A West Country Village: Ashworthy: family, kinship, and land, 1963, p.130.

radius, five more were within ten miles, and the remainder - in Endellion, Morwenstow, and Advent - were only a few miles further.

Little is known about other economic contacts. Some Cornish cattle were driven to London for sale, and Carew noted that graziers from North Devon and Somerset fed their cattle in North Cornwall¹; presumably they traded at Week St. Mary fair. The fair is briefly mentioned in a variety of documents², but the only direct evidence of trade is that in 1696 the steward of Worthyvale, Minster, sold four bullocks there³. Two decedents - Ralph Hartland (106) and William Bickton (137) - were perhaps chapmen, whose trade may have taken them considerable distances⁴. John Beaford rode to London on his client's legal business.⁵

The only other evidence for economic activities beyond the boundaries of Week St. Mary is contained in the probate records, and is concerned primarily with

1. J.H.Betty, 'Livestock trade in the West Country during the seventeenth century', Somerset Archaeology and Natural History, 127, 1983, p.125; Survey of Cornwall, p.107.
2. See, for example, 5W & I, 41, and 142.
3. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.53.
4. See Margaret Spufford, The Great Reclothing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century, 1984, pp.74-8, for a discussion of the distances travelled by chapmen.
5. P.R.O., STAC8/88/20.

with credit. Unfortunately, the residences of creditors are rarely stated; however, Richard Prust, gent., of Launcells¹, John Harris of St. Clements², Anthony Lyle, gent., of Altarnun, Johnathan Woolfe, gent., of North Petherwin³, and John Bryant of Stratton⁴, are all named. St. Clement is over forty miles from Week St. Mary - but John Harris was married to a local girl. With this exception, all creditors lived within a fifteen-mile radius, and most were much closer than that. There is one other reference to extra-parochial economic activity: in 1614, William Pethick (19W) died possessed of timber purchased from a Mr. Abbott of Luffincott, some six miles distant.

The process of probate itself, of course, required extra-parochial activity. Wills were often proved at Launceston or Altarnun, eleven and fifteen miles away respectively. Blisland (seventeen miles) and Breage (about sixty miles) are also mentioned⁵. If oaths had to be taken locally, the clergy of parishes such as Whitstone, Poundstock, or Stratton, might

1. cf. 16 I
2. cf. 60.
3. cf. 129 A.
4. cf. 133 C.
5. cf. 18 A and 85 W.

receive a commission to do so¹. During the inter-regnum, it became necessary for executors and administrators to travel much further; the wills of eleven testators were proved at London or Westminster.

The process of probate required various people to play a role: decedents, witnesses, praisers, administrators, executors and overseers². No less than forty-eight came from other parishes. As might be expected, the great majority came from within a ten mile radius, and twenty-five of those came from within five miles. John Truscott of St. Neots, nineteen miles distant, lived furthest away³.

Legacies to non-kin also provide information about extra-parochial contacts. Fifteen parishes are mentioned in such legacies. All are within or just outside the ten-mile radius. A resident of Week St. Mary was, however, mentioned in the will of Richard Leigh, blacksmith, of Bideford,⁴ twenty-three miles to the north-east, and Andrew Trewin, haberdasher, of Okehampton, noted in his will that he had been born in Week St. Mary.⁵

1. cf. 42Z

2. The residences of those who performed these functions in Southwark are studied in Jeremy Boulton, Neighbourhood and Society: a London suburb in the seventeenth century, 1987, pp.236-42.

3. cf. 160A.

4. P.R.O., PROB 11/276.

5. P.R.O., PROB 11/273.

The conclusion which must be drawn from this evidence is that the horizons of most Week St. Mary residents were very limited: few seem to have ventured beyond a ten-mile radius, and even local market towns such as Holsworthy, Launceston, and Camelford were rarely visited by the majority of the population. The urban pull of cities such as Exeter, Plymouth, and London was virtually non-existent. The only people who had much familiarity with other parts of the country were the county gentry, that is, primarily the Rolle family, and the clergy, all of whom were immigrants, and most of whom had studied at Oxford¹. The vast majority of those who changed their parish of residence travelled very short distances to do so - rarely more than five or ten miles². Of the seventeen genuine immigrant surnames listed in 1662-4, all but three can be found within ten miles of Week St. Mary in the protestation returns or hearth tax rolls³. Clark has calculated that, nationally, forty per cent of migrants moved more than ten miles⁴. However, the mean mileage travelled by yeomen and husbandmen was 11.7 and 12.3 respectively⁵. Their

1. See below, p.172-5.

2. The figure for migration due to marriage presented above indicate rather wider horizons; however, Laslett has argued that marriage was a relatively minor cause of migration in Clayworth and Cogenhoe; cf. Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations, 1977, p.70.

3. The two are Folly, and Townsend. There were Townsends at Milton Damerel, twelve miles from Week St. Mary, in 1641/2; cf. A J. Howard, ed., The Devon Protestation Returns, 1641, 1973, p.74.

4. Peter Clark, 'Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', Past and Present, 83, 1979, p.68.

5. Ibid, p.70.

movements were much shorter than those of many other occupational groupings - and these social groups constituted the majority of the population in Week St. Mary. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to conclude that North Cornishmen migrated shorter distances than was usual in wealthier parts of the country such as Norfolk or Gloucestershire.

Chapter 5: The Pattern of Land Ownership and Occupation

Week St. Mary in the early modern period was an 'open' parish, with many lords owning land. In consequence, no single source survives that enables us to see the total pattern of land ownership and occupation. Reliance must be placed upon deeds, leases, rentals, tax lists, the parish register, probate records, and various other sources to establish the nature of that pattern. As in Terling, Essex, the pattern cannot be observed in full at any one point in time¹; there is, however, sufficient evidence to enable us to see its complexity over time. The ownership of manors and of smaller estates, tenancy, and the size of holdings, may all be examined.

A. Manorial history

Two manors are mentioned in Domesday: Week, and Orchard.² In 1348, the 'members' of the manor of Week St. Mary were Swannacott, Whiteleigh, Exe, Creddacott, Ashbury, Haydah, and Landhillick.³ The demesne of this manor had been used to

1. Poverty and Piety, p.28.
2. Caroline Thorn and Frank Thorn, eds., Domesday Book, vol.10: Cornwall, 1979, 5,3,18, and 5,5,6.
The manor of Burracott and Boradown - not mentioned in Domesday Book - extended into Week St. Mary slightly, but the greater portion of it was in Poundstock, a neighbouring parish. Other manors also had minor rights in the parish, including Froxton, Wadfast, Penhallam, Penheale, Pigsdon, and Nethercot. All of these rights were insignificant.
3. D.G. Atkinson, ed., Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem ... vol. 9, Edward III, 1916, pp.100-101.

found a borough in the thirteenth century¹. This resulted in a manorial name change: the manor of Week St. Mary is sometimes so described in the sixteenth century, but by the seventeenth century it is solely referred to as the manor of Swannacott².

The manor had suffered considerable alienation by the seventeenth century: its courts had lost control of large areas of the parish³. In part, this was due to the fact that the manor had been divided between three co-heirs in 1508, on the death of Anne Crocker⁴. It

1. D.R.O., ED/M/11. Apart from mention in deeds and rentals, few records of the borough survive, although mayors continued to be elected until the nineteenth century. In 1820, two fairs were being held annually; according to tradition, a weekly market had formerly been held; cf. C.S.Gilbert, An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall, vol.2, 1820, p.536. The cessation of mayoral elections is noted in J. Polsue, Lake's Parochial History of Cornwall, vol. 4, 1873, p.668. The names of office-holders do not survive. For references to the borough as early as 1306 and 1307, see L.E.Elliott-Binns, Medieval Cornwall, 1955, p.115. It is not mentioned in Adolphus Ballard and James Tait, eds British Borough Charters, 1216-1307, 1923.
2. According to Lysons, the manors of Week St. Mary and Swannacott merged; cf. Davies Gilbert, The Parochial History of Cornwall, 1838, vol.4, p.136. In fines of 1377, 1392, and 1440, reference is made to the manor of Week St. Mary, and to one messuage, two carucates, twenty acres of meadow, and a hundred acres of land, in Swannacott; cf. R.W.Goulding, ed., Records of the Charity known as Blanchminster's Charity, in the Parish of Stratton ..., 1898, pp.24a, 29a, and 32a.
3. A non-manorial economy in late medieval Cornwall is discussed in John Hatcher, 'Non-manorialism in medieval Cornwall', Agricultural History Review, 18, 1970, pp.1-16. In Kent, "most manors existed as machines for the collection of rents"; cf. C.W.Chalklin, 'The rural economy of a Kentish Wealden parish, 1650-1750', Agricultural History Review, 10(1), 1962, p.30. The decay of manors in early modern Wiltshire is discussed by E. Kerridge, 'Agriculture, 1500-1793', in Elizabeth Crittall, ed., A History of Wiltshire, vol.4, 1959, p.58.
4. M.C.B.Dawes, ed., Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem ..., Henry VII. Vol.3, 1955, p.231.

descended to Anⁿ Danvers, John Whittington and Richard Boles. In the 1560s and 1570s, various portions of the manor came on the market piece-meal; much was purchased by tenants¹. The Bolles inheritance was purchased by tenants in 1562 for £531²; portions of the Danvers inheritance were purchased by the Beafords and the Grenvilles in the early 1570s³; the Whittington portion was sold to Thomas Beaford in 1578⁴. The Beafords resided at Swannacott in the first half of the seventeenth century. Barnard Grenville also had a house there, and presumably resided occasionally⁵.

1. This contrasts with the sales by the same heirs of the manors of North Huish and Stowford, and the holding at Bowerland, Okehampton (all in Devon), where six deeds record piece-meal purchases of the entire property by one family; cf. Edward H. Young, Okehampton, 'Parochial Histories of Devonshire', 1, 1931, pp.10-11.
2. D.R.O., 2569B/Box 0/9. John Ward of Whitstone and John Trewin to John Nicholls, re Twenty Penny Hay, 20.5.1652.
3. D.R.O., 2569B/Box 0/10. Richard Goode of Whitstone and William Leigh of Launceston to William and George Beaford, 10.1.1575; 2569B/Box 0/9, Richard Goode of Whitstone and William Leigh of Launceston to Thomas Beaford, 1.8.1575, and 10.4.1581. The Grenville purchase is inferred from the facts that Sir Richard Grenville purchased the manor of Stratton (with which Week St. Mary had been associated for centuries) from Mr. Danvers in 1576; (cf. A.L.Rowse, Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge, 1937, p.128), and that the manor is listed as his in a deed of 1586; cf. Roger Granville, The History of the Granville Family, 1895, p.125.
4. D.R.O., 2569B/Box 0/10. Richard Goode of Whitstone and Thomas Beaford of Swannacott, 30.6.1578; Sir Thomas Throckmorton of Tostworth, Glos., to Thomas Beaford of Swannacott, 1.9.1578 and 10.9.1578; Henry Poole of Tapton, Glos., to Thomas Beaford of Swannacott, 10.9.1578; Hugh Jones of Dauntsey, Wilts., to Richard Goode and Thomas Beaford, 10.10.1578; R.I.C., GAT/A/30, Richard Goode and Thomas Beaford to William and George Langdon, 1.8.1580.
5. John Norden, Speculi Britanniae Pars: a topographical and historical description of Cornwall, 1728, p.58. See also William Ravenhill, ed., John Norden's Manuscript Maps of Cornwall and its Nine Hundreds, 1972, unpaginated map of Stratton Hundred.

Major portions of the manor again changed hands in 1637 and the early 1640s. In 1636, George Hele of Bennetts, Whitestone, purchased John Beaford's portion of the manor for £ 610¹; it descended through his daughter Lucy to the Bassetts of Tehidy². Sir Bevill Grenville is reputed to have sold his portion of the manor in order to raise money for the royalist cause³.

The various purchases and descents outlined above were accompanied by numerous alienations from the manor. Their effect may be judged from the earliest surviving rental: no less than five of the seven 'members' of the manor listed in 1349 were absent in 1735⁴.

The manor of Orchard - referred to as East Orchard Marrais in 1690, and as Marrais elsewhere in this

1. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Conveyance, 10.3.1635/6, John Beaford and John Harris to George Hele. The money was not handed over until 2.8.1637, when £650 (presumably including interest) was paid; cf. D.R.O., 2569B/Box 0/10, receipt.
2. J. Polsue, Lake's Parochial History of the County of Cornwall, vol.4, 1873, p.307.
3. Roger Granville, The History of the Granville Family, 1895, p.57. It is not clear who the purchaser was - perhaps George Hele added it to his portion of the manor.
4. C.R.O., DDX 378/1. Rental of Swannacott, 1735. The five are Whitleigh, Exe, Creddacott, Ashbury, and Landhillick. Some of these had been alienated in the medieval period. For a similar process occurring on the Warwickshire/Leicestershire border, see Alan Roberts, Farming Inhabitants of Appleby and Austrey, 1550-1700, University of Adelaide Ph.D., 1984, pp.64-5.

thesis - was much smaller, and remained in the Rolle family throughout the seventeenth-century. They had acquired it by a judicious marriage with the heiress of the Marrais family in 1541¹.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Rolles of Week St. Mary were a junior branch of the Rolle family of Stevenstone, the wealthiest family in Devon². The wills of George Rolle and his son Andrew are included in this volume³. Andrew's son John inherited the estate of the senior branch of the family in 1647; he is said to have been "mowing one of his owne meadows", presumably at Marrais, when news came of his inheritance⁴. It is probable that he went to live at Stevenstone, and that the parish ceased to have any resident county gentry. John Rolle subsequently became a member of parliament and a Knight of the Bath, and died possessed of forty manors¹. Little evidence survives of his dealings with his Week St. Mary tenants, apart from the survey of his estate discussed below.

1. D.R.O., 96M/115/37; 96M/87/20; 96M/115/27. See 6.

2. W.G.Hoskins, Devon, New ed., 1972, p.84.

3. Nos. 6 and 41.

4. Daphne Drake, 'Members of Parliament for Barnstaple', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 72, 1940, p.262.

B. Smaller Estates

There were many smaller estates in the parish². The Speccotts of Thornbury, Devon, owned Goscott and Creddacott³; Brendon was part of the dowry of the Marchioness of Dorset in 1532⁴; Thomas Drake acquired it in 1641⁵. Samuel Gayer, gent., of Stratton, purchased Kitsham in 1668⁶. Trefrouse was the property of the Trevelyan family in the sixteenth-century⁷, of John Hicks, gent., in 1648/9⁸, and of his son Nicholas Hicks, clerk, of Altarnun, in 1688⁸. The Saunders family owned Kettleigh for much of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although by 1593 it was in the possession of John Blackedon, gent⁹. Westcott was a part of the dowry of Wilmot Gifford, who married Leonard Poote of Clawton, Devon, circa 1589¹⁰. Bakesdon was sold by Lewis Tremayne of St. Mawes to John Trewin,

1. B.D.Henning, ed., The House of Commons, 1660-1690, vol.3, 1983, pp.348-9.
2. Only a few examples are noted below; many more could be given.
3. British Library, Add. Ch. 64285-7; C.R.O., DD/EN/1951; Richard Potts, ed., A Calendar of Glebe Terriers 1673-1735, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 19, 1974, p.172.
4. Devon County Library, West Country Studies Library. Inquisitions Post Mortem, Thomas Marquis of Dorset, 1532.
5. Lady Eliot-Drake, The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake, 1911, pp.278-9.
6. West Devon Record Office, 52/3.
7. John Norden, Speculi Britanniae Pars: a topographical and historical description of Cornwall, 1725, p.58. See also T.L.Stoate, ed., Cornwall Subsidies in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1524 and 1543 and the Benevolence of 1545, 1984, pp.147-8.
8. British Library, Add. Ch. 57427.
9. G.C.Boase, Collectanea Cornubiensis: a collection of biographical and topographical notes relating to Cornwall, 1890, pp.1488-9.
10. J.C.Tingye, comp., Calendar of Devon Deeds Enrolled, (mss in Devon and Cornwall Record Society library), no.1335.

a local yeoman, in 1668¹. John Orchard's inquisition post mortem of 1625 records that he held the College of the King, as of the manor of East Greenwich. He also had wood in Odwood, a part of the advowson, and land in South Penlean, Poundstock.² An interest in the College was subsequently acquired by John Trevelyan of St. Clether, who was receiving from it an annuity of £2.13.4 in 1705.³

Ashbury was owned and occupied by the Clifton family - the resident attorneys of the parish - who also owned Manciple House and a number of other smaller properties. The Cliftons, however, were downwardly mobile, and by 1700 much of their property had been acquired by the Orchards, who had no fewer than twenty-one tenants in the parish by 1712. Most of their properties consisted of a house and garden, or a few small closes; in 1712, their only substantial farm was Whiteleigh⁴.

1. C.R.O., DDT 708/1-2.
2. P.R.O., C142/689/77. For Greenwich tenures, see Joel Hurstfield, 'The Greenwich tenures of the reign of Edward VI', Law Quarterly Review, 65, 1949, pp.72-81. Greenwich tenures were common in the case of ex-chantry property, such as the College, which had formerly housed the chantry school. See below, pp.259.
3. D.R.O., 189M/T264.
4. Ashbury is mentioned as being in the possession of the Cliftons in P.R.O., E179/87/130; P.R., 21.7.1625; and C.R.O., BRA 833/456. See below, pp.180-1, for a discussion of the family's downfall. For the Orchard's estate, see Hartland Abbey mss; Paul Orchard's Survey Book, 1712. It is worth noting that Charles Orchard, from whom Paul Orchard inherited the estate, was steward to Sir John Rolle of Stevenstone, and, as such, probably responsible for the 1690 survey of Marrais discussed below; cf. Davies Gilbert, The Parochial History of Cornwall ...; vol.2, 1838, p.343.

In 1622, Humphrey Pethick purchased part of Steel; it remained in the Pethick family for the rest of the century¹. Pethick and his son farmed their own land², as did a number of the smaller land-owners. Chief amongst these were the Leighs of Leigh, who had migrated from Cheshire in the fifteenth century, and who only accorded precedence in the parish to the Rolles of Marrais³. George Mayne, husbandman, and John Piper, yeoman, were humbler owner-occupiers. Mayne purchased Odmill in 1575⁴; Piper purchased Stuarts in 1598 for just £10⁵. Mayne's family did not, however, remain freeholders. A third of the property was sold to John Beaford, gent., in 1587⁶, who purchased a further portion in 1608/9⁷ - although the Maynes remained as tenants⁸. George Mayne's son Robert sold a further portion to Nicholas Grenville, gent., in 1594; the property was leased back to him. In this lease, Mayne is described as a 'bondman' - the only reference to servile status that has been discovered amongst the numerous

1. D.R.O., 49/9/2/150-1.

2. See 84 and 114.

3. See 94 and 146.

4. D.R.O., 2569B/Box AA/2.

5. D.R.O., 96M/115/21.

6. 2569B/Box AA/2.

7. Ditto.

8. Ditto. Deed 10.12.1613; Margaret Beaford to John Beaford.

deeds and leases under discussion¹. The Mayne family also leased another portion of Odmill from Thomas St. Aubyn, esq., in 1594².

A few of the sixty burgage tenements were owner-occupied³: John Nicholls, husbandman, was able to purchase his own two tenements in 1562, when the tenants bought out Richard Bolles' interest in the manor of Swannacott⁴. Most burgage tenements were, however, leased. Most of those lords with an interest in the manor of Swannacott owned property in the borough, or sought to acquire burgage tenements: the Rolle family bought wherever they could⁵. Sir John Rolle's survey of c.1690 reveals the ownership of a number of burgage tenements⁶. The Cliftons likewise had a number of them, which became the property of the Orchards of Hartland Abbey⁷. The crown owned at least two burgage tenements; its 'fee' of Week St. Mary was worth a mere

1. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary.
2. Ditto. This property probably descended to Thomas as a result of his father's marriage to Blanche, the daughter and co-heir of Thomas Whittington; cf. Diana Hartley, The St. Aubyns of Cornwall, 1200-1977, 1977, p.28.
3. The number of burgage tenements is given in D.R.O. 2569B/Box0/1; Enclosure agreement, 1870.
4. D.R.O., 2569B/0/9; John Ward of Whitstone and John Trewin of Week St. Mary to John Nicholls, husbandman, 20.5.1652.
5. See, for example, R.I.C., BAT 10 and 39, lease and release, 1589; D.R.O., 96M/115/22, deed 1626; P.R.O., C2/Jas I/K1/16, and C3/288/31.
6. D.R.O., 96M/Add. vol. 1.
7. Hartland Abbey mss. Paul Orchard's Survey Book, 1712.

£2 per annum.¹

There were also two institutional owners of land. The church, of course, owned the glebe, described in terriers of 1601, c.1625-30, 1679/80, and 1727.² The rector probably farmed this himself, although it may have been leased occasionally.³ Exe, formerly one of the 'members' of the manor of Week St. Mary, was held by the so-called 'Blanchminster Charity', under the control of the Eight men of Stratton.⁴

C. The Tenants

By far the greater proportion of the parish was tenanted by leaseholders.⁵ Polwhele noted that the three-life or ninety-nine year lease was usual, and gave "a great

1. Norman J.G. Pounds, ed., The Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall, part 2: Isles of Scilly - West Antony and Manors in Devon, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 27, 1984, p.236.
2. C.R.O. Terriers, Week St. Mary. The two later terriers are transcribed in Richard Potts, ed., A Calendar of Glebe Terriers, 1673-1735, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 19, 1974, pp.172-3.
3. See 96 and 149 W for references to leases in existence in 1623 and 1690. See also C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary, Lease, 1.6.1686, Lucy Bassett to John Gibbs, re Parsonage Green, and D.R.O., 2569B/Box 0/10, deed, 30.6.1598.
4. R.W. Goulding, ed., Records of the Charity Known as Blanchminster's Charity, in the parish of Stratton ..., 1898, pp.8a and 57-63.
5. The importance of the leaseholding system as it applied in the pseudonymous 'Ashworthy', just across the Devon border, is discussed in W.M. Williams, A West Country Village: Ashworthy: family, kinship and land, 1963, pp.28-30. See A.L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall: portrait of a society, New ed., 1969, pp.46-53, for a general discussion of tenurial structure in Cornwall.

stimulus to the improvement of our lands"¹. His comment was, perhaps, polemical, directed against the introduction of short-term leases which began in the eighteenth century². The three-life lease, so it was thought, gave greater security of tenure, and hence greater independence³. These leases could be freely bought and sold without

1. Richard Polwhele, The History of Cornwall, 1806, vol. 4, p.128. See also Sir Oswyn A.R.Murray, 'Devonshire wills of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Devonshire Association...Report and Transactions, 53, 1921, pp.67-8, Charles H. Laycock, 'The old Devon farm-house, part 1: its exterior aspect and general construction', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 52, 1920, pp.177-9.
2. John Rowe, Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution, 1953, pp.216-7.
3. Three lives were generally reckoned as being equivalent to twenty-one years; cf. Eric Kerridge, 'The movement of rents, 1540-1640', in E.M.Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, vol.2, 1962, p.212.

reference to the lord¹. They were common in pastoral districts throughout the country, and in some other areas such as the sheep-corn district of Wiltshire².

Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence from Week St. Mary to show when this system of tenure began in the parish. However, evidence from the Tavistock Abbey estate indicates that the three-life leasehold system began on its property

1. English Rural Community, pp.74-5. See also the lease of Stapleton discussed below.
2. E.M. Yates, 'Aspects of Staffordshire farming in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies 15, 1975, p.27; English Rural Community, pp.73-4; Christine Ironfield, 'The parish of Chipping during the seventeenth century', Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Transactions, 127, 1977, pp.34-5; E. Kerridge, 'Agriculture, c.1500-c.1793', in Elizabeth Crittall, ed., A History of Wiltshire, vol. 4, 1959, p.59. The predominance of the ninety-nine year lease in the south-west, and of much shorter terms in some other parts of the country, is discussed by Mildred Campbell, The English Yeoman under the Tudors and Early Stuarts, English ed., 1960, pp.82-4.

in 1517. Lease by copy of court roll was discontinued, and ordinary indentures took their place, although new tenancies continued to be proclaimed in court.¹ It was not uncommon for leaseholders to be bound to do suit of court by the terms of their leases, although such covenants were decreasing in number.² Leasehold tenure almost amounted to freehold, and the security this offered, according to Youngs, enabled "many small farmers ... to dig themselves in very comfortably and securely".³ The balance of advantage in the change from copyhold to leasehold, according to Kerridge, lay with the leaseholder.⁴ There were, however, disadvantages in the system. Despite the security it provided, heavy and uncertain entry fines drained away tenants' capital, the tenant was left without supervision, and the landlord was prevented

1. H.P.R. Finberg, Tavistock Abbey: a study in the social and economic history of Devon, 1951, p.250. This estate included the manor of Werrington, which lay just a few miles south of Week St. Mary. The earliest life-leasehold in the south-west dates from the early fifteenth century; cf. Joyce Youngs, 'The economic history of Devon, 1300-1700', in Frank Barlow, ed., Exeter and its Region, 1969, p.167.
2. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.21; Eric Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After, 'Historical Problems, Studies and Documents', 6, 1969, p.62.
3. Youngs, op. cit, p.167.
4. Kerridge, op. cit, p.83. Spufford points out that leaseholding yeomen in Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, flourished economically; cf. Contrasting Communities, pp.71-2. For the relative advantages of leasehold and customary tenures, see Christopher Clay, 'Landlords and estate management in England', in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.5: 1640-1750, II, agrarian change, 1985, p.204.

from making improvements.¹ Good husbandry only became a condition of tenancy in the eighteenth century, when the three-life leasehold began to be replaced by the short-term lease.²

Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence from Week St. Mary to show when this system of leaseholding began. However, evidence from Tavistock Abbey indicates that the three life leasehold on its estate began in 1517. Lease by copy of court roll was discontinued, and ordinary indentures took their place, although new tenancies

1. Norman J.G.Pounds, 'Food production and distribution in pre-industrial Cornwall', in Walter Minchinton, ed., Population and Marketing: two studies in the history of the South-West, 'Exeter Papers in Economic History', 11, 1976, pp.110. See also Cornwall in the 17th Century pp.4 and 22.
2. Christopher Clay, 'Life leasehold in the western counties of England, 1650-1750', Agricultural History Review, 29, 1981, pp.83-96, provides a valuable discussion of the life-leasehold. See also A.K.Hamilton-Jenkin, Cornwall and its People, 1945, pp.320-5. The change to a short lease occurred in Essex in the Elizabethan period; by the late seventeenth-century, virtually all leases were for twenty-one years or less; cf. William Hunt, The Puritan Moment: the coming of revolution in an English county, 1983, pp.30-31. See also Mildred Campbell, The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts, English ed., 1960, p.82, for the predominance of 21 year leases in Sussex.

continued to be proclaimed in court.¹ Leaseholders for lives were apt to consider themselves free men, and the last reference to a bondsman in Week St. Mary occurs in 1594,² although the Domesday term 'coliberti' may be found in late seventeenth-century probate records.³ The three life leasehold remained the dominant form of tenure until its replacement by the short term lease in the mid eighteenth century.⁴

Surviving leases - of which there are many - reveal minimal evidence of feudal incidences, apart from heriots. The widowed Lucy Bassett renewed many leases in the late 1680's:

1. H.P.R. Finberg, Tavistock Abbey: a study in the social and economic history of Devon, 1951, p.250. This estate included the manor of Werrington, which lies a few miles south of Week St. Mary. The earliest life lease-hold in the south-west began in the early fifteenth century; cf. Joyce Youngs 'The economic history of Devon, 1300-1700'; in Frank Barlow, ed., Exeter and its Region, 1969, p.167.
2. C.R.O., Bassett leases, Nicholas Grenville, gent; to Robert Mayne als Hooper, "his bondsman", re Odmill, 20.4.1594. For the end of serfdom, see A. Savine, 'Bondsmen under the Tudors', Royal Historical Society Transactions, N.S., 17, 1903, pp.235-89. For the survival of villeinage on some Duchy of Cornwall manors until 1628, see Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.21. For labour services at Boyton in the reign of James I, see A.L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall: portrait of a society, New ed., 1969, p.49.
3. 148A, 161A and 165A. See Finberg, op.cit, p.65 for brief discussion of this undoubtedly servile term.
4. Christopher Clay, 'Lifeleasehold in the western counties of England 1650-1750', Agricultural History Review, 29, 1981, pp.83-96, provides a valuable discussion of the life leasehold.

she took substantial entry fines. The rent, a heriot of roughly double the rent, a 'capon' at Christmas, maintenance of the premises, and sometimes one harvest day, constituted the total obligation of tenants, apart from the redundant duty of doing suit at the manorial court.¹ One tenant had the duty of scouring the mill leet at Odmill.² The earliest surviving court rolls - admittedly late in date - substantiate this picture of minimal manorial control: they record the annual presentment of "all ye antient customes to be good and lawfull", the election of reeves, and the absence of tenants from manorial court sessions. The only matters of substance dealt with were presentments of the deaths of tenants resulting in the payment of heriots³.

A similar pattern can be inferred from the survey made for Sir John Rolle, c.1690⁴, where the heriot on the larger tenements was the best beast. This survey does not refer to entry fines; however, the only surviving lease made by Andrew Rolle, dated 27.6.1623, indicates minimal difference⁵. John Browne paid an entry fine of £3-6-8, and rent of twenty pence per annum, for Stones House and Stones Hay, which adjoins the churchyard. He became liable to a harvest journey on the barton of Marrais, and to a heriot of one capon or one

1. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. These obligations are very similar to those discussed by Clay, *op cit*, p.92.
2. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease 8.10.1692; Lucy Bassett to William Marrais, re Wood Park Meadow.
3. R.I.C., HB/21/5-11; these cover the years 1726, 1728-33, and 1736.
4. D.R.O., 96M/add. vol.1.
5. D.R.O., 96M/103/14.

shilling. The lease was for the term of his own life, his sister Joan, and his brother Thomas. Similar conclusions may be drawn from the survey of the Hartland Abbey estate, made in 1712,¹ although the lease of Whiteleigh for a fixed term of seven years was indicative of things to come.

D. The Size of Tenements

The size of tenements varied considerably². The sixty burgage tenements probably had an acre or so of land attached, together with common rights on Greenamoore, Hartham, and Westwood. Tenants of the manor of Swannacott had the same rights of common. The 1735 survey of Swannacott reveals that the tenant of Swannacott barton had 119½ acres,³ including 75 acres of woodland; Thomas Colwill occupied five tenements amounting to 68½ acres; most other tenements were under thirty acres, with several under five.

The c.1690 survey of Marrais gives a similar picture, except that there was no tenement in the parish of over thirty-two acres. Six tenants had between twenty and thirty-two acres, seven had between eleven and twenty, and eleven had under ten acres.

1. Hartland Abbey mss. Paul Orchard's Survey Book, 1712. See also John Rowe, Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution, 1953, p.215.
2. It is, unfortunately, rarely possible to discover the acreages held by decedents. A similar problem was experienced in South Elmham; cf. Community of South Elmham, p.96.
3. C.R.O., DDX 378/1. This survey is rather late for this purpose, but the many deeds and leases examined do not suggest any great changes during the previous century or so. Those parts of the manor falling outside of the parish have been ignored, although conclusions drawn from them would be the same.

The total picture cannot be drawn, but it is probable that at the end of the seventeenth-century there were perhaps seven holdings of one-hundred acres plus, namely, Swannacott, Whiteleigh, Exe, Creddacott, Goscott, Brendon, and Landhillick. Holdings between fifty and one-hundred acres were Leigh, Furze, Thinwood, Ashbury, Week Orchard, Trefrouse, Steel, and the glebe¹. These larger holdings changed hands infrequently, although some may have been sub-let. Brendon, for example, was tenanted by the Mill family in 1546/~~7~~², and was still in their hands when Charles Mill (58) died in 1637. The Colwills were holding Thinwood in 1569³; John Colwill (48) was still there when he died in 1630. There were also Colwills at Whiteleigh from at least 1598 until at least 1694⁴. A third Colwill family held part of Exe from the Eight Men of Stratton from 1575 until 1655, when the property was leased to John Pearse. His lease ran out in 1715⁵.

The documentary evidence for some large farms is minimal, and, in some cases, non-existent; for example, there is no evidence whatsoever concerning Landhillick. This lack of evidence is itself suggestive: if tenants did not

1. Parsonage Green on the map.
2. P.R.O., E179/87/196.
3. H.L. Douch, ed., The Cornwall Muster Roll of 1569, 1984, p.122.
4. 1 C; P.R. See also 120.
5. R.W.Goulding, Records of the Charity Known as Blanchminster's Charity, in the Parish of Stratton ..., 1898, pp.62-3.

change, documentation of new tenancies was not required. Movement of owners or tenants normally involved documentation.

Sub-tenancies are also rarely recorded. Goscott was held by Thomas Milton before 1584, at which date his widow took out a new lease¹. The lease probably descended to Priscilla Milton (113), who died in 1667. Her inventory suggests that she did not farm herself; the probability is that she sub-let.

Swannacott Barton may also have been sub-let in the second half of the seventeenth-century. It was probably a part of the dowry of George Hele's daughter Mary, who married Abel French, gent., of Smallhill, Otterham. In 1649, the latter purchased a lease to take effect from the end of his wife's estate, but continued to reside at Smallhill². The hearth tax roll for 1662-4 shows that, in 1662, John Millhouse paid on two hearths on unnamed property presumably part of Swannacott - of which "Mr. Abel French" was described as owner in 1664³. We may presume that Millhouse was a sub-lessee.

1. C.R.O., DD/EN/1951.

2. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease, 2.11.1649, George Hele to Abel French. French is identified as Hele's son-in-law in the latter's will, P.R.O., PROB 11/228, dated 21.11.1652, and proved 8.6.1653. See also Sir John Maclean, 'Historical notes on the parish, manor, and advowson of Otterham, Cornwall', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 11, 18, p.275.

3. Cornwall Hearth ... Taxes, p.36.

It is probable that the lease of 1649 continued in force until c.1690, when French died¹, and Lucy Bassett, Hele's other daughter, leased Swannacott to Thomas Badcock, gent². The Badcocks were still at Swannacott in 1841³.

The great majority of tenants had holdings under fifty acres: many burgage tenants had much smaller

1. R.M.Glencross, ed., Archdeaconry of Cornwall Wills and Administrations, part 1: 1569-1699, 'Index Library', 56, 1929, p.108. Mary died in 1652; cf. C.S.Gilbert, An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall, 1820, vol.2, p.574.
2. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary.
3. P.R.O., H.O. 107/151.

holdings than this¹. Smaller tenements may have changed hands more rapidly than the larger farms; a lease of Stapleton dated 1670/1 illustrates what could happen². Stapleton had been leased to Thomas Clifton, gent., in 1612, and to his son John in 1636, but it is probable that both men sub-let, especially in view of what follows. In 1670/1, John Clifton sub-let the tenement to Joseph Pethick (144), who married shortly afterwards, and died

1. Whetter has calculated that 77% of holdings in East Cornwall between 1600 and 1620, and 76% between 1680 and 1700, were under forty acres; cf. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.23. Leasehold tenancies throughout the South-West tended to be of between ten and fifty acres, with a mode of twenty-five; cf. Norman J.G.Pounds, 'Food production and distribution in pre-industrial Cornwall', in Walter Minchinton, ed., Population and Marketing: two studies in the history of the South-West, Exeter Papers in Economic History, 11, 1976, p.110. Holdings in the 'annexatio maneria' of the Duchy of Cornwall were invariably small, rarely of more than thirty acres; cf. Norman J.G.Pounds, ed., The Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall, part 1 (Austell Prior - Saltash), Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 25, 1982, p.xviii. It has been tentatively suggested that farmers of more than fifty acres would regularly need to employ the labour of non-relatives, whereas those with less than twenty acres would need to hire themselves out occasionally; cf. William Hunt, The Puritan Moment: the coming of revolution in an English county, 1983, p.16.
2. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease, 2.2.1670/1, John Clifton to Joseph Pethick, re Stapleton.

in 1684. His widow, Honour, thereupon sold the remainder of his interest to Jonathan Backway (165) in 1685. Three years later, the latter sold his rights to John Cowling, whose widow Mary sold the remainder of the term to John Leigh in 1692. It is probable that frequent letting and sub-letting of small tenements was common. In this particular instance, we probably owe the unusual detail to the fact that several members of the Clifton family were attorneys, and were therefore particularly careful about documenting changes in tenancy. These changes are all noted on the 1670/1 lease.

In some instances, sub-letting was prohibited by the terms of the lease; this applied in particular to the tenants at Odmill and Trefrouse Mill¹.

On the other hand, the evidence of the 1712 survey of the Hartland Abbey estate indicates that leases of small tenements could last for fifty years or more². Out of twenty-one leases, no less than nine pre-dated 1670, and one had lasted since 164³. Most of the others were dated after 1700.

1.C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease, 12.9.1594; Thomas St. Aubyn to Elyett Mayne, et al, re Odwood; British Library, Add. Ch. 57427.

2.Hartland Abbey mss. Paul Orchard's Survey Book, 1712.

3.Twenty of the twenty-one tenements were small.

D. Conclusion

The major change in land distribution during the period under review was undoubtedly the fragmentation of the manor of Swannacott - a fragmentation which began well before the division of 1508, and which was continued apace by the purchases of tenants in the late sixteenth-century. The absence of surveys and rentals prevents an adequate analysis of the tenurial pattern in the sixteenth- or early seventeenth centuries; however, it is probable that substantial changes would show up in the deeds and leases which exist in quantity from c.1560 onwards. There is no evidence of such changes. Furthermore, dispersal of ownership, combined with the confused, kaleidoscopic pattern of small fields interspersed with wood, furze, and moor, would have made fundamental changes in the tenurial pattern less likely. The probability is that the distribution of tenancies was very similar in the late sixteenth century to that which has been described for the late seventeenth century - and which was still the pattern when the tithe apportionment of 1840 was drawn up¹. The disappearance of the small landowner is not an issue in early modern Week St. Mary in the way that it is in two of Spufford's three Cambridgeshire villages, and, to a lesser extent, in Chalklin's Wealden Kent, in Kerridge's sheep and corn country of Wiltshire,

1. C.R.O., FS.3/919.

and in Brent's Sussex Downland¹. But neither was the fragmentation of holdings to which Willingham, Cambridgeshire, was subject to be found in Week St. Mary². The parish displayed a stability in land occupation that was also to be found in many other pastoral communities. In pastoral districts generally, the small-scale farmer fared much better than in other areas³. Hoskins was impressed by "the evidence of the stability of rural society" that he found in Devonshire⁴. Myddle, the Northamptonshire royal forests, the Lincolnshire fens, and the

1. Contrasting Communities, pp.65 & 85; C.W.Chalklin, 'The rural economy of a Wealden parish, 1650-1750', Agricultural History Review, 10(1), 1962, p.35; E. Kerridge, 'Agriculture, c.1500-c.1793', in Elizabeth Crittall, ed., A History of Wiltshire, 1959, vol.4, p.60; C.E.Brent, 'Rural employment and population in Sussex between 1550 and 1640', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 14, 1976, pp.35-7.
2. Contrasting Communities, pp.134-51.
3. C.G.A.Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500-1700, vol.1: people, land and towns, 1984, p.99.
4. W.G.Hoskins, Devon, New ed., 1972, p.63.

Pennine districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, all witnessed the continuing vitality of the small farmer¹. The rearing of cattle and horses are branches of agriculture far more suited to small-scale production than the sheep-corn husbandry of Sussex or Wiltshire². The disappearance of the small land-owner has, however, been traced in eighteenth-century Morwenstowe, just a

1. English Rural Community, pp.6-7; Philip A.J. Pettit, The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire: a study in the economy, 1558-1714, Northamptonshire Record Society, 23, 1968,; Joan Thirsk, English Peasant Farming: the agrarian history of Lincolnshire from Tudor to recent times, 1957, pp.6-8 & 108-141; G.H.Tupling, The Economic History of Rossendale, Chetham Society, N.S., 86, 1927.
2. In addition to the references cited above, see C.E.Brent, 'Rural employment and population in Sussex between 1550 and 1640, part 2', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 116, 1978, pp.48-9.

few miles north of Week St. Mary, where conditions might have been expected to be similar¹. A detailed comparison of the two parishes cannot be made here, but would be illuminating. It can, however, be noted that the 1662 hearth tax roll reveals a Morwenstowe which was much wealthier than Week St. Mary, and which had two resident gentry².

The pattern of land ownership and occupation was a major determinant of social structure and wealth distribution; it also had its effect upon agriculture and occupations³. An area of small family farms will not generate landless labourers - and there were few to be found in Week St. Mary - but will generate farmers, a few tradesmen, and a handful of professionals⁴. It will also produce less inequity in wealth distribution than areas of large estates⁵. The size of farms will help to determine the type of agriculture practised. The following chapters address these matters.

1. F.C.Hamlyn, A History of Morwenstowe After the Restoration, 1930, pp.58-61.
2. Cornwall Hearth ... Taxes, pp.38-9.
3. For the effect of inheritance customs on land distribution, see below, chapter 10.
4. Cicely Howell, 'Stability and change, 1300-1700: the socio-economic context of the self-perpetuating family farm in England', Journal of Peasant Studies, 2, 1975, p.475, discusses the impact of differing tenurial patterns on social structure. See also Gareth Haulfryn Williams, 'Farming in Stuart Caernarfonshire: notes on some agricultural practices', Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions, 42, 1981, p.69, for this situation in Wales.
5. Myddle is a typical example; cf. English Rural Community, p.52.

Chapter 6: The Wealth of the Community

Study of the distribution of wealth is essential to an understanding of the questions about status, power, and interpersonal relations which concern the social historian. There is, unfortunately, insufficient evidence to enable us to assess the total wealth of any early modern English community. All that the evidence permits is a very rough examination of wealth distribution.

The major source of evidence for this examination, in the case of Week St. Mary, are the probate inventories. These are complemented by the evidence of various tax lists, and in particular the lay subsidy roll of 1543, and the hearth tax roll of 1662-4.¹ These tax lists are examined first in section A below. The probate inventories "harbour several potential sources of bias";² the extent of these biases has been assessed in section B. The evidence of the probate inventories concerning the growth of wealth and its social distribution is discussed in sections C and E, whilst the impact of the civil war on the economy is the subject of section D.

1. T.L. Stoate, ed., Cornwall Subsidies in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1524 and 1543 and the Benevolence of 1545, 1984, pp.147-8; Cornwall Hearth ... Taxes, pp.35-6.
2. Gloria L. Main, 'Probate records as a source for early American history', William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 32, 1975, p.96. Some general problems relating to probate inventories are discussed by John S. Moore, 'Probate inventories - problems and prospects', in Philip Riden, ed., Probate Records and the Local Community, 1984, pp.11-28.

A. The Evidence of Taxation

Returns from the early sixteenth-century subsidies have been frequently used for the study of wealth distribution at national and regional levels¹. However, less use has been made of them to study the distribution of wealth at local level, between different individuals in the same community². Both issues will be addressed here.

1. See especially John Sheail, 'The distribution of taxable population and wealth in England during the early sixteenth century', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 55, 1972, pp.111-26, and R.S.Schofield, 'The geographical distribution of wealth in England, 1334-1649', Economic History Review, 2nd. series, 18(3), 1965, pp.483-510. Useful regional studies include Matthew Griffiths, 'The Vale of Glamorgan in the 1543 lay subsidy returns', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 29(4), 1982, pp.709-48, Julian Cornwall, 'Sussex wealth and society in the reign of Henry VIII', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 114, 1976, pp.1-26, and Contrasting Communities, pp.28-36.
2. See, however, studies related to a number of urban communities: W.G.Hoskins, 'An Elizabethan provincial town: Leicester', in J.H.Plumb, ed., Studies in Social History: a tribute to G.M.Trevelyan, 1955, pp.41-5; Derek Charman, 'Wealth and trade in Leicester in the early sixteenth century', Leicestershire Archaeological Society Transactions, 25, 1949, pp.69-97, and Philip Riden, History of Chesterfield, vol.2, part 1: Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield, 1984, pp.121-5.

Fieldhouse has tested the value of lay subsidies as indicators of wealth distribution by comparing them with probate valuations. He found that, while they "certainly do not reflect total wealth ... they provide an indication of relative wealth"¹. His conclusions

1. R. Fieldhouse, 'Social structure from Tudor lay subsidies and probate inventories: a case study: Richmondshire (Yorkshire)', Local Population Studies, 12, 1974, pp.9-24. The extent to which lay subsidies provide accurate assessments of wealth has also been discussed by Julian Cornwall, ed., The Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex, 1524-25, Sussex Record Society, 56, 1956, pp.xxxi-xxxiii, and Laura M. Nicholls, 'The lay subsidy of 1523: the reliability of the subsidy rolls as illustrated by Totnes and Dartmouth', University of Birmingham Historical Journal, 9(2), 1964, pp. 113.29.

justify cautious optimism that the lay subsidies may be used without adjustment to provide a rough indication of wealth distribution. A number of subsidy returns for Cornwall have survived, and two have been printed: those of 1525 and 1543¹. These record 43 and 80 names respectively, and are the fullest to survive. Other sixteenth-century subsidy returns are of little value for assessing wealth distribution, since they record considerably fewer names.

In 1525, three men paid on wages and one on lands. In 1543, one paid on lands. The rest paid on goods. It is probable that these differences in the basis of assessment are of little relevance in compiling wealth distribution tables for Week St. Mary.² Indeed, one individual, Humphry Trevelyan, was assessed in 1525 on goods at £20, and in 1543 on lands worth £20.

The 1543 subsidy return provides the better guide to wealth distribution. The returns for 1525 in the hundred of Stratton record considerably fewer names, and either serious evasion,

1. T.L. Stoate, ed., Cornwall Subsidies in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1524 and 1543 and the Benevolence of 1545, 1984, pp.147-8.
2. On the importance of the distinctions between goods and wages in 1525, see Contrasting Communities, pp.31-3.

Table 6.1Geographical Distribution of WealthStratton Hundred 1543 and 1662

	1543		1662	
	<u>Pence per Acre</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Acres per Hearth</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Boyton	.08	12	38.5	11
Bridgerule West	.19	6	23.63	4
Jacobstow	.14	11	33.99	9
Kilkhampton	.17	8	31.55	8
Launcells	.22	5	31.05	7
Marhamchurch	.67	2	23.07	3
Morwenstow	.31	4	30.84	6
North Tamerton	.15	=9	43.48	12
Poughill	.43	3	16.49	2
Stratton	.9	1	6.41	1
Week St. Mary	.15	=9	36.4	10
Whitstone	.18	7	30.06	5

or administrative incompetence must be presumed¹. In 1525, there were no £1 assessments on goods; in 1543, there were 31 such assessments. Those assessed in 1525 were primarily the more substantial inhabitants. The 1525 return is therefore seriously biased against the poorer section of the community, and cannot be used as an adequate guide to wealth distribution.

The hearth tax returns for 1662-4 have also been printed.² Spufford has established that the hearth tax "can be used as a general economic guide".³ Nevertheless, there has been little attempt to use this hearth tax as the basis for an analysis of wealth distribution.⁴ The enumeration of hearths provided less opportunity for evasion or argument than the assessment of goods, lands or wages, and consequently an analysis based on them is likely to produce a result which is closer to reality than analyses based on the subsidies.

1. Stoa, Cornwall Subsidies, op cit, p.v.
2. Cornwall Hearth ... Taxes
3. H.M. Spufford, 'The significance of the Cambridgeshire Hearth Tax'. Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society Proceedings 55, 1962, p.58. See also, Contrasting Communities, pp.36-45 Evidence from Terling, Essex, "satisfactorily upholds the general validity of Spufford's argument", cf. Poverty and Piety, p.35. Against this, however, must be set Alldridge's warning that, "historians should be wary of taking dwelling size as a direct guide to individual householders wealth"; c.f. N.J. Alldridge, 'House and household in restoration Chester', Urban History Yearbook, 1983, p.42.
4. But see J.P.P. Horn, 'The Distribution of Wealth in the Vale of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, 1660-1700', Southern History, 3, 1981, pp.81-109. and parish studies such as Poverty and Piety, pp.34-6.

It is not, unfortunately, possible to make such an analysis here. Spufford has demonstrated that the owners of three hearths in Cambridgeshire possessed much more than three times the wealth held by the owners of one hearth. In correlating one hundred probate inventories with hearth tax assessments, she found that median probate valuations per hearth were as follows:-

1 hearth	£24
2 hearths	£60
3 hearths	£141
4 hearths or over	£360

Spufford's analysis provides a basis for determining wealth distribution in Cambridgeshire. The use of hearth tax assessments together with probate valuations in constructing a wealth distribution table would minimise the risk of bias which is present when either source is used alone¹.

Unfortunately, it is not known whether the median probate valuations per hearth determined by Spufford are applicable in North Cornwall. Her study would have to be replicated using one hundred North Cornish inventories from the 1660s. There are insufficient inventories to permit this to be done in the study of just one parish.

1. On the problem of bias in the hearth tax, see Tim Unwin, Late Seventeenth Century Taxation and Population: the Nottinghamshire Hearth Taxes and Compton Census, 'Historical Geography Research Series', 16, 1985, p.14. Unfortunately, Unwin did not consider using inventory valuations to correct this bias.

It is, however, possible to use the hearth tax assessments to determine whether there were any changes in the geographical distribution of wealth. The problems just discussed do not affect the value of the assessments in placing parishes in rank order of wealth. Table 6.1 presents the geographical distribution of wealth in the hundred of Stratton in 1543 and 1662, in terms of the amount assessed per acre. Even if it were possible to adjust the hearth tax figures by probate valuations, the rank order of parishes would be barely affected. The rankings indicate that there was little change in the relative wealth of the twelve parishes between 1543 and 1662. Stratton was the wealthiest parish, as might be expected of the local market town. Poughill and Marhamchurch both of which border on Stratton, and are relatively flat and easily farmed, vied for second and third place. Week St. Mary ranked ninth in 1543 and tenth in 1662. Pounds' map of the distribution of wealth in 1334 reveals a similar pattern.¹ The southern parishes of the hundred were markedly poorer: terrain was more difficult, and a lower proportion of the land could be worked. In the regional context, the hundred itself was poor. Its economy was very similar to that of the adjacent Devonian hundreds of Black Torrington and Lifton, which ranked tenth out of thirteen regions for taxable population density in the Devon of 1523.²

1. N.J.G. Pounds, 'Taxation and Wealth in Late Medieval Cornwall' Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S., 6(2), p.165.
2. John Kew, 'Regional variations in the Devon land market, 1536-1558', in M.A. Havinden and Celia M. King, eds., The South-West and the Land, Exeter Papers in Economic History, 2, 1969, pp.30-31.

The social distribution of wealth in 1543 is set out in table 6.2. Table 6.3 provides a comparison with the hundred of Stratton; comparisons with the whole county, and with a number of other areas are made in table 6.4. The wealthiest 10% owned a greater proportion of assessed wealth in the hundred than in Week St. Mary. This was primarily due to the presence of two exceptionally wealthy taxpayers in the hundred, each assessed on lands valued at £100. A comparison with the 1524 lay subsidy for Wigston Magna, Leicestershire, is revealing. Like Week St. Mary, Wigston was "a village with a large and persistent class of free peasant landowners without any resident lord of the manor".¹ However, it "lay in the heart of the open-field area" of the Midland Plain², and its economy was governed by that fact. There were no taxpayers assessed at more than £16; however, twelve were assessed at £5 and over, that is 18% compared to Week St. Mary's 11%.³ Wigston Magna had somewhat more substantial farmers in proportion to its total population than Week St. Mary. It also had a much larger percentage assessed on wages - some 37%, compared to none in Week St. Mary in 1543, and only three in 1525. In Kesteven, a third of the population was

1. W.G. Hoskins, The Midland Peasant: the Economic and Social History of a Leicestershire Village, 1957, p.xiv.
2. Ibid, p.xiii.
3. Ibid, p.xiv

Table 6.2

Wealth Distribution: Week St. Mary, 1543

<u>Subsidy Assessment</u>		<u>No. of Taxpayers</u>	
<u>Nominal</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Nominal</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
£20	8.62	1	1.25
10	4.31	1	1.25
9	7.76	2	2.5
8	6.9	2	2.5
7	Nil	Nil	Nil
6	7.76	3	3.75
5	12.93	6	7.5
4	8.62	5	6.25
3	14.22	11	13.75
2	15.51	18	22.5
1	13.36	31	38.75

Table 6.3Social Distribution of Wealth, 1543: Week St. Mary and Stratton Hundred

	<u>Proportion of Total</u>	
	<u>Assessed Wealth Owned</u>	
	<u>Week St. Mary</u>	<u>Stratton</u>
Wealthiest 10%	28%	35%
Poorer 50%	19%	19%
Poorest 10%	3%	3%

Table 6.4

Wealth Distribution 1543: Comparative Figures

<u>Assessment</u> <u>on Goods</u>	<u>Percentage of Taxpayers in</u>					
	Week	St.Mary	Stratton Hundred	Cornwall	Dorset	Glamorg- anshire
£1	38.75%		31.2%	29%	29.7%	
£2	22.5%		20.2%	20%	20%	53.5%
£3	13.75%		13.1%	11%	9.7%	
£4	6.25%		11.2%	12%	8.4%	13%
£5	7.5%		7.2%	7%	5.1%	
£6	3.75%		4.3%	4%	2.9%	20.2%
£7	Nil		1.5%	2%	1.2%	
£8	2.5%		2.9%	3%	2.2%	
£9	2.5%		2.4%	3%	0.9%	2.4%
£10	1.25%		2.8%	2%	2.9%	4.9%
£11-19	Nil		1.3%	3%	3.3%	3.5%*
£20+	Nil		0.3%	1%	4.6%	0.9%#
Assess- ments on Lands	1.25%		1.5%	2%	1.1%	1.7%

* Includes £20 assessments

Does not include £20 assessments

The sources for these calculations are T.L. Stoate, ed., Cornwall Subsidies in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1524 and 1543 and the Benevolence of 1545, 1984, pp.ix and 141-9; T.L. Stoate, ed., Dorset Tudor Lay Subsidies granted in 1523, 1543, 1593, 1982, p.xiii; Matthew Griffiths, 'The Vale of Glamorgan in the 1543 Lay subsidy return', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 29(4), 1982, p.736.

assessed on wages; in both Kesteven and Wigston Magna, the presence of a higher proportion of substantial farmers suggests that there was more employment for labourers than in Week St. Mary.¹ There was a much greater percentage of low assessments in Week St. Mary than in any of the regions in table 6.4: the low total of the assessments for the parish was associated directly with a high percentage of £1 and £2 assessments. Griffiths found a similar association in the Blaenau parishes of Glamorganshire, where those assessed at £1 or £2 constituted an even higher 66% of taxpayers in 1544, and the tax yield in pence per acres was a mere .065, compared to .15 in Week St. Mary.²

The hearth tax assessment for 1662 indicates that there was little change in wealth distribution in the intervening century.³ Table 6.5 makes it clear that there was no "remarkable expansion" in the numbers of the poorest inhabitants, such as took place in Terling, Essex⁴, and no "alarming growth in the number of poor families", such as

1. For Kesteven, see Joan Thirsk, The Rural Economy of England collected essays, 1984, pp.133-4. See also Julian Cornwall 'Sussex wealth and society in the reign of Henry VIII', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 114, 1976, pp.7-9, for discussion of the significance of assessments on wages.
2. Matthew Griffiths, 'The Vale of Glamorgan in the 1543 lay subsidy returns'. Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 29(4), 1982, pp.734 and 736.
3. On the value of the hearth tax for determining wealth distribution, see Tim Unwin, Late Seventeenth Century Taxation and Population: the Nottinghamshire Hearth Taxes and Population, Historical Geography Research Series, 16, 1985.
4. Poverty and Piety, p.36.

occurred in the Forest of Arden.¹ In 1543, thirty-one Week St. Mary inhabitants paid the subsidy at the lowest rate; in 1662, exactly the same number paid tax on one hearth. There were a total of eighty taxpayers in 1543, and seventy-nine in 1662. The parish remained one of the poorest in North Cornwall. It was one of only two parishes in the hundred of Stratton where no-one was assessed on more than seven hearths.² In Stratton hundred, 2.4% of taxpayers exceeded this figure; in Cornwall as a whole, the proportion was 2.7%. Almost 76% of taxpayers in Week St. Mary had only one or two hearths, compared to almost 71% in Stratton hundred, and almost 69% in Cornwall. Interestingly, in 1672, Myddle, Shropshire, had an even higher percentage - 87% - and also lacked assessments of over seven hearths. Myddle has been described as a "society with less extremes of wealth and poverty than in most contemporary arable areas".³ Even those who lived in one-hearth houses were, as Hoskins points out, "far from being poverty-stricken".⁴

1. Victor Skipp, Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674, p.79.
2. The distribution of Cornish houses with six or more hearths has been mapped by Norman J.G. Pounds, 'The population of Cornwall before the first census', in Walter Minchinton, ed., Population and Marketing: two studies in the history of the South-West, Exeter Papers in Economic History, 11, 1976, p.22.
3. English Rural Community, p.52.
4. W.G. Hoskins, The Midland Peasant: the economic and social history of a Leicestershire village, 1957, p.201. The number of hearths is not, of course, an infallible guide to wealth-holding. Thomas Edwards of Dunchurch, Warwickshire, was assessed on five hearths; nevertheless, he was described as "miserably poor and an object of pity" in a certificate of exemption. Cf. Philip Styles introduction in Margaret Walker, ed., Warwick County Records: hearth tax returns, vol.1:Hemlingford Hundred: Tamworth and Atherstone divisions, 1957, p.lxxvii.

Table 6:5Wealth Distribution: Week St. Mary 1662

<u>Hearths</u>		<u>No. of Taxpayers</u>	
<u>Nominal</u>	<u>% of total</u>	<u>Nominal</u>	<u>% of total</u>
7	4.37	1	.62
6	Nil	Nil	Nil
5	9.37	3	3.8
4	15.0	6	7.6
3	16.8	9	11.39
2	33.75	27	34.18
1	20.62	33	41.77

Table 6.6

Exemptions from the Hearth Tax
by Reason of Poverty

Week St Mary	2½%
Frampton Cotterell District, Gloucestershire ¹	11%
Bedfordshire ²	11-19%
Kent ²	26-51%
Forest of Arden ³	39.8%
Exeter ²	40%
Chipping, Lancashire ²	42%

1. Goods and Chattels, p.24.
2. Richard Harvey, 'Recent research on poverty in Tudor-Stuart England: review and commentary', International Review of Social History, 24, 1979, p.242, and the sources there cited.
3. Christine Ironfield, 'The parish of Chipping during the seventeenth century', Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Transactions, 127, 1977, p.27.

In Week St. Mary, at the bottom of the social scale, only two men - 2½% - were exempted from the hearth tax by reason of poverty. The contrast with other parts of the country is dramatic, and is illustrated in table 6.6. These figures raise a number of questions about the integrity of the evidence. Do these differences reflect genuine differences in wealth levels, or merely different definitions of poverty in different places? Were all those exempted in Week St. Mary actually listed in the return? The first question cannot be answered here, but there is clearly a need to study the relationship between the distribution of wealth as revealed in probate inventories and tax lists, and the distribution of poverty as recorded in overseers accounts and other sources. The second question can be answered more easily. The hearth tax returns for Stratton hundred were all drawn up by the same individuals, on the same basis. In most parishes, there were few, or no, exemptions. However, in Stratton, no less than sixty individuals were exempted by reason of poverty. It is evident that the poor of the hundred congregated in Stratton, the local market town. The evidence on the numbers exempted in Week St. Mary can be accepted. Even if different definitions of poverty were

1. Tom Arkell, 'The incidence of poverty in England in the later seventeenth century', Social History, 12(1), 1987, pp.23-47, discusses a number of contrasting views, and argues (pp.46-7) that there were various different levels of poverty. For the sixteenth-century, see John Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England, 2nd. ed., 1986, pp.vii-xii.

used, the numbers exempted were very low, and it can be accepted that, although the area was poor, yet few were totally poverty-stricken and chargeable to the parish.

B. The Value of Probate Inventories

It is against this background that the evidence relating to wealth found in probate inventories must be placed.

The evidential value of individual probate valuations is much superior to the individual assessments found in tax lists: probate valuations are probably as 'true and perfect' as praisers could make them,¹ whereas tax lists are likely to substantially under-state wealth. Inventories do not, however, provide complete information on personal wealth.

1. This conclusion represents the weight of scholarly opinion; cf. Nancy and Jeff Cox, 'Valuations in probate inventories', Local Historian, 16(8), 1985, pp.467-77 and 17(2), 1986, pp.85-100; Goods and Chattels, p.4; Yeomen and Colliers, p.6. North American inventories were similarly 'true and perfect'; cf. Alice Hanson Jones, American Colonial Wealth: documents and methods, 2nd ed., 1977, vol.1, p.17, and Darrett B. and Anita Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, 1984, p.117. However, a 15 per cent difference between inventory and market valuations of grain has been identified in East Anglian inventories, 1660-1735; cf. Mark Overton, 'English probate inventories and the measurement of agricultural change', in Ad Van der Woude and Anton Schuurman, eds., Probate inventories ..., 1980, pp.206-7. Grain was not as important in Week St. Mary as it was in East Anglia.

The exclusion of items such as fixtures and fittings, unharvested fruit, and other minor items¹ is of little significance in analysing the distribution of wealth. However, the exclusion of freehold property is of major importance. Horn argues that this is "the most intractable problem involved in using inventories to study wealth".²

Despite the numerous leases and deeds which survive, it is usually impossible to trace the amount of land held by any one individual at death. Men sometimes transferred lands to their sons before they died, which adds a further complication.³ Only a handful of documents provide acreages. The only evidence which can be used with confidence for statistical purposes is the values assigned to leases in the inventories themselves. Just under 14 per cent of the Week St. Mary inventories valued at under £10 record leases. By contrast, the proportion for those valued at over £100 is 62½ per cent. There is little evidence of freehold or other land owned by the poor. Evidence of landed property exists for almost all decedents whose estates were valued at over £100, whether that land is recorded in inventories or not. There

1. See Nancy and Jeff Cox, 'Probate Inventories: the Legal Background.' Local Historian, 16, 1984, pp.133-45 and 217-27 for discussion of the items included and excluded from probate inventories.
2. Horn, op.cit, p.94.
3. See below, pp.292-3, for a discussion of pre-mortem gifts of land, and of the process of inheritance.

is a strong correlation, as in the Vale of Berkeley¹, between land-holding and inventory valuations. Consequently, whilst inventory valuations cannot be used as a surrogate for total wealth-holding, the exclusion of freehold property does not prevent their use in drawing conclusions about the distribution of wealth.

Legal exclusions aside, it is evident that not all inventories list what should have been listed. Charles Mills' inventory (58 I), for example, was taken two years after his death. Most of his property had long since been distributed to his legatees; his praisers could only find £3 worth of goods to value. It is clear from other sources that he was one of the most substantial farmers in Week St. Mary. Fortunately, there are only a few cases like this, and these are far more than counter-balanced by the relatively low percentage of inventories emanating from the poorest sections of the community².

The use of probate inventories as a guide to wealth distribution is dependent on the extent to which they are representative of the whole community. Any sample of probate inventories is, of course, a necessarily biased

1. J.P.P.Horn, 'The distribution of wealth in the Vale of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, 1660-1700', Southern History, 3, 1981, p.86.
2. Inventories were rarely queried in court, which suggests that most were considered to be reasonably complete by well-informed observers; cf. John S. Moore, 'Probate inventories - problems and prospects', in Philip Riden, ed., Probate Records and the Local Community, 1984, p.16.

representation of the living community. Probated decedents will include a greater proportion of older persons, and a positive correlation is to be expected between age and total wealth¹. These biases have not been corrected for in the calculations which follow; their tendency, however, is opposite to the bias created by the omission of freehold property from the inventories.

The representativeness of probate inventories is also dependent on the proportion of inventories to burials . It has been suggested that the goods of approximately twenty per cent of adult males were valued in most early modern English communities². There were, however, wide variations. Coverage ranged from as high as circa seventy per cent in Lincolnshire, to as low as three per cent in London

1. Terry Lee Anderson, The Economic Growth of Seventeenth Century New England: a measurement of regional income, 1972, p.97.
2. Horn, op cit, p. 86.

and Middlesex¹. In Week St. Mary, the proportion of inventories to adult male burials was 35% for the first half of the seventeenth-century, declining to 24% in the second half of the century. Before any conclusions concerning wealth distribution can be drawn,

1. For Lincolnshire, see M.W. Barley, 'Farmhouses and cottages, 1550-1725', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 7, 1954-5, p.292; for London and Middlesex, see Peter H. Lindert, 'An algorithm for probate sampling', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 11, 1980, p.654. Figures for many other regions and communities have been computed; for example, the Vale of Berkeley, 1678-1699, 30%; Hawkshead, Cumbria, 1661-1750, 40%; Cambridgeshire, 17%; Kirby Lonsdale, Westmorland, late seventeenth-century, 58%, Petworth, Sussex, 1610-1760, 32%; Appleby, Leicestershire, 1550-1700, 7.2%; Chesterfield, Derbyshire, 1520-1649, c.15%; Flixton Suffolk, 1560-1600, 24%. For these figures, see, for the Vale of Berkeley, Horn, op cit, p.86., for Hawkshead, J.D. Marshall, 'Agrarian wealth and social structure in pre-industrial Cumbria', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 33, 1980, p.507; for Cambridgeshire and Kirby Lonsdale, Mark Overton, 'English probate inventories and the measurement of agricultural change' in Ad Van der Woude and Anton Schuurman, eds., Probate Inventories: a new source for the historical study of wealth, material culture and agricultural development. Papers presented at the Leeuwenborch conference, (Wageningen, 5-7- May 1980), p.209; G.H. Kenyon, 'Petworth town and trades, 1610-1760. pt.1', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 96, 1958, p.38; Alan Roberts, The Farming Inhabitants of Appleby and Austrey: two midland parishes, 1550-1700, University of Adelaide Ph.D, 1984, p.77, Philip Riden, The History of Chesterfield, vol.2, part 1: Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield, 1984, p.117; for Flixton, Nesta Evans, 'Inheritance, women, religion and education in early modern society' in Philip Riden, ed., Probate Records and the Local Community, 1984, p.54.

it is necessary to establish the representativeness of this sample.

The Week St. Mary inventories edited here are biased against the wealthier sections of the community whose wills were proved in Exeter or London, and for whom no inventories survive. The wills proved in London are included in this collection; however, a number of wills proved in Exeter have been destroyed¹. The conventional wisdom is that collections of inventories are biased against the poor, since their goods were less likely to be worth valuing². This hypothesis has not, however, been subject to analysis by nominal linkage, nor has any scholar "compared the characteristics of probated and nonprobated dependants",³ further than to note that small holders were less likely to be represented by inventories than farmers of large acreages⁴. In order to undertake such an analysis, it is first necessary to define the meaning of the word 'poor'. Arkell has argued that to do this it is necessary to use contemporary

1. These are listed in appendix 1.
2. The belief that estates worth less than £5 did not need to be praised is a myth; cf. Nancy and Jeff Cox, 'Probate inventories: the legal background', Local Historian, 16(3), 1984, p.134.
3. Daniel Scott Smith, 'Underregistration and bias in probate records: an analysis of data from eighteenth-century Hingham, Massachusetts', William and Mary Quarterly, 32, 1975, p.101.
4. Grant Longman, A Corner of England's Garden: an agrarian history of South West Hertfordshire, 1600-1850, vol. 1, p.21. Longman found inventories for five of the eleven occupiers of over sixty acres in Bushey, 1632, but only another five for the forty-two who had less than sixty acres.

perceptions of poverty.¹ The most useful such perception for the present purpose was expressed in the hearth tax legislation: those whose estates were worth under £10 were exempted from the tax by reason of poverty.²

For Week St. Mary, the parish register, the hearth tax listing and the 1641 protestation return can all be utilised to provide a limited insight into the social standing of that proportion of the adult male population whose goods were not inventoried after their deaths. Between 1663 and 1672, fifty-two adult males were buried in Week St. Mary. Five of these probably resided in other parishes, and are therefore excluded from consideration here.³ Inventories exist for twenty, eleven of whom paid hearth tax. Of the remaining twenty-seven, ten paid hearth tax. A comparison of the hearth tax assessment for those with inventories and those without is presented in table 6.7. The numbers involved are small; however, the figures reveal a higher

1. Tom Arkell, 'The incidence of poverty in England in the later seventeenth century', Social History, 12(1), 1987, p.39. For some other perceptions, see Nesta Evans, 'Charitable bequests and their recipients', Local Historian, 15(4), 1982, pp.225-6, and Barbara Wilkinson, 'The poor of the parish', Local Historian, 16(1), 1984, pp.21-3.
2. Arkell, op cit, p.33.
3. There are probate records for John Pearse of Jacobstow, and John Milhouse als Orchard of Stratton. George Orchard of Week Town paid tax on two hearths in Whitstone, and Nicholas Hicks paid on four in Altarnun. Roger Honey made his mark on the protestation in Whitstone.

percentage of one and two hearth payers¹ amongst those whose estates underwent probate - 91 per cent as opposed to 80 per cent - a result which, if repeated in a larger sample, would indicate a bias in inventories in favour of the poorer taxpayers.

It might be argued that greater significance should be attached to the fact that the highest proportion of those who did not contribute to the hearth tax was to be found amongst those whose estates were not inventoried. Seventeen, or sixty-three per cent of this group did not pay, whereas nine, forty-three per cent, of those whose estates were valued failed to contribute to the tax. There is no direct information on the wealth levels of the former group. However, there is sufficient evidence amongst the probate records and elsewhere to determine the status of a large percentage, and hence to delimit the maximum extent of poverty. At least eight of the seventeen could not be classed as 'poor'.² Of the other nine, there is no information concerning four;³ the remainder all made their mark on the

1. Spufford's estimates of the wealth of hearth tax payers cited above suggest that, whereas the difference in wealth levels between one and two hearth payers was slightly more than double, the difference between the wealth levels of one and three hearth payers was in the ratio of one to six. The major division was between two and three hearth payers.
2. The evidence of status is given below in volume two as follows:- Degory Leigh, cf.102; James Cater, cf.156; Richard Colman, cf.31W, Ezekiel Heale, cf.112A; Thomas Wheare, cf.80W; Nathaniel Colwill, cf.48W. Robert Burdon was the nephew of Andrew Rolle, esq., cf.50.
3. i.e. Philip Jordan, Philip Drowne, Mark Ribbington, and Michael Harfoot.

Table 6.7Hearth Tax Assessments for Adult Males Buried between 1663 and 1672.

<u>Assessment</u>	<u>Estates Valued</u>	<u>Estates Not Inventoried</u>
1 hearth	27% (3)	40% (4)
2 hearths	64% (7)	40% (4)
3 hearths	Nil	20% (2)
4 hearths	9% (1)	Nil

protestation return.¹ The minimal evidence available is insufficient to permit the conclusion that all nine were poor men, although the making of a mark could perhaps be regarded as indicative of poverty. All that can be said is that, for these seventeen men, a maximum of nine, or 53 per cent, were 'poor'. This figure must be compared to the proportion of poor amongst the nine decedents whose estates were valued, but who did not pay hearth tax. Two of the nine decedents who failed to pay hearth tax, but whose estates were valued, were poor by this criterion. Globally, two out of twenty, or ten per cent of all valued estates were 'poor', compared to a maximum of nine out of forty-seven, or thirty-three per cent of unvalued estates.

1. i.e. Henry Gibbs, Samuel Gibbs, Samuel Worth, John Reed, and Nicholas Hawton. Reed valued a poor widow's goods in 1620; cf.27 I.

It follows that, of the forty-seven men under consideration who were buried between 1663 and 1672, a maximum of eleven, or twenty three per cent, were poor. It must be stressed that this is a maximum figure; the evidence for most of these men is minimal. If there is a bias in the probate records against the poor, then it lies between this maximum figure and the ten per cent of 'poor' identified from the inventories. The difference is not great.

C. Increasing Wealth in a Poor Parish

In comparison with the Vale of Berkeley, the proportion of poor in Week St. Mary suggested above is low. Horn argues that between 33 per cent and 50 per cent of the Vale's inhabitants were poor.¹ However, the low proportion of poor does not mean that Week St. Mary was a wealthy parish. On the contrary, as has already been demonstrated from tax lists, land values were low, and there were few men of wealth. Analysis of the inventories reinforces this conclusion. Only two men - John Saunders (46) and John Leigh (146) - had a total worth of over £300; their goods were valued at £307-1-4 and £316-10-0 respectively. By contrast, in Frampton Cotterell,² seventy seven decedents - 36 per cent of the total - had over £100; nine per cent had over £300, and the wealthiest had no less than £3,368-19-04. Almost 48 per cent of Leicestershire farmers 1638-42 were worth over £100.³

1. Horn, *op.cit*, p.89.

2. Goods and Chattels, *passim*.

3. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Leicestershire Farmer in the Seventeenth Century', Agricultural History, 25, 1951, p.12.

Similarly, in Kings Langley,¹ out of fifty eight decedents, eleven, or almost nineteen per cent had over £100; four had more than £300, and the largest estate was valued at £889. In Cumbria, in a sample of 775 inventories from 1661-90, 21 per cent were valued at over £100.² In Week St. Mary, by contrast, even if the estates of Andrew Rolle and the eight decedents whose wills were proved in Exeter are assumed to have been worth over £100, only sixteen per cent of all estates were valued above this figure.³

The relative poverty of Week St. Mary in its own region has already been demonstrated. There is, however, clear evidence that wealth was increasing. This evidence is presented in tables 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10. In the first 40 years of the century, 5 of the inventoried estates, or 9.3 per cent of the total, were valued at over £100; in the last 40 years, the figure was 10, or 16.1 per cent. At the other end of the scale, the number of inventoried estates valued at under £10 dropped from 14 (26 per cent) to 7 (11.3 per cent). These figures may be compared with the figures derived by Whetter from a study of 1286 Cornish inventories; he found a similar "growth in the wealth of the Cornish people".⁴ These figures are not to be

1. Lionel Munby, ed., Life and Death in Kings Langley: Wills and Inventories, 1498-1659, 1981.
2. J.D. Marshall, 'Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure in Pre-Industrial Cumbria'. Economic History Review, 2nd series, 33, 1980, p.507.
3. In the interests of comparability, these and the following calculations have not been adjusted to take into account the bias against the poor discussed above.
4. Cornwall in the Seventeenth Century, p.12.

explained in terms of any growing hidden bias in the incidence of the probate inventories themselves.¹ The slight fall in the proportion of inventories to adult male burials cannot be compared to the fall in the number of poor inventories. It has already been shown from other evidence that the numbers of poor were declining.

The growth in wealth was not unique to Cornwall. In the Cumbrian parish of Cartmel, between 1661 and 1690, between 12 per cent and 19 per cent of all inventoried estates were valued at over £100; in the final decade of the century, this figure increased to no less than 35 per cent.² In Dorset, figures are available for the hundred years from 1571: in the first decade of the seventeenth century, the average wealth recorded in farmers' inventories was £54-12-7; this increased to £102-12-10 for the decade 1661-70.³ At Yetminster, Dorset, median wealth increased from £27 in the 1590s to £86 in the 1690s.⁴ At Petworth, Sussex, the percentage of inventoried estates valued at over £100 increased from 22 per cent between 1610 and 1635 to 43 per cent between 1686 and 1710; the percentage valued at under £50 decreased

1. J.D. Marshall, 'Agrarian wealth and social structure in pre-industrial Cumbria', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 33, 1980, p.508.
2. Ibid, p.516.
3. J.H. Bettey and D.S. Wilde, 'The probate inventories of Dorset farmers, 1573-1670', Local Historian, 12, 1977, p.229.
4. R. Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.4.

from 65 per cent to 32 per cent in the same period.¹ In Lincolnshire, only 8.2 per cent of inventoried estates were valued at over £100 in 1605; by 1694, the proportion had risen to 48.2 per cent. Median wealth rose in the same period from £28-16-0 to £93-5-0.² East Anglian linen weavers who had estates valued at over £100 increased from 18 per cent of the total in the first half of the century to 25.5 per cent in the second half.³ This movement was not confined to rural areas or small towns; in the city of Gloucester, 48 per cent of all inventoried estates were valued at over £100 between 1660 and 1679; in the 1690s, the proportion was 62 per cent.⁴ Nor was the movement confined to England. In the very different circumstances of New England, probate inventories reveal that average wealth grew steadily in the second half of the century, and peaked in the 1690s.⁵ The movement was not, however, uniform: at Irton, Cumberland, there was no significant change in the average valuation of inventoried goods between 1575 and 1748.⁶

1. G.H. Kenyon, 'Petworth town and trades, 1610-1760, pt.1', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 96, 1958, p.66.
2. M. W. Barley, 'Farmhouses and cottages, 1550-1725', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 7, 1954-5, p.293.
3. Nesta Evans, The East Anglian Linen Industry: rural industry and local economy, 1500-1850, Pasold Studies in Textile History, 5, 1985, p.74.
4. Peter Ripley, 'The economy of the city of Gloucester, 1660-1740', Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions, 98, 1980, p.149.
5. Terry Lee Anderson, The Economic Growth of Seventeenth Century New England: a measurement of regional income, 1675-1775, p.88.
6. C. Moor, 'The old statesman families of Irton', Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions, N.S., 10, 1910, p.156.

WEALTH DISTRIBUTION FROM THE PROBATE INVENTORIES I

	<u>1600-1619</u>				
	Under £20	£20-£50	£50-£100	£100-£500	£500+
East Cornwall	45	25	17	12	2
County	47	26	15	11	1
Week St. Mary	54.54 (12)	27.27 (6)	13.64 (3)	4.55 (1)	Nil
	<u>1680-1699</u>				
East Cornwall	35	27	16	20	1
County	36	25	16	21	4
Week St. Mary	14.81 (4)	37.04 (10)	25.93 (7)	22.22 (6)	Nil

This table is based on inventory valuations. The figures for East Cornwall, and for the county, are taken from Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.12. Figures for Week St. Mary are given in percentages and in actual numbers (in brackets). They actually cover the period 1.1.1599/1600-31.12.1619, and 1.1.1679/80-31.12.1699. It is not clear whether Whetter's figures cover 20 or 21 years.

Table 6.9

WEALTH DISTRIBUTION FROM THE PROBATE INVENTORIES II

	<u>Under £10</u>	<u>£10-£29.19.11</u>	<u>£30-49.19.11</u>	<u>£50-£99.19.11</u>	<u>£100-199.19.11</u>	<u>£200+</u>
1600-1639 (54)	14 (25.93%)	13 (25%)	11 (20.37%)	11 (20.37%)	4 (7.4%)	1 (1.85%)
1660-1699 (62)	7 (11.29%)	20 (32.25%)	14 (22.58%)	11 (17.74%)	7 (11.29%)	3 (4.83%)

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Table 6.10: Inventory Valuations: Week St. Mary

<u>Date</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>inventories</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
1600-1609 (1-13)	7	£36.02.06	£33.10.10
1610-1619 (14-27)	14	£29.03.10	£13.02.06
1620-1629 (28-47)	15	£29.02.04	£21.05.00
1630-1639 (48-65)	17	£46.11.04	£48.04.06
1640-1649 (66-87)	20	£35.19.09	£12.16.08
1650-1659 (88-99)	2	£16.17.08	£16.17.08
1660-1669 (100-118)	16	£36.00.05	£28.17.00
1670-1679 (119-138)	19	£54.16.05	£33.00.00
1680-1689 (139-148)	10	£96.01.08	£75.18.05
1690-1699 (149-166)	17	£65.02.09	£39.18.00

In order to arrive at an index of growth in real wealth, it is necessary to compare the trend in inventory valuations with the movement of prices. The cost of living was much more dependent on food prices in the seventeenth century than it is today; it is therefore appropriate to use the index of movements in the price of a composite unit of foodstuffs compiled by Phelps Brown for comparative purposes.¹ This index has been re-worked in table 6.11. Inventory valuations lagged behind prices in the 1610s, in the years of the civil war, and in the early restoration period. They were, however, well ahead of prices in the 1620s, and in the last three decades of the century. The decline in prices which occurred in the decades following the Civil War gave a major impetus to the accumulation of wealth. Barley reached similar conclusions in his study of Lincolnshire.² He found evidence of steadily increasing prosperity in the seventeenth century, after a sharp sixteenth-century decline. By 1669, that decline had been reversed; by 1690, the growth of wealth was far ahead of increasing prices.

Other evidence also suggests exceptional prosperity throughout England in the late seventeenth century.³ Real

1. This index is printed in R.B. Outhwaite, Inflation in Tudor and Early Stuart England, 2nd ed., 1982, p.10.
2. M.W. Barley, 'Farmhouses and cottages, 1550-1725', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 1954-55, p.294.
3. I am indebted for the following discussion to Margaret Spufford, The Great Reclothing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century, 1984, pp.1-6.

wages rose by more than fifty per cent between 1600 and 1700.¹ More dated houses were built in the 1690s than in any other decade between 1530 and 1799.² The numbers of chapmen probably rose sharply from the 1670s, and there was a substantial increase in the number and regularity of carrying services out of London between 1637 and 1715, suggesting a considerable growth in home trade.³ There were more recorded markets in southern England in 1690 than at any other date between 1588 and 1792.⁴ The volume of trade through Cornish ports showed a "remarkable increase" in the course of the century.⁵ Expenditure on clothing rose appreciably, and publishers found a new market for 'small books and pleasant histories' amongst the poorer classes of town and country.⁶ There was a noticeable lack of complaints when major taxes were levied; the 1671 subsidy was easily collected in Cornwall.⁷ In the century following the civil war, population pressure

1. E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, The Population History of England, 1541-1871: a reconstruction, 1981, pp.642-3.
2. R. Machin, 'The great rebuilding: a reassessment', Past and Present, 77, 1977, pp.37-41.
3. Spufford, Great Reclathing, op cit, p.10; J.A. Chartres, 'Road carrying in England in the seventeenth century: myth and reality', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 30, 1977, pp.78-80. On the growth of trade in Cornwall, see Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.143-7.
4. A.D. Dyer, 'The market towns of southern England, 1500-1700', Southern History, 1, 1979, p.129.
5. Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.12-13; J.C.A. Whetter, 'Cornish trade in the seventeenth century: an analysis of the port books', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S., 4(4), 1964, p.394.
6. Spufford, Great Reclathing, op cit, p.130; Margaret Spufford, Small Books and Pleasant Histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth century England, 1981, passim.
7. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.14.

Table 6.11: Price of a composite unit of Foodstuffs,¹ compared with mean inventory valuations.²

	<u>Foodstuffs</u>	<u>Inventories</u>
1600-10	100	100
1611-20	111	80.8
1621-30	111	149.8
1631-40	130	128.9
1641-50	138	99.6
1651-60	130	[46.7] ³
1661-70	133	99.7
1671-80	128	151.7
1681-90	124	265.9
1691-1700	143	180.3

1. This table has been re-worked from the Phelps Brown index, as given in R.B. Outhwaite, Inflation in Tudor and Early Stuart England, 2nd ed., 1982.
2. The index figure for 1600-10 has been taken as 100.
3. There are only two inventories for this period, which are probably quite unrepresentative.

slackened, prices stabilised or fell, and the real purchasing power of the rural poor rose, or at least remained steady.¹

D. The Effect of the Civil War

The effect of the civil war upon the economy has not been fully studied.² Its effect upon wealth in Week St. Mary is impossible to determine, since there is minimal evidence. The Royalist army camped there overnight before the Battle of Stratton; they "found the place so poore, that it was not able to supply them in any considerable proportion".³ Oswald Cornish had to ride from Launceston "to Weeke with provision for the armye"; the cost of 4/- was charged to the borough of Launceston.⁴ The inhabitants could consider themselves fortunate that they escaped being at the centre of a battle: the royalists were challenged by a "fresh allarum" from the enemy, but the latter withdrew whilst the Cornish army "stoode upon their guard all that night".⁵ Nevertheless, it is likely that the presence of the army was disastrous for the local inhabitants; presumably, the

1. Spufford, Great Reclothing, op cit, p.2; A.L. Beier, Masterless Men: the vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640, 1985, p.172.
2. See however, Ian Roy, 'England Turned Germany: the aftermath of the civil war in its European context', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 28, 1978, pp.127-44. The impact of war on the economic and social structure of the Basse-Meuse region at this period is discussed by Myron P. Gutmann. War and Rural Life in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1980.
3. Ralph Hopton, Bellum Civile: Hopton's narrative of his campaign in the west (1642-44) and other papers, ed. Charles E.H. Chadwyck Healy, Somerset Record Society, 18, 1902, pp.41-2.
4. Richard Peter and Otho Bathurst Peter, The Histories of Launceston and Dunheved, in the County of Cornwall, 1855, p.265.
5. Hopton, op.cit., p.42.

soldiers took everything they could find. A poor widow, Thomasine Orchard als Milhouse (78 I), had just lost a bullock to soldiers when she died in 1645. At least one parishioner, John Hooper, served as a foot soldier in the royalist army; he was killed by a trooper at Heathfield in 1645.¹ It is unlikely that Week St. Mary escaped from the heavy demands of royalist and, subsequently, parliamentary, administration.²

Those who died in the last two decades of the century would have begun their active economic careers after the disruption of civil war had ended, and would have been in a position to reap the maximum benefit from a return to normalcy. The probate inventory valuations suggest that they did just that.

E. The Poor and the Not So Poor

Whetter has argued that "the proportion of the poor to total population dropped greatly".³ The prices of most goods also rose, but not as much as the value of people's estates.⁴ Growth in Week St. Mary was rather faster than in Cornwall generally, as table 6.8 indicates. This growth is confirmed by table 6.9. Increasing prosperity was shared

1. P.R.O., C7/554/57

2. These are discussed by Mary Coate, Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 2nd ed., 1963, especially chapters 8 and 12.

3. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.15.

4. Ibid, p.12.

in by almost all sectors of society. The only group missing from this study are the migrant poor, who occasionally appear in the burial register, but for whom no other Week St. Mary evidence is available.¹ The accounts of the remote borough of Hartland, Devon make it clear that many such 'travellers' were on the road in the remotest parts of the seventeenth-century south-west.²

It has already been suggested that a maximum of 23 per cent of Week St. Mary's inhabitants were classified as 'poor' in the 1660's and early 1670's.³ Tables 6.8 and 6.9 suggest that the numbers of the poor reduced by a half or more in the course of the century. If such a reduction did take place, then some 40 to 50 per cent must have been equally poor in 1600. If so, this was the major change in the distribution of wealth during the century, and dramatically contrasted with what was happening in other parts of England. In Terling, Essex, for example, the labouring poor increased from 30 per cent of the total population in the early sixteenth century to 50 per cent in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴ Skipp has drawn attention

1. See Richard Harvey, 'Recent Research on poverty in Tudor-Stuart England: review and commentary', International Review of Social History, 24, 1979, pp.238-41, for a review of recent work in this area. See also A.L. Beier, Masterless Men: the vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640, 1985.
2. R. Pears Chope, The Book of Hartland, 1947, pp.106-26; Ivon L. Gregory, Hartland Church Accounts 1597-1706, 1950, passim,
3. See above, p.99.
4. Keith Wrightson, 'Aspects of social differentiation in rural England, c.1580-1660', Journal of Peasant Studies, 1, 1977, pp.41-2.

to the rapid rise in the numbers of poor in the Forest of Arden in the late Tudor and early Stuart period, which occurred at the same time as the "landed peasantry" were experiencing unparalleled prosperity".¹ Wrightson has argued that, nationally, "the period saw both an absolute and relative expansion ... in numbers [of the labouring poor], and a deepening of their poverty which was alleviated only late in the seventeenth century".² According to Beier, "the condition of the vagrant poor sharply deteriorated" between 1620 and 1650.³ However, Phillips has noted "a possible decline in the incidence of poverty" in Kendal.⁴ The extent of poverty certainly declined after 1650.⁵

It may be that the reduction in the numbers of poor in Week St. Mary noted above took place in the 1650s and 1660s. However, the causes of poverty - population growth, inflation, enclosure, and declining numbers of small-holders - did not operate in Week St. Mary in the way that they did in other parts of England. In particular, the number of farms remained static, enclosure was not an issue, and population did not anything like double between 1541 and 1651.⁶

1. Victor Skipp, Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674, 1978, pp.65-8.
2. Keith Wrightson, English Society, 1580-1680, 1982, p.223.
3. A.L. Beier, Masterless Men: the vagrancy problem in England, 1560-1640, 1985, p.14.
4. C.B. Phillips, 'Town and country: economic change in Kendal', in Peter Clark, ed., The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800, 1984, p.110.
5. A.L. Beier, *op.cit.*, p.172; Peter Clark, *op.cit.*, p.31.
6. See Beier, *op.cit.*, pp.19-22 for a discussion of the causes of poverty. See above, chapters 3 and 5, for discussions of Week St. Mary's demography and pattern of land occupation.

The changes in land ownership which took place in the sixteenth century made Week St. Mary an 'open' parish, and perhaps gave the poor their opportunity to obtain a share of increasing wealth. The share of the poorest ten per cent of decedents with inventories doubled between the first quarter and the last quarter of the century, as table 6.12 makes clear. It was particularly high during the third quarter of the century. In that quarter, the share of the poorer fifty per cent also increased dramatically, although it fell back to its previous level after 1675. Despite these trends, and despite the fact that the number of estates valued at under £10 fell dramatically, the share of the poorest ten per cent in the total inventoried wealth of the community never reached two per cent. It would be desirable to test these figures against a larger sample to determine their significance. It is clear, however, that in Week St. Mary there were no really wealthy individuals - despite the fact that the wealthiest ten per cent owned between thirty-one and thirty-six per cent of inventoried wealth, with no significant variation during the century.¹ It is probable that the number of paupers was also low.² These two facts suggest the hypothesis that, in areas where there were

1. According to Whetter, there was no Cornish nobility, and the county lacked a powerful, wealthy gentry; it was not a wealthy county. Cf. Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.5 and 11-12.
2. For the county, Whetter notes that it was "not any worse" off than other areas, and suggests that its poor rate may have been slightly lower than elsewhere; cf. *ibid*, p.15.

few wealthy men, there were also few paupers. As Hoskins put it, "as the average wealth of a community rises, does it not appear that the inequality in the distribution of that wealth itself increases?".¹ As the rich get relatively richer, the poor get relatively poorer. Cobbett made a similar point in the nineteenth century; he noted that a rich land was apt to breed poor labourers, whilst a poor or wooded country side promised them prosperity.² Unfortunately, the detailed study of this question that Hoskins called for as long ago as 1935 has not been undertaken. Early modern historians have tended to study either wealth or poverty but not the relationship between them.³ An examination of inventory

1. W.G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade, and People in Exeter, 1688-1800, 2nd ed., pp.119-20. Hoskins cites evidence from Leicester and Exeter to support his suggestion. It is also suggested by evidence from Cambridgeshire; cf. Contrasting Communities, pp.44, 72, and 91. Everitt has pointed out that, in the North of England, there were few labourers; the relative poverty of the typical small family farmer meant that there was no employment for them; cf. Alan Everitt, 'Farm labourers', in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, p.422.
2. Cited by Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.424.
3. See, for example, the collection of essays edited by Peter Clark, Country Towns in Pre-industrial England, 1981. The essay on Ipswich in this volume by Michael Reed includes a section entitled "The structural and spatial distribution of wealth", based on the evidence of inventories and tax lists; Beier's essay on Warwick concentrates on the 'dimensions of poverty', and is based on poor law records.

Table 6.12Wealth Distribution from the Probate Inventories

	<u>1600-24</u>	<u>1625-49</u>	<u>1650-74</u>	<u>1675-99</u>
No. of Decedents	28	43	28	34
Wealthiest 10%	31.07%	35.96%	31.21%	34.15%
Poorest 50%	14.51%	15.06%	26.24%	12.03%
Poorest 10%	.44%	.57%	1.44%	.86%

Table 6.13

The Estates of Yeomen and Husbandmen

	<u>Yeomen</u>	<u>Husbandmen</u>
10 counties ¹ 1480-1660	£181.12.04	£21.11.06
Kirtlington, ² Oxfordshire, 1650-1728	£174.14.04	£87.09.04
Leicestershire ³ 1638-42	£138.06.04	£74.08.06
Cambridgeshire ⁴ 1660s	£180	£30
Norfolk and Suffolk ⁵ 1629-30	£149	£56
Norfolk and Suffolk ⁶ 1660-79	£197	£51
Diocese of Worcester ⁷ 1702-8	£180	£87
Trent Valley ⁸ 1575-1639	£111	£61
Leicestershire/Warwickshire border ⁹ 1680s-1690s.	£128	£53

1. W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: a study of the changing pattern of English social aspirations, 1959, pp.334-5 and 376-7.
2. Matthew Griffiths, Kirtlington: an Oxfordshire community 1500-1750, Oxford Ph.D. thesis, 1979, p.176.
3. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Leicestershire farmer in the seventeenth century', Agricultural History, 25, 1951, p.12.
4. Contrasting Communities, p.39
5. Mark Overton, 'English probate inventories and the measurement of agricultural change' in Ad Van der Woude and Anton Schuurman, eds., Probate Inventories: a new source for the historical study of wealth, material culture, and agricultural development: papers presented at the Leeuwenborch conference (Wageningen, 5-7 May, 1980), 1980, p.209.
6. Ditto.

/cont.

7. J.A. Johnston, 'The Vale of Evesham 1702-8: the evidence from probate inventories and wills', Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers, 4, 1973, p.88.
8. M.W. Barley, 'Farmhouses and cottages, 1550-1725', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 7, 1954-5, p.293.
9. Alan Roberts, The Farming Inhabitants of Appleby and Austrey: two midland parishes 1550-1700, University of Adelaide Ph.D. 1984, p.161.

valuations in conjunction with poor law records could prove illuminating.¹

An examination of wealth in terms of status is not, unfortunately, possible, since a large proportion of wills do not indicate status. However, it is possible to make some comparisons between husbandmen and yeomen - comparisons which suggest that the difference between the two groups was small and losing its significance.² As Rowse suggested, the yeomen "were less particularized an element" in Cornwall than in other counties.³ The mean average wealth of twenty-two husbandmen was £37-4-7; twenty-nine yeomen had an average wealth of £55-7-10. Median values are higher, but just as close: £76-16-0 compared to £90-4-6. In the first half of the century, two husbandmen had estates valued at over £100; only two yeomen shared the same distinction, and the wealthiest of the four was a husbandman. This situation approached that

1. It has been argued that wealth and poverty must be the subjects of "separate and specialized research". This argument surely subordinates the questions which need to be asked to the documents which must be used to answer them; cf. J.D. Marshall, 'Agrarian wealth and social structure in pre-industrial Cumbria', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 33, 1980, p.505.
2. Some historians have treated the two groups as a unit for purposes of analysis. It has been argued, however, that "yeomen and husbandmen had different social characteristics, and, so far as possible, should be treated separately". This may have been true in Week St. Mary, but the distinction was ceasing to have relevance. See David Cressy, 'Describing the social order of Elizabethan and Stuart England', Literature and History 1976, pp.38-41.
3. A.L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall: portrait of a society, New ed., 1969, p.98.

found in the remote counties of the Lake District, where the two titles were used "without much discrimination" in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century.¹ At Findon, Sussex, the claim to yeoman status was much more widespread in the eighteenth century than it had been previously - perhaps partially due to the fact that the number of smallholders was in decline.² The situation in Cambridgeshire was quite different: median values in the 1660s were £150 apart - £30 for husbandmen, £180 for yeomen.³ Table 6.13 sets out the differences in estate valuations between yeomen and husbandmen in a number of areas. The differences were generally marked. In Week St. Mary, however, the distinction between husbandmen and yeomen was becoming blurred by 1650; in the second half of the century, it appears probable that many who might have been considered husbandmen fifty years earlier were now categorised as yeomen. It is only possible to cite one definite example of this change, but the example is significant. Andrew Blake (123), who died in 1671/2, was a yeoman; his father Thomas (42) was a

1. V.H.T. Skipp, 'Economic and social change in the Forest of Arden, 1530-1649', in Joan Thirsk, ed; Land, Church and People: essays presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg, (Supplement to Agricultural History Review, 18), 1970, p.99-101.
2. T.P. Hudson, ed., Findon through Two Centuries: a Downland village, 1600-1800, 1982, pp.17-19.
3. Contrasting Communities, p.39.

husbandman. Yet Thomas's estate at probate was worth almost four times the value placed on his son's estate! The number of husbandmen's inventories decreased considerably in the second half of the century - there were only five, compared to seventeen before 1650. Furthermore, their mean value decreased substantially, from £41-19-0 to £22- 9- 4. The number of yeomen's inventories increased slightly, from fourteen to fifteen; their mean value rose slightly, from £53-0- 9 to £57-13- 8.

Decreasing percentages of husbandmen, and increasing percentages of yeomen, have also been noted by Evans in Suffolk,¹ and by Hey in Myddle.² Evans counted the occupations given in wills proved at Norwich between 1550 and 1650; she found 52% were yeomen, and 19% husbandmen, between 1550 and 1603; in the next half century, 59% were yeomen, and 12% husbandmen. Hey counted occupations in the Myddle parish register; he found that, between 1541-70 and 1601-30, the number of husbandmen fell by 30%, whereas the number of yeomen nearly doubled. At Fenny Compton, Warwickshire, the term 'husbandman' was beginning to disappear in the second half of the seventeenth century.³

1. Community of South Elmham, p.180.
2. English Rural Community, p.53, cited in Community of South Elmham, p.180.
3. Philip Styles, Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midland History, 1978, p.98.

In the farming community of Llanblethian, Glamorganshire, husbandmen are not mentioned at all between 1660 and 1750.¹ Evans has argued that the change was due to increased wealth which enabled the sons of husbandmen to rise in the social scale.² The evidence from Week St. Mary does not support this conclusion: the slight increase in the mean value of yeomen's probate inventories does not reflect the increase in wealth already discussed. The phenomena being examined may best be described as a change in the usage of status descriptors - perhaps partially due to the general increase in prosperity.³

Increasing wealth naturally had diverse consequences. It could be used to provide increased credit, be ploughed back into agricultural production, lead to greater diversity of occupations, be invested in education, or result in an improvement in material comfort. The probate records provide some information on all these topics, which form the subject of the remainder of this introduction.

1. Philip Riden, Farming in Llanblethian, 1660-1750, Park Place Papers, 9, 1980, p.22.
2. Evans, *op. cit.*, p.180.
3. This argument is supported by Lawrence Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900,' Past and Present, 42, 1969, pp.107-8.

Chapter 7: Credit

Small amounts of credit were readily available to Week St. Mary inhabitants during the seventeenth century¹. The inventories frequently refer to bills, bonds, specialties, and desperate debts². These terms encompass two types of loan. The bill 'without specialty' was a promissory note without security, and usually for a small amount, intended as a short-term loan. Such loans are frequently referred to as 'desperate debts', and might prove difficult to recover after the death of the lender. The bond, by contrast, had security, and

1. The major source used for the present study are the inventories; it has not been possible to consult the court-rolls of the hundred of Stratton held at the Duchy of Cornwall Record Office. Hundred court rolls do, however, hold promise as an unexploited source for the study of credit. Information from those few rolls in the custody of the P.R.O. has been used in the biographies of decedents; these, however, provide too few entries for statistical analysis on the basis of one parish, and are often unreadable on microfilm.
2. Andrew B. Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, 1978, pp.47-8, poses a number of interesting questions relating to the credit market. B.A.Holderness, 'Credit in English rural society before the nineteenth century, with special reference to the period 1650-1720', Agricultural History Review, 24, 1976, pp.99-100, discusses the various forms of credit available. See also his 'Credit in a rural community: some neglected aspects of probate inventories', Midland History, 3, 1975, p.96. The reliability of inventories as a record of debts has been questioned by C.B.Phillips, 'Probate records and the Kendal shoemakers in the seventeenth century', in Philip Riden, ed., Probate Records in the Local Community, 1985, pp.40-41. Phillips points out that it was in the interests of executors to conceal such debts. If, however, the assumption is made that the proportion of debts concealed did not vary over time, then any such concealments do not affect the calculations of trends over time.

money lent under it could be easily recovered¹. The mortgage, with the security of land, was the safest form of investment; however, it is not mentioned in Week St. Mary inventories².

North Cornwall was surprisingly similar to other areas in the proportion of inventories recording debts due. In Norfolk, the East Midlands, two Glamorganshire villages, and Week St. Mary, the proportion was exactly 40%³. Similar percentages are recorded in other parts of the country in the

1. Kirtlington, p.251.
2. Mortgages are referred to in inventories elsewhere; see, for example, G.H.Kenyon, 'Petworth town and trades, 1610-1760, pt.1', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 96, 1958, pp.81-2. For a study of mortgages in sixteenth-century Devon, see J.E.Kew, 'Mortgages in mid-Tudor Devonshire', Devonshire Association...Report and Transactions, 99, 1967, pp.165-79. Thomas Drake of Brendon sued Edmond Chapman and Nicholas Crowdacott of North Petherwin concerning a mortgage on Brendon in the late 1640s; cf. P.R.O., C6/115/39, 42, and 43.
3. Holderness, 'Credit in English rural society', op. cit., p.102; Matthew Griffiths, Penmark and Porthkerry Families and Farms in the Seventeenth-Century Vale of Glamorgan, Park Place Papers, 2, 1979, p.37. Griffiths figures include both wills and inventories.

seventeenth century; figures range from 28.49% in North Telford, 1660-1750, to 51% in Yetminster, Dorset, between 1576 and 1639¹. The origins of this credit market have not been studied, but it is interesting to note that in the sixteenth century percentages were much lower. In the Forest of Arden between 1530 and 1569, only 5.4% of inventories record debts due². Out of 259 Oxfordshire inventories prior to 1590, only 29 record debts due, and their median value was a mere £4-10-0³. A third of the

1. Yeomen and Colliers, p.18; Robert Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.22. All other places for which this figure has been computed fall within this range, namely, Findon, Sussex, 1600-1800, 39%; Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, 1576-1700, one-third; Kendal, 1662-1686, 34%; Forest of Arden, 1570-1649, c.30%; South Elmham, Suffolk, 1582-1639, 45.6%; cf. T.P.Hudson, ed. Findon Through two Centuries: a Downland village, 1600-1800, 1982, p.28; Contrasting Communities, p.212; J.D.Marshall, 'Kendal in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions, N.S., 75, 1975, p.207; V.H.T.Skipp, 'Economic and social change in the Forest of Arden, 1530-1649', in Joan Thirsk, ed., Land Church and People: essays presented to Professor H.P.R.Finberg, Supplement to Agricultural History Review, 18, 1970, p.105; Community of South Elmham, p.276.
2. Skipp, op.cit., p.105.

seventeenth-century inventories from Kirtlington, in the same county, record debts due; their median value was £16¹. In Dorset, farmers' inventories recording debts due increased from 20% in 1581-90 to a maximum of 38% in 1641-50². At Wigston Magna, Leicestershire, ready money was scarce until the mid-sixteenth century, but became increasingly available thereafter³. These figures suggest a dramatic increase in available credit in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which may, perhaps, be linked to the subsequent growth of internal trade discussed by Spufford and Chartres⁴. The evidence of the inventories on this point is supported by statistics of debt litigation in the central courts, which show dramatic growth

1. Kirtlington, pp.250 and 259-60, citing R. Machin 'The mechanism of the pre-industrial building cycle', Vernacular Architecture, 8, 1977, p.818.
2. J.H.Betty and D.S.Wilde, 'The probate inventories of Dorset farmers, 1573-1670', Local Historian, 12, 1977, p.232.
3. W.G.Hoskins, 'The rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640', Past and Present, 4, 1953, p.51.
4. Margaret Spufford, The Great Reclothing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century, 1984, passim; J.A.Chartres, 'Road carrying in England in the seventeenth century: myth and reality', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 30, 1977, pp.73-94. See, however, Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, Autonomy and Community: the royal manor of Havering, 1200-1500, 1986, pp.166-70 and 231, for an account of an active credit market in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries. Havering may not have been typical. There is a need for comprehensive study of popular credit in late medieval and early modern England.

in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ There was, however, a slight decline in the number of inventories recording debts due after 1650. At Kirtlington, the percentage decreased from 44.2% between 1595 and 1646 to 27.6% between 1658 and 1724.² A slighter decrease took place in Week St. Mary, where the percentages were 42.7% before 1650, and 35.9% in the second half of the century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, percentages in Worcestershire ranged from 46% for spinsters, to 23% for labourers.³

According to Tawney, money-lending was "not a profession, but a bye employment".⁴ Most money-lending was "spasmodic, irregular, unorganised, a series of individual, and sometimes surreptitious, transactions between neighbours".⁵ This was exemplified in the career of Nehemiah Wallington, a minor London artisan, whose economic survival "depended on a network of small creditors who sustained him".⁶ He

1. C.W. Brooks, Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: the 'lower branch' of the legal profession in early modern England, 1986, pp.69-70. This growth may be partially attributable to cases which in earlier centuries would have been tried in local courts, and partially to the fact that actions of debt on specialty were a reliable means of seeking legal remedy. However, it is clear that cases involving the lending of money were increasing in number.
2. Griffiths, op.cit., p.250.
3. J.A. Johnston, 'Worcestershire probate inventories, 1699-1716,' Midland History, 4, 1978, p.204.
4. Thomas Wilson, A Discourse upon Usury, ed. R.H. Tawney, 1925, p.21.
5. Ibid, p.22.
6. Paul S. Seaver, Wallington's World: a puritan artisan in seventeenth-century London, 1985, p.123.

frequently found himself without cash, and borrowed from neighbours and kin when the need arose.¹ The credit market in England differed markedly from that which existed on the other side of the English Channel, where an "almost unbelievable number of notaries" depended for their livelihood on dealings in money.²

Credit in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary could be obtained from almost anyone except the totally destitute; Leonard Cowling (44), whose inventoried wealth totalled a mere £1-19- 8, had "dassperate deates" valued at £1-10-0 . Seven of the twenty-one estates valued at under £10 were owed money, as were eight of the seventeen estates valued at over £100. Amounts lent varied considerably. Twenty-six estates were owed under £10 each; the total value of such debts was £122.19. 8. By contrast, eight estates were owed amounts exceeding £50; these debts totalled was £769.19. 8. Debts due of under £10 constituted just under 10% of the total value of all inventoried debts due; those over £50 constituted almost 61 per cent.

In Marshall's sample of 400 yeomen's inventories from the

1. He could also have used the services of pawnbrokers, who were thriving in Southwark, and presumably in the rest of the metropolis, at this date. See Jeremy Boulton, Neighbourhood and Society: a London suburb in the seventeenth century, 1986, pp.87-92.
2. Pierre Goubert, The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century, 1986, p.118. See also Myron P. Guttmann, War and Rural Life in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1980, p.51.

Lake counties, just under 25% of decedents were owed more than £25.¹ The credit market was open to all except the totally destitute. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that indebtedness bore more heavily on one section of the community than on any other. The plight of the poor Beauvaisis peasants² was not paralleled in Week St. Mary. Nevertheless, the credit market was dominated by the better-off section of the community. In Devon, 37% of estates valued at under £50 record moneys owing; for estates valued at over £300, the figure is 69%.³

The eight leading creditors were not a typical cross-section of Week St. Mary's wealthiest inhabitants. Twenty-five inventories list total wealth in excess of £80; eighteen of them, that is 72%, are for wealthy farmers - whether designated husbandman, yeoman, or gent. Of the eight creditors, five were yeomen or husbandmen; however, three of these had limited agricultural interests, or may have derived their investments from non-agricultural pursuits. Richard Palmer (14) may have owed his wealth to the patronage of the Rolle family; Thomas Blake (42)

1. J.D. Marshall, 'The Domestic Economy of the Lakeland Yeoman, 1660-1749'. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions, N.S., 73, 1973, p.211. See also his 'Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure in Pre-Industrial Cumbria'. Economic History Review, 2nd series, 33, 1980, pp.509-11.
2. Pierre Goubert, 'The French Peasantry of the Seventeenth Century: a Regional Example,' in T. Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660: essays from Past and Present, 1965, p.160.
3. Thomas Laqueur, 'The Cultural Origins of Popular Culture, 1500-1850', Oxford Review of Education, 2(3), 1976, p.266.

had probably retired from active agricultural pursuits at the time of his death; Thomas Auger (147) was a weaver, and had only a small proportion of his capital invested in livestock. Such reservations do not apply to any of the other eighteen farmers mentioned above. The other three leading creditors included a clergyman, a blacksmith, and a spinster. The clergyman, Nathaniel Trewin, (150), was curate of the parish, and evidently ran a money-lending business in conjunction with his curacy;¹ his "bills and bonds" were worth £222 - and made him much the most important creditor in Week St. Mary. John Matthews, the blacksmith, had a "shop booke", with debts specified therein amounting to £6-6-8, which were probably due for goods supplied or services rendered (he also had bonds worth £80). Anne Marten (164), the spinster, had probably inherited the £78.13.0 she had invested in 'specialties'.

No less than fifteen decedents - that is, just under 18% - (including five of the eight leading creditors) had 75% or more of their inventoried wealth in credits. By

1. He was not alone in this; many urban clergy had substantial sums in bills and bonds; cf. Claire Cross, 'The incomes of provincial urban clergy, 1520-1645', in Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal, eds; Princes and Paupers in the English Church, 1500-1800, 1981, pp.82-3. For an interesting case study of clergy debts and loans. see Alan Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth-Century Clergyman: an essay in Historical anthropology, 1970, pp.55-7. The way in which Josselin moved from debtor to creditor status is a useful reminder that probate records only provide information at one point in time; we do not know whether Nathaniel Trewin had always been a creditor, or what his long-term purpose was in making loans.

definition, these individuals did not have major agricultural interests, although they included one gentleman (16), two yeomen (70 and 72) and a husbandman. Other categories included a labourer (44), five women (24, 35, 77, 87, and 164), three bachelors (47, 60 and 80), a blacksmith (126), and the curate (150). Two categories are of particular interest: the women, and the bachelors. Two of the women were widows (24 and 35); their role will be discussed below. Two others (77 and 87) were in their late twenties when they died. The probability is that they were living-in servants who had no need of material possessions whilst in service, and whose savings could therefore be lent at interest until needed for the purpose of establishing a household.¹ If wages were paid in a lump sum at the close of the period of service, then considerable encouragement was given to participation in the credit market. Probate inventories are necessarily biased against decedents who died at this age, and we may therefore assume that servants played a much more important role in the capital market than the inventories reveal. Payment of wages in cash enabled many servants of Havering, Essex, to become involved in the credit network, loaning and borrowing sums ranging from a few pence to several pounds at a time.²

1. On servants' savings generally, see Ann Kussmaul, Servants in husbandry in early modern England, 1981, p.39.
2. Marjorie M. McIntosh, 'Servants and the household unit in an Elizabethan English community', Journal of Family History, 9, 1984, pp.12 and 18-19.

One of the Week St. Mary bachelors, John Beaford (60), was without his own household, and was perhaps also a living-in servant. The other two (47 and 80) were in fact widowers. One, Timothy Wheare (80) was probably a tradesman; the other, John Pearse (47), may have retired from husbandry.

The agricultural interest did play a major role in the credit market. Out of fifty-one decedents explicitly identified as husbandmen or yeomen, twenty-one (41%) had debts due recorded in their inventories, that is, slightly more than the proportion of 40% for all decedents.¹ The mean amount for these 21 was £24.9.4, compared to a mean of £23.1.10 for all decedents. A mean of 42% of farmers' wealth (i.e. of those who had credits) was in debts due, compared with 46.5% for all decedents with debts due. The lower percentage for farmers is probably due to the fact that much of their wealth was tied up in stock, corn, and leaseholds. Nevertheless, Spufford's assertion that "it was unusual for active farmers to engage in money lending", although true in Cambridgeshire, seems to be the reverse of the truth in North Cornwall.² Evans argues that the high proportion of yeomen with credits

1. In South Elmham, the proportion of yeomen with credits was 40%; cf. Community of South Elmham p.278.
2. Contrasting Communities, p.80.

in South Elmham suggests that it was a prosperous area¹. The Week St. Mary evidence shows that even in poor areas farmers were able to lend.

The only other status group that is capable of worthwhile analysis are the widows. Holderness has argued that, in pre-industrial England, a proportion of "widows in rural society placed a substantial share of their wealth, which was usually larger than that supplied by any other social group, at the disposal of their relatives, friends and neighbours"². This was not true of seventeenth-century Week St. Mary. There are twenty-three widow's inventories in this collection; eight record debts due, that is, 35%, as against 43.5% noticed by Holderness, and 61% noted by Evans in South Elmham³. No widow was particularly wealthy; however, the fifteen who did not lend money were noticeably wealthier than those who did. This is the precise reverse of Holderness's findings. In those cases where debts due are recorded, they contributed 39.6% of widows' wealth - a figure that is lower than that for farmers, and lower still

1. Community of South Elmham, p.278.
2. B.A.Holderness, 'Widows in pre-industrial society: an essay upon their economic function' in Richard M. Smith, ed., Land, Kinship and Life Cycle, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Times, 1, 1984, p.439.
3. Community of South Elmham, p.278. This figure includes single people and widows.

than the mean for all inventoried decedents. In Week St. Mary, 62½% of widows had debts due exceeding 30% of total wealth; this level was reached by 68% of Holderness's widows. However, in no case did debts due exceed 75% of total wealth. The mean amount of debts due was a mere £10-13-10. Widows' contributions to the Week St. Mary credit market were insignificant.

The figures given here are for one parish only, and are too small to establish conclusively that the credit market in North Cornwall differed significantly from the credit market in other parts of England. The evidence for Week St. Mary points to the need for further research in areas larger than a single parish, yet small enough to enable biographical details for each creditor to be established.

It is much easier to answer the question, 'who lent?', than to discover why they lent, and who borrowed. Reasons for lending are rarely given, and names of borrowers are infrequently mentioned. Nevertheless, a limited amount of evidence is available.

There were many reasons for lending money. John Mill, William Blake's grandson (52W) was to receive 8% interest on his legacy of £3. Owen Jones (16W)

expected a return of 10% on the £20 he left in trust for his sister Lucy. These interest rates were high: Jordan has calculated that the average yield on charitable trust investments in two counties was just over 5%¹. William Honnywell, of Rydon, Devon, charged 5% on his loans². In 1691-2, the House of Commons passed a bill to reduce statutory interest rates from 6% to 4%³. Ralph Josselin's failure to either pay or charge interest may perhaps have been due to puritan opposition to usury⁴. Relationships of debt and credit helped bind the local community together; in some instances, loans may have been made on a reciprocal basis⁵. It was not normal to retain large amounts of cash in hand when it could be lent at interest. The risk involved in keeping money at

1. W.K.Jordan, Philanthropy in England: a study of the changing pattern of English social aspirations, 1959, pp.37-9.
2. F.J.Snell, 'A Devonshire yeoman's diary', in G.L.Apperson, ed., Gleanings after Time: chapters in social and domestic history, 1907, pp.166-7.
3. Joan Thirsk and J.P.Cooper, eds., Seventeenth Century Economic Documents, 1972, pp.696-8.
4. Alan MacFarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a seventeenth-century clergyman: an essay in historical anthropology, 1970, p.55. See, however, the criticisms of this interpretation in Richard T. Vann's review of this book; Journal of Social History, 5, 1971/2 pp.373-4. On the puritan support for interest-free loans, see William Hunt, The Puritan Moment: the coming of revolution in an English county, 1983, p.138.
5. Poverty and Piety, pp.100-101.

home may also have been a factor in encouraging lending,¹ especially in view of the fact that, according to Carew, men had "a larger store of coin than our ancestors enjoyed."² Few Week St. Mary decedents had more than £2 or £3 in cash: many had substantially less than this, and in some inventories - including some recording debts due - cash in hand is not mentioned. This fact, incidentally, is the only direct evidence suggesting the presence of a barter economy. Only three decedents had really substantial sums of money in hand: George Rolle, esquire (6 I) had £25, Henry Prust, gent., (142 I) had £50, and Mary Lamerton (143I) had £20. It may be conjectured that death caught all three at a point where they had just secured repayments on bonds, and were about to put their money to use again.³

The only reason for lending explicitly mentioned in the probate records is where testators established trusts for their heirs. Owen Jones, gent., (16W) left £20 to his sister Lucy, which was to be "putt to use" to yield an income of £2 per annum. This is one of the few direct indications

1. Andrew B. Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, 1978, p.48; Kirtlington, p.257.
2. Cited by W.G. Hoskins, Old Devon, 1966, p.25
3. This suggestion is made by G.H. Kenyon, 'Petworth town and trades, 1610-1760, Pt.1', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 96, 1958, p.79.

we have of the rate of interest likely to be charged on bonds - in this case, 10%. Thomas Blake, husbandman (116W), left his son Thomas £13.6.8. which was to be "put for him upon interest immediately after my decease and to be payde him when he shall come of age with the profits". Walter Jordan, yeoman (115W) gave three of his children £10 "to be put out to use for them". Reference is sometimes made to such legacies in the probate records of trustees or others who assumed the rights of executors. Walter Hore (4W) left his step-daughter Elizabeth £14 "in full satisfaccon and recompence of all such legacies and guiftes as was given her by her father John Sutcotts last will and testament". William Colwill's administration paid Joan Colwill £20, "beinge her grandfathers bequeath" (1C). Interest rates were governed by statute, and declined from 10% to 8% in 1625, and to 6% in 1651, following a decline in the market rate.¹

Other reasons for lending may be inferred. It is likely that some of the fifteen creditors who had over 75% of their wealth on loan had retired and were living on the income from their capital. Others may simply have had surplus capital which could best be used in this way, in the absence of safer means of banking money. In the Forest of Arden, cash is recorded in only one in eight inventories between 1530 and 1569, but in eight out of

1. C.G.A. Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700. Vol.1: people, land and towns, 1984, p.124.

ten between 1650 and 1689.¹ In Week St. Mary some twenty inventories prior to 1650 lack any mention of cash; after 1668, money was listed in all inventories.

The evidence concerning borrowers is minimal; all that can be said is that the greatest and the lowliest could be found amongst their ranks.² The inventory of Owen Jones, gent (161) lists the names of a number of leading families - including the Leighs of Leigh, and the Beafords of Swannacott - among his creditors. John Taylor, a relatively poor husbandman, recorded debts totalling £8. 6.0 in his will; his inventoried wealth was a mere £9.17. 4. Even the greatest could borrow small sums: Mr. William Leigh, gent., of Leigh, whose position in the parish was second only to that of the Rolles, owed a mere £1 to Degory Beaford when the latter died in 1638 (60).

Reasons for borrowing money are not mentioned, and can only rarely be inferred. John Drew, a rugmaker, owed money to a number of volmongers, presumably for hides used in his trade (133C); John Matthew's "shop booke" (1261) probably also recorded trade debts. But Matthews also had bonds valued at £80. It may be doubted that these were trade debts, unless the trade in question were that

1. Victor Skipp, Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674, 1978, p.70.
2. At Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, Griffiths was able to identify a certain amount of intra-familial borrowing, cf. Kirtlington: p.255.

of banker. The presumption may be made that most bonds were entered into for direct money lending purposes, rather than as a credit device for purchasers. This was also the case in Kirtlington, Oxfordshire.¹ It is possible that the 'great re-building' was linked in some way to the availability of loans.² Other possible reasons for borrowing are legion; Griffith, however, argues for the probability that "most loans went to keep farmers going with their farming activities rather than into furnishings and other household items".³

Thomas Tusser would have approved. He advised the husbandman

"To make thy bandes advisedly,
& com not bound through suerty.
To meddle not with usurie,
nor lend thy monie follishlie".⁴

Tusser acknowledged the need for a credit market, and for the husbandman to both lend and borrow, but he advised caution in both activities:-

1. Ibid, p.256.
2. Ibid, p.257, citing R. Machin, 'The mechanism of the pre-industrial building cycle', Vernacular Architecture, 8, 1977, p.818.
3. Ibid, p.258.
4. Thomas Tusser, Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry, 1984, pp.13-14. (Originally published 1557).

"As lending to neighbour, in time of his neede
winnes love of thy neighbour and credit doth breede,
So never to crave, but to live of thine owne,
brings comforts a thousand, to many unknowne.

Who living but lends? and be lent to they must
else buieng and selling might lie in the dust;
But shameless and craftie, that desperate are,
make many ful honest the woorser to fare.

At some time to borow, account it no shame
if justly thou keepest thy touch for the same:
Who quick be to borow, and slow be to paie,
their credit is naught, go they never so gaie."¹

1. Ibid, p.19.

Chapter 8: Agriculture

Week St. Mary in the seventeenth century was predominantly an agricultural community. More than 75% of probate inventories record either livestock or arable crops, and it is probable that the majority of those decedents whose inventories have no such entries were nevertheless dependent on agriculture: they included two gentlemen (58 and 137), four yeomen (2, 72, 111, 123), four husbandmen (26, 32, 81, 145), two labourers (34, 44), and probably two servants in husbandry (77, 87).¹

In analysing the agricultural produce listed in individual inventories, it is necessary to take into account the season of the year at which the inventory was drawn up. A yeoman who died immediately after the harvest would have much more grain in store than one who died in the spring. However, it is not necessary to take seasonality into account in analysing a group of inventories. If all the inventories for October were analysed, the inventories would show a much higher percentage of investment in arable than is shown by analyzing inventories for the whole year. However, corn is harvested once - or perhaps twice - a year; livestock products are yielded at various times during the year, and in some cases throughout the year. In order to compare

1. See Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.16-17 and 21, for similar figures for the rest of the county.

the value of livestock products with the value of arable, it is necessary to measure the same proportion of both categories. Such measurement may be achieved by averaging values across all seasons. Consequently, all inventories have been included in the various calculations which follow.

North Cornwall was a pastoral area;¹ arable farmers were likely to find their "travail painful, the time tedious, and the expenses very chargeable", according to Carew.² The soil, the landscape, and the climate militated against the growing of crops.³ Livestock account for some 80% of the total value of agricultural commodities recorded in inventories, and are described in much greater detail than arable produce.⁴ They were slightly more important than in the rest of the Hundred of Stratton⁵, as table 8:1 shows.

These figures may be compared to those from a number of other pastoral areas, which are presented in table 8:2.

1. N.J.G. Pounds, 'The Lanhydrock atlas,' Antiquity, 73, 1945, p.25.
2. Carew, p.101.
3. On the relationship of agriculture to natural conditions on the culm measures of North Devon and North Cornwall, see W.M. Williams, A West Country Village: Ashworthy: family, kinship and land, 1963, pp.12-14.
4. Philip Riden, History of Chesterfield, vol.2, part 1: Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield, 1984, p.171.
5. Stratton figures from Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.24-5. Whetter excluded poultry from his calculations, and they are therefore excluded in this table for comparative purposes.

Table 8:1:

Agricultural Investment from the Probate Inventories:
Arable and Livestock as proportions of
Total Agricultural Investment.

	Arable	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Horses
1600-19					
Week St. Mary	17%	62%	5%	4%	12%
Stratton	23%	58%	6%	3%	10%
1680-99					
Week St. Mary	19%	57%	8%	3%	13%
Stratton	29%	50%	7%	4%	11%

Table 8:2

Investment in Livestock as a Percentage of Total Agricultural
Investment in Pastoral Areas, from the Probate Inventories.

Week St. Mary, 1600-1619	83%
Vale of Glamorgan ¹	c.70%
Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, 1600-1650 ²	60.2%
Myddle, Shropshire, 1550-1700 ³	87%
Craven, Yorkshire ⁴	81%
Chesterfield, Derbyshire ⁵	c.66%
Forest of Arden, 1610-1649 ⁶	68.8%

1. Matthew Griffiths, Penmark and Porthkerry Families and Farms in the Seventeenth-Century Vale of Glamorgan, Park Place Papers, 2, 1979, p.33.
2. Kirtlington, p.229.
3. English Rural Community, p.61
4. W. Harwood Long, 'Regional farming in seventeenth-century Yorkshire', Agricultural History Review, 8, 1960, p.111.
5. Philip Riden, History of Chesterfield, vol.2, part 1: Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield, 1984, p.172.
6. V.H.T. Skipp, 'Economic and social change in the Forest of Arden', in Joan Thirsk, ed., Land, Church and People: essays presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg, Supplement to Agricultural History Review, 18, 1970, pp.91-4.

Week St. Mary had a very high percentage of agricultural investment in livestock; this situation varied little in the course of the century. In this, it most closely resembled other upland areas such as Craven in Yorkshire and the adjacent counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, where grain was in very short supply.¹ Geographical conditions prohibited extensive arable farming in these districts, as in Week St. Mary. This contrasted with the situation in pastoral areas of the lowlands, such as Myddle, which previously had a much closer balance between arable and livestock farming.²

Table 8:1 indicates that arable investment as a proportion of total agricultural investment increased slightly in Week St. Mary, and rather more in the Hundred of Stratton, during the seventeenth-century. This shift towards arable farming strengthened during the eighteenth century, and reflected a change experienced by many woodland districts throughout the country.³

1. For Cumberland and Westmorland, see Andrew B. Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, 1978, pp.39-41.
2. English Rural Community, p.57. In Yorkshire's Swaledale and Wensleydale, only a small fraction of land was under the plough at the beginning of the century, and even this contracted greatly in the course of the century; c.f. R.T. Fieldhouse, 'Agriculture in Wensleydale from 1600 to the present day', Northern History, 16, 1980, pp.178-9; R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale, 1978, p.149.
3. J.A. Yelling, 'Livestock numbers and agricultural development 1540-1750: a study of East Worcestershire,' in T.R. Slater and P.J. Jarvis, eds., Field and Forest: an historical geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, 1982, p.290.

Whilst the figures in table 8:2 reflect the overall balance in the areas concerned, they hide the fact that there were sometimes substantial variations in practice between individual farms in the same area. At Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, Griffiths found that, although livestock predominated, nevertheless 26.2% of farmers were primarily interested in their arable crop.¹ Such variations were of small importance in Week St. Mary: of 103 inventories recording agricultural investments, only 8 record arable crops whose value exceeds the value of livestock. The mixed pattern of farming at Kirtlington, where livestock and arable farming were inter-dependent, contrasts markedly with the farming practised in genuine pastoral communities such as Myddle in Shropshire, where only 6 of 42 inventories between 1550 and 1700 record less than 70% of agricultural investment in livestock,² or Week St. Mary itself.

Week St. Mary's seventeenth-century livestock included cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, poultry, and bees, but cattle constituted some 77% of the total value of livestock and appear in 85 inventories. The number of cattle kept per

1. Kirtlington, p.231.

2. English Rural Community, p.61.

Table 8:3: Cattle per Farm from the Probate Inventories

	<u>Total Nos.</u>	<u>Week St. Mary</u>			<u>Yetminster</u> ¹	<u>East Worcs.</u> ²	<u>North Telford</u> ³
		<u>No. of Inventories</u>	<u>Mean no. per farm</u>				
				1590-99	8.8	-	-
1600-19	103	12	8.58	1600-9	-	8.17	-
				1610-19	-	8.44	-
1620-39	217	21	10.33	1620-29	-	9.84	-
				1630-39	-	8.78	-
1640-59 ⁴	87	13	6.69	1640-49	-	9.29	-
				1650-59	-	-	-
1660-79	176	21	8.38	1660-69	10.5	8.05	8.6
				1670-79	10.8	8.16	9.09
1680-99	165	18	9.16	1680-89	11.6	8.84	11.43
				1690-99	13.8	8.65	12.38

1. R. Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.15.
2. J.A. Yelling, 'Livestock numbers and agricultural development, 1540-1750: a study of East Worcestershire', in T.R. Slater and P.J. Jarvis, eds., Field and Forest: an historical geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, 1982, p.286. Yelling's 'cattle' and 'oxen' have been added together.
3. Yeomen and Colliers, p.73.
4. There are few inventories for the 1650s.

farm varied little in the course of the century; comparative figures are presented in table 8:3. Starting from a relatively low level at the beginning of the century, there was a rather faster growth in the 1620s and 1630s than occurred in East Worcestershire, followed by a much steeper decline at mid-century, and steady, if comparatively slow growth thereafter. The figures in table 8:3 hide the fact that cattle were of much greater importance to Week St. Mary farmers than they were elsewhere. Much larger herds could be found in other regions; for example, in the marshland area of Kent, 1680 to 1700, the average herd size was twenty-two; the median dairy farm in Burslem, Staffordshire, had eighteen cattle; herds of eighty to one hundred were not uncommon in the Cheshire cheese country.¹ The poverty of Week St. Mary was exemplified in the size of its herds of cattle.

A considerable variety of cattle are mentioned: kine, cows, heifers, calves, steers, yearlings, oxen, bullocks, bulls, etc.² Their prime purposes were to provide beef, milk, and labour, probably in that order of importance. One hundred and fifty seven kine, and fifty cows are listed;

1. C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth-Century Kent: a social and economic history, 1965, p.96., Lorna Weatherill, The Pottery Trade and North Staffordshire, 1660-1760, 1971, p.133.
2. For discussion of this variety, see Yeomen and Colliers pp.75-6.

these are sometimes referred to as "milch kine", and were kept chiefly for the rearing of young stock¹ - dairy equipment figures little in the inventories. Butter and cheese only appear occasionally; few cheese-wrings, used for pressing cheeses, are mentioned. Some cheese may have been sold, especially by the larger farmers, but most dairy products were for home consumption.

Beef production was of considerable importance: fifty steers, raised for beef, are recorded in the probate inventories. According to Carew, "Devon and Somersetshire graziers feed yearly great droves of cattle in the north corner of Cornwall".² There was a considerable trade in beef cattle; the prosperity of the many markets and fairs in East Cornwall, including the one at Week St. Mary, was based upon it. It is not, unfortunately, possible to quantify this trade.³ Many Week St. Mary inventories record 'victuals', which must on occasion include beef; beef is explicitly mentioned in nine inventories, although all nine references occur before 1650. The inventories do not lend themselves to the construction of price statistics for beef cattle; however, it is

1. This was the situation in 1794; cf. Robert Fraser, General View of the County of Cornwall, with observations on the means of its improvement, 1794, p.45.
2. The Survey of Cornwall, p.107.
3. Norman J.G. Pounds, 'Food production and distribution in pre-industrial Cornwall', in Walter Minchinton, ed., Population and Marketing: two studies in the history of the South-West, Exeter Papers in Economic History, 11, 1976, pp.116-7. See also Giles V. Harrison, 'The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall' in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.5: 1640-1750. Part 1: regional farming systems, 1984, pp.375-6.

reasonable to assume that changes in their value were related to the value of kine. Changes in the value of kine have been calculated in table 8:4. The sample is too small to draw definite conclusions; however, the trend was upwards, and it may be that the absence of beef from inventories after 1650 was related to its increasing price.¹ The proportion of beef cattle to cows in Cornwall was increasing, presumably in response to this price rise.²

Table 8:4: Mean Price of Kine from the Probate Inventories

		<u>No. in sample</u>
1600-1609	£1.10.09	13
1610-1619	£2.00.00	4
1620-1629	£1.18.00	10
1630-1639	£2.08.00	29
1640-1649	£2.11.05	7
1650-1659	-	Nil
1660-1669	£3.00.00	5
1670-1679	£2.14.08	10
1680-1689	£2.00.00	3
1690-1699	£2.16.08	3

The third major use of cattle was for labour. The ox was used as a draft animal throughout the century; however, it was less important in Week St. Mary than in other parts of Eastern Cornwall. Oxen constituted 8% of cattle in the first twenty years of the century, compared

1. Prices rose exceptionally steeply at mid-century; cf. J.C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, The Englishmans Food: a history of five centuries of English diet, Rev. ed., 1957, p.100.
2. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.31.

to 14% for East Cornwall. In the last twenty years of the century, the figures are 9% and 14% respectively.¹ Oxen were of particular value in ploughing,² and the small amount of arable in Week St. Mary is reflected in the relatively small number of oxen.

Whetter has argued that, in Cornwall, horses were replacing oxen as beasts of burden in the seventeenth-century.³ In East Worcestershire, this change had been largely accomplished by mid-century.⁴ In South Elmham, Suffolk, oxen had almost disappeared at the beginning of the century⁵; in South Staffordshire, the proportion of inventories listing oxen fell from 38.4% in 1560-1600 to only 3.4% in 1681-1720;⁶ at Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, horses displaced oxen on the larger farms only after 1650;⁷ at Telford, their numbers were falling in 1700.⁸ By way of contrast, oxen in Llanblethian, Glamorganshire, were the main draught animals until well into the eighteenth century.⁹ The type of soil was probably a major determinant of the choice of plough-beast: in Dorset, oxen were usual on the heavy clays,

1. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.30.
2. R. Trow-Smith, A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700, 1957, p.176.
3. Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.31 and 35-6.
4. J.A. Yelling, 'Livestock numbers and agricultural development, 1540-1750: a study of East Worcestershire', in T.R. Slater and P.J. Jarvis, eds., Field and Forest: an historical geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, 1982, p.289.
5. Community of South Elmham, p.84.
6. Pauline Frost, 'Yeomen and metalsmiths; livestock in the dual economy in South Staffordshire, 1560-1720, Agricultural History Review, 29, 1981, p.40.
7. Kirtlington, p.196.
8. Yeomen and Colliers, pp.88-9.
9. Philip Riden, Farming in Llanblethian, 1660-1750, Park Place Papers, 9, 1980, p.54.

but few could be found on the chalk, where lighter soils were cultivated by horses.¹ Some farmers preferred oxen because their carcasses could always be profitably sold; on the other hand, part-time farmers in the Lichfield and Sedgeley districts of Staffordshire preferred the more versatile horse, which could be used for a variety of tasks besides ploughing and haulage.² Much would depend upon the availability of fodder: oats for horses, lush grass for oxen. For centuries, the relative merits of oxen and horses were debated;³ North Cornishmen compromised by keeping both until well into the nineteenth century.⁴ Whilst the percentage of oxen remained almost constant in Week St. Mary, the amount invested in horses increased considerably, from £26-13-4 in the first twenty years of the century, to £99-12-6 in the last twenty years. The latter figure includes one particularly large stud, valued at £35 (1461). The increase is partially attributable to the increasing value of horses: at Barnstaple market, the average price of a horse in 1628 was £2-0-0½; in 1651, the figure was £3-16-0.⁵ At Kirdford, Sussex,

1. J.H. Bettey and D.S. Wilde, 'The probate inventories of Dorset farmers, 1573-1670', Local Historian, 12, 1977, p.229.
2. Ann J. Kettle, 'Agriculture 1500-1793', in M.W. Green-slade and D.A. Johnson, eds., A History of the County of Stafford, vol.6, 1979, p.63.
3. For the medieval debate, see John Langdon, 'The economics of horses and oxen in medieval England', Agricultural History Review, 30, 1982, pp.31-40. See also Joan Thirsk, ed., Agrarian History of England and Wales vol.4:1510-1640, 1967, pp.164-5.
4. A.K. Hamilton-Jenkin, Cornwall and its People, 1945, pp.334-6, discusses the nature of their work, and states that they could still be seen in 1895.
5. J.R. Chanter and Thomas Wainwright, eds., Reprint of the Barnstaple records, vol.1, 1900, pp.55-6.

the average price of horses for most of the century was about £2-5-0 to £2-10-0, but there was a marked rise after 1676.¹ At Kibworth Harcourt, Leicestershire, the price of a mare rose from about £1-10-0 in 1600 to £3-10-0 in 1630.² In South West Hertfordshire, horses were the least owned livestock in the early seventeenth century; by its end, they were the beasts most frequently owned.³

In Week St. Mary, the average number of horses per decedent remained constant for most of the century at 1.66; however, between 1680 and 1699 this figure increased to 2.4, and would be higher but for the fact that we do not know the number of horses in the largest stud. The value of horses as a proportion of total agricultural investment did not, however, change significantly.

It may be conjectured that the greater proportion of pasture in Week St. Mary resulted in more breeding of

1. G.H. Kenyon, 'Kirdford inventories, 1611 to 1776, with Particular reference to the Weald clay farming', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 93, 1955, p.107. On the valuation of horses in probate inventories, and on their condition or functions, see Nancy and Jeff Cox, 'Valuations in probate inventories, part 2', Local Historian, 17(2), pp.86-91.
2. Cicely Howell, Land Family and Inheritance: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280-1700, 1983, p.112.
3. Grant Longman, A Corner of England's Garden: an agrarian history of South West Hertfordshire, vol.1, 1977, p.38.

horses than elsewhere in the region. John Leigh's inventory (146 I) mentions "Horses and colts"; although it does not itemize the animals, the reference to colts is suggestive. A total of 127 horses are itemized in the whole collection; 26 are colts. It would be useful to compare these figures with the proportions in other parts of North Cornwall.

Horses were used for a variety of purposes. In 1569, George Rolle had to supply "one light geldyng" as part of his contribution to the muster.¹ Nathaniel Trewin, the curate, doubtless used his mare to visit his parishioners.² The transport of goods was an important function: dung pots³ were used for carrying manure; sand sacks were loaded onto horses backs at Bude - Bude sand was an important fertiliser.⁴ Carew complained - probably with justification - that the latter employment "boweth down and weakeneth their backs", a comment which lends point to Bevill Grenville's admonition to his wife to see "that the horse may not be too much loaden"⁵. Carew noted that they were also used

1. H.L. Douch, ed., The Cornwall Muster Roll of 1569, 1984, p.122. The importance of war in promoting the breeding of horses is emphasized by Joan Thirsk, Horses in early modern England: for service, for pleasure, for power. 1978, passim.
2. 150.
3. 8I, 39I, and 65I.
4. 39I, 55I, and 101I. For Bude sand, see Samuel Colepresse, 'A Georgicall Account of Devonshire and Cornwall', ed. R.G.F. Stanes, Devonshire Association ... Transactions, 96, 1964, pp.273 and 279. See also Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.39-40, John Rowe, Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution, 1953, pp.218-23, and N.J.G. Pounds, 'Sanding ways to the sea,' Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries, 22, 1942, pp.289-91.
5. Mary Coate, Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interr-egnum 1642-1660, 2nd ed., 1963, p.86.

for harrowing, "which marreth their pace".¹ The mention of "labour Horses" in post-1660 inventories² may indicate that they were beginning to be used with oxen in ploughing and other heavy work.³ Colepresse, writing in 1667, noted that they could be harnessed with oxen to the plough.⁴ At the end of the eighteenth century, a plough-team consisted of two or four oxen, led by one or two horses, with a man or boy to drive them. The Cornish horse, however, was smaller, and presumably not as strong, as breeds from other counties.⁵

Horses are recorded in 64 inventories, that is 46% - a figure which is not far removed from the 48.11% recorded in North Telford, or the just over 50% of South Staffordshire horse-breeding areas.⁶ With the probable exception of John Leigh (146 I), no-one had more than six horses, and in most cases only one or two were owned. This was rather fewer than in open-field Wigston Magna, Leicestershire, in the sixteenth-century: most farmers there had three or four horses. Week St. Mary farmers used more oxen and did less ploughing than their Leicestershire counter-parts.

1. Survey of Cornwall, pp.106-7.
2. 101 I, 103 I, 153 I.
3. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.27. For a contrary view, see R. Trow-Smith, A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700, 1957, p.176.
4. Samuel Colepresse, 'A Georgicall account of Devonshire and Cornwall', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 96, 1964, p.284.
5. Robert Fraser, General View of the County of Cornwall, with observations on the means of its improvement, 1794, pp.35-6.
6. Yeomen and Colliers, p.82; Pauline Frost, 'Yeomen and metalsmiths: livestock in the dual economy in South Staffordshire', Agricultural History Review, 29, 1981, p.35.

The distribution of sheep is quite different. Carew's comment was that "while every dweller hath some ... none keep many".¹ They are recorded in only twenty-seven inventories - or just under twenty per cent - and increased from five per cent of the total value of agricultural commodities in the first twenty years of the century to eight per cent in the last twenty years. The size of the average flock in Cornwall increased substantially during the century: flocks of over twenty-five constituted thirty-seven per cent of the total in 1600-1620, and forty-nine per cent in 1680-1700.² A similar increase occurred at Yetminster, Dorset, where the mean number of sheep per flock rose from 10.8 in the 1590s to 24.9 in the 1690s.³

In Week St. Mary, the mean size of flocks in the seventeenth century was just under twenty. This figure, however, conceals the fact that only seven of the twenty-seven owners had more than twenty beasts, and that just three flock

1. Survey of Cornwall, pp.106-7.

2. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.33.

3. R. Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.17. By contrast, the proportion of inventories recording sheep in South Staffordshire fell from 74.4% in 1560-1600 to 31.3% in 1681-1720; the mean size of flocks fell from 27 to 14; cf. Pauline Frost, 'Yeomen and metalsmiths: livestock in the dual economy in South Staffordshire', Agricultural History Review, 29, 1981, pp.35 and 39. Peter J. Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England, 1971, p.2, argues that sheep ownership was being concentrated in fewer hands progressively throughout the period.

were worth more than all the others put together. These belonged to Andrew Blake (134 I), who had eighty-four head valued at £22-10-0, John Leigh (146 I), whose flock were valued at £16, and John Pengelly (157 I), the owner of one hundred and twenty-five beasts worth £27. All three of these flocks were recorded in the last three decades of the seventeenth-century.

Most flocks, however, conformed to Carew's rule that "none keep many". Thomas Beaford, (51) for instance, had but one ewe worth five shillings. More typical was the widow, Juliana French, (39 I) who had nine sheep when she died in 1625/6. This was certainly not 'many' when compared to the average yeoman's flock of fifty in the Lake District.¹ In open-field Leicestershire, almost eighty-four per cent of sheep flocks had more than twenty beasts, and fifty-nine per cent had more than forty, in 1603: the median figure was fifty-two.²

1. J.D. Marshall, 'The domestic economy of the Lakeland yeoman, 1660-1749', Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions, N.S., 73, 1973, p.192.
2. W.G. Hoskins, Essays in Leicestershire History, 1950, pp.174-5. Similarly, on the Kentish Weald, the average flock size was forty-eight in 1600-1620; this figure rose to fifty-eight in 1680-1700; cf. C.W.Chalklin, Seventeenth-Century Kent: a social and economic history, 1965, p.100. There were places whose experience was more akin to Week St. Mary. In the Forest of Pendle, Lancashire, sheep are only mentioned in a third of inventories; Vale of Glamorgan farmers generally had between ten and forty beasts; the mean number of sheep in North Telford varied between sixteen and twenty-three in the decades between 1660 and 1700; cf. Mary Brigg, 'The Forest of Pendle in the seventeenth century', Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Transactions, 113, 1961, p.86; Matthew Griffiths, Penmark and Porthkerry Families and Farms in the Seventeenth-Century Vale of Glamorgan, 'Park Place Papers', 2, 1979, p.34; Yeomen and Colliers, p.79.

Sheep were raised primarily for wool; the wool clip of the wether sheep was worth between one-third and one-quarter of its value on the hoof¹. Fleeces are rarely mentioned in inventories, presumably because they were sold immediately after shearing; however, William Cowling (1481) had seventeen fleeces worth 13/10, and William Milton (31 I) had two fleeces valued at 1/8. Wool occasionally appears in the inventories of those engaged in cloth-making. There is no evidence concerning demand for mutton: it never appears in inventories, whereas bacon, and, to a lesser extent, beef, are frequently mentioned. Perhaps its value was so low as not to be worth recording - a mere 2/- or 3/- each. Carew argued that Cornish sheep had formerly been reared solely for meat, but that the quality of Cornish wool had vastly improved in the sixteenth-century: "Cornish sheep come but little behind the eastern flocks for ... fineness of wool, often breeding, speedy fattening, and price of sale"². Archaeological and probate evidence

1. Peter J. Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England, 1971, p.3.
2. Survey of Cornwall, p.106.

from Portsmouth, Rhode Island, indicates that American colonists of the period ate little mutton, although they depended upon the sheep for clothing¹. Bettey and Wilde also note the absence of mutton from Dorset inventories, despite the large numbers of sheep kept². The production of meat had minimal importance for the small sheep breeder³.

1. Joanne Bowen, 'Probate inventories: an evaluation from the perspective of zooarchaeology, and agricultural history at Mott Farm', in Robert L. Schuyler, ed., Historical Archaeology: a guide to substantive and theoretical contributions. 1978, pp.154-5.
2. J.H.Bettey and D.S. Wilde, 'The probate inventories of Dorset farmers, 1573-1670', Local Historian, 12, 1977, p.231.
3. Bowden, op.cit., p.4.

Pigs played a minor role in the economy if we are to judge solely in terms of their recorded values, which showed a slight decrease from four per cent to three per cent of the total value of agricultural produce 1600-1619 compared to 1680-1699. However, the inventories record numerous flitches or sides of bacon, and it is clear that this was the major source of meat in the diet of seventeenth-century Cornishmen.¹ The pig "was cheap, easy to raise, fed on practically anything, [and] matured quickly";² it was "the husbandman's best scavenger, the housewife's most wholesome sink", and its meat kept better than all other flesh.³ Bacon was the poor man's meat in most regions of England; Everitt found that many labourers had "flitches of bacon hanging in their roof" even though they were rarely in a position to rear pigs themselves.⁴ In Frampton Cotterell, Gloucestershire, bacon was the "chief meat consumed by most of the local population"; in Devonshire inventories, pigs occur more frequently than any other animal.⁵ The proportion of inventories referring to them varies from

1. A.K. Hamilton-Jenkin, Cornwall and its People, 1945, pp.391-4 discusses pig husbandry and its importance.
2. Bowen, op.cit., p.157. In Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 60% were killed before they were a year old.
3. Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, p.192.
4. Alan Everitt, 'Farm labourers', in Thirsk, op.cit., pp.416 and 451. Numerous local studies make the same point; see, for example, Contrasting Communities, pp.65 and 131; Moelwyn I. Williams, 'A general view of Glamorgan houses and their interiors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', Glamorgan Historian, 10, 1974, p.173; Mary Brigg, 'The Forest of Pendle in the seventeenth century', Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Transactions, 113, 1961, p.86; Victor Skipp, Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674, 1978, p.51.
5. Goods and Chattels, p.34; Margaret Cash, ed., Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., vol.11, 1966, p.xx.

42.3% in South Staffordshire, 1680-1720, to two-thirds on the Warwickshire/Leicestershire border, 1580-1620.¹

In Week St. Mary, there were no large herds. The most substantial piggery, owned by Arthur Milton (30 I), was worth a mere £6. However, pigs are mentioned in 71 inventories - 51½% of the total. Most decedents had three or four animals, but even the poorest inhabitant might own one beast. For example, Edward Milton (18 I) had "one little young pigge" worth 1/4, together with a "fletche of bacon" valued at 5/-. The total value of his inventoried goods was £4-2-2. The contrast between his situation and that of the Beauvaisis 'manouvrier' was marked: the latter rarely tasted bacon, although he might keep three or four hens.²

1. Pauline Frost, 'Yeomen and metalsmiths: livestock in the dual economy in South Staffordshire, 1560-1720', Agricultural History Review, 29, 1981, p.35; Alan Roberts, The Farming Inhabitants of Appleby and Austrey: two Midland parishes, 1550-1700, University of Adelaide Ph.D., 1984, p.90. Percentages have also been calculated for Yetminster, Dorset, in the 1690s: 50%, and North Telford, 45.15%; cf. R. Machin, ed., Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.17; Yeomen and Colliers, p.81. In rural Massachusetts, 60% of inventories record the presence of hogs; cf. Carole Shammas, 'How self-sufficient was early America?', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 13(2), 1982, pp.261-2.
2. Pierre Goubert, 'The French Peasantry of the seventeenth century: a regional example', in T.Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660: essays from Past and Present, 1965, pp.147 and 157. The peasants of Brittany were more on a par with their English counter-parts; there, "the poorest peasant would have his cow and his farrowing sow"; cf. Pierre Goubert, The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century, 1986, p.15.

In Week St. Mary, poultry are recorded in 26 inventories. The numbers kept may have decreased in our period. They appear in 31 per cent of inventories in the first twenty years of the century, but in only 7 per cent in the last twenty years. It is possible, however, that their low values caused praisers to omit them from inventories: they were generally worth only a few shillings.¹ Joseph Pethick (114 I) had more "geese, hens and other poultry" than any other decedent; his were worth a mere £1. Despite their low value, poultry was rarely kept by the poorer members of the community: only four decedents whose estates were valued at under £20 had any (4 I, 7 I, 15 I, 18 I), and all four cases occur prior to 1620.²

1. The small numbers of poultry in Dorset inventories is discussed in J.H. Bettey and D.S. Wilde, 'The probate inventories of Dorset farmers, 1573-1670', Local Historian, 12, 1977, pp.233-4. In North Telford, the practice of listing poultry in inventories may have been in decline, cf. Yeomen and Colliers, p.83.
2. Everitt found that rather more than a third of the Cornish labouring population kept poultry; cf. Alan Everitt 'Farm labourers' in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, pp.416-7.

Bees should probably have been listed in inventories, but rarely were.¹ Robert Orchard (20I) had three "stockes of bees" worth seven shillings; Joan Blake (62W) mentions a "stocke of bees my best stocke" in her will, but there is no mention of them in her inventory. The value of a hive was only a few shillings², and it is possible that some were ignored by praisers. Hive ownership was widely distributed in the south-west³.

Dogs are not mentioned at all in inventories, although legally they should have been included⁴. It is probable that most farmers kept them: at Hartland, twenty miles to the north, dog whippers were regularly employed to keep them out of the church⁵.

1. Nancy and Jeff Cox, 'Probate inventories: the legal background, part 2', Local Historian, 16(4), 1984, pp.218-9.
2. Yeomen and Colliers, p.40.
3. Giles V. Harrison, 'The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall', in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.5: 1640-1750, part 1: regional farming systems, 1984, p.384. A large proportion of the population kept hives in Bedfordshire; cf. F.G. Emmison, ed., Jacobean Household Inventories, 'Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society', 20, 1938, p.38. For bee-keeping generally, see Yeomen and Colliers, pp.39-41.
4. Nancy and Jeff Cox, *op. cit.*, p.218. The presence of dogs in Kibworth Harcourt, Leicestershire, is known, although they are not mentioned in inventories; cf. Cicely Howell, Land Family and Inheritance in transition: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280-1700, 1983, p.103. See also Yeomen and Colliers, p.83.
5. Ivon L. Gregory, ed., Hartland Church Accounts, 1597-1706, 1950, *passim*.

Agricultural crops accounted for only a small, though growing proportion of the value of agricultural produce - 17% at the beginning of the century, 19% at its end. The mean value of inventoried crops changed little between 1600 and 1674: it moved from £7-7-4 between 1600 and 1624 to £7-6-8 between 1625 and 1649, and £6-16-3 between 1650 and 1674. However, the last quarter of the century saw a dramatic increase in the value of crops: the mean rose by some 63% to £11-1-8.

The crops grown were traditional: the new crops of the agricultural revolution did not reach Cornwall until the eighteenth century.¹ Many inventories refer simply to corn, and do not enumerate the different kinds of grain grown. However, wheat, oats, and barley are mentioned, in that order of importance. Acreages, rarely given,² were usually small. Even the wealthy John Saunders (46 I) had only eight acres of wheat, worth £12; he also had twelve acres of oats and barley. Hector Cory's one and a half acres of corn (154 I) worth £2 was probably more typical. There were six decedents whose corn was valued at over £20. Andrew Blake (134 I) had

1. Giles V. Harrison, 'The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall', in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.5: 1640-1750, part 1: Regional farming system, 1984, p.365.
2. This was also the case in Devon; cf. Margaret Cash, ed., Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 11, 1966, p.xxi.

twelve acres of wheat, two acres of barley and five and a half acres of oats, together worth £50.

Hay was of less importance; it is mentioned in twelve inventories, but is rarely valued at more than £1. It may be that praisers sometimes ignored it. Perhaps the longer growing season in the South-West meant that there was less need for hay than in Suffolk, where it was the most valuable crop grown, or than in Wensleydale, where almost all farming inventories mention a stack of hay.¹ It must be assumed that, as in Gower,² livestock were rarely stall-fed in winter. Whetter, however, has shown that the Cornish farmer was giving more attention to the provision of winter fodder by the end of the century than at its beginning.³

Peas and beans were also occasionally grown (8 I, 14 I 30 I, 59 I, and 155 I).⁴ There are no references to potatoes, although they had become an important part of the diet by the end of the century in other parts of

1. Community of South Elmham, p.78; R.T. Fieldhouse, 'Agriculture in Wensleydale from 1600 to the present day', Northern History, 16, 1980, p.181. The importance of hay in fifteenth-century East Devon has been emphasised by N.W. Alcock, 'An East Devon manor in the later middle ages, part II: Leasing the demesne, 1423-1525; 1525-1650', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 105, 1973, pp.152-5.
2. F.V. Emery, 'West Glamorgan farming, circa 1580-1620', National Library of Wales Journal, 10, 1956, p.30.
3. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.29.
4. They were not cultivated as widely as in Devon, cf. ibid, p.49.

Cornwall.¹ Apples were not normally included in inventories, but were nevertheless of considerable, if unquantifiable, importance.² Carew commended the inhabitants of Stratton hundred for their industry in this regard; they "reap a large benefit from their orchards and gardens".³ Polwhele, writing two centuries later, noted that "our riciest cyder is ... produced in the Hundred of Stratton".⁴ Harrison argues that orchards were expanding throughout the area in the second half of the century, and cites evidence from Poughill, just a few miles north of Week St. Mary.⁵ There is only one reference to apples in this collection of probate records; Mary Treweeks (159 W) left "the apells that doe grow upon the trees doone by the washing poole". She was a poor widow, with an inventoried wealth of only £4.18.00. In 1703, Joseph Pethick was considering planting apple trees at East Stile.⁶ In 1839, thirty acres of orchard was recorded,

1. Ibid, pp.49-50.

2. Nancy and Jeff Cox, 'Probate inventories: the legal background, part 2' Local Historian, 16(3), 1984, p.219. Legally, fruit on the trees owed nothing to the hand of man, and were therefore excluded from inventories. In practice, this exclusion was extended to fruit in store. Another reason for exclusion would be that the value of fruit in store at any one time was low. Apples were included in the inventories of South-West Hertfordshire, c.f. Grant Longman, A Corner of England's Garden: an agrarian history of South West Hertfordshire, vol.1, 1977, p.12.

3. Survey of Cornwall, p.187. Garden tillage featured more in those Stratton inventories examined by Whetter than anywhere else, cf. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.50.

4. Richard Polwhele, The History of Cornwall, 1806, p.129.

5. Giles V. Harrison, 'The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall', in Joan Thirsk, ed., Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.5: 1640-1750. Part 1: Regional Farming System, 1984, pp.367 and 383.

6. D.R.O., 49/9/2/151.

in numerous small closes.¹ Although the inventories only mention one "siderwring"², there was "greate store of syder" made.³ The development of orchards was of recent date in 1630, according to Thomas Westcote, who also emphasised the importance of cider.⁴ Gervase Markham, writing in 1623, commented that "no ground a man occupieth (no, not the cornfield) yeildeth more gaine toe the purse, and housekeeping (not to speake of unspeakable pleasure) quantity for quantity than a good orchard."⁵

1. P.R.O., I.R. 18/542. It is unlikely there had been any great change in the previous century or so. There were thirty acres of orchard in the nearby parish of Bridgerule in 1757, from which some good, rough cider was produced; cf. Sir Roper Lethbridge, 'Apple culture and cider-making in Devonshire', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 32, 1900, p.173-4.
2. 142 I.
3. William J. Blake, 'Hooker's Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire'. Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 47, 1915, p.344.
4. Cited by Norman J.G. Pounds, 'Food production and distribution in pre-industrial Cornwall', in Walter Minchinton, ed., Population and Marketing: two studies in the history of the South-West, Exeter Papers in Economic History, 11, 1976, p.114.
5. Cited by Cicely Howell, Land Family and Inheritance in Transition: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280-1700, 1983, p.166.

Allusion has already been made to the importance of woodland in the landscape of Week St. Mary¹. Its economic importance is not directly revealed by the probate inventories: it was rarely harvested, and inventories of the major ^{woodland} lease-holders are not available. The probate records only provide the occasional glimpse of its importance; for instance, William Pethick (19 W) bequeathed timber he had purchased at Luffincott, across the Devon border, to his son Digory. This paucity of information on woodland in the probate records can, however, be made good by consulting the many surviving leases. These frequently include clauses protecting the management of woods and trees, which must be considered as an important crop.

The terms 'timber' and 'wood' have distinct technical meanings which must be understood in this context. Timber consists of saw logs suitable for use in heavy construction; it may provide, for example, planks for walling or beams for roofs. Wood is small material suitable for use as fuel, for fencing, and in construction of the wooden furniture, tools and utensils which occupy so much space in the inventories. Timber comes from timber trees, or 'standards', wood from coppice. Coppicing involves cutting trees down to stumps, which send up shoots and become stools from which an indefinite succession of poles can be cut at intervals of years. Alternatively, trees can be pollarded, that is, cut off at between six and fifteen feet from the ground,

1. See above, p. 14-15.

so that poles grow from the bollings. A variant of this is shredding; the leases indicate that this was the usual practice in Week St. Mary. Shredding involves cutting off the side-branches repeatedly, so that all that is left is a tuft at the top of the tree. Most wood included both coppice and standards; indeed, legislation of 1543 required a minimum of twelve standards per acre in all woodland.¹

Leases generally reserved the timber trees to the lord, since he had the long-term interest in them. Underwood however, usually predominated over timber production², and was usually granted to the tenant, who had the right to "pasture and reasonable weeding and undershridding".³ The mast, that is, acorns, was of particular value for fattening pigs. Oak bark was heavily used in the tanning of leather.⁴ The tenant was also usually permitted sufficient timber to effect necessary repairs to property on his leasehold.

A century after our period, Vancouver noted that oak

1. This paragraph summarises descriptions in Oliver Rackham, Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape, Archaeology in the Field Series, 1976, pp.22-29 and 72-3, and his Ancient Woodland: its history and uses in England, 1980, pp.1-8.
2. Rackham, Ancient Woodland, op.cit., pp.142 and 168-70. See also A.L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall: portrait of a society, New ed., 1969, p.47.
3. See for example, C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary, lease 7.7.1631, John Hamblin to John Harris, re Odwood.
4. Rackham, Ancient Woodland, op.cit., p.154. There is no direct evidence of its use in Week St. Mary. For the harvesting of oak bark in Cornwall, see W.G.V. Balchin, The Cornish Landscape, The Making of the English Landscape, 2nd. Rev. ed., 1983, p.43.

coppices were usually harvested every eighteen years.¹ After harvesting, they were allowed to grow again; pasturing of horses and cattle was sometimes restricted to allow regeneration to occur.² In a lease of 1686, the tenant of Swannacott was required to fence any part of Swannacott Wood that the lord cut, to prevent the pasturing of beasts.³

All the crops for which evidence is found amongst the probate records have now been discussed. There were, however, crops of importance in the domestic economy for which little evidence survives. The tithe map indicates that there were many gardens and orchards in the parish, but the probate records do not mention the crops grown in them. The reason is that they had minimal cash value. Harrison's "little plot" in Essex was "void of all cost in keeping", yet he had almost three hundred varieties of herbs in his garden.⁴ His was probably an exceptionally well-stocked garden; he mentioned it to show how much could be done. Nevertheless, it is probable that most country

1. Charles Vancouver, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon, 1808, pp.248-9. The passage cited deals with the area immediately adjacent to the North Cornish border. Rackham, Ancient Woodland, op.cit., p.140 states that coppice rotations in Eastern England lasted anywhere between four and twenty-eight years.
2. See, for example, C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary, lease 9.7.1631, George Hele to John Harris, re Odwood.
3. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease 29.9.1686, Lucy Bassett to Thomas Badcock, re Swannacott.
4. William Harrison, The Description of England, ed. Georges Edelen, 1968, pp.270-1.

dwellers were familiar with the many herbs and roots listed by Thomas Tusser as suitable for cultivation by the husbandman.¹ Thirsk has argued that a 'horticultural revolution' was in progress in the seventeenth century, and that a considerable expansion took place in the acreage devoted to growing fruit and vegetables.² In Week St. Mary, it is likely that most people had access to gardens and orchards, and that fruit and vegetables provided elements essential to their diet.³ Evidence drawn from the terriers of surrounding parishes supports this conclusion. Almost all the local glebes had gardens and/or orchards. There was a herb garden at Poundstock, and a kitchen garden at Stratton. At St. Gennys in 1680, the vicar had recently planted a few trees because he lacked an orchard. The glebe at Week St. Mary itself included an orchard.⁴

1. Thomas Tusser, Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry, 1984, pp.88-91.
2. Joan Thirsk, 'The horticultural revolution: a cautionary note on prices', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 14(2), 1983, pp.299-302. See also David C. Stuart, The Kitchen Garden: a historical guide to traditional crops, 1984, p.19, on the origins of this 'revolution' in the sixteenth-century. Stuart discusses a wide variety of traditional crops. Another account is given in J.C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, The Englishman's Food: a history of five centuries of English diet, Rev. ed., 1957, pp.29-31.
3. The lay-out of kitchen gardens on Devonshire farms is discussed by Charles H. Laycock, 'The old Devon farmhouse, part 1: its exterior aspect and general construction', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 52, 1920, pp.168-70.
4. Richard Potts, ed., A Calendar of Cornish Glebe Terriers, 1673-1735, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 19, 1974, passim.

The tithe agreement of 1738¹ refers to "apples herbs beens pease flax hemp hopps seeds and such like", and sets out the amount each occupant was to pay in tithe for orchards and gardens. No less than seventy-eight tenements were assessed for this purpose.

The diet also benefited from natural produce. The parishioners of Whitstone benefited greatly from their right to woodcock, which they trapped with nets.² Although they had no 'right', it is probable that their Week St. Mary neighbours benefited similarly. The right of free warren was granted to Ralph Blanchminster, Lord of the manor of Week St. Mary, in 1335,³ but it is unlikely that local people ignored the possibility of adding rabbit to their diet. Blackberries continue to grow wild at West Wood, and in many other hedges throughout the parish. It is probable that a variety of other wild-life, both animal and plant, provided useful additions to the diet.

1. R.I.C., Henderson mss: Week St. Mary. There is a contemporary copy of this document at the Department of Special Collections, Spencer Library, University of Kansas, and I am grateful to Ann Hyde, manuscripts librarian, for checking this against Henderson's transcript.
2. C.S. Gilbert, An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall, vol.2, 1820, p.535; Cyrus Redding, An Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall, 1842, p.20.
3. C.G.Crump and C.H.Jenkinson, eds., Calendar of the Charter Rolls ... vol.4:1-14 Edward III, A.D. 1327-1341, 1912, p.322.

Some comparisons of Week St. Mary's agriculture with that of other early modern communities have already been made, and the relative poverty of its farmers has been emphasized. Decedents in South Elmham, Suffolk, between 1550 and 1640 had almost twice as many cattle, twice the amount of crops, and two-thirds as many horses.¹ South Elmham was one of England's wealthiest farming areas; Week St. Mary was one of its poorest. Poor soils, bad communications, and remoteness from major markets all contributed to the backwardness of its farmers. There were however, other occupations which its inhabitants could follow, and it is these which must now be considered.

1. Community of South Elmham, p.315.

Chapter 9: Trades and Callings

Agriculture was the backbone of North Cornwall's early modern economy, and it is probable that most inhabitants invested occasionally in a pig, a cow, or a few poultry. Nevertheless, a variety of non-agricultural employment was open to local people, and no less than 47 of the 166 decedents whose probate records have survived can be shown to have been employed in them at one time or other.¹

Four 'learned professions' were followed: the church, teaching, medicine, and the law. The church provided employment for several people: the rector, sometimes a curate, the parish clerk, and a variety of minor functionaries. The rectors were not natives of the parish, although most of them came from within twenty miles or so. John Grenville, rector from 1558 to 1580,² and Chamond Grenville, curate from 1691

1. In East Cornwall, 46.3% of decedents whose estates were inventoried were engaged in farming in 1600-1620, and 43.5% in 1680-1700; cf. Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.16-17. In the first period, 81% of inventories reveal some interest in agriculture; this declined to 70% in 1680-1700; cf. ibid, p.21. In Appleby, Leicestershire, no less than 50% of those who left inventories 1550-1700 had subsidiary occupations in addition to their crops and livestock; cf. Alan Roberts, The Farming Inhabitants of Appleby and Austrey: two midland parishes, 1550-1700, University of Adelaide Ph.D., 1984, p.79.
2. D.R.O., Register Turberville, 18, f.41; Chanter, 41, f.133. See also Alfred B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, 1501 to 1540, 1974, pp.243-4, and A.L. Rowse, Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge, 1937, p.28.

to 1711,¹ were both scions of one of Cornwall's most famous families. John Molesworth, rector from 1509 to 1558,² also came from a prominent county family. By contrast, Nathaniel Trewin (150), curate c.1683-90, was of minor gentry stock from neighbouring Poundstock. He was not alone. At least two Week St. Mary children were destined for the clerical profession. John and William, the sons of John Orchard, both matriculated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, on the same day in 1629. John became vicar of St. Kew, and held several prebendaries; William was perhaps vicar of St. Hilary.³

At least one rector came from a clerical family. Isaac Rouse, incumbent from 1644 to 1680, was the son of Oliver Rouse, rector of Kilkhampton.⁴ He married the daughter of one of his most substantial parishioners, Weymond Leigh.⁵ His son became vicar of North Petherwin, a daughter married the vicar of Stratton, and a grand-daughter married John Turner, rector from 1716.⁶ After 1509, most rectors had studied at Oxford.⁷

1. S.A. Raymond, 'The curates of Week St. Mary: a provisional list to 1850', Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries, 34(7), 1981, p.277.
2. D.R.O., Register Oldham, 13, f.35; Register Bradbridge, 20, f.54. See also Emden, op.cit., p.1289.
3. Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714 ..., 1891-2, p.1091.
4. Ibid, p.1283.
5. P.R., 15.10.1646.
6. I am indebted for this information to the late H.N.W. Toms.
7. In addition to the references to Emden and Foster already cited, see Foster, op.cit., p.847 (John Kerslake, rector, 1580-1624), and p.1509 (Joseph Trewinnard, rector, 1680-1716).

Rectors were dependant on agriculture for their livelihood: the glebe amounted to 54½ acres, and was one of the larger holdings in the parish.¹ One rector is known to have farmed other land as well: John Kerlake's wife Alice was the lessee of Castle Ditches, the field beside the church.² In addition to farming the Glebe themselves, or leasing it, rectors also received a substantial part of their income in tithe, and were thus dependent upon the agricultural activities of all their parishioners.³ They or their curates could also claim fees for churchings, marriages, and burials.⁴ At Hartland, Devon, they were regularly paid to make a transcript of the parish register for the Bishop.⁵ The living was said to be worth £100 per annum in 1586; however, it was said of the rector, John Kerlake, that "he keepeth his house for debt, he paid so much for it to Sr Richard Greinvile".⁶

1. Richard Potts, ed., A Calendar of Cornish glebe terriers, 1673-1735, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 19, 1974, p.172. The Glebe is Parsonage Green on the map.
2. P.R.O., C2/Jas.I/K1/16. See also P.R.O., C7/544/57.
3. The tithe agreement of 1738 was transcribed by Charles Henderson, cf. R.I.C., Henderson mss; Week St. Mary. There is a contemporary copy in the Special Collections Department, Spencer Library, University of Kansas. It sets out in detail what tithe was to be paid. In 1670, proceedings were commenced against three leading parishioners, John Leigh, John Cawsey, and Henry Prust, "for tythes some yeeres since honestly due; cf., D.R.O., P.R. Basket A/1554.
4. Potts, op.cit., pp.xx-xxi; See also R.I.C., Henderson mss. Week St. Mary. Tithe agreement 1738.
5. Ivon L. Gregory, ed. Hartland Church Accounts, 1597-1706, 1950, passim.
6. Albert Peel, ed., The Seconde Part of a Register, 1915, p.107.

During the Civil War and Interregnum, the clergy were in a vulnerable position. The incumbents of no less than five of the parishes bordering on Week St. Mary were sequestered.¹ The rector of Week St. Mary, Isaac Rouse, was in an especially exposed position: the arch-royalist Grenville family were patrons of the living, and his father, Oliver Rouse, rector of the Grenville's home parish of Kilkhampton, did suffer sequestration.² Isaac Rouse, however, succeeded in remaining rector of Week St. Mary from his institution in 1644 until after the Restoration.³

In addition to the clergy, the church also provided a small income to a number of minor officers and workmen. The most important of these was the parish clerk, who in 1727 was appointed by the rector, and paid 40/- per annum.⁴

1. Mary Coate, Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660, 1963, pp.332-3 and 350; A.G. Matthews, Walker Revised, being a revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60. 1948, pp.97-101. The clergy evicted included Edmond Hanking, curate of North Tamerton, William Hutton, rector of Jacobstow, William Warmington, vicar of Launcells, John Turner, vicar of Treneglos with Warbstow, and Richard Turner, rector of Marhamchurch. One wonders whether John Turner, rector of Week St. Mary from 1716, who had Jacobite sympathies, and regularly celebrated Oak Apple Day, was a relative of one of the Turners who was sequestered. Cf. D.R.O., Replies to bishop's queries, 1744 and 1765. See also H.N.W. Toms, 'A clerical indiscretion', Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries, 32(2), 1971, p.55.
2. Matthews, op.cit., p.100.
3. He took the oath of conformity 14 August 1662; cf. D.R.O. Chanter 151: Oaths of conformity.
4. Potts, op.cit., p.173. The same remuneration was paid at Hartland throughout the seventeenth-century; cf. Ivon L. Gregory, ed., Hartland Church Accounts, 1597-1706, 1950, passim.

His task was primarily to attend all services, in order to act as verger, to make announcements, and perhaps to lead the singing. He might also have various other minor duties.¹ John Wheare died in office in 1623, as did George Burdon in 1638/9.² Both were members of substantial Week St. Mary yeoman families. Week St. Mary also had its sexton,³ probably its dog-whipper, its ringers and bell-keeper, and perhaps its organist and organ blower, all of whom earned a few shillings per annum. Casual employment for masons, glaziers, carpenters, cleaners, labourers, and carriers might also be available from time to time around the church and church-yard, and in carrying goods and messages to and from other places.⁴

The church was closely concerned in the development of two other professions: teaching and medicine. The history of the sixteenth-century grammar school has been discussed

1. J.F. Chanter, 'The parish clerks of Barnstaple, 1500-1900, with a survey of the origin and development of the order of parish clerks and their status at different periods', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 36, 1904, pp.390-414; Eleanor Trotter, Seventeenth Century Life in the Country Parish, with special reference to local government, 1968, pp.6-7; Potts, *op.cit.*, p.xxv.
2. P.R.
3. Potts, *op.cit.*, p.173. He had no wages, but only "the privilege of gathering the parish", that is, of taking a collection.
4. Trotter, *op.cit.*, pp.6-8. Innumerable payments for these various tasks in Hartland, Devon, are listed in Gregory, *op.cit.*, *passim*. On the office of sexton, see Potts, *op.cit.*, pp.xxvi-xxvii.

by a number of writers.¹ Its statutes required its master to be a priest who was also a graduate - although whether he always was one is open to question. The last occupant of the position, William Colwill - presumably a member of the local family of that name - was described in 1548 as "a man well learned", and a "great setter forth of God's word".² Carew praised him as "an honest and religious teacher".³ But there is no certain evidence that he had a university background. The master's primary duties were to say a daily mass, and to provide a free education in grammar in the purpose-built school. His emoluments were provided by rents from the manor of Simpson and other local property, and were worth some £12 per annum. The school also provided employment for an usher, a manciple, and a laundress, with wages of £1-6-8, £4, and 13/4 respectively.⁴ The usher did some teaching; the manciple and laundress looked after the needs of the boarders. They all presumably took fees and gratuities from the boys for their services in addition to their wages.

1. The most detailed account of the school is given by P.L. Hull, 'The endowment and foundation of a grammar school at Week St. Mary by Dame Thomasine Percival', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S., 7(1), 1973, pp.21-54, who cites a number of earlier writers. Hull's work forms the basis of the account given in Nicholas Orme, Education in the West of England, 1066-1548: Cornwall, Devon Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire, 1976, pp.173-82.
2. Orme, op.cit., p.179.
3. Carew, p.189.
4. Orme, op.cit., p.181.

In 1548, the grammar school was removed to Launceston.¹ There is no evidence of a school in the parish for the rest of our period, although it is clear from the probate records that there was concern for education in the parish.²

There is no direct evidence concerning the practice of medicine in Week St. Mary prior to 1700. No doubt inhabitants could call upon the services of the popular magicians who were ubiquitous in early modern England.³ Whether they had access to less dubious medical practitioners is dubious. The earliest evidence in existence is Mr. William Colwill's 1702 application for a licence to practise the "art of phisick and chirurgery".⁴

The only other 'profession' followed by inhabitants of early modern Week St. Mary was the law. John Beaford, lord of the manor of Swannacott, practised as an attorney early in the century, although he had not been admitted by any court. The records of Star Chamber and the Court of Chancery reveal him riding to London to prosecute suits, drawing up leases, and negotiating loans and mortgages.⁵ Henry Cory, gent., of Marhamchurch, was one of his clients; he

1. Ibid, pp.181-2.

2. See below, chapter 11.

3. Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, 1971, pp.209-10.

4. D.R.O., Surgeons' licences.

5. P.R.O., STAC8/93/16., STAC8/101/7; C2/Jas I/C27/13.

was in dispute with his family over his inheritance, but subsequently claimed that Beaford had "stirred up ye said unnaturall suite" for his own profit, and that he had committed various malpractices. Beaford was a retainer of the Chamond family of Launcells; when Degory Chamond, esq., was sheriff of the county, he apparently employed Beaford on various legal matters.¹ John Chamond, his brother and heir, did the same.² Members of both the Orchard and Clifton families also practised as attorneys. James Orchard, "lawyer", is mentioned several times in the parish register between 1612 and his death in 1624/5. William Orchard, presumably a relative, described himself as a public notary in 1662.³ Thomas Clifton resided at Lyons Inn, one of the Inns of Chancery, in 1612;⁴ his nephew, Cornelius Clifton, wrote fourteen of the probate documents in the present collection.⁵ Another nephew, John Clifton was clerk to John Evelyn, one of the Six Clerks in Chancery.⁶

1. P.R.O., C2/Jas I/C27/13
2. P.R.O., STAC8/301/7. I am indebted for this reference to the late H.N.W. Toms.
3. See 11 W.
4. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary. Lease, 20.8.1612, John Beaford the elder and John Beaford the younger to Thomas Clifton, gent, re Hill Park, etc. Lyons Inn attracted many attornies from South-West England; cf. C.W. Brooks, Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: the 'lower branch' of the legal profession in early modern England, 1986, p.168.
5. See below, p.271.
6. P.R.O., C2/Jas. I/C25/69.

At the end of the century, another Clifton was learning the profession.¹ It is likely that other members of their families acquired some smattering of the law, sufficient to allow them to write conveyances and wills, to keep churchwardens' and constables' accounts, to assist in the assessment of taxes, and to act in local courts.² Unfortunately, little is known about their activities; however, it is clear that the Clifton family suffered substantial loss as a result of the dissipation of one of its own members, and the craftiness of an Orchard.³ John Clifton, the owner of Ashbury, was "much addicted to drinking and of a weak capacity"; as a consequence, he contracted debts to his cousin Charles Orchard. Clifton's grandson, many years later, accused Orchard of fraudulently securing a feoffment of Ashbury.⁴ He used his power as a creditor to demand the feoffment as a security for debts. In the process of doing so, he also entangled Clifton's son, who was then serving his clerkship as an attorney; by lending him money whilst he was still "scarsely of age", he caused him to "be idle and careless and neglect the instructing of himself in his profession

1. C.R.O. BRA 833/456.

2. Payments for keeping accounts, for writing presentments, for expenses relating to subsidies, etc., occur frequently in Ivon L. Gregory, ed., Hartland Church Accounts 1597-1706, 1950, passim.

3. An account of this Chancery case is given in C.R.O., BRA 833/456.

4. Many small tenements that were formerly owned by the Cliftons are recorded in Hartland Abbey mss., Paul Orchard's Survey Book, 1712.

... and at length to go beyond sea where he dyed". The first extant Quarter Sessions minute book records a John Clifton who was liable to be reduced to dependence on the parish.¹ Drunkenness spelt the ruins of the Cliftons of Ashbury. They were not alone; a similar fate befell several prominent Myddle families.²

Men who had a rudimentary knowledge of the law, and who might be termed 'public notary', 'attorney', or even 'lawyer', could be found in many early modern parishes.³ In Havering, Essex, they were being employed as early as 1464⁴. Spufford has called attention to the will-writing activities of public notaries in Cambridgeshire, and Richardson has argued that members of the legal profession had largely captured the urban will-writing business in Lancashire by the end of the seventeenth century.⁵

The clerkship that a young Clifton entered into at the end of the seventeenth century was an elite version of the

1. C.R.O. Quarter Sessions Minute Book, 1, 1737-46, f.4.
2. English Rural Community, pp.118 and 227-8.
3. C.W. Brooks, op.cit., pp.30-47. They were also common in France, cf. Pierre Goubert, The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century, 1986, pp.116-9.
4. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, Autonomy and Community: the royal manor of Havering, 1200-1500, 1986, p.247.
5. Contrasting Communities, p.333; R.C. Richardson, 'Wills and will-makers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: some Lancashire evidence', Local Population Studies, 9, 1972, pp.36-7. For payment of a scribe who witnessed 22 wills in South Elmham, Suffolk, see Community of South Elmham, pp.246-7.

service that most young people entered in their early teens, and left in their twenties.¹ Servants who were frugal with their money, or fortunate in their master, could expect to save sufficient to marry and establish their own household. Margaret Woolfe (77) inherited half of her father's small estate,² and was able to double her capital by the time she was twenty-six, presumably having saved her wages from service. Masters occasionally remembered servants in their wills. John Colwill (120) bequeathed 1/- each to five of his past and present apprentices. Walter Fenton was fortunate in his master, Andrew Rolle (41), who left him £13-6-8.

The servants of the Rolle family established ties amongst themselves as well as with their masters. When George Rolle died in 1602/3, he left legacies to three women servants, and to Thomas Kinsman. In 1608, Richard Palmer (14) described Andrew Rolle as "my master", and named him residuary legatee and executor. When Andrew Rolle died in 1628, his legatees included his servants Thomas Kinsman, who had been left 10/- in Palmer's will, and been named overseer, and Priscilla Chapman. Kinsman and Chapman

1. Ann Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England, 1981, p.78.
2. Cf. 37 W

married in 1629.¹ Service could be a means of establishing close friendships.²

Weymond Leigh (94) also left legacies to three servants: Jane Lamerton, Simon French, and William Leigh. Other families who are known to have had servants include the Trewins,³ the Colwills,⁴ the Axfords,⁵ and the Mills.⁶

Most substantial families probably had living-in servants or apprentices at appropriate points in their life-cycle; this feature of the social system in North Cornwall was similar to that described by Kussmaul for the rest of England.⁷ Little evidence relating directly to Week St. Mary servants survives. However, the indirect evidence concerning numbers of bedsteads adduced below suggests that the prime function of servants, as in the Austrian Waldviertal,⁸ was to act as a labour substitute for

1. P.R.

2. Similar friendships were established in Kings Langley, Hertfordshire; cf. Lionel M. Munby, ed., Life and Death in Kings Langley: 1498-1659, 1981, p.xvi. See also Marjorie K. Mc Intosh, 'Servants and the household unit in an Elizabethan English community', Journal of Family History, 9, 1984, pp.19-20, for examples of emotional ties between master and servant in Havering, Essex.

3. cf. 36 W

4. cf. 48 W and 120 W.

5. cf. 33 W

6. cf. 47 W

7. Ann Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England, 1981, *passim*. See also Cicely Howell, Land, Family and Inheritance in transition: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280-1700, 1983, pp.163-84, and Marjorie K. McIntosh, *op.cit.*, pp.3-23.

8. Lutz K. Berkner, 'The stem family and the developmental cycle of the peasant household: an eighteenth-century Austrian example', American Historical Review, 77, 1972, p.413-5.

children who were either too young, had left home, or were non-existent. This evidence also suggests that perhaps one in three or four households had servants.¹ That proportion, in national terms, may have been low: Laslett suggests that about 72% of yeomen, and 47% of husbandmen overall, had servants.² The comparative poverty of Week St. Mary probably explains the low percentage of servants. Servants were hired by the year, and received board and lodging in addition to their wages. In Somerset, this totalled about 90/- per annum in 1685.³ They therefore had opportunity for saving, and probably played an important role as small lenders in the credit market.⁴ It is likely that Week St. Mary's farmers preferred employing servants to labourers: as Kussmaul has pointed out, independent labourers were not within easy call in an area of dispersed settlement.⁵

The terms 'servant' and 'apprentice' designated status rather than occupation: those so described would have been involved in a variety of different trades,

1. See below, pp.225-8.
2. Peter Laslett, 'Size and structure of the household in England over three centuries, part 1: mean household size in England since the sixteenth century', Population Studies, 23, 1969, p.222. These figures are rather higher than the 46.4% of farmers calculated by Kussmaul, op.cit., p.11.
3. Howell, op.cit., p.172.
4. See above, p.130.
5. Kussmaul, op.cit., p.23-4.

although in Week St. Mary a large proportion were concerned with husbandry. The most important non-agricultural employment was in the cloth industry: twenty decedents gained some income from spinning, weaving, and associated trades. There were at least five spinsters, (27, 35, 54, 61, 164), two weavers (15 and 147), and two tailors (139 and 154) whose probate records have survived. In other cases, occupations are not stated, but may be implied from the contents of inventories.

The material used in the cloth industry was wool¹; there is no mention of hemp or flax in inventories. The manufacture of woollen cloth involved a number of processes. Once sheep had been shorn, the wool was washed and carded or combed; a few cards are listed in inventories.² The wool was then spun on "tornes" or "spinning tornes", which are also occasionally listed. It is probable that cards, combs, and "tornes" were worth so little that many were included amongst the "things forgotten", and not separately listed.³ Spinning lent itself to part-time

1. Wool is frequently mentioned in inventories. An account of the Cornish wool trade is given in J.N. Rosewarne, 'An account of the wool trade in Cornwall', Old Cornwall, 1(2), 1925-30, pp.18-24.
2. 7 I, 14 I, 30 I, and 54 I. A pair of combs is mentioned in 106 I.
3. It is possible that this explains the apparently small number of spinning wheels in seventeenth-century Virginia; cf. Carole Shamas, 'How self-sufficient was early America?' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 13(2), 1982, p.255. See also Philip Riden, History of Chesterfield, vol.2, part 1: Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield, 1984, pp.141-2.

employment: according to Hooker, there was "scarse any privat mannes house where in theise clothes be not made"; in every house, the traveller could "fynde the wiffe theire children and theire servantes at the turne spynninge or at their cardes cardinge and by which comoditie the comon people do lyve"¹. Spinning was predominantly a female occupation: several persons designated 'spinster' were widows, and others were older unmarried women. It was not, however a task confined to a particular class.² Some depended upon it for their livelihood; Jane Pearce, spinster (54), possessed goods valued at a mere £5-9-4, and the sale of spun wool was clearly the major source of her income. But wealthy yeomen, such as John Folly (130), could also possess a "turne". As in the Forest of Pendle, and many other parts of England, "people of all degrees of status and wealth engaged in this profitable domestic textile industry".³ The spinsters of East Cornwall played a major role in supplying the clothiers of Devon and Exeter. There was an important yarn market at Launceston; Week St. Mary lay on the northern edge of

1. William J. Blake, ed., 'Hooker's Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire', Devonshire Association ... Transactions, 47, 1915, p.346.
2. Lindsey Charles and Lorna Duffin, eds., Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England, 1985, pp.17-18.
3. Mary Brigg, 'The Forest of Pendle in the Seventeenth Century'. Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Transactions, 113, 1961, p.91.

a spinning district which had a considerable and increasing trade.¹

Not all the yarn produced was sold at Launceston. Some was required for local use, and was sent to the weaver. He required a pair of looms and associated equipment.² Looms were substantial items; the two listed in inventories (15 I and 133 I) were valued at £1 and 30/- respectively. Weaving was generally the prime occupation of those who worked at the trade - although, like John Milton (15), they might keep a few animals as well. Thomas Auger (147) was rather wealthier, and had a larger agricultural establishment, as well as a considerable sum invested in "specialtyes". Only two other weavers can be identified: John Drew (133) and George Orchard of Week Town.³ Weavers in Cornwall were generally small tradesmen catering for the needs of the local population.⁴

1. W.G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800, 'Publications of the History of Exeter and the South-West Research Group, 6,' 2nd.ed., 1968, pp.29 and 36; Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.108-9. Thomas Barnaby, the London merchant who met Thomasina Bonaventure whilst she was tending sheep on Greenamoor, and subsequently married her, was almost certainly engaged in this trade; cf. P.L. Hull, 'The endowment and foundation of a grammar school at Week St. mary by Dame Thomasine Percival', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S., 7(1), 1973, pp.33-4. In 1578, Alice Seymour, widow, took out a nine year lease of the "commen beymes, skales, brasen weights, and ledden weights" used in the Launceston market; this cost her £20. Cf. Richard Peter and Otho Bathurst Peter, The Histories of Launceston Dunheved, in the County of Cornwall, 1885, p.213.
2. See David Dymond and Alec Betterton, Lavenham: 700 years of textile making, 1972, for a description.
3. P.R. He was buried 7.7.1669.
4. Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.109-10.

The next process in the production of finished cloth was fulling or "tucking". This process required a water-powered fulling mill in which the raw cloth was thickened and shrunk by being pounded in a solution of fullers earth so that the weave ceased to be visible.¹ There were many tucking mills in the vicinity; Henderson has identified them in the adjacent parishes of Poundstock, Jacobstow and Whitstone.² One was operating in the nineteenth century in Week St. Mary, but its antecedents are not known.³ Fulling mills were usually leased to clothiers, who employed fullers to do the actual work of fulling. Fullers occupied the poorer ranks of society; none has been identified in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary.⁴

The final process in the making of cloth was finishing and dyeing.⁵ No dyers have been positively identified in Week St. Mary, but the bequest of thirteen pounds of black and blue wool in William Pethick's will (19 W) is suggestive.

There were various other trades associated with the cloth industry, but the only decedent involved with them was Hector Cory, a tailor (154). The parish register mentions

1. For a full description of this process, see Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.110.
2. Charles Henderson, Essays in Cornish History, edited by A.L. Rowse and M.I. Henderson, 1935, pp.204 and 207.
3. Rennie Bere and Bryan Dudley Stamp, The Book of Bude and Stratton, 1980, p.52.
4. For a discussion of the trade, see Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.110-12.
5. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.112.

a number of other tailors: John Trewin, Thomas Hicks, and John Folly.¹ In addition two drapers, Isaac Saunders² and Philip Marks,³ are recorded.

The leather trades also employed a few people.⁴ There was a tanning-yard in Week St. Mary in the nineteenth century, but no evidence survives of any predecessors.⁵ Tanners were necessarily men of some substance, and were concentrated in the towns in the seventeenth century.⁶ Edmund Marrais alias Skinner (149) was a glover and volmonger. These two occupations went together - gloves were made from hides, and a fellmonger is a dealer in hides - especially sheep skins.⁷ John Drew (133) was also associated with volmongers and glovers. He was a rug-maker, and perhaps made his rugs from hides - although he also had looms for weaving. The absence of stocks of gloves from Marrais's inventory is paralleled elsewhere in the inventories of glovers.⁸ Leather was used, amongst other things, for making shoes and saddles. No inventories survive for cordwainers, shoemakers or saddlers. However, the parish

1. P.R., entries dated 25.1.1602/3, 5.8.1621 and 9.7.1700.
2. P.R., entries dated 5.3.1608/9 and 11.2.1618/9.
3. P.R., entry dated 14.12.1623.
4. A full discussion of the Cornish leather trades is found in Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.122-5. See also L.A. Clarkson, 'The Leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England', Agricultural History Review, 14, 1966, pp. 25-39.
5. Bere and Stamp, op.cit., p.52.
6. Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.122-3. See also Clarkson, op.cit., p.26.
7. Yeomen and Colliers, pp.44-5.
8. Philip Riden, History of Chesterfield, vol.2, part 1: Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield, 1984, p.140. Riden concludes that glovers produced for a wholesale market, and did not sell retail.

register lists Pentecost Whitley, shoemaker, John Lukies, saddler and John Colwill, cordwainer.¹

The description of metal and wooden goods occupies much space in the inventories, and must have involved considerable labour in their making. Blacksmiths, cutlers, tinkers, carpenters and coopers are all recorded in the parish.

Probate records for three blacksmiths survive: George Causey (99), John Matthew (126), and Benjamin Adams (163). The parish register records the death of Robert Skinner, smith, in 1618, and certificates from the Justices of the Peace record the presence of John Causey, blacksmith, in the early 1630s.² Causey had one conviction for drunkenness, two convictions for profane swearing, and one for tippling. He obviously had an independent outlook on life.

It is probable that no more than one or two blacksmiths were active in the parish at any one time; there was insufficient demand in the area to support any more. Nevertheless, as in Clayworth, the continuity of the trade is remarkable.³ George Causey worked from 1623 until his

1. P.R., entries dated 13.9.1621, 17.11.1624, and 24.7.1679.
2. P.R.O., SP16/191/46, SP16/265/51, and SP16/284/27.
3. Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations, 1977, p.75.

death in 1659, perhaps in partnership with John Causey, who was probably a relative. John Matthew perhaps commenced his business when he married in 1663; he died in 1672. Benjamin Adams probably commenced to trade in the early 1680s. All three were relatively wealthy: the goods of Matthews and Adams respectively were valued at £99-14-0 and £116-22-5. Causey's inventory does not survive, but his will indicates he had an anvil, bellows, and working tools, together with some small pieces of iron, together valued at £5. Adams' inventory merely records "shope tools" worth £5-06-08, together with "iron ware in the shope" valued at 15/7. Both had trade debts recorded in their 'shop books' amounting to £5 and £6-06-08 respectively. Blacksmiths did not require a large amount of capital to establish themselves in business.¹ It is probable that the shoeing of horses and oxen was the mainstay of their business, but they would also have been responsible for making the various metal tools and vessels that appear in the inventories, and for making and repairing equipment such as ploughs, harrows, harness, etc. The 1569 muster and its successors may also have given them work in making armour and weapons.

Two cutlers are mentioned in the parish register at the close of the seventeenth century: Hector Cory in 1682/3, and John Trewin in 1700. Tinkers were probably also

1. Riden, *op.cit.*, pp.151-2.

present; there may not have been any difference in the work done by tinkers and cutlers. Ralph Hartland (106) had a tinker's hammer and a spoon mould for making spoons. The probate records of two carpenters survive: those of William Saunders (71) and Nathaniel Rattenbury (138). Saunders' tools were valued at 16/-; he also had "timber and woode" valued at £3. Rattenbury had wood worth £8 but there is no mention of tools in his inventory. Both men leased a few acres, and owned a few cattle and pigs; however, Rattenbury was almost four times richer than Saunders - their inventoried wealth was £93-03-02 and £26-11-06 respectively. Rattenbury's standing in the parish was much higher than Saunders's, judging by the number of times he was involved in the process of probate. Two other carpenters are listed in the parish register: John Babridge in 1606 and John Worth in 1607.

Carpenters made some of the numerous wooden vessels, implements, table boards, chests, and other furniture that appear in the inventories. They were also employed in building work: leases normally granted permission to cut sufficient timber for the maintainance and repair of the property lease. Other building workers are, with two exceptions, not mentioned. The exceptions are Thomas and Henry Gibbs, both masons, and presumably related. Thomas Gibbs' name appears in the parish register in 1609 and 1612, and he was fined 1/- in 1631 for 'prophane

swearing'.¹ Henry Gibbs was too poor to pay his fine for drunkenness in 1634, and consequently received corporal punishment.²

The inventories also list numerous barrels or 'keives', used in brewing or for storing liquids. These may have been made by carpenters, but the probability is that they were usually made by a more specialised tradesman, that is, a cooper. Probate records for two coopers survive: Simon Keen (109) and Andrew Cory (158). Hugh Prust (124) had timber to make a keive, which may indicate that he also was a cooper. The only item pertaining to their trade mentioned in the inventories of Keen and Cory is "olde timber wrought and unwrought" Worth £5 owned by Keen. Both men also had corn, livestock, and the leases of a few acres of land.

Keives were essential for the brewer, and it is probable that the malt owned by Hugh Prust (124), as well as his keives, were intended for use in brewing ale. Little evidence relating to brewing survives, although it is probable that many undertook their own brewing at home. However, the fulminations of quarter sessions against "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars" which have been

1. P.R.O., SP16/237/41
2. P.R.O., SP16/265/51

copied into the parish register¹ do refer to the presence of alehouses, and it is possible to identify two widows who may have earned a pittance as alewives - Avis Mill (98) and Alice Lamerton (107)². Both were associated with millers: Avis Mill was a miller's widow, and Alice Lamerton a miller's mother.³ Their inventories list more crockery and kitchen utensils than a widow would normally need; Alice Lamerton had a still. Both women were fairly poor; their inventoried wealth totalled £4-18-06 and £21-15-00 respectively. It is probable that there were many other alewives concerning whom no evidence survives; in late sixteenth-century Cannock and Rugeley, Staffordshire, there were only twenty resident adults to patronise each alehouse.⁴ In addition to the ale-houses, Week St. Mary also had an inn kept by John Gibbs, who is described as 'inn-keeper' in a lease of 1686. It was probably on the site of the present Green Inn.⁵

Alewives and other brewers obtained their malt from the miller. A number of mills were to be found in the parish: there were two at Trefrouse, one at Marrais, one at Odmill,

1. P.R., f.80-1. See also P.R.O., SP16/191/46, SP16/265/51 and SP16/284/27, for convictions of drunkards in the 1630s.
2. On the prevalence of widows in the trade nationally, see Peter Clark, The English Alehouse: a social history 1200-1830, 1983, p.79.
3. See 118.
4. C.J. Harrison, The Social and Economic History of Cannock and Rugeley, 1546-1597, University of Keele Ph.D., 1974, p.143.
5. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary, Lease, 1.6.1686, Lucy Basset to John Gibbs, re Parsonage Green.

and another at the Millhouse¹. There may also have been one at Goscott². There are probate records for three millers: Thomas Milton (95), William Lamerton (118), and Thomas Blake (166). There is no inventory for Milton, who was the son of a weaver, and perhaps worked the mill at the Millhouse. Lamerton's inventoried wealth amounted to £38-3-0; he had a "pounding mill" valued at £3. Blake probably worked the mill at Odmill; the value placed on his goods was £20-3-6. These figures may under-estimate their wealth: the mill-house and mill-stones, including all fixed equipment, were real property, and therefore not valued in inventories³. It is possible, of course,

1. Evidence for these mills is as follows:

Trefrouse. British Library, Add. Ch.57427 refers to the grist mills.

Odmill. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary, lease, 20.4.1594, Nicholas Grenville to Robert Mayne als Hooper, re Odmill, refers to the grist mill; ditto, lease 1.12.1613, John Beaford to William Badlyme, re Wood Park Meadow, refers to the mill leet. There are various other leases referring to Odmill in C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary.

Marrais. A corn-mill is shown on a nineteenth-century plan; cf. D.R.O., 2569B/Box P/15. No contemporary evidence has been found.

Millhouse. The only evidence for this mill is the name, which was current in the seventeenth-century; cf. T.L.Stoate, ed., Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes, 1660-1664: direct taxation in Cornwall in the reign of Charles II, 1981, p.36.

There is no mention of any Week St. Mary watermill in D.E.Benney, An Introduction to Cornish Watermills, 1972, passim.

2. Evidence for the existence of a water-wheel was discovered by Mr. Uglow, a former occupier, when digging a well on the property.
3. Jeff and Nancy Cox, 'Probate inventories: the legal background', Local Historian, 16(3), 1984, p.140.

that the millers did not own their fixed equipment; Whetter has argued that most Cornish millers were employees rather than lessees or owners, and that this explains the fact that few of their inventories are valued at over £50¹.

All three Week St. Mary millers had a parent whose probate records are included in this collection. The names of three other millers are known. John White, miller, died in 1611²; the Mayne family were millers who occupied Odmill from 1575 until some time in the first half of the seventeenth-century³; Mr. Clifton, miller, received a small legacy in Thomas Colwill's 1635/6 will (57W).

It is likely that other trades were also carried on in early modern Week St. Mary. Evans' list of "essential" trades, which were almost certainly present in all rural communities, includes wheelwrights and thatchers⁴; neither has been identified in the parish. It is not always easy to identify the presence of some occupations in early

1. Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.126-7. No evidence is cited for this assertion, which was not true of the millers of Odmill;cf. the leases referred to above.
2. P.R.
3. D.R.O., 2569B/Box AA/2.
4. Community of South Elmham, p.201.

modern rural societies: the trade of chapman is a case in point¹. The term is nowhere used as an occupational description in surviving Week St. Mary records. Yet there can be no doubt that chapmen were active in the parish, and it is possible tentatively to identify two decedents who were active in this trade. William Bickton (137) had "moorchandize goods" worth £8, and perhaps traded as a chapman on foot. Ralph Hartland's inventory (106) lists two trunks of "merchantry ware", together with various other goods; he also had an old nag and pack saddle for carrying his stock.

If occasion arose, most people could have turned their hands to a variety of trades. There were some who did so regularly. William Cann (73) was described in the parish register as a labourer. The goods in his inventory suggest he was in fact the village carrier. He also had two scythes, presumably for cutting his neighbours' harvests, and kept a few cattle himself. Ralph Hartland (106) combined the trades of chapman, tinker, weaver, and perhaps carrier.

The term 'labourer', like 'yeoman' or 'gent', was a mark of status, not of occupation². Robert Orchard (20), for example, although described as a labourer in the parish register, was in fact a weaver, and possessed goods valued at £41-15-0 at his death. It would be interesting to know how he raised the

1. The trade has been studied by H. Margaret Spufford, The Great Reclathing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century, 1984, passim. See also L.B. and M.W. Barley, 'Lincolnshire shopkeepers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Lincolnshire Historian, 2(9), 1962, pp.7-21.
2. Yeomen and Colliers, p.72.

£20 he had invested in bills and bonds. He also had a cow and calf worth £3. Everitt has shown that the economy of the wealthier labourers in the West of England was based on livestock; between 1590 and 1640, only 15% of labourers whose goods were inventoried lacked beasts¹.

The term 'labourer' was used infrequently in Week St. Mary; the proportion of wage-earners in the population was probably much lower than the national average of between a quarter and a third in the Tudor and early Stuart period². In a parish of relatively poor, small family farmers, there was limited employment for them. It has already been suggested that servants may have been preferred to labourers, and that servants may also have been relatively few in numbers. It might be expected that the economy of Week St. Mary, and that of the North Devon parish of Hartland, just over sixteen miles to the north, would be similar, except for a handful of seamen in the coastal parish. That was not the case. In the Hartland parish register, 52.3% of

1. Alan Everitt, 'Farm labourers', in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, p.415.
2. Ibid, p.398. It has been estimated that a third of the population of Devon were farm labourers or servants. This estimate is based on the number of taxpayers assessed on wages in the 1524 subsidy; cf. W.G.Hoskins, Old Devon, 1966, p.186. No-one was assessed on wages in Week St. Mary in the much fuller subsidy of 1543; see above, p.78. Everitt, op.cit., p.445, states that the labouring population of Cornwall was relatively small.

men whose occupations are given between 1698 and 1719 were described as labourers.¹ There are probably two reasons for the difference. Firstly, the incumbent of Hartland did not use the term 'husbandman', and it is therefore probable that he placed many husbandmen in the 'labourer' category. Secondly, Hartland had no less than eighteen hearth-tax payers rated on five or more hearths, compared to only four in Week St. Mary. Hartland had many more yeomen able to employ labourers than Week St. Mary.

The only other occupation for which there is evidence in Week St. Mary is that of 'groom'. Four grooms appear in the parish register: Arthur Pryn, Richard Sutcott (11), William Colwill of Thinwood, and George Trewin. The importance of the local horse trade has already been discussed².

The use of the term 'by-employment' to describe occupations such as those under discussion has recently come under attack; it implies that those concerned in such employment were "dividing their time between agriculture and a craft", and that the craft was "a less important source of livelihood than the real employment

1. Greg Finch, 'The population of Hartland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Devon Historian, 19, 1979, p.18.
2. See above, pp.149-53.

in agriculture"¹. This questioning of the arguments put forward by Thirsk et al.² is partly applicable to Week St. Mary. The three blacksmiths identified may have kept a cow or a pig each, but they earned their living as craftsmen. The same applied to poor weavers like John Milton (15), to the millers, and to some of the other tradesmen. These men were not engaged in by-employments, if by that is meant that they were regularly involved directly in agricultural employment. But some of them do not fit Sharp's schema either; the blacksmiths in particular were not property-less wage-earners dependent upon capitalists for employment. Rather, they were independent craftsmen who knew the needs of their market and who supplied that need, often becoming men of substance in the process.

There were, however, those who were employed in by-employments in the Thirskian sense. Spinning has already been identified as an occupation which lent itself to part-time employment. Labourers and small husbandmen could turn their hands to various occupations as occasion offered. As in Myddle, "the local crafts were never developed into an industry"³. Rather, they existed to meet local need, and to give employment to those local people who could see their opportunity.

1. Buchanan Sharp, In Contempt of All Authority: rural artisans and riot in the West of England, 1586-1660, 1980, p.6.
2. Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, especially pp.425-9.
3. English Rural Community, p.7, cited by Sharp, op.cit., p.259.

The dual occupation of craftsman/farmer was "particularly suited to a predominantly pastoral form of economy which did not require as much manual labour as did an arable one"¹. This was as true of remote, pastoral Week St. Mary as it was of the cattle-rearing Yorkshire Pennines, or the dairy-farming, wood-pasture region of East Anglia².

1. D.G.Hey, The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield Region, Department of English Local History, University of Leicester, Occasional Papers , 2nd. series, 5, 1972, p.21.
2. Community of South Elmham, p.219.

Chapter 10: Material Conditions

"The social life of man", in the words of Elliott-Binns, "is conditioned largely by three primary needs - food, shelter and clothing".¹ Probate records contain a great deal of information relating to living conditions: inventories in particular are simply lists of decedents' material possessions, and as such enable us to examine the conditions in which men worked, ate, and slept. They are not, unfortunately, a complete record: quite apart from the fact that certain items are excluded from the record, they do not always provide full descriptions of the items included. Phrases such as "for trifles or things forgotten or now out of memory" hide a great deal of information on the minutiae of everyday life. Nevertheless, probate records are a major source for the investigation of housing, beds and bedding, tables and seating, storage furniture, lighting and heating, kitchen equipment, and working tools.

A. Housing.

Probably the most significant features of material life which receive little mention in probate records relate to housing. Questions concerning building materials, styles, and plans, can rarely be answered from inventories: evidence must normally be sought in surviving buildings, or by archaeological methods. Many houses in Week St.

1. L.E. Elliott-Binns, Medieval Cornwall, 1955, p.215.

Mary today are of early modern date, and await the attentions of an architectural historian. Nevertheless, probate inventories normally do have value in the study of vernacular architecture; in most parts of England, praisers listed goods room by room. This is the most disappointing aspect of the Week St. Mary inventories: none follow this practice.¹ Goods "in the house" are sometimes mentioned, but the individual rooms are rarely specified. The hearth tax enumeration indicates that 75% of houses had only one or two hearths: the failure to mention rooms in inventories may therefore be simply due to the fact that most houses had few rooms.²

1. This also applies to Cumbrian inventories of the seventeenth century, cf. J.D. Marshall, 'Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure in Pre-Industrial Cumbria', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 33, 1980, p.506, to Myddle inventories, cf. English Rural Community, 1974, p.123, and to a lesser extent, Pembrokeshire inventories, cf. Brian Howells and John Howells, 'Peasant houses in Stuart Pembrokeshire', National Library of Wales Journal, 21(4), 1980, p.361. See also R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale, 1978, p.238.
2. F.G. Emmison, Jacobean household inventories, Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 20, 1938, pp.7-8, found that almost one-third of the Bedfordshire inventories he edited lacked information about rooms; most such inventories were of low value, and he therefore assumed that the decedents concerned probably lived in houses of no more than two rooms. M.A. Havinden, ed., Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire 1550-1590, Oxfordshire Record Society, vol.44, 1965, p.16, also argues that, where no rooms were specified in inventories, there was only one. A similar assumption is made by Fieldhouse and Jennings, *op cit*, p.238. On the other hand, Moore has argued that one-roomed dwellings should not be assumed in the absence of room-headings; cf. John S. Moore, 'Probate inventories - problems and prospects', in Philip Riden, ed., Probate Records and the Local Community, 1984, p.14.

One-roomed houses were usual in Wales and on the continent; it is likely that such dwellings were also common in England - and especially in the poorer regions of the country.¹

A limited amount of evidence for Week St. Mary and its region is available.² The Department of the Environment had identified five houses in the parish worthy of preservation: the College, Leigh, Marrais, Burdenwell, and Sladdacott.³ These were the houses of the parochial elite, and therefore probably provided more comfort than most dwellings. Marrais was alone in having features which were not vernacular; its fine Italianate carved plaster ceilings date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.⁴ Granite - moorstone - was the favoured building

1. M.W. Barley, 'Farmhouses and cottages, 1550-1725', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 7, 1954-55, p.295. This may not have been true in Pembrokeshire, where it has been argued that most houses had two or three rooms on the ground floor; cf. Howells, op.cit., p.362. In the much wealthier county of Suffolk, no convincing evidence of one-roomed houses has been found; cf. Sylvia Colman, 'Post-medieval houses in Suffolk: some evidence from probate inventories and hearth tax returns', Suffolk Institute of Archaeology Proceedings, 34(3), 1979, p.183. For the housing of the French peasantry, see Pierre Goubert, The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century, 1986, pp.36-43.
2. Guy Beresford has described a number of houses dating from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries in neighbouring St. Gennys, cf. Guy Beresford, 'Tresmorn, St. Gennys', Cornish Archaeology, 10, 1971, pp.55-73.
3. Department of the Environment Listed Buildings, Week St. Mary.
4. I am grateful to Mr and Mrs Whattler for showing these to me.

material in these houses. Norden remarked on its hardness, and noted that "they make of them, in steed of timber, mayne postes for their howses, Dorepostes, Chimnye and wyndow peeces, and aboue all subporters for their out-howses of greateste receyte".¹ The College in particular is an excellent example of a stone-built Tudor dwelling. Marrais has a seventeenth-century brick front, but brick was unusual in Cornwall.² Sladdacott was built partly of cob, a mixture of clay, straw and gravel. Carew observed that "the poor cottager contenteth himself with cob for his walls and thatch for his covering",³ and it is probable that cob was the commonest building material used on the culm measures of North Cornwall and North-West Devon.⁴ John Saunders (46 I) had "timber provided for buildinge", and many leases reserved timber trees to the lord; however, the Cheshers argue that Cornish timber was rarely of sufficient quality for building.⁵ Leland reminds us that the "clives of the seyde north se ... hath good fyne blew slates, apt for howse kyvering".⁶

1. John Norden, Speculi Britanniae Pars: a topographical and historical description of Cornwall, 1725, p.17.
2. V.M. & F.J. Chesher, The Cornishman's House: an introduction to the history of traditional domestic architecture in Cornwall, 1968, p.17.
3. Survey of Cornwall, p.124.
4. On the methods used in building with cob, see Charles H. Laycock, 'The old Devon farm-house, part 1: its exterior aspect and general construction', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 52, 1920, pp.179-82.
5. V.M. & F.J. Chesher, op.cit, p.17.
6. Cited in J. Polsue, Lake's Parochial History of the County of Cornwall, 1867-73, vol.4, p.86.

A number of contemporary house descriptions do survive. The 'parsonage house' of Week St. Mary is described in a number of terriers.¹ In 1601, it was only briefly mentioned: "a convenient dwellinge house and other necessary houses". A fuller description is provided in an undated terrier of c.1625-30.² According to this document, the rector possessed a hall, a parlour with a chamber over, a buttery with a chamber over, and a kitchen. There was also "one other lowe room", a barn, a stable and cow house, and a malt house. The terrier of 1679/80 adds some detail: it states that the house was built of stone, and that the roof was tiled. The floor, however, was of earth,³ and there was no wainscot or ceiling. The barn was of mud, that is, cob, and its roof was thatched. By this date, in addition to the chambers over the parlour and buttery, there was also one over the entry. There is no mention of the stable and cow house, but the barn had a stall at the end, under the same roof. The malt house is not mentioned.

The parsonage house is the only dwelling for which a plan survives.⁴ Although this was made in 1776, it almost

1. C.R.O., Glebe Terriers, Week St. Mary. The terriers for 1680 and 1727 have been published; see R. Potts, ed., A calendar of Cornish Glebe Terriers, 1673-1735, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 19, 1974, pp.172-3.
2. It was signed by the rector, William Langford, who was presented in 1625 (J. Polsue, Lakes Parochial History of the County of Cornwall, vol. 4, p.305), and by a church warden, Thomas Kinsman, who died 20.8.1630 per P.R.
3. Earth floors were almost universal in English parsonages; cf. M.W. Barley, 'Rural housing in England' in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, p.727.
4. D.R.O., Parsonage House Correspondence, Week St. Mary.

certainly represents the seventeenth-century house, which was then in ruins. The house was 14 feet wide by just over 35 feet in length; there were three rooms on the ground floor, but there is no plan of the upper storey. All three rooms extend the width of the house; unfortunately they are not named, but one must have been the hall and another the parlour - one was 14 feet square, the other 14 by 15 feet. One of these rooms had two fireplaces, the other, one. The third room was 14 by 6 feet, and may perhaps have been the buttery: it had no windows. The kitchen was probably a separate outbuilding, as was the other "lowe room". The only external door was in the south wall of what was presumably the hall. There were stairs between the buttery and the parlour, leading to the 'chambers over'. The house had gardens on both north and south sides. The terriers published by Potts suggest that it was typical of seventeenth-century Cornish parsonage houses.¹

The only other house plan that has been seen relates to the College as it was when Charles Henderson examined it in 1925.² This only shows the ground floor. There were two rooms, divided by a through passage. One room had a turret containing a spiral staircase in the back wall. The plan also shows an area to

1. See Veronica M. Chesher, 'The parsonage house: a note on the architectural content of Cornish glebe terriers', in Potts, *op.cit.*, p.xxxi.
2. R.I.C. Henderson mss., Week St. Mary.

the east of the house occupied by the "site of destroyed buildings", and a well to the north of the house.

The conditions in which the occupants of these two houses lived are indicative of the housing standards of the parishioners. If the rector's house had earthen floors, and lacked wainscot or ceiling, then so did the houses of his parishioners. The lack of ceilings is evident from the inventories: they frequently mention victuals 'hanging at the roof', that is, from the rafters. The well at the College indicates the source of water-supply.

The most detailed description of a house in the probate records is provided in the will of George Leigh (55 W). His house at Grovesend had an entry, a hall, a parlour, and a chamber over the parlour; there was also a separate cellar with a chamber over it, and a separate bakehouse. This may not be a complete description, as the testator only provided sufficient information to identify that part of his house which his widow was to occupy. His son, Walter Leigh, subsequently paid tax for two hearths, which figure may be compared with the seven rooms enumerated.

The only inventory which provides much information on housing is that of John Folly (130 I). He was assessed on three hearths; he had a hall, parlour, a "broad chamber", a buttery chamber, and a little chamber. He also had a barn.

The will of William Colwill of Whiteleigh (51 W) also provides a few brief mentions of 'chambers'. He had a "chamber belowe the entry", containing a stone trough, a "chamber over", where his bed stood, and a "chamber without the hall dore" containing another stone trough. His son John paid tax on two hearths.

Leigh, Folly and Colwill were relatively substantial members of the community; others had to manage with much less. John Saunders (121), for example, had his "dwelling house" and his "higher house", both presumably on the same plot, and both probably one-roomed dwellings. His inventory totalled a mere £4-12- 4, and he was not assessed to the hearth tax. His will made provision for the future occupier of the "higher house" to have access to a well, thus indicating the importance of an adequate water supply.

There were others who could lay claim to only part of a house: Edmond Marrais lived in part of Wherries House (149 W); the Manciple's House was divided between Nathaniel Rattenbury, Caleb Veale, and other occupants in 1664.¹ Widows such as Agnes Leigh² and Mary Treweeks (159 W)

1. T.L. Stodate, ed., Cornwall Hearth ... Taxes, p.36. By 1709, the tenants were George Rattenbury and William Colwill, cf. C.R.O., FS. 3/952.
2. Cf. 55 W.

sometimes occupied their own quarters in their family home. In new housing on the larger farms, rooms would be set aside for servants.¹

The lack of information in probate records, combined with the fact that most surviving houses have not been surveyed, prevents detailed investigation into the process of building in early modern Wiltshire.² However, it is evident that many houses were built during the early modern 'great re-building'.³ The five dwellings listed by the Department of the Environment as being worthy of preservation all date from this era. A lease of 1686 refers to a house "lately erected and built" by Philip Gibbs at Parsonage Green.⁴ In another lease of the same year, Thomas Badcock was allowed sufficient timber to "repaire and amend the old houses now in decay on the said barton of Swannacott".⁵

1. Ann Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England, 1981, p.119.
2. It would be possible to reconstruct the pattern of settlement in the late seventeenth-century by using the hearth tax returns as quantitative evidence, and a survey of surviving dwellings to establish site, quality, and type of housing. For an example of a study of thirteen parishes conducted in this way, see Gwyn I. Meirion-Jones, 'The use of hearth tax returns and vernacular architecture in settlement studies with examples from north-east Hampshire', Institute of British Geographers Transactions, 53, 1971, pp.133-59. See also David Foster, 'The hearth tax and settlement study', Local Historian, 11, 1974-5, pp.385-9.
3. W.G. Hoskins, 'The rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640', Past and Present, 4, 1953, pp.44-57. Hoskins's chronology has been revised by R. Machin, 'The great rebuilding: a re-assessment', Past and Present, 77, 1977, pp.33-56.
4. C.R.O., DDB/WSM. Lease 1.6.1686, Lucy Bassett to John Gibbs, re Parsonage Green. Gibbs was an inn-keeper; perhaps this house was on the site of the present-day Green Inn.
5. C.R.O., DDB/WSM. Lease 29.9.1686, Lucy Bassett to Thomas Badcock re Swannacott.

It may also be noted that, whereas John Dodging paid tax on one hearth in 1662, his successor, Arthur Blake, paid on two - suggesting building work. The impact of the hearth tax had a negative effect on the occupants of Wherries House: they "stopped up" a hearth between 1662 and 1664, presumably in order to avoid tax.¹

B. Household Goods

The interiors of most seventeenth-century English houses were bare by modern standards. Homes were to work, eat, sleep, and, increasingly, to pray in, but they were not designed for relaxation and recreation.² Working space dominated living space; consequently, places for cooking, brewing, spinning, and storing equipment took precedence over areas set aside for sleeping, eating, or relaxing.³ It is evident, however, that the increasing wealth already noted was reflected by an improvement in standards of material comfort.⁴ The new household goods of the

1. T.L. Stoate, op.cit., p.36.
2. Carole Shamas, 'The domestic environment in early modern England and America', Journal of Social History, 14, 1980-1. p.10.
3. Rachel P. Garrard, 'English probate inventories and their use in studying the significance of the domestic interior, 1570-1700', in Ad van der Woude and Anton Schuurman, eds., Probate Inventories: a new source for the historical study of wealth, material culture and agricultural development: papers presented at the Leeuwenborch conference (Wageningen, 5-7 May 1980), 1980, p.58.
4. W.G. Hoskins, 'The rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640', Past and Present, 4, 1953, p.49.

seventeenth century have frequently been described.¹ There has, however, been little attempt to place them in their socio-economic context, and to determine their importance in relationship to the growth of wealth.²

The evidence of improved comfort is to be found in the inventory data concerning household goods - beds and bedding, tables and seating, coffer, chests, and boxes, kitchen utensils, fireside equipment, lighting, and barrels. In the Forest of Arden, changing attitudes towards material comforts are clear even from a study of the layout of inventories. In the early sixteenth century, livestock were regarded as the most important items, and were listed first. By the mid-seventeenth century, the contents of the house were always valued first.³ As Skipp has noted, "the housing and furnishing revolutions provide indisputable evidence of greater peasant wealth".⁴ These 'revolutions' were accompanied by the development

1. See, for example, William Harrison, The Description of England, ed. Georges Edelen, 1968, pp.200-202, and the introductions to published collections of probate inventories, especially Farm and Cottage Inventories, pp.8-32, and Yeomen and Colliers, pp.90-109. See also Christina Hole, The English Housewife in the Seventeenth Century, 1953, pp.24-43.
2. Moore's scepticism as to the possibilities of quantifying inventory information relating to furniture is not justified; this will be demonstrated in the remainder of this chapter; cf. Goods and Chattels, p.35.
3. Victor Skipp, Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674, 1978, p.70.
4. V.H.T. Skipp, 'Economic and social change in the Forest of Arden, 1530-1649', in Joan Thirsk, ed., Land Church and People: essays presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg, (supplement to Agricultural History Review, 18), 1970, p.103.

Table 10:1: Mean Value of Household Goods

<u>Week St. Mary</u>	<u>Forest of Arden¹</u>
1600-1624 £5-06-00	1530-1569 £ 6-17-00
1625-1649 7-04-05	1570-1609 10-10-00
1650-1674 5-07-11	1610-1649 15-12-00
1675-1699 9-04-09	

1. These figures are taken from V.H.T. Skipp, 'Economic and social change in the Forest of Arden, 1530-1649', in Joan Thirsk, ed., Land Church and People: essays presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg, (Supplement to Agricultural History Review, 18), 1970, p.104.

Table 10:2: Wealth Invested in Household Goods,

	<u>Week St. Mary</u>				
	<u>All</u>	<u>Under £10</u>	<u>£10-30</u>	<u>£30-100</u>	<u>£100+</u>
1600-1624	22%	20% (8)	24% (7)	18% (12)	9% (2)
1625-1649	20%	32% (9)	18% (15)	19% (14)	13% (5)
1650-1674	21%	36% (4)	22% (12)	17% (11)	19% (1)
1675-1699	17%	44% (3)	16% (8)	15% (15)	10% (8)

of an advanced market economy, and marked the beginnings of the consumer society.¹ What had been luxury goods in the sixteenth century reached the poor a century later.²

For Week St. Mary, two sets of figures provide an overall view of trends in comfort. Firstly, the mean value of household goods is presented in table 10:1, and compared with figures calculated for the Forest of Arden. The men of Arden were more than twice as comfortable in the early seventeenth century than they had been in the mid-sixteenth century. It was in the first two generations of the seventeenth century that they "provided their new or extended houses with high quality, properly carpentered furniture".³ The comforts of North Cornishmen lagged far behind, but nevertheless they almost doubled the value of their household goods in the course of the century. Substantial, permanent improvement only took place in the last quarter of the century in Week St. Mary. Even so, North Cornishmen were more comfortable than their contemporaries in colonial Virginia; there, even in the 1750s, only a third of those whose goods were valued at under £40 had both tables and chairs.⁴

1. Christopher Husbands, 'Standards of living in North Warwickshire in the seventeenth century', Warwickshire History, 4, 1980, p.203.
2. Contrasting Communities, p.75.
3. Skipp, Crisis and Development, op.cit., p.63.
4. Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790, 1982, p.74.

Secondly, the proportion of wealth invested in household goods is indicated in table 10:2. These figures may be contrasted with figures from a number of other areas. Urban craftsmen and traders did not need to invest as high a proportion of their wealth in their work as did agriculturalists; they therefore invested more in comfort and social status. Household goods accounted for 40% of the value of moveable goods in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Richmond, Yorkshire - twice as much as in Week St. Mary.¹ Investment was, however, almost as high in Lincolnshire, where it varied between a quarter and two-fifths, with little variation during the seventeenth century.² The proportion was lower at Kirtlington, Oxfordshire - 26.8% between 1600 and 1650, and slightly more in the succeeding decades.³ The mean wealth of Kirtlington farmers exceeded £100,⁴ so the appropriate comparison is with the final column of table 10:2. Kirtlington farmers invested more than twice as much of their wealth in household goods than the wealthy elite of Week St. Mary.

1. This argument is advanced by R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale, 1978, pp.280-1. In the adjacent agricultural district of Swaledale, the proportion was 10%. The argument is supported by evidence from Nuneaton, Warwickshire, where investment in 'non-productive items' increased from 27% between 1600 and 1619 to 48% between 1680 and 1699; cf. Husbands, *op.cit.*, p.211,
2. M.W. Barley, 'Farmhouses and cottages, 1550-1725', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 7, 1954-55, p.294.
3. Kirtlington, p.229.
4. Ditto, p.227.

The farmers of Yetminster, Dorset, were more on a par with their North Cornish contemporaries; investment in household goods there constituted 21% of total inventoried wealth in the 1660s.¹ Although investment in household goods was low in Week St. Mary, nevertheless, it was lower elsewhere. In Bewcastle, Westmorland, furniture was almost non-existent in 1600.² And in colonial Virginia it was not until the 1750s that bedsteads, tables and chairs began to be the rule rather than the exception amongst the middling and lower orders.³

It is clear that, for all but the poorest section of the Week St. Mary community, as wealth increased, the proportion invested in household goods decreased - even though the absolute value of household goods increased.⁴ This also seems to have occurred in Yetminster.⁵ It was not, however, the case in Northampton: there, both the variety and value of domestic goods, and their value as

1. R. Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh, and Yetminster, 1976, pp.4-5. The proportion was, however, higher in the 1590s at 31%, and also higher in the 1690s at 25%.
2. J.V. Harrison, 'Five Bewcastle wills, 1587-1617' Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions, N.S., 67, 1967, p.98.
3. Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790, 1982, p.74.
4. The trend for the poor was for the percentage of wealth invested in household goods to rise. Everitt has calculated for labourers that, nationally, this percentage increased from 40% in 1560-1600 to 50% in 1610-1640; cf. Alan Everitt, 'Farm labourers' in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, p.421.
5. Machin, op.cit., pp.4-5; Gabriel Olive, 'Furniture in a West Country parish, 1576-1769', Furniture History, 12, 1976, p.21.

a proportion of total wealth, were increasing.¹ In Week St. Mary, there was clearly a time lag between increasing wealth and consequent changes in social attitude.² The community had no expectation of, or much desire for, increased comfort - even though it is probable that universal ownership of beds, the most essential item of furniture, had only recently been established at the beginning of our period. Foster's model of interpersonal relations in peasant societies may be pertinent here.³ In this model, peasants take the view that the economic pie is constant in size; if someone is seen to get ahead, logically it can only be at the expense of others in the village. Hence, the successful person invites the suspicion of his neighbours. If wealth does increase, the worst thing to do with it is to spend it on material comforts that others do not possess. Consequently, a lag is to be expected between increasing wealth and increasing consumption.

Foster's model may be related to the marked preference shown by servants, labourers, and other wage earners, for greater leisure rather than higher incomes. Many

1. Alan Everitt, Landscape and community in England, 1985, p.241.
2. Such a lag also occurred in Cumbria; cf. J.D. Marshall, 'Agrarian wealth and social structure in pre-industrial Cumbria', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 33, 1980, pp.514 and 518.
3. George M. Foster, 'Interpersonal relations in peasant society', Human Organization, 19(4), 1960-1, pp.174-87.

contemporary commentators believed that, when real wages were high, labour was voluntarily idle. Surplus money and time was spent at the tavern, rather than on permanent household goods and furnishings. The volume and variety of consumer goods was small, and economic horizons strictly limited.¹

Nevertheless, investment in material goods increased substantially in the final decades of the seventeenth-century; there was an improvement in the quality of goods as well as in their quantity.² As in Glamorganshire, "after about 1680.... we can detect some definite signs of new social influences creeping into the domestic life of the inhabitants".³ This applied particularly to expenditure on beds and bedding, tables and seating, pewter, and clothing. By the end of the seventeenth century, everyone had access to such goods. The eighteenth century witnessed the diffusion of eating and drinking goods such as knives, forks, glassware, and china.⁴

1. For the argument of this paragraph, see D.C. Coleman, 'Labour in the English economy of the seventeenth century', in Paul S. Seaver, ed., Seventeenth Century England: Society in an age of revolution, 1976, pp.126-7.
2. J.C.A. Whetter, 'Cornish trade in the seventeenth century: an analysis of the port books', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S., 4(4), 1964, p.402.
3. Meolwyn I. Williams, 'A general view of Glamorgan houses and their interiors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', Glamorgan Historian, 10, 1974, p.164.
4. Carole Shammas, 'The domestic environment in early modern England and America', Journal of Social History, 14, 1980-1, p.14.

Week St. Mary, however, remained without the musical instruments, the billiard tables, the playing cards, and the tobacco that were appearing in Cornish towns at the turn of the century.¹ The absence of such items is indicative of its continuing relative poverty and remoteness.

C. Beds and Bedding

Sleep is a universal need amongst human beings. However, the way in which people sleep, and the equipment they use, is culturally determined, and reflects their socio-economic status². In the early modern period, Englishmen were judged by the degree of comfort in which they slept³. Seventeenth-century beds and bedding have been described by a number of writers⁴. Less attention has been paid

1. Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.13.
2. Rachel P. Garrard, 'English probate inventories and their use in studying the significance of the domestic interior, 1570-1700', in Ad Van Der Woude and Anton Schuurman, Probate Inventories: a new source for the historical study of wealth, material culture, and agricultural development. Papers presented at the Leeuwenborch conference (Wageningen, 5-7 May 1980), Utrecht, 1980, p.55.
3. B.C.Jones, 'Inventories of goods and chattels', Amateur Historian, 2(3), 1955, p.77.
4. See, e.g. Farm and Cottage Inventories, pp.15-17; Yeomen and Colliers, pp.98-9; Joan Lane, 'Farm and cottage inventories of Butlers Marston, 1546-1755', Warwickshire Historian, 1, 1971, pp.19-23; Owen Ashmore, 'Household inventories of the Lancashire gentry, 1550-1700', Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 110, 1958, pp.65-73. For the beds of the French peasantry, see Pierre Goubert, The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century, 1986, p.40.

to the socio-economic situation in which they were owned and used.¹

Probate inventories frequently provide detailed descriptions of beds and bedding, and enable comparisons to be drawn between their value and the total value of inventoried estates. The number of beds owned by a decedent may also be indicative of the size of his household.

Seventeenth-century terminology describing beds and bedding differed from that used today. The term 'bed' usually meant the mattress, which fitted onto a bedstead. The mattress filling usually consisted of either feathers or "dust", that is, chaff. John Drew (133) had two "flocke beds"; he was a rug-maker, and presumably collected the 'flock', that is, wool dust, that resulted from rug-making. All forms of stuffing were easily and cheaply obtainable, but feathers were the most popular, and probably the most comfortable. The mattress case, or "bed tye" is occasionally mentioned separately.

Few bedsteads are described, apart from the occasional designation 'old'. It is probable that there were two main types: the "high" or "standing" and the "truckle".

1. See, however, Carole Shammas, 'The domestic environment in early modern England and America', Journal of Social History, 14, 1980-1, pp.3-24.

The "high" bedstead was solidly built and had room underneath for the low, "truckle" bedstead, set on castors, to be stored underneath. The "truckle" bedstead was used by servants or junior members of the household. There were other types: Thomas Beaford (5 I) had a "tewsse bed", which probably meant a framed four-poster bedstead. Nathaniel Trewin (150 I) had curtains and valance - the only ones mentioned in this collection - which also indicate a four-poster bedstead. Both Beaford and Trewin were members of the elite; such beds were relatively costly.

Bedding included blankets, rugs, coverlets, pillows, bolsters filled with feathers or "dust", and sheets. The materials used are rarely mentioned, except for the bolster filling. Arthur Milton (30 I) had two feather beds "provided with wollenn", and it may be assumed that blankets were of wool. Thomas Woolf (37 I) had a "peere of old corses shittes", that is, a pair of old coarse sheets. John Leigh (146 I) had "bedding and linnen belonging to the house".

The value of beds and bedding is indicated in table 10.3. Four of those who had no bed (nos. 27 I, 60 I, 78 I, and 135 I) had inventories valued at under £10, and none had more than £40. It is probable that most of them lived in someone else's household: three (27, 78, and 135) were widows, at least two (60 and 87) were probably living-in

servants; and three (60, 103 and 124) were members of leading families. A handful may perhaps have slept on straw. This had not always been so; Carew noted in 1602 that there were men then living who could remember the time when the normal husbandman's bed had been straw and a blanket.¹

Table 10:3: Value of Beds and Bedding by Wealth Category

	<u>No. of Inventories</u>
Not known	6
Nil	10
£5 or under	103
Over £5	20

The "great (although not general) amendment of lodging" was also noticed by Harrison in the Essex of 1587. The words in brackets indicate, however, that the 'amendment' had not occurred at that date in places "further off from our southern parts". In these remoter parts of the country, people still slept "upon straw pallets, on rough mats covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dagswain or hap-harlots ... and a good round log under their heads". Pillows were "thought meet only for women in child-bed".² In his study of late medieval Worcestershire, Field found

1. Survey of Cornwall, p.138.

2. William Harrison, The Description of England, ed. Georges Edelen, 1968, p.201.

little evidence of beds.¹ In sixteenth-century Swaledale, only one-fifth of inventories mention beds, and only a half list bedding. The proportion listing beds increased to a mere half in the seventeenth century. The urban inhabitants of nearby Richmond were only slightly better off in the sixteenth century, but nearly all had beds under the Stuarts.² A large proportion of the population of Wales also lacked beds, as did many Virginians.³ The 'amendment' in Week St. Mary was probably taking place as Harrison wrote. A century later, 'high beds', complete with curtains, were found in Terling, Essex, and in Nuneaton, Warwickshire in the 1660s.⁴ The earliest "high bedsted" in Week St. Mary is mentioned in 1676/7 (133 I), and the only mention of bed-curtains has already been noted. The inhabitants of Terling also began to acquire warming-pans in the 1670s - a luxury not known in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary. In eighteenth-century Norfolk,

1. R.K. Field, 'Worcestershire peasant buildings, household goods and farming equipment in the later middle ages', Medieval Archaeology, 9, 1965, p.123.
2. R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale, 1978, pp.281-2.
3. For Caernarvonshire, see Gareth Haulfryn Williams, 'Probate records: a source for folk life studies' Folk Life, 20, 1982, where it is suggested that 25% of the population were without beds as late as 1660-90. See also his 'Caernarfonshire house interiors 1660-90', Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions, 38, 1977, p.77. For Pembrokeshire, see B.E. Howells, 'Pembrokeshire farming circa 1580-1620, part III', National Library of Wales Journal, 9(4), 1956, pp.422 and 437. For Virginia, see Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790, 1982, pp.72-4.
4. Poverty and Piety, p.38; and Christopher Husbonds, 'Standards of living in North Warwickshire in the seventeenth century', Warwickshire History, 4, 1980, p.215.

even those in receipt of poor relief owned their own beds.¹ One of the best indications of rising standards of living at Telford after 1660 is the increasing number of bed-sheets, which rose from 1.4 per bed in the 1660s to 2.9 in the first decade of the eighteenth century.²

The twenty Week St. Mary decedents who possessed beds and bedding worth over £5 were mostly men of substance: the inventory of the poorest was valued at £34-14-4 (105 I), and seven had over £100 each. The value of beds and bedding varied, dependent on their type and condition. George Rolle's (6 I) "bed steed and bedd performed" was highly valued at £4; it was probably a four-poster. By contrast, Samuel Grist's bedstead (22 I) was worth a mere 2/6. Campbell noted that house furnishings "show little difference either in variety or in the value ascribed to each item".³ The important difference between individual decedents lay in quantities rather than quality. The number of beds owned is of greater interest than their individual values. A large number of bedsteads presumably indicates a large household.⁴ It is probable that every bed listed in the inventories was occupied at night,

1. Barbara Cornford, 'Inventories of the poor in Martham', Norfolk Archaeology, 35(1), 1970, p.119.
2. Yeomen and Colliers, pp.36-7.
3. Mildred Campbell, The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts. English ed., 1970, p.239.
4. Jan de Vries has suggested that a decline in the number of beds per household listed in Friesland inventories points to a sudden fall in household size in the mid-seventeenth century. Cf. his 'Peasant Demand Patterns and Economic Development: Friesland 1550-1750', in William N. Parker and Eric L. Jones, eds., European Peasants and their Markets: Essays in Agrarian Economic History, 1975, p.219.

although it is not possible to determine how many people might sleep in the one bed.

Fifty-five inventories indicate the number of bedsteads. It is clear from a comparison of their numbers with family numbers that most families had sufficient beds, although some would have had to share a bed. John Saunders (46), his wife, and their eight children, had nine beds between them. William Saunders (71) had four children and a wife when he died; they shared two bedsteads. In eighteen instances, the number of bedsteads exceed family numbers - a situation which implies the presence of living-in servants and/or lodgers. Roughly one-third of households had beds for people outside the immediate family. These households deserve closer examination.

In twelve¹ of the eighteen inventories, the reason for the presence of more beds than family members is clear: the decedents in question had either mature children, or no children, together with substantial farming commitments which they could not handle alone. The widow Thomasine Colwill (68) farmed Whiteleigh on her own account; the value of her livestock and arable was £48.18.0. Simon French (28) had no children, but a relatively substantial investment in agriculture. Henry Prust (142) was a

1. i.e. nos. 5, 28, 33, 39, 55, 59, 68, 101, 130, 141, 142 and 157.

bachelor whose grain and livestock together were valued at £72-10-0 . These decedents could not run their farms without the help of living-in servants. The same applied to John Pengelly, gent (157) who had two very young children, and livestock and arable valued at £130-10-0 . Servants evidently expected to be provided with beds - in contrast to the situation in Pembrokeshire, where they "slept on straw either in the bodies of carts or else in lofts above the stable or cow-house."¹

In two other cases, it is possible that the presence of extra bedsteads indicates the presence of lodgers. Agnes Pauley (66) and Alice Lamerton (107) were both widows, and may have had the space to earn a little extra from rent. Alternatively, Alice Lamerton may have employed a servant to assist her in keeping an ale house.

In a number of instances where the number of bedsteads are not given, it is nevertheless clear that the value placed on beds and bedding indicates more beds than family members. The average value of beds is given in table 10:4. The figures in this table are calculated by taking the total value of beds and bedding, and dividing by the number of bedsteads. They are therefore based only on those instances where the numbers of bedsteads are stated.

1. B.E. Howells, 'Pembrokeshire farming circa 1580-1620, part III', National Library of Wales Journal, 9(4), 1956, p.437. For servants' sleeping arrangements generally, see Ann Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England, 1981, p.41.

Table 10:4: The Value of a Bed

<u>Period</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean value</u>
1600-1624	41	£1-02-04
1625-1649	52	£1-06-10
1650-1674	24	18-07
1675-1699	46	£1-09-00

In four inventories, the value of beds and bedding exceeds £10, but the number of bedsteads is not stated. John Leigh, gent. (146) had beds worth c.£20 (his bedsteads are valued with other furniture and therefore precision is not possible). His own bed was probably worth much more than the average, but it is probable that 50-70% of this investment was attributable to his need for living-in servants, who provided the labour needed to manage the £225 he had invested in livestock and corn. Degory Trewin (83) and Joseph Pethick (114) were in similar situations: both had substantial agricultural investments and a need for labour which could only be met by servants. Nathaniel Trewin (150), whose beds and bedding were worth £14-15-00, and who evidently had a valuable bed for his own use, also needed servants - but for a different purpose. They presumably ran his household whilst he pursued his duties as a curate.

In the majority of cases, there were only sufficient beds for family members, and not for servants. The number of decedents who needed to employ servants was few: Week St.

Mary farms, like those in Wensleydale¹, were basically family farms, providing work for the farmers and their families, but not for paid employees.

Beds and bedding in early modern Week St. Mary were functional pieces of furniture: there were few, if any, spare beds. The average amount invested in beds by those who owned them is indicated in table 10.5. There was little change during the century, except in the last quarter when seven wealthy decedents² had beds and bedding worth over £5. It is clear that beds and bedding were the most valuable part of household goods - a circumstance which was also true in sixteenth-century Oxfordshire, seventeenth-century Worcestershire and the Forest of Pendle, and eighteenth-century Massachusetts.³

Table 10:5: Mean Investment in Beds

1600-24	£2-13-04
1625-49	£2-16-08
1650-74	£2-13-04
1675-99	£4-09-08

1. R.T. Fieldhouse, 'Agriculture in Wensleydale from 1600 to the present day', Northern History, 16, 1980, p.194.
2. Nos. 131, 141, 144, 146, 150, 157 and 161.
3. Mary Brigg, 'The Forest of Pendle in the Seventeenth Century, part 2', Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Transactions, 115, 1963, p.74; Carole Shammas, 'The domestic environment in early modern England and America', Journal of Social History, 14, 1980-1, pp.8-9.

D. Tables and Seating

After beds and bedding, tables were the most common items of furniture, followed by seating.¹ Reference has already been made to the value of the evidence concerning the ownership of tables, and seating in assessing changes to the level of material comfort. Table 10:6 indicates the percentage of inventories recording table-boards and seating. The actual number of inventories is given in brackets. This evidence is perhaps of more value as an index of material comfort than the evidence concerning all household goods discussed above; it is not affected by inflation, or by variations in estimated values placed upon goods by praisers.

Table 10:6: Table-boards and Seating

<u>Period</u>	<u>Table-boards</u>	<u>Seating</u>
1600-1624	43% (13)	33% (10)
1625-1649	57% (26)	35% (16)
1650-1674	46% (13)	36% (10)
1675-1699	75% (27)	56% (20)

It is evident that ownership increased only slowly in the first 75 years of the century. The last quarter, by comparison, saw a considerable increase in the proportion

1. This also applied in Caernarvonshire, Yorkshire, and probably generally; cf. Gareth Haulfryn Williams, 'Caernarfonshire house interiors, 1660-90', Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions, 38, 1977, pp. 80 and 82; R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale, 1978, p.282.

of owners. This evidence clearly supports the conclusion that substantial, permanent improvement in living conditions only took place in the last quarter of the century. North Cornishmen were not as comfortable as the men of mid-Essex, where tables appear in practically every inventory from 1635, or the men of Telford, where the same is true from 1660.¹ In Oxford, chairs "became less rare in the latter part of James I's reign, more common in the 1630s and very usual under the Commonwealth".² By the eighteenth century, even those in receipt of poor relief in Martham, Norfolk owned their own tables and chairs.³ Conditions in Week St. Mary were probably more akin to those in Egglecliffe, Co. Durham, where chairs were almost non-existent at the end of the sixteenth century, or to Radnorshire, where "chests, forms, stools and benches were what members of the household sat on in the 16th and 17th centuries".⁴

1. Farm and Cottage Inventories, p.11; Yeomen and Colliers, p.91. These dates are those at which these two collections of inventories commence; they have no significance for dating the appearance of tables or seating.
2. Pauline Agius, 'Late sixteenth and seventeenth-century furniture in Oxford: a survey of that listed in the probate inventories of members of the university, 1568-1699', Furniture History, 7, 1971, p.76.
3. Barbara Cornford, 'Inventories of the poor', in Martham's Norfolk Archaeology, 35 (1), 1970, p.119.
4. B.J.D. Harrison, 'Society and land in a South Durham township - Egglecliffe, 1560-1700', Cleveland and Teeside Local History Society Bulletin, 35, 1978, p.8; Ruth Bidgood, 'Household and personal possessions in Radnorshire wills of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries', Radnorshire Society Transactions, 51, 1981, p.18. See also Fieldhouse and Jennings, *op.cit.*, pp.282-3.

Table boards are not described in detail,¹ although adjectives such as 'little'², 'short'³, and 'square'⁴ are occasionally used. A number of inventories refer simply to 'boards'⁵, thus indicating the origin of tables, and probably indicating the most common type, that is, "the long rectangular table, whose top rested on two solid trestles"⁶. The "frames" mentioned in William Blake's inventory (52 I) were in fact trestles, which are otherwise not mentioned.⁷ The variety of tables which were present in Telford from 1660, and in mid-Essex from 1635, did not exist in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary.⁸ Similarly, only twelve inventories mention tablecloths, board cloths, table linen, or 'carpets'⁹. The latter term indicates table rather than floor coverings;¹⁰ Harrison mentions farmers who "learned also to garnish ... their tables with

1. A detailed description, setting them in their social context, is provided by Charles H. Laycock, 'The old Devon farm-house, part 2: its interior arrangements and domestic economy', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 54, 1922, pp.239-41.
2. 149 I, 152 I.
3. 2 I.
4. 17 I, 46 I, 137 I.
5. 13 I, 14 I, 40 I.
6. Yeomen and Colliers, p.91.
7. Trestles were rarely mentioned in Devon inventories, cf. Margaret Cash, ed., Devon Inventories of the sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 11 p.xiv.
8. Yeomen and Colliers, pp.91-2. Farm and Cottage Inventories, pp.11-12.
9. 4 I, 5 I, 37 I, 55 I, 59 I, 98 I, 107 I, 134 I, 142 I.
10. Yeomen and Colliers, pp.92-3. In 4 I, a bed covering may be indicated.

carpets and fine napery".¹ At Butlers Marston, Warwickshire "all but the poorest homes possessed some form of table covering".² Such homes were few in Week St. Mary.

Seating was also relatively poor in comparison with other parts of the country. Forms were the most common mode of seating; they were placed on the long sides of tableboards³. There was no significant change in the distribution of ownership during the century. The ownership of stools, however, was a low 10% in the first quarter of the century, but increased to c.23% for the last seventy-five years. Stools were often referred to as 'joint', indicating that they were made by a joiner rather than a carpenter.

Chairs are mentioned in 34 inventories. Most people who owned them had more than one, but they were rarely described - probably because they were not worth describing. Walter Hore (4 I) had "borde chares", presumably for sitting at table. Thomas Beaford (5 I) owned a "great standdinge cheare", and Joan Pethick (141 I) had two high chairs and two low ones. The only hint of luxury comes

1. William Harrison, The Description of England, ed., Georges Edelen, 1968, p.200.
2. Joan Lane, 'Farm and cottage inventories from Butlers Marston, 1546-1755', Warwickshire Historian, 1, 1971, p.17.
3. In those instances where only one form is mentioned, the explanation is that the other side of the table-board faced the window, which had built-in window seats. Cf. Gabriel Olivé, 'Furniture in a West Country parish', Furniture History, 12, 1976, p.18.

in the inventory of the curate, Nathaniel Trewin (150 I), who had six leather chairs and two timber ones. It is perhaps not without significance that his inventory comes from the last quarter of the century, when ownership of chairs stood at 38%, compared with 17% for the period 1600-1624. This figure was low compared with other parts of the country; in Butlers Marston, Warwickshire, for example, 43% of inventories made between 1546 and 1755 recorded chairs.¹ The form had been mainly supplanted by the chair or joint stool by the 1690s in Yetminster, Dorset.² Nevertheless, an improvement in North Cornishmen's material comfort took place towards the close of the century which was not just a matter of an increase in numbers owning the less comfortable forms and stools. As well as an increase in the total proportion owning seating, there was an improvement in the quality and comfort of seating. Jan de Vries notes a similar development in Friesland: "a finer, more costly furniture was replacing cruder objects in the peasant interior".³

1. Joan Lane, op.cit., p.18. Most Butlers Marston inhabitants who had chairs possessed only one.
2. R. Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.6.
3. Jan de Vries, 'Peasant Demand Patterns and Economic Development: Friesland 1550-1750', in William N. Parker and Eric L. Jones, eds., European Peasants and their Markets: Essays in Agrarian Economic History, 1975, p.221.

E. Storage furniture.

Chests, coffers, trunks, cupboards, presses and boxes were all commonly used for storage. The distinction between these various items is "bewilderingly uncertain".¹ The inventories rarely indicate what they were made of, nor what was stored in them.² William Colwill (51 I) had a chest made of spruce, which was also recorded in his widow Thomasine's inventory (68 I). John Saunders (46 I) had a chest for corn. The chests and boxes in which George Rolle (6) stored his deeds were said to have been broken open - presumably they were locked.³ Perhaps the most common use was for the storage of clothes and bedding.⁴ The "armory" or "amery" recorded in the inventories of John Saunders (46 I) and Ralph Hartland (106 I) had nothing to do with arms; rather they were wooden lockers or presses for keeping victuals, with openings for air to circulate.⁵ Meat was commonly stored 'hanging at the roof', and therefore needed no storage facility other than a hook.

In some other parts of the country, changes in storage furniture were significant. The inhabitants of Richmond, Yorkshire, possessed a much wider range of storage

1. Yeomen and Colliers, p.95.

2. On the contents of chests, see Mildred Campbell, The English Yeoman under the Tudors and Early Stuarts, English ed., 1970, p.236.

3. P.R.O., C3/288/31.

4. Farm and Cottage Inventories, p.19.

5. Cash, op.cit., p.177.

furniture in the seventeenth century than had previously been the case.¹ In Yetminster, Dorset, the most marked change in seventeenth-century household furniture was an increase in storage furniture: there were more chests, and boxes and trunks were introduced.² No such changes occurred in Week St. Mary. These items appear in about 65% of inventories throughout the century, a figure which may be compared to the ubiquity of chests in mid-Essex.³

F. Lighting and Heating.

Lighting was provided by light from the fire, and by candles. Candles were normally made at home; Nicholas Tucker (13 I) had 6/- worth of tallow for the purpose.⁴ Most people would have been content with rushlights, made from the pith of meadow rushes and dipped in fat.⁵ These cost nothing, and therefore do not appear in inventories. The only items concerned with lighting appearing in inventories, other than fire equipment, are candlesticks.

1. R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale, 1978, p.283.
2. R. Machin, Probate inventories and manorial excerpts of Chetnole, Leigh, and Yetminster, 1976, p.5.
3. Farm and Cottage Inventories, p.19.
4. Tallow candles were still remembered in 1918; cf. R. Pearse Chope, 'Some old farm implements and operations', Devonshire Association ... Reports and Transactions, 50, 1918, p.269. See also A.K. Hamilton-Jenkin, Cornwall and its People, 1945, p.358-9.
5. Gertrude Jekyll provides a description of how these were made in her Old English Household Life; Some Account of Cottage Objects and Country Folk, 1925, pp.19-25. See also J. Seymour Lindsay, Iron and Brass Implements of the English House, 1964, pp.41-3.

In the first half of the century, these were usually made of latten, a metal alloy; however, from 1650 brass candlesticks became common. Tin, pewter, and iron were also used. Candlesticks appear in only 39 inventories; however, their value was very small - rarely more than 2/- - and it is probable that they were frequently included in the item 'things forgotten'. In only one instance was there an improvement on the candlestick: Ralph Hartland (106 I) had a lantern.

Heating was usually by wood fire. Much of the parish was woodland, and consequently fuel was readily available. Ricks of wood occasionally appear in inventories.¹ Furze was also used as fuel: William Blake (52 W) bequeathed to his widow the right "to take furses for her owne necessarie use in Bakesdon Downe". Coal is only mentioned once: Benjamin Adam (163 I) the blacksmith, had "wood in the rick and smiths cole" worth 9/2. The "smiths cole" was charcoal,² presumably intended for his furnace.

The great majority of householders - 76% according to the 1662-64 hearth tax returns - had only one or two hearths. The implements that surrounded the hearth are described in detail in the inventories, and have been discussed

1. e.g. 57 I, 65 I.

2. Margaret Cash, ed., Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Devon and Cornwall Record Society N.S., 11. 1965, p.180.

by a number of writers.¹

The hearth was an essential part of the house, both for heating and for cooking.² The fire was made directly on the floor, with the larger logs sometimes supported on andirons. Above the blaze, pot-hangings or crooks³ hung from a bar in the chimney to support cooking utensils. Brandises and spits⁴ are frequently mentioned in inventories; these were used for griddling or roasting. Dripping pans were placed under the meat to catch the juices. Other items less frequently mentioned include toasters, tongs, and fire pikes. It may be that these items are occasionally included under the general rubric "other ironware".

The values attached to fire-side equipment were minimal, and many items escaped notice. Indeed, as their value as a proportion of total wealth decreased, the items escaping notice increased. It is difficult to come to any other conclusion in light of the decreasing proportion of inventories which recorded fire-side equipment between 1600 and 1775 - 43% in 1600-1624, 38% in 1625-1649, and

1. e.g. Farm and Cottage Inventories, pp.24-9; Yeomen and Colliers, pp.103-5; Jekyll, op.cit., pp.32-51; Cash, op.cit., pp.xvi-xvii; Robert Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.9; Charles H. Laycock, 'The old Devon farm-house, part 2: its interior arrangements and domestic economy', Devonshire Assocaition ... Report and Transactions, 54, 1922, pp.253-60.
2. Machin, op.cit., p.9.
3. These are illustrated in J. Seymour Lindsay, Iron and Brass Implements of the English House, 1964, figs.33-42.
4. Lindsay, op.cit., figs.86-9.

29% in 1650-1674. In the last quarter of the century, the proportion increased slightly to 33%, as items became both more numerous and more elaborate.

G. The Kitchen

It is impossible to separate the seventeenth-century kitchen from the hearth, since that was where most food preparation was done. Mention has already been made of the spit, the dripping pan, brandises and toasters; other equipment used in cooking included the cauldron, the skillet or possent, the chaffing dish, the kettle, and a great variety of pots and pans.¹ The skillett is mentioned in 32 inventories, and was common throughout the century; it was a cooking pot with three legs and a long handle, which could be stood in the embers.² The cauldron was a larger version of the same thing, and had a lid; 21 inventories mention them. The chaffing dish, which appears much less frequently, held hot embers, and was used as a warming dish. Kettles were also infrequent; they were open cooking pots with a handle, which could be suspended over the fire. The many pot-hangings listed indicate that many of the other pots mentioned could be similarly suspended.

1. These are discussed by Laycock, *op. cit.*, pp.260-66. Many are illustrated in J. Seymour Lindsay, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
2. Farm and Cottage Inventories, p.25.

Most of these items were made of brass, which is explicitly mentioned in 57% of inventories.¹ Iron and tin are also mentioned, although infrequently. There was little change in the usage of these materials in the course of the century. The major change in the kitchen was the increase in the usage of pewter, and the presumed decrease in the use of wood and earthenware. Harrison wrote in 1587 of "the exchange of vesel, as of treen [wooden] platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin". "In old time ... a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter in a good farmer's house", but in Harrison's day, every farmer had "a fair garnish of pewter on his cupboard".² Items made from wood or pewter included platters, saucers, porringers, trenchers, dishes, salt cellars, cups, jugs, flagons, tankards and bowls. Table 10:7 indicates the dramatic increase in the number of inventories recording pewter.

Table 10:7: Pewter in Inventories

1600-1624	45%
1625-1649	58%
1650-1674	70%
1675-1699	83%

1. In North Telford the proportion was almost the same - 54.7%, cf. Yeomen and Colliers, p.106.
2. William Harrison, The Description of England, ed., Georges Edelen, 1968, pp.201-2.

A comparison of this table with figures compiled by Hatcher¹ indicates the backwardness of North Cornwall. In analysing nine collections of inventories dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was found that pewter was recorded in over 90% of all inventories, except for 21 from mid-Essex, 1635-40, where the figure was 81%. Most of these collections were from the Home Counties and the Midlands.² In Yetminster, Dorset, pewter table-ware was so common that it became a generic term in the same way that we use the term crockery today.³ Only in North Telford has lower use been recorded than in Week St. Mary; there, it is recorded in only 72.7% of inventories between 1660 and 1750.⁴ It would be interesting to make comparisons with inventories from other remote areas, such as Pembrokeshire or Northumberland.⁵ It is clear that, in Week St. Mary, pewter was not ubiquitous in the seventeenth century. Rather, its use was very low in 1600, but steadily increased throughout the century;

1. John Hatcher and T.C. Barker, A History of British Pewter, 1974, pp.92-3.
2. The only exception is the collection from Devon, in Margaret Cash, ed., Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S., 11, 1965.
3. R. Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.7.
4. Yeomen and Colliers, p.106.
5. Pewter manufacture was increasing in importance in Kendal in 1695 in relationship to iron manufacture. C.B. Phillips, 'Town and country: economic change in Kendal c. 1550-1700', in Peter Clark, ed., The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1984, pp.106 and 120.

by 1700, it was to be found in most households. Use was promoted by the fact that it was made locally: there was a pewterer in nearby Launceston in the late 1630s, and the tin used in its manufacture was mined within the county.¹

As the usage of pewter increased, so the usage of earthenware and wooden vessels decreased. In the first quarter of the century 24% of inventories record earthenware or 'cloam'; the figure decreased to 15% between 1625 and 1649, and to nil thereafter. References to wooden vessels are fewer; they declined from 17% in 1600-1624 to 3% in 1675-1699. It does not necessarily follow that earthenware or wood ceased to be used for kitchen equipment: in many instances, materials used are not stated.

The figures derived from inventories for usage of earthenware and wooden vessels are not totally trustworthy. With the overall growth of wealth, their value in relationship to total wealth declined, and it became increasingly likely that they would be included under general headings such as "all other things" or "other trifles". Nevertheless, if meticulousness in writing

1. Hatcher and Barker, op.cit., p.121. Pewter was made in at least fourteen places in seventeenth-century Cornwall; cf. H.L. Douch, 'Cornish Pewterers', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S., vol.6, 1969, pp.65 et seq. See also Cornwall in the Seventeenth Century, pp.77 and 121.

inventories was decreasing, this in itself is an indication of the decreasing importance attached to such goods.

Pottery in particular almost certainly continued to be used. The pottery industry of North Devon was of more than local significance¹, and its wares were shipped to many Cornish ports, including Bude,² in the late seventeenth century. A Bideford man is known to have established a pottery at Boscastle, just ten miles south-west of Week St. Mary in the 1660s and 1670s.³ Seventeenth-century North Devon ware has been found at Launcells⁴ and Davidstow,⁵ and almost certainly continued to find its way to Week St. Mary, although its use probably declined in competition with pewter.

Wood was used for one important utensil: the 'keives', or barrels used for the storage of liquor. For most of

1. Alison Grant, North Devon Pottery: the Seventeenth Century, 1983, passim.
2. Ibid, p.89.
3. Ibid, p.33.
4. Laurence Keen, 'A Series of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Lead-Glazed Relief Tiles from North Devon'. British Archaeological Association Journal, 32, 1969, pp.144-70.
5. Peter Trudgian, 'Observations and excavations at Tichbarrow, Davidstow', Cornish Archaeology, 15, 1976, p.40.

the century, these appear in one-third of inventories; the proportion increases to 50% between 1675 and 1699. Buckets and tubs are also mentioned. There are references to stills (107 I and 142 I), and one "siderwring" is also listed (142 I). Edmund Marrais (149 I) had a 'pound', used to crush apples in cider making. All these vessels bear witness to the extent of brewing in Week St. Mary, but unfortunately there is little indication of the brews that were stored in the many keives. It is probable that cider and ale were both common. Milk was also available; seven inventories record cheesewrings (30 I, 46 I, 62 I, 114 I, 132 I, 141 I and 148 I) indicating that some milk was turned into cheese. It is surprising that there are not more references to dairy equipment, in view of the numbers of 'milch kine'.¹ In Wensleydale, "probably half the true farmhouse inventories included references to cheese and butter making."² Perhaps in Week St. Mary milk was consumed direct. Much Wensleydale cheese and butter was exported to London.³ It is probable that many of the vessels discussed above were used in the dairy, despite the fact that this is not explicitly stated.

1. See above, pp.146-7.

2. R.T. Fieldhouse, 'Agriculture in Wensleydale from 1600 to the present day'. Northern History, 16, 1980, p.187.

3. Ibid, p.188.

H. Clothing

It has been possible to demonstrate clearly from the evidence of the inventories that the standard of domestic comfort was increasing, especially towards the end of the seventeenth century. Spufford has suggested that this applied not just to housing and furnishings, but also to personal clothing. Unfortunately, she was unable to adequately verify her hypothesis from probate inventories, since, as in Friesland, "the clothing of the deceased was often simply lumped together, unitemized, or otherwise disposed of uninformatively".¹ The Week St. Mary inventories are equally uninformative. They normally lump all clothing together as 'wearing apparell', with no further description.² The value of clothing and money is frequently given together; indeed, this was normal after mid-century. The only quantitative evidence that can be adduced is the movement in the mean total value of money and apparell together. These figures are presented in table 10:8.

1. Margaret Spufford, The Great Reclothing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century, 1984, pp.125-8; Jan de Vries, 'Peasant Demand Patterns and Economic Development: Friesland, 1550-1750', in William N. Parker and Eric L. Jones, eds., European Peasants and their Markets: essays in agrarian economic history, 1975, p.219. See also John S. Moore, 'Probate inventories - problems and prospects', in Philip Riden, ed. Records and the Local Community, 1984, p.13.
2. This was also the case in Glamorganshire and Dorset; cf. Moelwyn I. Williams, 'A general view of Glamorgan houses and their interiors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', Glamorgan Historian, 10. 1974, p.168; R. Machin, Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh and Yetminster, 1976, p.8.

Table 10:8 : Mean Value of Money and Apparell

Period	No. of Inventories	Value
1600-1624	30	£2-10-06 (29= £1-11-06)
1625-1649	55	1-13-03
1650-1674	28	2-02-07
1675-1699	35	4-15-01

If it is accepted that the proportion of money to apparell remained constant over time, then these figures demonstrate a significant improvement in the quality and/or amount of clothing in the final quarter of the century. The absence of inventory data prevents an adequate discussion of the nature of that improvement. The wills, however, provide sufficient evidence to enable us to describe attire, since specific items of clothing were frequently bequethed. Such bequests occur in no less than twenty-eight wills. Of this total, eighteen are the wills of women, which generally provide much more detail than those of men. Women were evidently much more concerned than men about the fate of their clothes - probably because they were amongst the few items over which they could expect to exercise control.

Margaret Woolfe (77 W) provided us with the most detailed description.¹ She had four waistcoats, one of which was

1. The meanings of the terms used to describe seventeenth-century clothing are defined in the glossary. See C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century, 1955, for a full description.

made of flannel, and another of worsted. She described one as an 'outer' waistcoat. Her 'wardrobe' also included two smocks, no less than five aprons, including at least one made of jersey, hose, that is, breeches, and an undercoat of "bere". For her head, she had two hats, a cross cloth, that is, a knitted head cloth, and a holland cap. She also had shoes, "lace wooking", and "nacking". These are only the items she bequeathed; other clothes may well have been included in her praisers' valuation of "her wearing apparrell" at £1.

Joan Burnbery (27 W) also mentioned many items of clothing in her will. She had a smock, three waistcoats, three aprons, perhaps two petticoats, that is, skirts, a boddice, two old coats, a "wering band", that is, a falling collar, and two hats. Her praisers valued her "apparell" at £2- 5- 4; apart from this, she only had an old coffer worth 1/- . amd 3/6 in cash.

Men too had their breeches: short trousers fastened beneath the knee. John Colwill (48 W) left his breeches, doublet, and a pair of stockings to his son John William Milton (31 W), left his "beast peare of breeches" to his cousin William Milton, and his "best sute of apparell" to Richard Colman. John Pearce (47 Wii) bequeathed a cloak. Elizabeth Northam (76 W), whose husband died just before she did, still had his grey jerkin. These are the only items of men's attire mentioned.

Much of this clothing was made from locally produced wool: reference has already been made to the ubiquity of spinning. There are several references to worsted, and John Colwill (48 W) gave his grand-daughter a piece of grey cloth to make a gown. Judith Trick (87 W) had a waistcoat made of searge, a durable woollen fabric. Other materials were not available locally. Ralph Hartland (106 I) had two "trunks of mechantry wares", which included cambric, kenten, and bustimes. Cambric and kenten are both linens; cambric especially being popular for head-linen and women's attire in general.¹ Kenten was a finer material. Bustimes is a cotton fabric, probably used for similar purposes. Mary Trefry's bodice was made of silk (63W). Such materials were increasingly available through travelling chapmen at a price that could be afforded. Mary Trefry was far from being wealthy - her inventory was valued at £17-8-0 - yet she could afford silk. In Elizabethan Cornwall, men whose wives wore silk gowns were expected to be sufficiently wealthy to maintain a 'trotting gelding' for the defence of the realm. Only seven such gowns were identified for the whole of the county.² Most men and women, and especially those below

1. Spufford, Great Reclathing, op cit, p.122.

2. E.H.W. Dunkin, 'Return of silk dresses in the reign of Queen Elizabeth', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 7, 1881-3, pp.191-2.

the gentry, dressed in hard-wearing dull clothes made either of homespun or locally produced materials. Simplicity was the usual style.¹

I. Working Tools and Implements.

Work in the seventeenth century was intimately linked with house and home, and with family. It is consequently the case that, in the probate inventories, working tools are frequently priced together with household goods; indeed, sometimes the two cannot be separated at all. The dairy and the kitchen, for example, were not distinct entities: the buckets, tubs and other receptacles used for milk have already been discussed as kitchen utensils, but they could equally well be treated as the husbandman's agricultural equipment.

The tools used by tradesmen have been discussed above, and consequently the discussion here will concentrate on equipment used in husbandry.² Such equipment is listed in fifty-four inventories - thirty-nine per cent of the total. It may be divided into five categories; hand tools, ploughs, wains, harness, and troughs.

1. Francis W. Steer, 'Smaller Houses and their furnishings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd series, 20, 1957, p.149.
2. For the tools owned by labourers, see Alan Everitt, 'Farm labourers' in Joan Thirsk, ed., Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.4: 1500-1640, 1967, pp.431-2.

Hand tools were owned at all levels of society: Edward Milton (18), whose inventoried goods were worth £4-2-2, had "one old showle and mattocke" valued at 6d., Robert Williams' shovel (32) was worth 4d. - but was probably essential to a man whose total inventoried estate was valued at a mere 15/7. Thomas Woolfe's inventory (37) reveals more tools, but little wealth: his inventoried goods, valued at £11-8-4, included a shovel, a mattock, a hook, a hatchet, an evell¹, and a pick, together worth 2/-. There were few who had more recorded hand tools than this - although it is probable that the phrase "things forgotten or not praised" hides many tools of low worth. The hand tools recorded were used for a variety of tasks in farm-yard, field, and wood-land. There were axes and hatchets for chopping down trees, clearing wood-land, and obtaining fuel for the hearth. Mattocks were used in grubbing up trees, loosening hard soil and hoeing. They would also have been used in the practise of "denshiring", or "beat burning". The "beattrihers" owned by Walter Hore (4 I) were also used for this purpose, which has been described and discussed

1. See glossary.

by many writers since Carew.¹ It involved the cutting, drying, and burning of turfs, and the addition of sea sand to the ashes as a fertilizer. Most tools were multi-purpose: picks and "evells", that is, three pronged forks, might be used to bring in the harvest, to carry straw and hay, or to move dung. For the latter purpose, some husbandmen had dung pots for transporting manure to the fields; these were strong panniers with falling doors which could be strapped on the backs of horses.²

Substantial muck carts such as those found in Huntingdonshire and described by Porter were not to be found in Week St. Mary.³ The shovel was a common implement; there were a variety of different types. Chope⁴ mentions the paring-shovel, used in beat-burning, the draining spade, and the turve-spade, as well as the 'shool', which served the purposes of both spade and shovel. Other tools included

1. See, for example, Survey of Cornwall, pp.101-2; William J. Blake, ed., 'Hooker's Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 47, 1915, p.343; Samuel Colepresse, 'A Geographical Account of Devonshire and Cornwall' (ed. R.G.F. Stanes), Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 96, 1964, pp.274 and 281; R. Pearse Chope, 'Some old farm implements and operations', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 50, 1918, pp.270-74; Cornwall in the 17th Century, p.38; John Hatcher, Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall 1300-1500, 1970, pp.12-13; R.A. Dodgshon and C.A. Jewell, 'Paring and burning and related practices with particular reference to the south-western counties of England', in Alan Gailey and Alexander Fenton, eds., The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe, 1970, pp. 74-87.
2. These are illustrated in R. Pearse Chope, op.cit., p.285.
3. Stephen Porter, 'Farm transport in Huntingdonshire', Journal of Transport History, 3, 1982, p.37.
4. Chope, op.cit., pp.271-2 and 283-4.

a few scythes and hooks for the harvest, and seedlips used for carrying seeds when sowing.¹

The process of threshing required a number of specialist items. The flail is conspicuous by its absence from inventories - presumably its value was too low for it to be worth including. However, seives, sacks and "winding sheets" are frequently mentioned.² Their value was generally low; however, it is noticeable that whereas mattocks and shovels were owned by the poorest as well as the wealthy, no decedent with an inventoried estate worth less than £30 had seives or "winding sheets". Only those who could grow their own corn needed them.

A similar wealth limit applied also to ownership of ploughs, although Richard Milton (21) had a few items of plough gear and only £15-9-8 in inventoried goods, whilst Humphrey Jewell (162) had a plough chain and goods worth only £27-14-8. The inventories sometimes merely refer to 'plough-stuff', but they frequently give detailed listings of the parts that made up a plough - shares, culters, wheels, chains, yokes,

1. For a description of the processes of sowing and reaping, see *ibid*, pp.280-3.
2. See *ibid*, pp.288-91, and Farm and Cottage Inventories, p.62, for a description of the process of threshing.

head tows, etc.¹ Many decedents do not appear to have owned all the requisite parts, and it is evident that there must have been some pooling of resources. Joseph Pethick's inventory (144 I) is quite explicit on this point: he owned only one-third part of a "butt and wheel plowstufte and other implements". Arable acreages were small; therefore, it was better to share investment in heavy equipment. Most decedents with plough-stuff also owned a harrow.²

The most important implements to be introduced in the course of the century were the wain and the butt. The wain was a large, open, two-wheeled cart, with a carrying capacity of about two hundred sheaves.³ The butt was a low, one-horse cart, made to tip.⁴ Only one of each

1. Descriptions of ploughs are given in Colepresse, op cit, pp.281-2, and Chope, op.cit., pp.274-8. See also Francis Grainger, 'Agriculture in Cumberland in ancient times', Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions, New Series, 9, 1909, pp.131-2. For all the processes involved in growing a crop, see Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.40-4.
2. See Colepresse, op.cit., p.290, and Chope, op.cit., pp.278-9, for descriptions of harrows. In Findon, Sussex, which lay in an area of sheep-corn husbandry, many inventories record ploughs, and harrows were also frequently mentioned; cf. T.P. Hudson, ed., Findon through Two Centuries: a Downland village, 1600-1800, 1982, p.25. In Austrey, Warwickshire, two-thirds of inventories record ploughs or harrows between 1580 and 1620; cf. Alan Roberts, The Farming Inhabitants of Appleby and Austrey: two midland parishes 1550-1700, University of Adelaide Ph.D. thesis, 1984, p.89.
3. John Rowe, Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution, 1953, p.229.
4. Chope, op cit, p.287; see also C.S. Gilbert, An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall, 1817, vol.1, p.352.

appears prior to 1660, both in the same inventory (4 I). Thereafter, butts are mentioned in five inventories (114 I, 120 I, 142 I, 144 I, and 161 I), and wains also in five (120 I, 140 I, 141 I, 142 I). Most owners were relatively substantial farmers.

The introduction of these vehicles came at the same time as the introduction of the much heavier, four-wheeled waggon in Huntingdonshire¹ and Oxfordshire². As Havinden has pointed out, the introduction of the waggon is an indication that harvests were becoming heavier.³ The same comment applies equally to the introduction of wains and butts in Week St. Mary. The waggon was not known in Week St. Mary in the seventeenth century. The carving of a pack-horse on a bench-end in North Tamerton church emphasises the importance of this means of transport.⁴ Celia Fiennes noted on her travels in South Devon that all carriage in the region was on horseback,⁵ and even

1. Stephen Porter, 'Farm transport in Huntingdonshire, 1610-1749', Journal of Transport History, 3(1), 1982, pp.35-45. Wains were much more common in other parts of the country; in sixteenth-century Chesterfield, one in five inventories mention them; cf. J.M. Bestall and D.V. Fowkes, eds., Chesterfield Wills and Inventories 1521-1603, Derbyshire Record Society, vol.1, 1977, p.xxxi. In Kent, the use of waggons was widespread in 1600; cf. C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth-Century Kent: a social and economic history, 1965, p.107.
2. M.A. Havinden, ed., Household and Farm Inventories of Oxfordshire, 1550-1590, Oxfordshire Record Society, 44, 1965, p.32.
3. M.A. Havinden, 'Agricultural progress in open-field Oxfordshire', Agricultural History Review, 9, 1961, p.82.
4. L.E. Elliott-Binns, Medieval Cornwall, 1955, p.35.
5. Cited in David Hey, Packmen, Carriers and Pack-horse Roads: trade and communications in North Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, 1980, p.89.

in 1796, it could still be said that "hay, corn, straw, fuel, stones, dung, lime, etc., are, in the ordinary practice of the district, still carried on horseback".¹

A similar situation prevailed in Caernarvonshire, where wheeled vehicles had a very limited distribution in the seventeenth century.²

Harness does not appear in inventories below the £20 wealth level. Above this level, many farmers had saddles, bridles, girth and rope for their horses. Pack saddles and panniers are also mentioned. The Devon crooks were very distinctive; they formed hooks like yokes of a good height, on either side of the horse, which supported panniers used for carrying goods.³ The inventories suggest that this description applied in North Cornwall as well.

Troughs made from moor-stone, that is granite, are frequently listed in inventories. These were probably used primarily as receptacles for water, although the pigs'

1. Chope, op. cit., p.284, citing W. Marshall. See also Robert Fraser, General View of the County of Cornwall, with observations on the means of its improvement, 1794, p.36.
2. Gareth Haulfryn Williams, 'Farming in Stuart Caernarfonshire,' Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions, 42, 1981, pp.74-5.
3. There is an illustration of a pack-horse saddle with long crooks in R. Pearse Chope, 'Some old farm implements and operations', Devonshire Association ... Report and Transactions, 50, 1918, p.284.

troughs listed by Andrew Blake's appraisers would have been used for feeding purposes. Moorstone troughs were used for watering both animals and humans; it is probable that they frequently stood at the top of wells, close to farm houses. One at Worthen, Pyworthy, still had a hand pump to the well below in the 1960s, and stood immediately outside the farm-house door: it had obviously been used to provide the original water supply for the house, and may have served the farm yard as well.¹

The level of investment in agricultural equipment was low,² although it did increase in the course of the century. Although more than 75% of inventories record either livestock or arable crops, only 39% mention equipment. In the first quarter of the century, its total value amounted to only 2% of owners' inventoried wealth; between 1675 and 1699, the proportion was 3.6%. The comparable figure for Nottinghamshire 1559-1566 and Bedfordshire 1616-1619 is c.5-6%. In Kirdford, Sussex, investment increased from 4% between 1611 and 1659 to 7% between 1660 and 1699. Swaledale farmers invested "a very insignificant proportion" of their capital in agricultural implements. In Friesland

1. Personal knowledge.

2. In Kent between 1650 and 1750 most farmers had one wagon, a few had two; nearly all had at least one or two carts and the same number of ploughs, and many had three harrows; see C.W. Chalklin, 'The Rural Economy of a Kentish Wealden Parish 1650-1750', Agricultural History Review, 10(1), 1962, p.44.

investment in wooden implements alone increased from almost 10% at the end of the sixteenth century, to over 17% in the early eighteenth century.¹

Despite this contrast, the trend in Week St. Mary was similar to that in Friesland. There were "few sudden departures in the record of farm equipment holdings; rather, this sector is characterized by a gradual increase in certain, usually expensive, items, plus an increase in items that indicate the production capacity of the farm".² In Week St. Mary, the expensive item gradually introduced was the wain.

1. Most of these figures have been calculated by Jan de Vries, 'Peasant Demand Patterns and Economic Development: Friesland 1550-1750, in William N. Parker and Eric L. Jones, ed., European Peasants and their Markets: Essays in Agrarian History, 1975, pp.217-8. His figures are drawn from P.A.Kennedy, ed. Nottinghamshire Household Inventories, Thoroton Society Record Series, 22, 1963; F.G. Emmison, 'Jacobean Household Inventories, Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Records Society, 20, 1938, pp.1-143; G.H. Kenyon, Kirdford Inventories, 1611 to 1776, with particular reference to the Weald Clay Farming. Sussex Archaeological Collections, 93, 1955, p.107. See also R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale, 1978, p.155.
2. Jan de Vries, op.cit., pp.213-4.

J. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to describe and analyse the material conditions of life in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary. Evidence concerning housing, furniture, utensils, and working tools has been examined in detail, and it has been possible to trace the diffusion of goods as diverse as pewter, chairs and wains. The growth of wealth in the final decades of the seventeenth century, which has been discussed in chapter 6, clearly had an impact on the market for consumer goods, and on the home comforts experienced by North Cornishmen.

Nevertheless, the overwhelming impression from the probate inventories, even at the close of the seventeenth century, is of homes which had mud floors, no ceilings, and were almost empty of furniture. Everyone, admittedly, had a bed, but no other article of furniture which was ubiquitous. Even in the period 1675-1699, seating is only recorded in 56% of inventories. In other words, 44% of decedents did not have even a stool to sit on. It is probable that the furniture which was available was poorly made. Week St. Mary was in one of the poorest areas of England, and its poverty was reflected in the comforts available to its inhabitants. The houses of the parish and their contents, were entirely functional in their design. Their purpose was to provide a workplace, eating facilities, and shelter. Comfort was an entirely secondary consideration.

It is against this background that the development of literacy must be set. Writing and reading are activities which require certain conditions before they can be undertaken. Books are normally read in a seated position; writing requires a flat surface. Both activities require good lighting. The lack of tables and seating, and the minimal lighting available in the long winter evenings, were considerable deterrents to the achievement of literacy. In addition, if books or papers are to be kept, then dry storage facilities are required. It is probable that they were not always available.

Chapter 11: Literacy and Learning

In the early sixteenth century, "divers the best gentlemen's sons of Devon and Cornwall were ... virtuously trained up in both kinds of divine and humane learning" at Week St. Mary's chantry school.¹ It was "one of the most distinctive educational foundations to be made in the South West during the sixteenth century".² Despite its remote location, the school was popular. It was the only school in the south west which required its master to be a graduate;³ free schooling under a university graduate was not easily to be found elsewhere. Its removal to Launceston in 1548 left the parish bereft of its own school: there is no direct evidence of a school in the parish for the next 150 years.

There is, however, evidence that schooling was available, if not in Week St. Mary itself, then in nearby parishes.⁴ Degory Wheare, the first Camden professor of modern history, was born at Berry Court, Jacobstow - a few yards away from the Week St. Mary parish boundary - in 1573, and must have had access to local teachers before he left to pursue

1. Carew, p.189. See also P.L. Hull, 'The endowment and foundation of a grammar school at Week St. Mary, by Dame Thomasine Percival', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, N.S., 7(1), 1973, pp.21-54, and Nicholas Orme, Education in the West of England, 1066-1548: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire, 1976, pp.173-82.
2. Orme, op cit, p.173.
3. Ibid, p.19.
4. There were schools in both Launceston and Stratton in the sixteenth century. Orme, op cit, pp.104-5 and 148-50.

a distinguished academic career in Oxford.¹ So must the brothers John and William Orchard, who matriculated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, on the same day in 1629, and followed clerical careers.² A number of administrators were instructed to provide for the education of minors "according to theyr degree and calling" (37 A, 134 A, 157 A). John Tucker (89W) wanted his son Arthur to be "carefully and religeously to bee educated and brought up in learne and all other good condicons and quallities". The administrators of John Matthew (126C) and Andrew Blake (134C) paid out £15 and £8 respectively for the maintainance of their charges, which sums included the cost of clothing. Some children who learnt to read were presumably taught by their parents or neighbours.³

The documents in volume two provide ample evidence that many Week St. Mary inhabitants did learn to write: most wills and inventories were written by parishioners, although a few were probably the work of scribes from other parts of North Cornwall. Three kinds of evidence relating to literacy are provided by probate records: they provide

1. A list of his works is given in George Clement Boase and William Prideaux Courtney, Bibliotheca Cornubiensis: a catalogue of ... works relating to the county of Cornwall, 1878, pp.864-5.
2. See above, p.173.
3. Thomas Laqueur, 'The cultural origins of popular literacy in England, 1500-1850', Oxford Review of Education, 2(3), 1976, p.257.

numerous autographs, both signatures and marks, they enable the identification of village scribes, and they indicate the presence of books.

Wills, according to Cressy, "are seriously marred as a source for measuring illiteracy by their closeness to death".¹ This argument ignores the fact that probate records contain not only the autographs of testators, but also those of witnesses, praisers, a few deponents, and those bound in administration bonds. Wills are not the only probate records containing autographs; they also appear in administration bonds, inventories, and various other related documents. There are a total of 657 autographs in this collection. This figure excludes witnesses to administration bonds, since some were court officials, and most were not local men. It must also be noted that this figure also includes many instances where the same individual signed his name or made his mark on two, three, or more occasions.

This collection of autographs presents various problems of analysis and interpretation. The first is that it is not necessarily easy to determine the genuineness of a

1. David Cressy, 'Literacy in Seventeenth-Century England: more evidence', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 8(1), 1977, p.149. See also Contrasting Communities, pp.196-9.

signature. Some of the wills edited here are copies, rather than originals, and cannot, therefore, be checked for handwriting. This affects particularly all the wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury during the Interregnum - although these do record the making of marks. Secondly, during the first half of the century, it was common for scribes to write in the names of witnesses and praisors without recording their ability or inability to sign. These considerations affect a total of 83 autographs.

The sample is also biased for sociological reasons. Firstly, there is the general bias of probate records against the poorer section of the community, which has already been discussed. Secondly, it is probable that many testators who were in fact literate were unable to sign their wills due to ill-health. Out of a total of 76 autographs of testators, only 21, that is 28 per cent signed their names. This was a much lower proportion than the 65 per cent who signed their names in the total sample of 657 autographs. Thirdly, the sample is biased against women, who made only 96 or 97 of the total of autographs

The conclusion of this study concerning women may be simply stated: they were almost totally unable to write until almost the end of the seventeenth century. Women in Stuart England were not normally taught to write. Between 1580 and 1640, 95% of female deponents before the Norwich Consistory Court were unable to sign their names, a figure

which decreased to 82% between 1660 and 1700.¹ In Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, no woman signed or witnessed a will before 1646, and only 16 out of 63 did so between 1660 and 1700.² In Week St. Mary, Katherine Burman signed her name as witness to the will of William Oliver (8W) in 1603; it was not until 1678 that other women wrote their names. They were Elizabeth, the daughter of William Bickton, gent; and Judith Nordon (137A). Neither surname is otherwise recorded, and it is probable that both were newcomers who had been taught elsewhere.

Otherwise, it was not until the 1690s that women began to sign their names. In that decade, five of the fourteen feminine autographs were signatures. This suggests that girls were beginning to be taught to write in the 1680s.

The analysis of male signatures is not as simple a proposition. Table 10:1 attempts to show the percentage of men able to sign their names. This table takes into account only one autograph of any one individual in any one five-year sample, although the same individual may be included in the table several times if his autograph is

1. David Cressy, 'Levels of Illiteracy in England', Historical Journal, 20(1), 1977, p.9. See also Rosemary O'Day, Education and Society, 1500-1800: the social foundations of education in early modern Britain, 1982, pp.190.
2. Kirtlington, pp.55-6.

recorded in several different five-year periods. Samples of under ten are ignored as being too small for analysis.

The table attempts to take into account the biases noted above. The interregnum wills proved in London are ignored; consequently, there are no usable figures for the decade 1650-1659. It is assumed that 80% of other autographs of dubious provenance should in fact be marks. This is an arbitrary figure, but it does reflect the fact that there are eighteen such autographs for women - all of whom were almost certainly illiterate. These eighteen autographs clearly indicate the practice of scribes in writing in the names of illiterates. Nevertheless, an allowance must be made for the fact that some dubious autographs may in fact be genuine signatures.

The bias inherent in probate records towards the wealthier sections of the community must also be taken into account. Fortunately, the protestation return of 1641/2 includes autographs for virtually all adult males resident in Week St. Mary at one point in time. As Stephens has pointed out,¹ the evidence provided by this return is not without its problems. Some "signatures" may in fact have been written by a scribe; the percentage of illiterates derived from the return is a minimum percentage only. Of the 138

1. W.B. Stephens, 'Male and Female Adult Illiteracy in 17th Century Cornwall'. Journal of Educational Administration and History, 9, 1977, p.2.

Table 11:1: Male Signatures

Date	No. in Sample*	No. of Signatures	Percentage able to sign	Adjusted Percentage
1600-1604	19(6)	12.2	64%	47%
1605-1609	6	3	-	-
1610-1614	18	11	61%	45%
1615-1619	13(-)	10	77%	56%
1620-1624	17(5)	10	59%	43%
1625-1629	38(8)	22.6	59%	43%
1630-1634	19(4)	12.8	67%	49%
1635-1639	30(4)	12.8	43%	31%
1640-1644	40(3)	22.6	56%	41%
1645-1649	24(2)	13.4	56%	41%
1650-1654	12(7)	-	-	-
1655-1659	15(11)	-	-	-
1660-1664	40(5)	21	52%	38%
1665-1669	28(-)	22	79%	58%
1670-1674	40(-)	28	70%	51%
1675-1679	28(-)	19	68%	50%
1680-1684	22(-)	14	64%	47%
1685-1689	21(-)	12	57%	42%
1690-1694	50(-)	38	76%	56%
1695-1699	30(-)	28	93%	68%

*autographs of dubious provenance in brackets.

Week St. Mary autographs recorded, 56, that is, 41 per cent appear to be signatures. This may be compared to the 56 per cent of the 1640-1644 period derived from the probate records. If the assumption is made that the relationship of the percentage of male signatures in probate records to the signing ability of the total population remained constant over time, then the percentage able to sign their names may be calculated for the period under review. This has been done in the "adjusted percentage" column of table 11:1. The table is not affected by changes in the proportion of male probated decedents to adult male burials: such changes were insignificant.

The results of this analysis show that literacy fluctuated between 40 per cent and 60 per cent for most of the century. No explanation can be advanced for most of the fluctuations, which are probably of little significance in view of the sizes of most samples. However, the increasing literacy recorded in the 1690s is of importance, associated as it

is with the beginnings of literacy amongst women. This perhaps indicates the beginnings of more formal schooling in the 1680s, as well as belatedly reflecting the increasing prosperity identified elsewhere in this thesis. The desire to read the Bible and other literature may also have been important. In chapter 12, it will be suggested that spiritual growth took place in the parish throughout the century. Spufford has argued that popular religious works and other cheap books became increasingly available in the second half of the century.¹

These figures indicate a surprising degree of literacy for such a poor, remote parish. In 1641/2, the Cornish returns show that 72% of adult males were unable to sign

1. Margaret Spufford, Small Books and Pleasant Histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England, 1981, pp.111-26 and passim.

their names,¹ compared to 69.5% in Devon,² and 59% in Week St. Mary. The illiteracy rate in the Hundred of Stratton was 66%.³ In South Elmham, Suffolk - a much more prosperous area - the percentage of literate testators varied between 21% and 32% during the four decades from 1600 to 1639.⁴ The percentage of literate testators in the three Cambridgeshire parishes studied by Spufford nowhere exceeded 21%.⁵ In Week St. Mary, the probate records record that, during the same period, between 43% and 77% of signatories were literate. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence of status or occupation to permit an analysis of literacy by social group, although it is clear that there was no abnormal bias towards the wealthy: the low wealth levels revealed in the inventories suggest that in fact the reverse was the case.⁶ There is insufficient evidence to explain the high rate of literacy. An adequate explanation might be provided by research covering a wider area of North Cornwall, but it is not possible here to do more than note the unexpected result of these statistical calculations.

1. David Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England.
2. W.B. Stephens, 'Male Illiteracy in Devon on the Eve of the Civil War'. Devon Historian, 11, 1975, p.24.
3. W.B. Stephens, 'Male and Female Adult Illiteracy in 17th Century Cornwall'. Journal of Educational Administration and History, 9, 1977, p.2.
4. Community of South Elmham, p.244.
5. Contrasting Communities, p.202.
6. Against this, it might be argued that all six parish officers - churchwardens, constables, and overseers - signed their names in 1641/2.

Why did people wish to be literate? There is no single answer to this question: men were motivated by a great variety of factors, religious, economic, social. Literacy was a skill required to participate more fully in popular culture.¹ Direct evidence for motivation is not available in Week St. Mary. It is, however, possible to identify three uses of literacy.

One use is to be found in the creation of the sources used in this study, and particularly in the probate records and the numerous deeds which all who possessed legal title to land kept in their chests. It was obviously advantageous for a husbandman to be able to read a lease or write a bond.² John Matthews (126 I) and Benjamin Adams (163 I), both blacksmiths, kept shop books in which they recorded trade debts. The ability to write accounts, or to read a warrant, were useful skills for the parochial elite in local administration.³ Some men had to be literate in order to earn their living; clergy are the obvious example. Their role in the process of probate had been a vital one before the Reformation: they probably wrote a large

1. Thomas Laqueur, 'The Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy in England 1500-1850', Oxford Review of Education, 2(3), 1976, pp.260-1.
2. Contrasting Communities, p.213; Poverty and Piety, p.151.
3. Poverty and Piety, P.152.

proportion of the wills that were made.¹ This pattern was however, changing. Evidence from Terling, Essex, the North of England, East Anglia, and Lancashire, all points to the demise of the clergy as will writers in post-Reformation England.² In Week St. Mary, clergy as scribes and witnesses to wills are conspicuous by their almost total absence; as in Terling, testators had ceased to be reliant upon a handful of official intellectuals.³ They were replaced by men who probably had some slight acquaintance with the law, some of whom regularly wrote wills and/or inventories, perhaps for a fee. It is possible to identify seven men who each wrote five or more of the documents in this collection.⁴ They were, in chronological order:-

1. Ralph Houlbrooke, Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570, 1979, p.101; A.G. Dickens, Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558, 1959, pp.171-2; Community of South Elmham, p.247.
2. Poverty and Piety, p.152; Lorraine C. Attreed, 'Preparation for death in sixteenth century Northern England', Sixteenth Century Journal, 13(3), 1982, p.40; Community of South Elmham, p.246; Contrasting Communities, p.325; F.G. Emmison and Olwen Hall, 'Life and death in Foulness, 1503-1632', Essex Journal, 10, 1975, p.8; R.C. Richardson, 'Wills and will-makers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: some Lancashire evidence', Local Population Studies, 9, 1972, p.37.
3. Poverty and Piety, p.152.
4. Some useful comments on the paleographical problems of identifying scribes are made in Contrasting Communities, p.323.

	<u>Dates Active</u>	<u>Documents written.</u>
John Orchard, gent	1601/2-1620	10
Robert Orchard, yeoman of Sladdacott	1617-1639	19
Cornelius Clifton, yeoman	1624-1662	14+
Henry Prust, gent (no.142)	1629-1664/5	9
John Warmington, gent; of Poundstock	1683-1697	7
John Causey	1688-1693/4	5

Five of the six were either gentlemen or yeomen; the father of the sixth was a gentleman (cf.143A). It may be presumed that most of them had a smattering of law: Clifton was probably the nephew of Thomas Clifton, gent; described as being "of Lyons Inn, Middlesex" in 1612¹. Cornelius Clifton mainly wrote wills; Henry Prust specialised in inventories, four of which were also signed by his father Thomas. John Warmington also mainly praised inventories.

The Orchards were presumably related. There were also two other presumed members of the same family who acted as scribes: William Orchard, active from 1645 to 1650, and John Orchard, active in 1643/4. Both wrote three documents; William also signed several administration bonds, and described himself as a 'public notary' (cf.111W).

It has been possible to identify no less than twenty three instances where the same person wrote two or more probate

1. C.R.O. DDB/Week St. Mary, 20.8.1612. John Beaford the elder and John Beaford the younger to Thomas Clifton, gent. Lease of Hill Park etc.

documents, although the names of scribes cannot always be identified. Many other individuals were repeatedly called on to act as witnesses to wills, or to praise inventories. John Leigh, gent; of Leigh (146), signed his name in these capacities no less than tēn times between 1668 and his death in 1687/8. He, of course, was a leading figure in the parish, but even a servant might be found making his mark on several occasions, as Thomas Kinsman did three times between 1614 and 1638/9. Roger Lowe, of Ashton in Makefield, Lancashire, was merely an apprentice, but because he was literate "a hundred clerkly duties devolved upon him", and he became the "unofficial notary of his rustic community", receiving only slight reward.¹ It is probable that Week St. Mary also had its Roger Lowes.

In all, the wills and inventories in this collection amount to 238 documents. One hundred and sixteen of these were written by twenty-three scribes. It is possible that a few cases where the same scribe wrote two or more documents have not been identified, but the number of such cases is likely to be small. A few documents were

1. William L. Sachse, ed., The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, 1663-74. 1938, p.4.

written by men from adjoining parishes, such as John Warmington, gent., of Poundstock, who wrote seven of them; this would be balanced by those Week St. Mary men who wrote documents for decedents resident in other parishes. There is no evidence to suggest that a substantial number of wills and inventories were written by non-parishioners. Therefore, there were approximately one hundred and forty five inhabitants of Week St. Mary in the seventeenth century who had sufficient literacy, and sufficient understanding of the law of probate, to write wills or inventories. This conclusion directly contradicts Spufford's suggestion that "only a small number of scribes are likely to be at work at any one time" in a particular parish.¹

The evidence for other uses of literacy in the parish is sparse. George Rolle, esq., (6) had books valued at £3-06-08;

1. Margaret Spufford, 'The Scribes of Villager's Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and their influence'. Local Population Studies, 7, 1971, p.31.

If she could afford a Bible, then most other inhabitants could also.¹ Spufford argues that "it is impossible to get an accurate impression of households with Bibles from the inventories". The value of books was too low, in many cases, for them to be worth listing for probate.² It is clear from the religious clauses of wills that biblical teaching was widely understood: Grace Dodging (145W) could even cite the text she wished her funeral sermon to be based upon. Popular culture was "grounded in a religion that legally, theologically, and emotionally was committed to the principle of democratic access to scripture".³ The desire to read the Bible was a powerful impetus to the development of literacy.

It is noteworthy that both Grace Dodging and Mary Treweeks made their marks, despite the fact that the possession of a Bible in one case, and the ability to cite a Biblical text in the other, suggest the ability to read. Reading was usually taught before writing, at an age when children could earn little. Writing was taught at an

1. For a discussion of the ownership of books by the poor, see Thomas Laqueur, 'The cultural origins of popular literacy in England, 1500-1850', Oxford Review of Education, 2(3), 1976, pp.263-4. See also Yeomen and Colliers, pp.100 and 326, for an example of a widow whose inventory totalled a mere £1-13-0. and yet who owned a Bible and "an old history booke".
2. Contrasting Communities, p.211. Books valued at as little as 1d have been found in Warwickshire inventories, cf. J.A. Johnston, 'Books in wills', Local Historian, 15(8), 1983, p.479.
3. Laqueur, op.cit., p.261.

age when boys had just achieved the potential to earn. The latter skill was therefore less likely to be learnt, and inability to sign one's name should not be regarded as evidence of inability to read.¹

Despite Spufford's argument, 39 per cent of South Elmham inventories between 1550 and 1640 listed books, or 32 per cent if clergy are excluded.² In the Forest of Arden, the figure was much lower - just over 8 per cent between 1625 and 1649.³ Only two inventories from Myddle, Shropshire, list them.⁴ Week St. Mary's high degree of literacy was evidently of no importance in determining the extent of book ownership. Rather, economics and geography were the determining factors. South Elmham was one of the wealthiest communities in England, and its inhabitants could afford to indulge in the luxury of book ownership - even if they could not read them. Books were easily available in Cambridge or London. By contrast, Week St. Mary was one of the poorest English communities, and was remote from the nearest sources of book supply.

1. Margaret Spufford, 'First steps in literacy: the reading and writing experiences of the humblest seventeenth century spiritual autobiographers', Social History, 4(3), 1979, pp.414 and 434.
2. Community of South Elmham, pp.250-1. See also Nesta Evans, 'Testators, literacy, education and religious belief: South Elmham, Suffolk, 1550-1640', Local Population Studies, 25, 1980, pp.46-7.
3. Victor Skipp, Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674, 1978, p.83.
4. English Rural Community, p.126.

Books would have had to be brought at least fifty miles from Exeter, a city with which little contact is recorded in surviving documents.¹

1. The earliest mention of a bookseller in Launceston was in 1697; cf. Alfred F. Robbins, Launceston Past and Present: a historical and descriptive sketch, 1888, pp.237.

Chapter 12: Spiritual Life

The relevance of literacy to the development of protestantism is clear: protestants were a 'people of the book'. It is equally clear that one of the keys to understanding any community is the religion it professes. The primary evidence for this in Week St. Mary are the preambles to wills. In all but five of the wills in this collection, a bequest of the soul is made - and of the five wills where this is not the case, four at least are nuncupative. Belief in God, and in the continued existence of the soul after death, was virtually universal. However, the form in which that belief was held varied. There was no dissent in later seventeenth-century Week St. Mary; the nearest concentrations of dissenters were to be found in the market-towns of Stratton, Holsworthy, and Launceston, and in some of the parishes adjacent to them.¹ Nevertheless, the words with which the bequest of the soul was made did vary, and the variations may be indicative of the importance

1. Anne Whiteman, ed., The Compton Census of 1676: a critical edition, Records of Social and Economic History, N.S., 10, 1986, pp.277 and 283. See also Norman Penney, ed., Record of the Sufferings of Quakers in Cornwall, 1928, passim, for evidence of Friends in Launceston, Boscastle and Trevalga. The only piece of evidence that could perhaps indicate the presence of puritanism in Week St. Mary itself is an order of the Court of High Commission that John Parke als Harris and John Heford als Egbeare, "of Maryweeke", and Abel French of Whitstone, "be attached to answer their contempt". This order is dated 9.10.1634. Nothing further is known; cf. John Bruce, ed., Calendar of State Papers Domestic, vol.7, 1634-1635, 1864, p.261. Only two rectors - those of Morwenstowe and South Petherwin - in the Deanery of Trigg Major won the total approval of the puritans in 1586, although it was admitted that the rector of Marhamchurch was "an enemie to poperye"; cf. Albert Peel, The Seconde Parte of a Register, 1915, pp.107-8.

individual testators attached to their beliefs, and of changes in religious practice.

The religious preambles of wills have been used extensively in attempts to assess the degree of religious change in reformation England.¹ They have not, however, been used in similar fashion for the seventeenth century.² The reason for this lack of interest is probably the belief that bequests to the soul became increasingly formal and stylised, and that therefore they ceased to bear much relationship to the actual beliefs of testators. A further difficulty is that many wills were written by scribes, who frequently used phraseology derived from published formularies. It is difficult to allow for this problem when studying a large collection of wills.

These difficulties are not, however, sufficient to prohibit a worthwhile study of the religious preambles of wills. For Week St. Mary, it is possible to identify the most prolific scribes.³ It is clear that a large proportion of wills were written by the testators themselves, or by

1. See Claire Cross, 'Wills as evidence of popular piety in the reformation period: Leeds and Hull, 1540-1640', in David Loades, ed., The End of Strife, 1984, pp.44-5.
2. The only exceptions to this rule that have been encountered are the work just cited, and Lionel M. Munby, ed., Life and Death in Kings Langley: wills and inventories 1498-1659, 1981, pp.ix-xii.
3. See above, pp.270-3.

men who had never written a will before, and would never do so again. Religious preambles written by the latter are just as useful for the present purpose as are those written by testators themselves. In any case, given the degree of choice which Week St. Mary testators evidently had in selecting a scribe, it is likely that they chose men whom they could trust for the solemn task of will-writing. Such men's religious views were likely to reflect the views of testators, even at one remove.¹ Any bias created by scribes is likely to be minimal.

The problem caused by the use of published formularies in Week St. Mary is probably not significant. It is unlikely that men who wrote only one will would have had access to such formularies in such a poor, remote parish. The language used by such men was their own, although they were aware of the need to include a religious preamble.

Bequests to the soul may be divided into two categories: the formal bequest of the soul to 'almighty God my maker

1. I owe this argument to W.J. Sheils, The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610, Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society, 30, 1979, p.15.

and redeemer', or its equivalent,¹ and bequests which apparently express deeply felt beliefs. The latter might be termed 'proclamatory' bequests: they proclaim the saving work of Christ, the forgiveness of sins, the assurance of salvation offered by the Holy Spirit, and the expectation of everlasting life in the Kingdom of God.

Before such a division can be made, however, it is necessary to consider the effect that scribes and the clergy had on wills, and especially on their religious preambles. The clergy had very little discernible influence. The only possible exception to this rule was Nathaniel Trewin, curate in the 1680s (150). The phraseology of his own will is almost identical to that found in the wills of John Leigh (146 W), which Trewin witnesses, and Thomas Auger (147W). The same scribe, John Cawsey, wrote the wills of Auger and Trewin; he also wrote that of Degory Cater (156W). Cater's phraseology is similar, but includes a reference to the "precious death and merritts of my blessed saviour and redeemer Christe Jesus", which may be attributable to either Cawsey or Cater.

1. Such bequests were usual in Leeds until the 1590s; thereafter, some testators began "to choose a preamble which indicated a more fervent commitment to protestantism". Cf. Cross, *op cit*, pp.45-6.

The most prolific will writer in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary was Cornelius Clifton. His earliest wills (36W, 39W, and 48W) contain formal bequests of the soul to "almighty God my maker and redeemer", or, in one instance, to "almighty God in heaven". In the late 1630s, however, this changed dramatically: the will he wrote for Degory Beaford (60W) includes references to "the merits of Christ Jesus", the "wrath of God", the "holy comforter", and assurance of salvation. All but one of the wills he wrote subsequently contain most of these elements, although the "wrath of God" does not recur (62W, 66W, 70W, 85W, 87W, 96W, 120W). The only exception to this rule (92W) is a will proved in the Prerogative Court, which has been edited from an office copy. Whether the copyist copied the full text of what he may have considered irrelevant is open to question. Did Clifton experience conversion, or did he acquire a book of formularies? We shall never know. But the dropping of references to the "wrath of God" suggests that, as he grew in the faith, he matured as a Christian. As Clifton's London contemporary, Nehemiah Wallington discovered,¹ Christian maturity centres one's thoughts on the grace of God, not on his wrath.

1. Paul S. Seaver, Wallingtons World: a puritan artisan in seventeenth century London, 1985, passim.

The only other scribes who wrote more than one will - John Orchard and Robert Orchard - simply inserted a formal bequest of the soul to almighty God, except in one instance: Robert Painter (26W) probably dictated his will to John Orchard, and included a reference to the "meritts" of Jesus Christ's death and passion, by which he hoped to be saved.

The subject which is being considered here is the growth of understanding and acceptance of the Gospel message within the Church of England. It is therefore the increasing numbers of proclamatory bequests of the soul which are of interest. The only scribe who made a significant contribution to such bequests was Cornelius Clifton; he wrote eight of them.

There were few educated clergymen in Cornwall at the accession of Elizabeth; a return made c.1560-61 reveals that only twenty-three out of one hundred and thirty-three ministers in the Archdeaconry had degrees.¹ The spiritual condition of the Archdeaconry of Cornwall in the late sixteenth century dismayed the puritans.² They found few preachers,

1. Charles Henderson, ed., Essays in Cornish History, edited by A.L. Rowse and M.I. Henderson, 1935, pp.215-6.
2. Albert Peel, ed., The Seconde Part of a Register, 1915, p.107. See also the discussion of this document in A.L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall: portrait of a society, 2nd ed., 1969, pp.338-41.

and very little understanding of the word of God. They were dismissive of the rector of Week St. Mary: "he keepeth his house for debt, he paid so much for it to Sir Richard Grenville".¹ The Reformation had destroyed the old verities, which had been strongly held. The vicar of neighbouring Poundstock, Simon Morton, had been hanged for his part in the prayer book rebellion; in Week St. Mary, a "petty smack only of popery opened a gap" for the suppression of the chantry school.² The old verities were not replaced in the sixteenth century; few in Week St. Mary knew the assurance of salvation offered by the Holy Spirit.³ The only thing that they were confident of was that God Almighty was both creator and redeemer. These were truths which had not changed from pre-reformation days, but they were formal truths, truths to which men assented, but not ones on which they acted. To many, they remained formal truths throughout the seventeenth century. However, the increasing number of proclamatory bequests of the soul provides a slight light on the spiritual growth of the parish. Figures are given in table 12:1. The possibility of bias arising as a result of the work of Cornelius Clifton is evident; however, any such bias

1. Peel, op.cit., p.107.

2. Rowse, op. cit., p.283; Survey of Cornwall, p.189.

3. Against this, it may be pointed out that the only Cornish Marian martyr came from the neighbouring parish of Boyton, cf. Alfred F. Robbins, Launceston Past and Present: a historical and descriptive sketch, 1888, pp.98-9; Davies Gilbert, The Parochial History of Cornwall, 1838, vol.1, pp.108-9, and George Clement Boase and William Prideaux Courtney, Bibliotheca Cornubiensis: a catalogue of ... works relating to the county of Cornwall, 1878, p.525.

Table 12.1: Bequests of the Soul

	Formal	Proclamatory	None
1600-1624	25	4 (8%)	2
1625-1649	28	11 (28%) [6]	
1650-1674	16	9 (36%) [3]	3
1675-1699	9	11 (55½)	

The figures in square brackets indicate the number of proclamatory wills written by Cornelius Clifton.

does not affect the fact that only eight per cent of wills in the first quarter of the century included proclamatory bequests of the soul, whereas the figure for the last quarter of the century is fifty-five per cent. These figures suggest that knowledge of the Bible was much more widespread at the end of the century than at its beginning.¹

A full explanation of this growth cannot be given; the evidence does not survive. The causes that can be isolated have already been discussed.² The seventeenth-century clergy were much more highly educated than their sixteenth-century predecessors; most were products of the university. If they catechised and preached effectively, then their parishioners, or some of them, would have responded. In this context, the failure of the parliamentary committee to oust the civil war rector, Isaac Rouse, is suggestive. Most of his local colleagues, including his father at Kilkhampton, were deprived of their benefices. The fact that Rouse was able to retain his benefice suggests that the local committee did not regard his ministry as ineffective. It may be that the spread of literacy also owed something to the learning of the rectors. It certainly played a major role in encouraging the reading of the Bible.

1. For further evidence on this point, see above, pp.273-4. In the diocese of Peterborough, proclamatory bequests of the soul were found in 27 per cent of wills as early as 1569. Cf. W.J. Sheils, The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610, Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society, 30, 1979, p.22.
2. See above, pp.172-5 and 274-5.

The upheavals of the civil war and interregnum may also have played a role in making local people more aware of religious issues. Reference has already been made to the many local clergy who were ejected from their livings by the parliamentarians.¹ At the restoration, only a few local clergy failed to conform. Nevertheless, those few may have attracted sympathy from some who did not cut themselves off from the ministrations of the Church of England. John Leigh (146), one of Week St. Mary's leading yeomen, may perhaps have been connected to one of the ejected; his wife Mary was a Facey, and perhaps a relation of Lewis Facey, a native of Bridgerule, who suffered ejection from his living at Upton Helions, Devon, in 1662, was accused of attending a conventicle at Stratton in 1664, and was licenced as a presbyterian 'teacher' at Werrington under the provisions of the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence. Facey was probably active in North Cornwall for much of the reign of Charles II.² Gasper Hicke was another of the ejected listed by Calamy; he held a number of local livings, including Launcells, and was a member of the Westminster Assembly in 1643.³ William Oliver, vicar of Launceston, was ejected in 1662.⁴ However, the

1. See above, p.175.

2. A.G. Matthews, Calamy Revised: being a revision of Edmund Calamy's account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2, 1934, p.187. Mary Leigh was a Facey by birth.

3. Ibid, p.260.

4. Ibid, p.373.

only direct evidence of puritanical preaching in Week St. Mary is the bequest to "Mr. Hancocke" of 10/- by John Pearse (47 Wii) "for preaching my funerall sermon". Richard Hancock, the vicar of North Petherwin, signed the presbyterian 'testimony' of 1648.¹ Men such as these, few as they were, may at least have forced local Church of England clergymen to be more attentive to their duties.

The spread of religious commitment owed little if anything to class or status. Commitment was not primarily about social attitudes or moral behaviour; primacy was given to the first commandment, that is, to the relationship of the individual to his God.² Certainly, some of the village elite - men like John Leigh (146), John Pengelly (157), and George Rolle (6) included proclamatory bequests of the soul in their wills. But other equally important men did not - for example, Andrew Rolle (41), Degory Trewin (83), and John Woolf (69). Conversely, some of the poorest souls in the parish were included amongst the 'saved'.³ Mary Treweeks (159) and Grace Dodging, both poor widows whose estates were valued at less than £10, wrote proclamatory bequests of the soul.

1. Ibid, p.373. He is named as vicar of North Petherwin in the 1641/2 protestation; cf. A.J. Howard, ed., The Devon Protestation Returns, 1641, 1973, p.78.
2. Luke, 10, v.27. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind". See M. Spufford, 'Puritanism and social control', in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., Order and Disorder in Early Modern England, 1985, p.43.
3. The term 'elect' is not found in Week St. Mary wills.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to study in detail the way in which the parish elite sought to exercise control in Week St. Mary: the evidence does not survive. However, it is clear that Spufford is correct to assert the necessity of knowing more about the social distribution of religious belief before arguing that particular beliefs were the prerogative of one group over against another.¹

1. Spufford, *op cit*, p.44.

Chapter 13: Will-Making: the Motives of Testators

Why did testators make wills? It has been suggested by Sheehan that "the will was introduced into England as an instrument for the giving of alms".¹ The motive was religious: hence the development of ecclesiastical probate courts. In late medieval Northamptonshire, "every devout parishioner left a legacy of some kind to the high altar for tithes and oblations forgotten".² In the sixteenth-century north of England, over three-quarters of testators made bequests to their parish church.³ The religious motive is still evident in the present collection of wills, in the routine bequest of the soul to the Almighty, and in the granting of small bequests to the poor, the church, and other charitable purposes. It is noticeable, however, that charitable bequests were decreasing in number. Whereas twelve bequests to the church were made in Week St. Mary up to 1641, only one was made during the rest of the century - and none after 1662/3. Bequests to the poor also declined, although not to the same extent. In the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, the poor were mentioned in 5% of wills; the last two decades saw them mentioned in only 12½%.

1. Michael Sheehan, The Will in Medieval England: from the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the end of the thirteenth century, 1963, p.303.
2. R.M. Serjeantson and H. Isham Longden, 'The parish churches and religious houses of Northamptonshire: their dedications, altars, images, and lights', Archaeological Journal, 70, 1913, p.218.
3. Lorraine C. Attreed, 'Preparation for death in sixteenth-century Northern England', Sixteenth Century Journal, 13(3), 1982, p.47.

Similar patterns have been observed in other parts of the country. The evidence of wills indicates clearly that post-reformation England witnessed a "steep and decisive decline" in religious benefactions.¹ In the North of England, in Foulness, Essex and in Wigston Magna, Leicestershire, this occurred in the early years of Elizabeth's reign.² In Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, and in Penmark and Porthkerry, Glamorganshire, bequests to the church and the poor fell off after the Civil War.³ On the Lincolnshire/Nottinghamshire border, such bequests ceased as late as 1730.⁴

1. W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660: a study of the changing pattern of English social aspirations, 1959, p.247. Against this argument must be set the evidence of Ivon L. Gregory, ed., Hartland Church Accounts, 1597-1706, 1950, passim, which show that the church in this Devonshire parish received bequests in most years covered by the accounts. It would be worth checking bequests in wills against church wardens accounts. Unfortunately, this cannot be done for Hartland, since most Devonshire wills were destroyed when the Exeter Probate Registry was bombed in 1942.
2. Attreed, op.cit., p.238; F.G. Emmison and Olwen Hall, 'Life and death in Foulness, 1503-1632', Essex Journal, 10, 1975, p.8; W.G. Hoskins, The Midland Peasant: the economic and social history of a Leicestershire village, 1957, p.182.
3. Kirtlington, pp.371-2, 381 and 385; Matthew Griffiths, Penmark and Porthkerry Families and Farms in the Seventeenth-Century Vale of Glamorgan, Park Place Papers, 2, 1979, p.28.
4. J.A. Johnston, '17th-century agricultural practice in six Lincolnshire parishes', Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 18, 1983, p.13.

In Week St. Mary, a bequest to the church in the sixteenth century resulted in litigation in Star Chamber.¹ By 1700, the time had long since passed when such an eventuality might occur. Even at the beginning of the century, charitable bequests were small - rarely more than £1, and more usually a shilling or two. The only notable exception is to be found in the will of Simon Pethick (104W), a bachelor, who left £6-6-8 to build an alms house in Week St. Mary. There is no evidence that it was ever actually built.²

By the early modern period, will making had become, for testators, a major stage in the transmission of their wealth to their heirs. It was not, however, the only stage; the process of dividing an estate between children frequently began on their marriage, and did not end until the death of the widow.³ Wills alone do not reveal the total pattern of inheritance;⁴ recourse should, if possible, be had to other sources of evidence in order to

1. P.R.O., STAC2/29/156.

2. There was no alms house in the parish in 1744; cf. D.R.O., Replies to Bishop's queries, 1744: Week St. Mary.

3. See, for example, the case of Ralph Josselin. Alan Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a seventeenth century clergyman: an essay in historical anthropology, 1970, pp.64-7.

4. This point is emphasized by Margaret Spufford, 'Peasant Inheritance Customs and Land distribution in Cambridgeshire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries', in J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E.P. Thompson, eds., Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800, 1976, p.165.

see the total picture.¹ Nevertheless, exclusive reliance on wills does not necessarily produce the misleading picture that Bonfield suggests.² That only occurs if the historian fails to appreciate the imperfection of his evidence. The possibilities for quantifying information on bequests are limited. Except in the case of cash bequests, values are rarely stated in wills. Inventories are on occasion obviously incomplete; sometimes, especially during the Interregnum, they are missing altogether. The absence of freehold property from most probate records is a further difficulty.³

Wills can, however, be relied upon in certain areas. Usually all surviving children are mentioned. Where bequests to them are token, it is probable that provision had already been made. Wives and minors occupy a prominent place in many wills; they had not previously been provided for.

1. For an attempt to analyse other sources of evidence on inheritance, see Lloyd Bonfield, 'Normative rules and property transmission: reflections on the link between marriage and inheritance in early modern England', in Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith, and Keith Wrightson, eds. The World We Have Gained: histories of population and social structure: essays presented to Peter Laslett on his seventieth birthday, 1986, pp.155-76.
2. Op.cit., p.162.
3. A.W.B. Simpson, An Introduction to the History of the Land Law, 1961, pp.59 and 129-31.

Bequests depended upon the marital status of testators, and for purposes of analysis wills must be divided accordingly. The marital status of the 118 testators whose wills are collected here is indicated in table 13:1. Wives were named as sole executrixes in thirty-four wills of married men, and shared executorships with their sons in a further nine cases. In thirteen of these cases, there were no children, and consequently the widow inherited the bulk of the estate. In another ten cases, all the children were minors, and it became the widow's task to maintain them. Andrew Cory (158W) left his estate in Furze to his wife Beersheba, "shee to continue to fainde my said sune John Corry sufishente mintinenance"; John Woolfe (69W) instructed his wife and executrix, Gertrude, to maintain his four children until they reached the age of eighteen. Wives named executrixes were usually trusted absolutely; in only four instances were overseers or trustees appointed to monitor their activities. (3W, 41Wii, 49W, and 69W). As Sir Thomas Smith observed, there were few widows "that be not made at the death of their husbandes either sole or chiefe executrixes of his last wil and testament, and have for the most part the government of the children and their portions".¹

1. Sir Thomas Smith, De Republica Anglorum, ed. Mary Dewar, 1982, p.133.

Table 13:1: Marital Status of Will-Makers

Married men	61
Married women	1
Widowers	15
Widows	19
Bachelors*	15
Single women*	7

* This is the terminology actually used in the documents.

It is not possible to quantify total bequests; however, it is clear that, as in many other parts of the country, widows were the most substantial beneficiaries from their husbands' wills.¹ As Howell has noted, "provision for his wife was an important, one could almost say over-riding, consideration in a man's mind when he felt that his days were numbered."² In Kibworth Harcourt, Leicestershire, every testator who was survived by a widow made provision for her, and 90 out of 118 did so by bequeathing land.³ Twenty-eight of the thirty-four Kendal cordwainers who wrote wills mention real estate; in all cases where there was a widow, she received an estate for life.⁴ Fifteen

1. For some examples, see Matthew Griffiths, Penmark and Porthkerry Families and Farms in the seventeenth century Vale of Glamorgan, Park Place Papers, 2, 1979, p.20; Kirtlington, p.351; Cicely Howell, Land Family and Inheritance in transition: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280-1700, 1983, pp.256-7; Vivien Brodsky, 'Widows in late Elizabethan London: remarriage, economic opportunity and family orientations', in Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith and Keith Wrightson, eds., The World We Have Gained: histories of population and social structures: essays presented to Peter Laslett on his seventieth birthday, 1986, p.146; Lionel Munby, ed., Life and Death in Kings Langley: wills and inventories 1498-1659, 1981, pp. xv and xvii.
2. Howell, op cit, p.257.
3. Ibid, p.256.
4. C.B. Phillips, 'Probate records and the Kendal shoemakers in the seventeenth century', in Philip Riden, ed., Probate Records and the Local Community, 1984, p.44.

of the twenty-two testators of Chippenham, Cambridgeshire left their widows a life-interest in land.¹ Forty-two per cent of widows in South Elmham, Suffolk, were bequeathed land.² At Orwell, Cambridgeshire, by contrast, the interest of widows in their husband's lands were usually confined to the period until their eldest sons came of age.³ Faith has noted that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, "widows rights seem to have been by far the most durable and firmly established of all inheritance customs".⁴ The same comment is also applicable to the seventeenth century, and indeed, to the twentieth century in remote parts of the South-West.⁵

The proportion of wills mentioning land is much lower in Week St. Mary, although where land is mentioned, the major proportion still went to the widow. Landed property is mentioned, or may be identified as part of the 'residue' in thirty wills of married men; in nineteen instances, that property, or part of it, went to the widow. The low proportion is probably attributable to the fact that at

1. Contrasting Communities, p.88.
2. Community of South Elmham, p.266.
3. Contrasting Communities, p.162.
4. Rosamund Jane Faith, 'Peasant families and inheritance customs in medieval England', Agricultural History Review, 14, 1966, p.91.
5. In the pseudonymous 'parish' of 'Ashworthy', "it is a firmly accepted principle ... that a husband must provide for his wife in the event of his death and that this provision will continue until the wife's death or until she remarries". Cf. W.M. Williams, A West Country Village: Ashworthy: family kinship and land, 1963, p.95.

every third death in Week St. Mary, a lease would fall in - and therefore one-third of married men had no land to leave. At Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, a similar low proportion of wills - 30% - mention land, but the reason was different: copyhold land was held only for life, and for the widow's estate.¹ Widows in seventeenth-century Week St. Mary did not benefit from free-bench: that had presumably ceased when copyhold tenures had been converted to leasehold.² Bequests of land were therefore of considerable importance to widows.³

In a few instances, very detailed instruction relating to the support of the widow were given. George Leigh (55W) gave his wife part of his house at Groves End, together with rights of way, "commons" in the town place, pasture, liberty to bake and brew, and make malt, and sufficient fuel, together with corn, beasts, beds and household equipment. William Blake (52W) made provision in case his wife and his son did "not agree to lyve and keepe howse together".

1. Kirtlington, pp.339-40.

2. Christopher Clay, 'Life leasehold in the western counties of England, 1650-1750', Agricultural History Review, 29, 1981, p.93. There was no free-bench for copyhold tenures at Hartland, Devon, just twenty miles north of Week St. Mary, in the sixteenth century; widows only took their husbands lands if they were "named upon the cotype". R. Pearse Chope, The Book of Hartland, 1940, p.52.

3. Wives were frequently named as one of the 'lives' in leases, but that did not entitle them to the land after their husbands' death.

In a few wills, reference is made to the goods which a wife had brought to the marriage. William Cann (73W) left his wife Sapience "one heyfor yearling and all such goods as she had before he married with her". George Leigh (55W) acknowledged that the household equipment mentioned above "were the goods of my said wief before the tyme of my marriage with her". It is probable that many bequests to wives included goods that had been their own before marriage - although they usually received much more than the value of such goods.

There was frequently a major restriction on bequests to wives: they were bequests for life only, and were to revert to children on the death of the widow. Walter Hore (4W) named his wife Margery his executrix but stipulated that her goods should descend to his daughter and step-daughter on her death. John Hicks (155W) left his wife a bed and various items of household equipment; they were "after her decease to remayne to my executor", that is, his son George.

In a few instances, testators stipulated that bequests should be forfeit if their widows re-married. John Saunders' widow had "the use ... of all my said goods ... with my house ground and garden 'as longe as shee remaineth a widdow ... and noe longer". If she re-married, she was to have only her clothing (121W). William Saunders - perhaps a relative - left his house and ground at Stuarts

to his wife Elizabeth "yf shee keepe her selfe a widdowe" (71W). The possibility of their widows re-marrying does not, however, seem to have disturbed the great majority of married testators in Week St. Mary - a characteristic that they shared with their contemporaries in Terling, Essex.¹

The extent of bequests to wives is indicative of the affection which existed between conjugal partners in many Week St. Mary marriages; Houlbrooke could have added wills to his list of evidence for the role of affection in marriage.² It is true that there were other reasons for these bequests: the need to bring up minors,³ agreements made at marriage, communal pressure to avoid the burden of pauper widows on the poor rate. These reasons were all valid, but do not sufficiently explain the amounts widows received. It is clear that, as in Terling, "male testators felt a strong sense of obligation to provide as far as possible ... for their widows".⁴ Provision for his wife "was an important, one could almost say overriding, consideration in a man's mind" when he came to make his will.⁵ Anxiety for a widow's economic well-being was

1. Poverty and Piety, p.97.

2. Ralph Houlbrooke, The English Family 1450-1700, 1984, p.119.

3. This is emphasized by Griffiths, in Kirtlington, p.354.

4. Poverty and Piety, p.97.

5. Cicely Howell, 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands, 1280-1700', in J. Goody, J. Thirsk, and E.P. Thompson, eds., Family and Inheritance: rural society in Western Europe, 1200-1800, 1976, p.143.

understandable; in sixteenth-century Canterbury, "there can be little question who came last in the poverty stakes: the widow".¹

Despite mutual affection, the position of wives remained subordinate. They had no legal control over the disposition even of the property they brought to the marriage. Bequests to wives were substantial, but were frequently for life only: widows were not given a free hand to dispose of what their husbands gave them - although they could make wills. Wives were not normally able to do even that. The only will in this collection written by a married woman is that of the rector's wife, Alice Kerslake (29W). She did so "with the good will leave and sufferance of ... John Kerslake my said husband", whom she named executor, although the will was written in her maiden name. Her bequests were small: a cow, her clothing, and a few small amounts of money; the residue, given to her husband, perhaps included her lease of Castle Ditches.² The facts that she had a lease in her own name, and made her own will, indicate clearly that she had rather more control over property than most wives.

1. Peter and Jennifer Clark, 'The social economy of the Canterbury suburbs: the evidence of the census of 1563', in Alec Detsicas and Elizabeth Melling, eds., Studies in modern Kentish history presented to Felix Hull and Elizabeth Melling ..., 1983, p.39.
2. P.R.O., C2/Jas I/K1/16.

Provision for children was the next most important item in the wills of married men, and the most important item in the wills of widowers. Of particular significance for the pattern of inheritance are the bequests made to younger sons. Twenty-seven fathers amongst the testators had younger sons. Although quantification is difficult, the impression gained from analysis of these wills is that a major purpose of will-making was to provide for them. Legally, the system of primogeniture ensured that eldest sons inherited their fathers' patrimonial lands. In practice, fathers sought to provide equally for all their children, whether through their wills, or by pre-mortem gifts. Social arrangements and norms, rather than positive law, were the prime determinants of the pattern of inheritance.¹ Nineteen married men and widowers named a son or sons as their executor. The status of these sons was as follows:-

Only sons	9
Eldest sons	Nil
Younger sons	4
Not known	6
Joint executors	1 (three of four brothers were named joint executors)

The numbers analysed here are small; however, it may be significant that it is not possible to identify an eldest

1. Lloyd Bonfield, 'Normative rules and property transmission: reflections on the link between marriage and inheritance in early modern England', in Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith, The World We Have Gained: histories of population and social structure: essays presented to Peter Laslett on his seventieth birthday, 1986, pp.158-9.

son (other than an only son) who was named sole executor of his father's will. The eldest son, under the common law, inherited freehold land, which was not subject to probate, and therefore rarely mentioned in wills.¹ A major purpose of will-making was to provide for younger sons; consequently, they were appointed executors in preference to the eldest son, in order to protect their rights. This was also the custom in Irton, Cumberland;² in Kings Langley, Hertfordshire, however, the eldest son was usually named executor.³

The share of younger sons in estates could be considerable; indeed in many cases it is probable that they took roughly equal shares with their elder brothers.⁴ John Milton's

1. See above, pp.91-2.
2. C. Moor, 'The old statesman families of Irton, Cumberland', Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions, N.S., 10, 1910, p.156.
3. Lionel M. Munby, ed., Life and Death in Kings Langley: wills and inventories 1598-1659, 1981, p.xvii. Younger sons were "looked after"; *ibid*, p.xix.
4. This was also common in the Midlands; cf. Cicely Howell, 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands, 1280-1800', in Jack Goods, Joan Thirsk and E.P. Thompson, eds., Family and Inheritance: Rural society in Western Europe, 1200-1800, 1976, p.118. It was also true in Rossendale, and in Swaledale; cf. G.H. Tupling, ed., The Economic History of Rossendale, Chetham Society, N.S., 86, 1927, p.76; and R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale, 1978, p.137. Suffolk testators often state that land left to younger sons had been purchased for that purpose, cf. Nesta Evans, 'Inheritance, women, religion and education in early modern society as revealed by wills', in Philip Riden, ed., Probate Records and the Local Community, 1984, p.61. In Andover, Massachusetts, where there was no manorial custom of inheritance, partible inheritance was the rule; cf. Philip J. Greven, Four Generations: population, land and family in colonial Andover, Massachusetts, 1972, pp.83, 130, 230 and 241. The position of the younger sons of yeomen and husbandmen contrasts markedly with the position of younger sons of the gentry; cf. Joan Thirsk,

'Younger sons in the seventeenth century', History, 54, 1969, pp.358-77. The aim of establishing all sons as farmers in their own right still prevails today in the North Devon parish of 'Ashworthy', which is not far from Week St. Mary, cf. W.M. Williams, 'The social study of family farming', in Dennis R. Mills, ed., English Rural Communities: the impact of a specialised economy, 1973, p.131, and the same author's A West Country Village: Ashworthy: family, kinship and land, 1963, pp.59 and 209.

(15W) eldest son, Degory, was given his looms, valued at £1 in the inventory; his three brothers had £2 each. Degory may have inherited Spearland: the holding is not mentioned in the will, but its value was small. All the brothers were minors. John Woolfe's (69W) children were also minors - two sons and two daughters. Each child was to receive £20, with the residue of the very considerable estate going to John's widow. Woolfe's inventory indicates that he held two leases: no freehold land is recorded.

In the case of minors, bequests were often made payable on the attainment by the legatee of a specified age, or after a certain period had passed. Woolfe's eldest son, Jonathon, was to be paid his £20 twelve months after his father's burial; his brother John was to be paid on his twenty-third birthday. In Woolfe's case, overseers were appointed to put the money "to the benefit and profyt they can for these my children".

Spufford has argued that, in some parts of Cambridgeshire, bequests to younger sons, and to daughters, were frequently a heavy burden on the future profits of the main estate, and that they contributed substantially to the disappearance of smallholders.¹ This was not the case in Week St. Mary,

1. Margaret Spufford, 'Peasant inheritance customs and land distribution in Cambridgeshire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries', in J. Goody, J. Thirsk, and E.P. Thompson, eds., Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800, 1976, p.157-63. See also Contrasting Communities, p.87.

except in a handful of cases. The value of legacies was rarely greater than the valuation placed on probate inventories, even where payment of legacies was not due immediately. The only imposition at all commonly placed on the future profits of an estate was the obligation to provide for the widow - an obligation that was usually of limited duration.

It has already been argued that inheritance was a process rather than a single act, and that will-making was simply one of the stages in that process. Some elder sons received a bare mention in wills. John Beaford, for example, was mentioned in his father's will merely because Thomas had lent him 7/- (5W). We know from many other sources that he owned a major part of the manor of Swannacott.¹ He in turn leased a major portion of the manor of Swannacott to his son for what was presumably a notional entry fine of one thousand marks, on condition that he provide "sufficient meat drinke and chamber roome" at Swannacott for his mother and sister, such "as is fitting for their degree and estate".² Andrew Blake (123W) received a mere 13/4 in his father Thomas's will (42W): he married eight years before his father's death, and had presumably been established on his own holding at that time. George, eldest son of John Colwill (120W), received just one shilling

1. See above, p.51.

2. C.R.O., DDB/Week St. Mary, Lease 2.9.1614, John Beaford the elder to John Beaford the younger, re Swannacott.

in his father's will: he was aged fifty-five, and had probably farmed Whiteleigh on his own account for many years before his father died. These heirs had all been provided for well before their fathers' deaths;¹ the purpose of their fathers' wills was to make provision for other members of their families.

Munby argues that, by comparing bequests made to sons and daughters, "we can come nearest to understanding how contemporaries saw the different roles of men and women in society".² It has already been noted that nineteen male testators named their sons executors. Only eight named their daughters,³ and in four such instances there were no sons. This did not, however, mean that daughters necessarily received smaller legacies than their brothers. Some did: Elizabeth, the daughter of John Folly (130W), received

1. Richard T. Vann, 'Wills and the family in an English town: Banbury, 1550-1800, Journal of Family History, 4, 1979, p.362, notes that we can almost always infer a marriage for a male child when there are large disparities in bequests between children. In Preston, Sussex, almost 50% of copyholders made ante-mortem transfers of land; these included one-third of the men who made wills between 1562 and 1702. Cf. Lloyd Bonfield, 'Normative rules and property transmission: reflections on the link between marriage and inheritance in early modern England, in Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith, and Keith Wrightson, eds., The World We Have Gained: histories of population and social structure: essays presented to Peter Laslett on his seventieth birthday, 1986, p.172. For an example of how wills can give a totally misleading picture of the process of inheritance, see Alan Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a seventeenth-century clergyman: an essay in historical anthropology, 1970, pp.64-7.
2. Lionel M. Munby, ed., Life and Death in Kings Langley Wills and Inventories 1498-1659, 1981, p.xxi.
3. Nos. 13W, 20W, 37W, 42W, 71W, 72W, 73W, 147W.

a heifer in her father's will; her sister Mary Cheeseworth was bequeathed a heifer and a bedstead. Their eldest brother, John received not much more, but had probably already been provided for. The bulk of the estate, valued at £100- 6- 4, was split equally between this decedent's widow and his younger son, Joseph. John Tucker's (89W) daughter, Elizabeth, received two heifers; his inventory does not survive, but he was lessee of Trefrouse, and therefore of some substance, the bulk of which went to his son Arthur. Inequality of bequests was, however, frequently of benefit to daughters. The five daughters of John Saunders (46W) received legacies of £30 each; three of their brothers received a mere £10 each. The residue of his estate - some £125 plus - was split equally between their mother and another brother. Alice Blake received £40, payable in three annual instalments, from the estate of her father George Leigh (55W). His inventory was valued at £48- 4- 6. This was a case where bequests came out of future profits of the estate, since Leigh also made elaborate provision for his widow, and made his second son executor and residuary legatee. There are several instances where dowries had to be paid out of future income; however, the testators who made these provisions were mostly substantial yeomen or gentry. John Leigh, gent (146) bequeathed £300 each to his two daughters: his inventory was valued at £316-10-0. Dorothy Pengelly, aged one at her father's death, was left £200, payable at age twenty-one: the inventoried estate was worth £150- '2-0.. (157)

In most instances, treatment of sons and daughters was more equal than this. John and Margaret Woolfe, aged four and five respectively at their father's death, were named joint executors and equally divided their father Thomas Woolfe's small estate (371). Three of Roger Bastard's children - Mary, Susan and John, were given £5 each; the fourth, Austin, received £6-13-4 (24). Robert Dobell's children received roughly equal treatment - although their father bequeathed more than was listed in his inventory (32). Elizabeth, Anne and John Jordan were given £10 each by their father Walter Jordan (115), payable at age twenty-one; the money was to be "put out to use for them".

It would be possible to identify many other instances of apparent equality between sons and daughters, and it is likely that equality was the norm. The evidence provided by wills is not, however, complete, and it is clear that many mature sons and daughters had been established before their fathers made their wills. For daughters, this meant a dowry and marriage. Bequests to married daughters were generally token: Alice Spettigue, the daughter of Thomas Beaford (5) received four ewes - worth perhaps 6/8 each - from an estate valued at £61-9-10. Joan Orchard received nothing at all in her father John Saunders' will (46); her sister Susan, also married, received 2/6. Their children - Saunders' grandchildren - received 2/6 each. The valuation placed on his estate was £307-1-4. Abigail Pottle's bequest from her father Walter Colwill (65) was a mere

1/-; her unmarried sisters received between £2 and £4 each. Edmond Marrais (149) left his unmarried daughter property at Haydah Bridge, the Glebe, and Wherries House. His married daughter, Joan Cory, received just 10/-.

Fathers sometimes imposed conditions on their bequests, especially in the choice of marriage partners. Alice and Beatrice Beaford were to be maintained provided that they showed themselves "dutifull" to their mother; their legacies of £15 each were payable on marriage, if they married "to the likinge of Digory Burdon gent and William Beaford gent" (23). Andrew Rolle, esq., (41) imposed similar conditions on his bequest of 200 marks each to his daughters Dorothy and Margaret. So did John Leigh, gent (145); his daughters were warned that if they "be not ruled" by named trustees "in marinig (sic) into an honestfamily and deserving of there portion", they would have "noe benifit of ye said portion except they stand in want for food or reiment". Leigh was suspicious of his son as well, and made provision in case he refused "to perform this my last will".

The Rolle, Leigh, and Beaford families were at the apex of village society in the seventeenth century: it is therefore of some importance that they were the only families to impose conditions relating to marriage upon bequests to their daughters. The choice of marriage partners amongst villagers below the social apex was less controlled by parents, and more of a free choice for daughters - even though the size of some bequests, e.g. the £30 given to each of five daughters

by John Saunders, might be thought sufficient to have allowed some post-mortem control.

Will-making by widows may be seen as another stage in the inheritance process. The wills of nineteen widows survive, but only eight had surviving children at their death. In five instances, wills for both husband and wife survive.¹ Two of these couples had surviving children². Thomas Blake (42W) left his son Andrew (123) 13/4; he had married eight years before his father's death, and had already established his own household. Nevertheless, his mother (67W) named him executor, and he inherited the bulk of her estate. Andrew's brother Thomas was also married before his father's death; nevertheless, he received £20 in the latter's will - and a mere £4, plus a silver spoon from his mother. Both parents also made small bequests to their daughters. Edward and Joan Jewell had three sons; their bequests were as follows:

	<u>Edward</u>	<u>Joan</u>
Abraham	£10; three items of furniture	Lease of tenement in Bakes-down, with goods therein
Humphrey	Dwelling house with goods therein; half immediately; remainder on death of Joan	Named executor
John	£70, due after four years	£75, due in 3 instalments

1. 67W and 42W; 74W and 40W; 76W and 75W; 135W and 119W; 136W and 131W
2. 67W and 42W; 136W and 131W

Joan acted as her husband's executor, but she died before his bequest to John fell due; therefore, she slightly increased the amount and included the bequest in her own will. John was the youngest son. John's legacy meant that Humphry's executorship was worth little - the inventory's valuation was £73-0-4. Humphry had already received half of a dwelling house, and was due to receive the other half on his mother's death. He was also to receive £10 from his eldest brother Abraham, who had received a mere £10 from his father, and who was given the main family holding at Bakesdown.

The selection of sons or daughters as executors by widows was also normal practice in Penmark and Porthkerry, Glamorganshire.¹ Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to indicate whether most such executors were eldest or younger children. In Week St. Mary, one of them was an only son; otherwise, none can be definitely identified as an eldest son. The probability is that, as in the case of married men, younger sons were appointed as executors in order to protect their rights.

Eleven widows had no children to provide for. Nine of them had less than £11 to leave. They left their estates to such relatives as they had, and to friends. One executor

1. Matthew Griffiths, Penmark and Porthkerry Families and Farms in the Seventeenth-Century Vale of Glamorgan, Park Place Papers, 2, 1979, p.20.

was a "gossip", i.e. a godfather; there were two brothers, two brothers-in-law, two nieces, two "cousins" and four who may have been unrelated.

Amongst the testators there were also fifteen bachelors and seven single women. Six of this group appointed a brother as their executor, two appointed their mothers, and four appointed a cousin. Where there were no direct heirs, the tendency was to appoint the closest relative as executor, and to leave the bulk of the estate to him or her. However, the absence of direct heirs could also encourage testators to bequeath small amounts to a wide range of individuals. John Pearce (47) named twenty relatives and friends in his will, as well as making donations to the poor of no less than seven parishes: the value of his inventory was only £24-15-3. Pearce was exceptional; Degory and Agnes Beaford's bequests were more typical. Degory (60W) left 5/6 to his sister Agnes, 6/8 each to the three children of John Seccomb, and the residue to his cousin, George Rattenbury. Agnes (61W) left everything to her sister Katherine. In other parts of England, testators who neglected their kin in their bequests were nearly all unmarried men with no close kin.¹

1. Ralph Houlbrooke, Church Courts and the People during the Reformation, 1520-1570, 1979, p.107. For some Midland examples, see Alan Roberts, The Farming inhabitants of Appleby and Austrey: two midland parishes, 1550-1700, University of Adelaide Ph.D. thesis, 1984, pp.212-5.

A wide range of relations were left bequests, by all categories of testator, but it is not always easy to determine precise relationships from the texts of wills. The terms 'cousin' and 'kinsman' are vague but common terms; examination of the parish register and other evidence has sometimes enabled more precise identification of relationships. It is also clear that persons for whom no relationship is stated were in fact often relatives.

Godchildren were also frequently relatives, especially nieces and nephews. They are mentioned in twenty-five wills before 1650, and in eight from the second half of the century: the importance of the relationship was clearly in decline. In Terling, Essex, the decline occurred somewhat earlier: godchildren were not infrequently mentioned in Terling wills of the sixteenth century, but such references ceased in the seventeenth century.¹ Bequests to godchildren also fell markedly in Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, after the Civil War.² This decline may have had a social as well as a religious significance. Bossy has argued that the "chief object" of the institution of godparenthood prior to the reformation was "the creation of a formal state of friendship between the spiritual kin and the natural kin."³

1. Poverty and Piety, p.93.

2. Kirtlington, p.372.

3. John Bossy, 'Blood and baptism: kinship, community and christianity, in Western Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries', in Derek Baker, ed., Sanctity and Secularity: the church and the world. Papers read at the eleventh summer meeting and the twelfth winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society. Studies in Church History, 10, 1973, p.133.

The obverse side of his argument is that this "system of formal friendship implied a system of formal hostility", which may be "loosely described as feud".¹ If the "system of formal friendship" was in decline in the seventeenth century, as is indicated by the evidence of the wills, then it may be suggested that the "system of formal hostility" was also in decline.

Other bequests of a religious nature were also in decline.² It may be significant, in this context, that few testators were interested in their own funerals.³ Only two made a specific bequest to the preacher of their funeral sermon: Thomasine Headon (35W) left 5/- for this purpose; John Pearce (47Wii) left 10/- and designated Mr. Hancock as the preacher. Three testators - Thomas Colwill (57W), Walter Woolridge (72W) and Thomas Milton (95W) made a specific bequest to the ringers. Andrew Blake (123W) and John Pengelly (157W) specified that their bequests to the poor were to be distributed at their respective funerals; it is probable that such bequests were usually distributed at funerals, in order to ensure the attendance of the poor, to emphasize the status of the deceased, and to help mitigate the consequences of death in the community.⁴ The great

1. Ibid, pp.135 and 138.

2. See above, p.290-1.

3. In other parts of England, funeral sermons were provided for "quite frequently" by testators, according to Clare Gittings, Death Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England, 1984, p.137.

4. Gittings, op cit, pp.27-9 and 161-4.

majority, however, left funerary matters to "the discretion of my executor", as John Colwill (120W) put it, although occasionally indicating where they wished to be buried. Funerals in the early modern era were, as Gittings puts it, "more for the living than for the dead".¹ The religious motivation in will-making, already in sharp decline at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had almost totally disappeared by the end of the century, except for the bequest of the soul discussed in chapter 12. Piety was sometimes evident, as in the will of Benjamin Adams (163W) - he referred to the passion, and hoped for forgiveness and the inheritance of eternal life. Adams did leave 1/- to each of his godchildren, but religious belief, however devoutly held, was having increasingly less impact on bequests and will-making.

Spufford has argued that "men who made wills did so primarily because they had dependent children to provide for".² Wrightson and Levine claim that the ultimate aim was to maximise the opportunities of as many children as possible, so that they could establish their own households in due course.³ The will was one method by which the logic

1. Gittings, *op.cit.*, pp.157-8.

2. Spufford 'Peasant inheritance customs', *op.cit.*, p.176.
See also Contrasting Communities, pp.106-7.

3. Poverty and Piety, p.99.

of primogeniture could be defeated;¹ it blurred the distinction between monogeniture and partible inheritance.²

In Week St. Mary, the purpose of will-making was to provide for one's immediate dependants, and particularly for widows, sons - especially younger sons - and daughters, in that order of importance. The consequences of this system of inheritance for the distribution of land ownership and occupation were conservative in character.³ Legal primogeniture meant that holdings were rarely divided, in contrast to the situation in Swaledale, where partible customs created "a pattern of smallholdings verging on economic ruin". Primogeniture, however, was a legal requirement, not a social norm. Week St. Mary tenants were fortunate that the absence of substantial population growth permitted them to divide their estates equally between their children despite primogeniture, and without reproducing the 'economic ruin' found in Swaledale.⁴ The bequests that were made, combined with the fact of demographic stability, resulted in exceptional stability in the social structure and distribution of landed property in Week St. Mary until well into the nineteenth century. The purpose of will-making was almost entirely practical.

1. Cicely Howell, 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands, 1280-1700, in Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk and E.P. Thompson, eds., Family and Inheritance: rural society in Western Europe, 1200-1800, 1976, p.118.
2. Cicely Howell, Land Family and Inheritance: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280-1700, 1983, p.262.
3. For the distribution of landed property in general, see chapter 5.
4. In this respect, Week St. Mary was similar to Willingham, Cambridgeshire; cf. Contrasting Communities, p.160.

Chapter 14: Conclusion: Stability and Change

To what extent was Week St. Mary a 'community' in the early modern period? It has already been suggested that if 'community' is a question of consciousness,¹ then the evidence at our disposal is limited. For the most part, we do not know what attitudes early modern Cornishmen had towards their local parish. However, there are pointers. The degree of mobility, charitable bequests, economic ties, requests to be buried in Week St. Mary church or churchyard, the importance attached to perambulations of the parish houndary, kinship ties, are all relevant. But perhaps the most important question is the degree to which parishioners had contact with non-parishioners. The extent to which other parishes were known must have been a major determinant of attitudes towards community. It has been suggested above that, whilst the parish boundary was not of major significance, contact with places more than five or ten miles distant was extremely limited. There were perhaps three distinct "communities":² a relatively stable core of substantial occupiers, the more transient poor who had no ties to a specific piece of land, and the servants in husbandry, many of whom would, in their later years, become tied to a piece of land and join the stable core. All three groups

1. See above, p.7.

2. I have adopted the identification made by Keith Wrightson, 'Aspects of Social Differentiation in Rural England, c.1580-1660', Journal of Peasant Studies, 1, 1977, p.37.

are defined in terms of their relationship to land. The more control villagers could exercise over land, the more immobile they became. Land provided a much greater degree of economic security than anything else, even if that land were poor. Indeed, the poverty of the land, and the inability of its owners to provide the landless with employment, was of major importance in ensuring that the parish did not experience extremes of wealth and poverty - with the possible exception of the transient poor. The wealthiest yeomen were poor in comparison with their counter-parts in other parts of England. And the lack of labouring opportunities, the remoteness of the parish, and the absence of rural industry, prevented the settlement of large numbers of immigrant poor; they were more attracted by the tin-mining districts of Western Cornwall.¹ Consequently, the breakdown of social homogeneity experienced in much of rural England² was muted in early modern Week St. Mary. The response of the parish to the English

1. Pounds has identified a drift of population within Cornwall towards the Western mining districts; cf. Norman J.G. Pounds, 'The population of Cornwall before the first census', in Walter Minchinton, ed., Population and Marketing: two studies in the history of the South West, Exeter Papers in Economic History, 11, 1976, pp.23-5. See also Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.9-11. On the tin-mining industry, see the bibliography in A.C.Todd and Peter Laws, The Industrial Archaeology of Cornwall, 1972, pp.269-71, and, for the seventeenth century, Cornwall in the 17th Century, pp.59-83.
2. Wrightson, op.cit., pp.33-47.

'ecological crisis' of the period¹ was to remain almost unchanged in population size, social structure, and economy, at least until the economic take-off which occurred in the closing decades of the seventeenth century.

Week St. Mary did not, however, remain without significant change during the early modern period. Only fifteen of the fifty-five surnames recorded in the 1569 muster roll are to be found in the 1662-4 hearth tax roll. The structure of society remained stable, but the individuals who made up that society came and went. Their movements were probably governed primarily by their need for land or work. They moved when these were gained or lost. Such movement was individualist in character. It depended, not on the community, nor even on the family, but on the whim of the individual or his master, on the amount of capital he could muster, and on the amount of land or work available. There were fewer masters able to provide employment in Week St. Mary than elsewhere in England, but there was a steady turn-over of land, both freehold and leasehold, and the remaining feudal incidents were limited. Once a tenant had acquired a leasehold farm, provided his rent was paid and other minor obligations to his landlord met, he was secure in possession, and accountable to no-one for the

1. Victor Skipp, Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674, 1978, passim, and especially p.97. Skipp noted that an example of this type of reaction to the 'ecological crisis' was unknown to him.

manner in which he conducted his farming operations. Farming in Week St. Mary, like migration, was individualistic in character: there were no open fields, and consequently no communal control. Indeed, it is likely that most farmers lived fairly secluded lives, leaving their farms infrequently, although sometimes employing their neighbours' children as living-in servants. Their own children, legally speaking, had no say in the running of the farm, or in determining the transmission of its ownership; their future depended partly on whether their father was willing to leave them whatever land he held, and partly on their willingness or ability to save money whilst in service. Most fathers attempted to provide for all their children, but there was no legal obligation for them to do so.

Macfarlane, in discussion of the origins of English individualism, claimed that "we still await the discovery of a 'peasant' community in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". He did, however, admit the possibility that such a society may have existed in remote highland regions such as Cornwall.¹ Week St. Mary does not fit the 'classical peasantry' model. The systems of migration, land-ownership and inheritance, and the custom of sending young people into 'service', were all quite

1. Alan Macfarlane, The Origins of English Individualism: the family, property and social transition, 1978, p.78.

contrary to the 'classical peasantry' system as defined by Macfarlane. It is true that Week St. Mary's poverty inhibited the development of class differentiation to the same extent as in other regions of England - but this was a function of economic backwardness, of the dispersed nature of land-ownership and occupation, and, indeed, of that very individualism which is absent in the 'classical peasantry' model. The yeomen, husbandmen, and tradesmen of early modern Week St. Mary were not 'peasants'; rather, they were petty capitalists who saved their wages whilst in service in order to purchase a lease and secure their own livelihood in the market. If a 'classical peasantry' is to be found in Cornwall, then it will be necessary to look much further to the West.

Appendix A: Lost Probate Records

The probate records of no less than sixty nine early modern Week St. Mary decedents have been lost or destroyed. Fortunately, lists of these losses survive, and details are given below. The great majority of these losses are of sixteenth-century date, and prevent detailed consideration of the period 1569-1599, which would otherwise have been attempted. Twelve relate to the seventeenth century; eight of these are from the records of the courts at Exeter, and bear the names of known members of the parochial elite; the loss of these records therefore biases this collection slightly against the wealthier members of the community.

Abbreviations¹

W = Will

A = Administration bond

1. The abbreviation 'W' is not used in Glencross's index of Archdeaconry of Cornwall probate records (see note below).

1. Destroyed at Exeter

Beaford, John	1628	W & A
Blake, Alice	1629	W
Gaye, John	1685	W
Jewell, John*	1582	W
Langford, William, clerk	1642	W
Leigh, Hannah	1669	W
Leigh, James*	1565	W
Orchard, John	1625	W
Trewin, Degory	1627	W
Weare, John	1630	W

The wills of those asterisked were proved in the Principal Registry of the Bishop of Exeter; all the others were Archdeaconry of Exeter wills. They are listed in Edward Alexander Fry, ed., Calendar of Wills and Administrations Relating to the Counties of Devon and Cornwall proved in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Exeter, 1532-1800, now preserved in the Probate Registry at Exeter, Index Library, 46, 1914, and ditto, ed., Calendars of Wills and Administrations relating to the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, proved in the Principal Registry of the Bishop of Exeter, 1559-1799, and of Devon only, proved in the Court of the Archdeacon of Exeter, 1540-1799, all now preserved in the Probate Registry at Exeter, Index Library 35, 1908.

2. Missing Archdeaconry of Cornwall wills

Barnpoole, Thomas	1595-6	A
Bowden, John	1597	A
Beaford, Thomas	1587	A
Bickell, John	1601	
Blake, Thomasine	1597	
Burne, William	1582	
Carter, James	1586	
Chapman, John	1569-70	
Clifton, John	1593-4	
Clifton, Simon	1597	
Colwill, John, the elder	1572	
Colwill, John	1590	A
Colwill, John	1593	
Colwill, John of Thinwood	1594-5	
Colwill, Thomas	1590	
Colwill, Thomasine	1594-5	
Cowling, Joan	1600-1	
Cowling, John	1587	A
Eare, Joan	1582-3	A
Elliott, Peter	1582	
Foote, Francis	1623-4	
French, Stephen	1595	
Geldon, John	1598	
Guscott, John	1587-8	
Hayman, John	1591-2	A
Jeffry, Simon	1600	A
Jory, Martin	1596	
Jory, Nicholas	1598	
Leigh, John	1569-70	

2. Missing Archdeaconry of Cornwall wills, cont.

Maye, Thomas	1573	
Mayne, Margery	1587-8	
Mill, John	1593	
Murfield, Humphrey	1577-8	
Murfield, William	1574	
Orchard, George	1589	
Orchard, John	1583	
Orchard, John	1597-8	
Orchard, Richard	1598	A
Pearse, John	1588	
Pethick, John	1596-7	
Pethick, Robert	1586	
Piper, James	1592	
Piper, John	1599	
Prust, Simon	1572	
Rowse, William	1580	
Skinner, Joan	1582-3	A
Southcott, John	1571	
Southcott, Thomas	1578	A
Southcott, William	1587	
Treweeks, John	1581	
Trewin, James	1589	
Trewin, Margaret	1573	
Trewin, William	1582-3	
Tucker, Thomas	1594	A
Vowler, John	1582	
Ward, Ellen	1594	

2. Missing Archdeaconry of Cornwall wills, cont.

Weale, Thomas	1591
Wheare, John	1578
Woolridge, George	1591-1

This list is derived from R.M. Glencross, ed., Calendar of Wills, Administrations and Accounts relating to the Counties of Cornwall and Devon in the Connatorial Archidiaconal Court of Cornwall ...; part 1: 1569-1699, 'Index Library', vol. 56, 1929.

Appendix B: Editorial Methods

A detailed justification and discussion of the methods used in editing probate records has been published elsewhere.¹ The conventions advocated in that paper have been used, with slight amendment, in this edition of probate records. Those conventions are as follows:-

A. General

1. This edition includes wills, inventories, administration bonds, and other associated documents. It does not, however, include sentences or interrogatories filed with the wills, although the presence of these has been noted where appropriate.

2. The documents have been arranged in order of the date of death, as ascertained from the parish register, of each decedent, and numbered accordingly. To these numbers have been added a letter to indicate the category of each individual document. The letters used are:-

A	Administration Bond
C	Account (compotus)
I	Inventory
W	Will
Z	Other

1. S.A. Raymond, 'On the editing of sixteenth and seventeenth century English probate records', Archives, 17(76), 1986, pp.33-40. Since this was written, an excellent summary of editorial conventions has been given in C.B. Phillips and J.H. Smith, Stockport Probate Records 1578-1619, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 124, 1985, pp.xix-xx.

3. All documents have been abbreviated as far as is possible, consistent with the retention of all factual information.

4. All personal names are given as in the manuscript, except as noted at D1 below.

5. Place names are given as in the manuscript; the modern form is footnoted. In most instances, the modern form has been determined from Gover's work;¹ the sole exception to this rule is the spelling of Marrais, which Gover gives as 'Marhayes', and thus succumbs to popular, but false, etymology. The word is still pronounced Marrais, and I have retained this form in order to remind the reader of its association with the Marrais family.

6. Dates are given in the style 27.8.1607. For dates between 1st January and 25th March, the year is given in the form 1606/7.

7. An attempt has been made to indicate the status of all signatures, and to identify their scribes. Notations have been placed between fore-names and surnames as follows:-

1. J.B.Gover, Place Names of Cornwall (Unpublished mss at Royal Institution of Cornwall).

X = mark

O = office copy

SC = the document's scribe.

Other signatures are assumed to be the person's own.

8. Arabic numerals have been substituted for Roman.

9. Square brackets and/or footnotes have been used to indicate gaps, doubtful readings, damage to the manuscript, etc.

10. Latin in the manuscript has been translated, abbreviated if necessary, placed in square brackets, and foot-noted.

11. There is a separate sequence of footnotes for each document, placed at the end of the document.

B. Wills

1. The testators name is entered first, in the order surname (in capitals), forename. This is followed by any status descriptors in the manuscript, given in modern English, and the place of residence if given.

2. Dates of the will, of burial, and of probate, together with any associated information, follow in accordance with A 6. If a place of burial other than Week St. Mary is known, this has been noted. The place of probate, and the name of the officer granting probate, are given when known.

3. Statements concerning testators' health and religious beliefs are given in full.

4. The names of legatees, and associated legacies, have been tabulated and abbreviated as far as possible consistent with the retention of all factual information. Where the original wording of the manuscript has been retained, quotation marks have been used.

5. The residue of the estate, after all other legacies, was normally left to the executor. This final legacy has been abbreviated to 'Residue to X, named executor'.

6. The notation 'witnesses' is used to indicate their signatures. The signatures of witnesses and testators are annotated in accordance with A 7.

C. Inventories

1. The testators name, status, and place of residence is entered first as in B 1.

2. The date of the inventory is given in accordance with A 6. If there is no will, the dates of burial and of exhibition or grant of probate is also stated where known.

3. The names, status, and residence of the praisers, where given, follow, even if they are given at the foot of the manuscript. If this is the case, it is noted. Signatures

of the praisers at the foot of inventories are entered in accordance with A 7.

4. Each item in the body of the inventory has been given a separate line or lines, and terms such as 'Item' or 'Imprimis' have been omitted. Values have been tabulated.

5. The words 'summa totalis' and their equivalent have been omitted, and the totals given in the manuscripts have been entered. Where there is no total, or arithmetical errors have been made, the correct value has been foot-noted.

D. Administration Bonds

1. The decedents name, status, and place of residence are entered first, where given, in accordance with B 1. Names in Latin have been translated and footnoted in accordance with A 10.

2. The date of the bond, its amount, the name of the executor or administrator, and of those bound with him, together with their status and place of residence, if given, and any unusual obligations, have been extracted.

3. The signatures of those bound, and of witnesses, are given in accordance with A 7.

E. Accounts

1. The decedent's name, status, and place of residence are entered first, where given in accordance with B 1.
2. The 'onus' is translated if in Latin, abbreviated and footnoted in accordance with A 3 and A 10.
3. The 'exoneratio' or 'exposita' is transcribed in the same way as inventories (see C 4 and C 5).
4. The 'allocatio' is translated and abbreviated in accordance with A 3 and A 10.

F. Other documents

1. These include commissions to take oaths, certificates of oaths taken and a renunciation of the right of executorship. The general principles in A have been applied to them.

GLOSSARY

This glossary is intended to give the meanings of archaic and obscure words. It is based primarily on glossaries published in other collections of inventories. Where these have been quoted, the name(s) of the relevant editors have been cited. Their works can easily be identified in the probate records section of the bibliography.

ABUTTE	See BUTT.
ACCOMPTE	Account.
AGRIDLE	See GRIDLE.
AMAAR	Mare.
AMERYE	"Wooden locker or press for keeping victuals, with openings for air to circulate" (Cash).
ANCHELL HEYFERS, Kime	See Heifers and Kine.
ANDIRONS	A pair of horizontal iron bars supported on legs, with an upright in front, used for supporting logs, or a spit on the hearth.
AOOTS	Oats.
APORNE	APRON, q.v.
APPAREL	Clothing. Also, frequently, WEARING APPAREL.
APRON, Cozves	Probably made of kersey, a coarse woollen cloth.
Dawlice	Dowlas, a coarse kind of linen (OED).
ARMORY	See AMERYE.
BALES	In 62 I, probably cross-bars for carrying buckets on the shoulder.
BANDS	See BONDS. See also WERING BAND.
BARROW PEGGE	"Castrated boar" (Havinden).
BAZEN	Brass
BE LOUND	Belong.
BEATTRIHERS	Probably a beating-axe, i.e. an "implement like a large adze used for breaking up sods for burning" (Cash).

BED	Usually refers only to the mattress. See also FURNITURE.
Dust Bed	Mattress filled with chaff.
Feather Bed	Mattress filled with feathers.
Flock Bed	Mattress filled with woollen refuse from weaving.
Tewsse bed	Probably 'trusse', a "framed bedstead" (Kennedy).
BED PERFORMED	"Bed fully set up, complete with Mattress, etc" (Cash).
BED TICKES	Ticking, mattress case.
BEDLIT	In 39 I, probably linen.
BEDSTEAD:	The framework of a bed.
High	See Standing.
Standing	A high bedstead on legs, under which a truckle bed could be rolled.
Trocle, Trowle, Trucle, Truckle Trunnill	Low bedstead on castors, which could be wheeled under a standing bedstead during the daytime.
BEDTYE	See BED TICKES.
BILLOS	Bellows.
BILL, BILL OBLIGATORIE	Promissory note, rather than a bill of exchange. In this collection, there is no example of the word's more usual meaning, i.e. a type of hook or knife. See also BOND.
BOARD	Timber plank forming the top of a table. May also be plank for other purposes, depending on context.
BODDES	Bodice: inner garment for the upper part of a woman's body.
BOLLOKS	Bullocks.
BOLSE	Bolster: "a long pillow" (Moore 2).
BONDALEEARE	Bandoleer, a shoulder belt to support a musket and carry cases containing cartridges.
BOND	Promissory note or deed under which money was lent or administrators and executors were required to fulfill their legal functions. See also BILL.
BOOLL, BOULE	Bowl.
BORDE	See BOARD.
BORDE CHARES	Chairs for sitting at table.

BOTTELL	Bottle, "a small portable cask for carrying liquor" (Gibson). Not necessarily made of glass.
BOX STILE	See STILLs.
BRAKETT	Bracket, in 8 I, probably to support HANGINGS.
BRANDED HEAFOR	HEIFER with burnt-on mark of ownership.
BRANDES, BRANDIN, BRANDIRES, BRANDIRONS BRANDISES, BRANDISE IRONS BRANDIZES, BRANDYCE	1. "Iron grid with short legs and a long handle used to support cooking vessels over an open fire" (Moore). May also be hung above the fire by a hook. 2. Branding irons, used for burning marks of ownership in cattle.
BRASEN, BRASIN, BRASINGE, BRASON	Brass.
BREASSTS	In 28 I, presumably a breast strap for a horse.
BREECHES	Short trousers fastened beneath the knee.
BREWING KEIVE	See KEIVE.
BROCH	Spit.
BROUSONE	Brass.
BUSTIMES	A cotton fabric.
BUTER PANNOKES	In 8 I, either a pan or a PANNER for butter.
BUTT	"a close-bodied, heavy farm cart with two or three wheels, made to tip" (Cash).
BUTT CHAINES	See CHAINES.
BUTTERY	Store room for drink and food.
CAFES	Calves.
CAFFERS	Either CHAFER, or COFFER.
CALDREN, CALDRON	See CAULDRON.
CAMERICKE	Cambric, a "kind of white linen originally manufactured at Cambrai in France, although the term was also applied to a hard-spun cotton yarn imitation" (Moore).
CANVAS SHITT	SHEETS made out of canvas, a hempen cloth.
CAPS	In 77 W, a "holland cap". Could be either head-gear, or a cape, made out of HOLLAND. In 8 I, probably 'Cups'.

CAPCASE	"Bag or wallet for personal belongings". (Kennedy).
CARDS	Iron toothed implement used to part and comb out fibres of wool in preparation for spinning. Pairs of wool cards are mentioned.
CARPET	Not for the floor, but rather table cloths or bed coverings, probably of heavily woven wool.
CARTHEN	See CAULDRON.
CAULDRON	Large metal vessel for cooking, sometimes made of brass.
CAULFES	Calves.
CHAFER	A small, closed, transportable brazier containing charcoal or hot ash on which a CHAFFING DISH was placed.
CHAFFING DISH	A dish to put on a CHAFER, to keep food warm.
CHAINS	A part of the harness, attached to YOKES, TREES, BUTTS, and PLOUGHS.
CHAMBER	Usually an upstairs room.
CHARN	Churn.
CHASSERDISH	See DISHES.
CHATTEL LEASES	A lease, which could be bequeathed by will. Sometimes referred to as chattels, chattel estates, or simply leases.
CHEAINES	See CHAINS.
CHEARS	Chairs.
CHEESE RACKA, VECKE	"Rack for storing cheese" (Moore).
CHEESEWRINGS	"Press used for compressing cheese-curd, to expel moisture and whey" (Moore).
CHESTED	Placed in coffin.
CHIMNEY MONY	Hearth Tax.
CHIP	In 157 I, obscure: perhaps a or a chest.
CIVES	See KEIVES.
CLERK	Clergyman.
CLOAK	Loose outdoor upper garment.
CLOCKE	CLOAK.
CLOMEN, CLOMING	Earthenware.
CLOSE BARRELL	A commode or chamber pot.

CLOSE	Area of enclosed ground.
CLOTHEN	Clothing.
COARSLETT	See CORSLETTES.
COBERDS	Cupboards. "Formerly a board upon which cups and dishes stood" (Cash).
CODORNE, CODRON, COLDREN, COLDRON	CAULDRON.
COFFER	Box or chest used for storage.
COKES	Cocks.
COMBES	The "paire of wostard combes" in 106 I were "toothed instruments used to card wool by hand". (Moore)
COOVERSETS	Coverlets.
COPE	Cup.
COOPER	Maker of barrells.
CORES WOOL	Coarse WOOL.
COLT	Young male horse, which had usually but not always left its mother.
CORRING	Corn.
CORSLETTES	Piece of armour covering body.
COVERTLED	COVERLET.
COULDRENS, COULDRONS	CAULDRONS.
COURSE WOOLL	See WOOL.
COURTLEDGE	Curtilage; area attached to a dwelling house.
COVART	COVERLET.
COVENANT	In 33 W, an agreement to serve for a specified period.
COVERINGS	Coverlets.
COVERLET	The uppermost bed covering, made of various materials.
COVERT	COVERLET.
COWDREN	CAULDRON.
COZVES APREN	See APRON.
CROACKE	CROCKS.
CROCK	A metal pot, generally made of brass, although an "iron crocke" is mentioned in 117 I. Not to be confused with CROOKS, although frequently spelt the same.
CROK HANGINS	HANGINGS.
CROOCK	CROCK or CROOK, depending on context.

CROOK	Hook, used for various different purposes. The context usually indicates the type of crook meant. A pair of crooks often hung above the hearth to support cooking utensils. In 19 I and 148 I, crooks are associated with plough-stuff; in 148 I, they are "crookes of iron". In 73 I, the "long crooke" associated with "one payre of panners" is probably "pack-horse furniture, made of best willow poles to hold large loads on the pack saddle" (Cash). Not to be confused with CROCKS.
CROS CLOTH	See CLOTH.
CUBBAND, CUBBERD, CUBORD CUBOARD	CUPBOARD.
CUDRON	CAULDRON.
CULTERS	"The iron blade on a plough, fixed in front of the share, cutting the soil vertically" (Milward).
CUPBOARD	Board "supported by legs and covered with a cloth or carpet, on which household plate and vessels, especially drinking-cups, were put" (Steer). The cupboard in 51 W was "standing in the parlour". 142 I has a "standinge cupboord" - perhaps one jutting out into the room - as well as "two old cupboordes".
CUPS	Drinking vessels, made of PEWTER or TINING.
CURTAINES	In 150 I, for a BEDSTEAD.
CUSHINGS	Cushions.
DASSPERATE DEATES	See DESPERATE DEBTS.
DAST BEDS	See BED.
DAUTES HORSE CLOTH	Obscure.
DAWLICE APORNE	See APRON.
DEATES, DEPTS	Debts.
DESPERATE DEBTS	"Debts of which there was little hope of recovery" (Trinder and Cox). Perhaps unsecured debts, without BILL or BOND.
DESSON	Dozen.
DETTES	Debts.
DEUST BED	See BED.
DEWTIES	Duties: in 1C, presumably church rates.

DIET	"Daily food" (Gibson).
DISPIRATE DEBTS	DESPERATE DEBTS.
DISSCHES	Dishes.
DOBLET	See DOUBLETT.
DOSEN, DOUSEN	Dozen.
DOUBLETT	A close fitting garment sometimes with sleeves fastened at the armhole.
DOUST, DOWST BED	See BED.
DREOPEN, DREEPING PANS	See DRIPPINGE PAN.
DOWZEN	Dozen.
DRAW	Perhaps a sledge for transporting the plough.
DRINKE CANNE	A cylindrical vessel, not necessarily of metal, for drinking.
DRIPPINGE PAN	Pan placed under a SPIT to catch the drips from the meat.
DUECKS	Ducks.
DUNG FOURKE	Fork "with crooked prongs for spreading manure" (Milward).
DUNGE POTTS	"Strong panniers with falling doors on the bottom" (Cash, p.xxii) which could be strapped to the back of a horse. Used for carrying manure to the fields.
DUST BED	See BEDS.
DYETT	See DIET.
EMPLOMENTS	Implements.
ENTRY	Passage leading to the door.
ESTATE OF INHERITANCE	Inherited lands.
EUELL, EVILLS, EVELL	"A three-pronged agricultural implement; probably a kind of dung fork" (Cash).
EXES	Axes.
FADDER	Fodder.
FATHER BEDS	Feather beds. See BEDS.
FEARE	Fair.
FEATHER BEDS	See BEDS.
FELLING AX	Large axe for chopping down trees.
FEWELL	Fuel.
FIRE PIKE	"Similar to a long poker and used in the hearth" (Havinden).
FLAGGIN	Flagon.

FLANNEL	Flannel: An open woollen stuff of loose texture.
FLASKE	"Small barrel used by agricultural labourers to carry their drink" (Brears).
FLEACHE, FLECHES, FLETCHÉ OF BACON	FLICH.
FLESH	Meat.
FLESH BARRELL, BUCKET	Barrell or bucket "in which meat is brined for preservation". (Needham)
FLEZES OF WOLLE	Fleeces of wool.
FLICH, FLITCH	The side of an animal, usually bacon, but sometimes beef, salted and cured.
FLOCKE BEDS	See BED.
FLUCK, FLYCH	FLICH.
FODDAR	Fodder.
FOURMS	Forms.
FOTHER BED	FEATHER BED.
FRAME	The legs and cross-rails of a table.
FRYIING, FRYINGE PAN	Frying pan. "These were either designed with very long handles so that the user could stand well clear of the fire, or else with small rings" which could be attached to POT HANGINGS. (Moore)
FURNISHED	See FURNITURE.
FURNITURE	"Frequently used as a general term to describe the harness of a horse, the clothes, etc. of a bed, and so on" (Cash). Hence FURNISHED.
FURSE	Furze or gorse, used as fuel.
GALLANDS	Gallon, standard measure of capacity.
GAMBADOES	"An attachment to the saddle to protect the rider's legs and feet" (Cash).
GAMON	Gammon: a smoked or cured ham.
GARDLE	GIRDLE
GARDIENER	Guardian.
GERDELL, GERDLE	GIRDLE.
GESSES	GIRSES.
GIESSE	Geese.
GILDING	Gelding. Castrated horse.
GILT BEAKER, BOLE	Beaker or bowl decorated with gold.

GIRDELL, GIRDLE, GIRDEL	"Belt encircling the hips, often ornamental, sometimes used to carry a purse.
GIRSES, GISES, GISSES	"Horse-girth; the leather band securing the saddle or pack on a horse's back; saddle cloths" (Cash).
GOA, GOUES	Goat.
GOSSIP	God-parent.
GOWNE, GOWNDE	"Indoor or outdoor garment with large fur collar. It was long or short, open in front often with pleats at the front and back" (Havinden).
GREAYNE OF WHEAT	Grain of wheat.
GREED IRON	GRIDIRON.
GREDEL	GRIDIRON.
GREE HORSE	Grey horse.
GREEST MYLLS	Grist mill: for grinding corn.
GRIDIRON	An iron grate, square or circular, with short legs and a long handle, for boiling food over the open fire.
GRIDLE	GRIDIRON.
GRINDEING STONES	Grindstones, made out of MOORSTONE, and, in 163 I, probably used in metal working.
GRIDINGTIRE	Probably GRIDIRON.
GROAT	Silver coin worth four pence.
GRYD IRONE	GRIDIRON.
GUGES	Jugs.
HACHETT	HATCHET.
HACKNYE SADDLE	"Probably an ordinary riding saddle as distinct from a pack-saddle, military saddle, etc." (Cash).
HAFER, HAFFER	Heifer.
HAININGE	HANGINGS.
HALFENDEAL	Half part, a moiety.
HAMER PANNE	Obscure
HAND IRONS	See ANDIRONS.

HANGINGS	Iron hooks attached to the chimney breast, from which cooking utensils were hung over the hearth.
HARBE	Perhaps Halberd, " a combination of spear and battle axe" (Trinder and Cox).
HARNYS	Harness, "The part of a loom which shifts the warp threads alternately to form the shed "(Cash).
HARROW	Heavy timber frame, set with "TENDS", dragged over ploughed land to break up clods.
HARVE	HARROW.
HATCHET	A light axe.
HATE, HATT	Hat.
HEANES	Hens.
HEAYE	Hay.
HEAD PEACE, HEAD PEECE	"Armoured head covering" (Cash).
HEAD TOVES, HEDTOWE	"In a plough or other implement: the loop to which the 'short-chain', or draft-chain is attached" (Cash).
HERRIOTT, HERYOTT	Heriot: the render due to the lord on the death of a tenant, usually the best beast.
HICKE, HOCKE	Probably hook.
HOCKSEDS	HOGSHEAD.
HOGGES	Hogs, that is, swine. The alternative meaning, yearling sheep, does not occur in this collection, except as HOGGETT.
HOGGETT	"A young sheep not yet shorn" (Trinder and Cox).
HOGHED	HOGSHEAD.
HOGSHEAD	Cask holding fifty four gallons.
HOLLAND	"Coarse unbleached linen or else linen and cotton cloth sometimes glazed with oil and starch" (Moore).
HOLLEND CAP	See CAPS.
HOLLEE, HOLLOW WARE	Bowl or tube-shaped ware of earthen-ware, wood, or metal.
HOOCKE	Hook; sickle.
HORSE HARROW	HARROW pulled by a horse.
HOUCKES	See HOOCKE.
HOSHEADS	HOGSHEAD.
HOUSEALL STUFFS	See HOUSEHOLD STUFF.

HOUSEHOLD STUFF	Miscellaneous items of household furniture and/or utensils.
HUCKE, HUKÉ	See HOOCKE.
HURLE	Obscure.
HUSES	Horses.
HYRROWES	Harrowes.
ILDE	In 32 W, yield, in invocation of the almighty.
IMPLEMENTS	"Things that serve as equipment, such as household furniture or utensils" (Gibson),
IOYNT STOOLES	See JOINT STOOLS.
IREWARE	See IRON STUFF.
IRON BOUND WHEELS	Wheels with an iron rim.
IRON STUFF, WARE	Various small implements and utensils made of iron.
IRONS	Probably hearth or kitchen implements.
IURTH	Earth.
JEMP	See JUMP.
JERKIN	"A short coat or jacket often made of leather or frieze" (Gibson).
JOURNEY, JOYRNEY OF HAY	Probably the amount of hay that could be carried in one day.
JOINT, JOYNED, JOYNT STOOLS	"Joined stools, made by the joiner rather than the carpenter, without the use of nails" (Cash).
JUMP	Perhaps jump coat: "a coat extended to the thighs, either open or buttoned at the front, with the back divided to the waist, and with long sleeves" (Vaisey).
JUNESTOLLE	See JOINT STOOL.
KARPIT	CARPET.
KAOVE, KEAFE, KEAVE, KEE	See KEIVE.
KEEFE	See KEIVE.
KEEN	KINE.
KEEVE	KEIVE.
KEINE, KENE	KINE
KEIVE	Vat or barrell used in brewing.
KENTEN	Fine linen cloth.

KINE	Cows.
KNYLLS	Sounds made by a bell when struck slowly for a funeral.
LACASON CROSS	Perhaps a variety of needlework.
LANTHORNE	Lantern.
LATTEN, LATTING CANDLESTICK	Alloy of copper, zinc, lead and tin, similar to brass.
LAUTRON	Perhaps latrine, a privy.
LEARNE	Learning.
LIEF	Life.
LIFE IN POSSESSION	Term of a lease - until a person named in the lease dies.
LINENG, LINING, LINNEN, LINNIG, LINNINGE	Linen.
LONG CROOKE	See CROOK.
LUMBER, LUMBERSTUF	Odds and ends.
LUMBES, LUMES	Looms.
LYNIG, LYNNEN	Linen.
MARKETT CLOATH	To cover the trestel tables at Week St. Mary's fair.
MATTICKE, MATTOCK MATTYCKE, MATUKS	"A kind of pick-axe with one end of the blade arched and flattened at right angles to the handle" (Trinder and Cox), used for loosening hard ground, grubbing up trees, etc.
MAULT	Malt.
MEANTENANCE	Maintenance.
MEAT	Food, diet - not just meat.
MELCH COW	Milking cow.
MERCHANTRY WARE	Trade stock.
MESSUAGE	"Legal term for a dwelling house" (Moore 2).
MIDELL WOLLE	Wool of medium quality.
MOARTH	"Lard or fat" (Cash).
MOHAY, MOOHEY	MOWHAY.
MOLDINGE BORD	Either (1) board on which bread was kneaded, or (2) plough-board which turns over the furrow slice.
MOORCHANDIZE GOODS	See MARCHANTRY WARE.
MORDE	MOARTH.

MOORSTONE	Local granite, used in the construction of TROUGHS, CHEESEWRINGS, etc., as well as house building.
MORTAR	MORTER.
MORTE	MOARTH.
MORTER	"Vessel of hard material ... in which ingredients were pounded with a pestle" (Milward). See PESTELL.
MORTUARYE	"Customary gift ... claimed by the incumbent from the estate of a deceased parishioner" (Milward).
MOUEHAYE	MOWHAY.
MOURNEING GLOVES	In 150 I, gloves to wear in mourning.
MOUNTHLEY RATE	Probably a county tax.
MOWE	"Stack of corn, etc." (Cash).
MOWHAY	"Stack-yard" (Cash).
MOYTIE	Moiety, a half share.
MOYHAYE	MOWHAY.
MURNING RING	Mourning ring: a ring to be worn by the widow during the period of mourning for her husband.
MUSTERD MILL	"Small hand mill specially made for grinding mustard seed" (Milward).
NAGG	A small riding horse.
NACKING	Perhaps coarse flax.
NALE	In 22 I, perhaps an awl, "a tool with a cylindrical tapering blade sharpened at the end for making holes for stitching in leather" (Havinden).
NAPERY	"Household linen, especially table linen" (Cash).
NAPKIN	1) A table napkin; 2) a pocket handkerchief.
NIFT PAN	Obscure.
NUNCUPATIVE	"Declared verbally" (Moore).
OBLIGACON	See BILLS.
OCCOPASSION, OCCUPACON	Use.
OOATES	Oats.

OUGHEING	Owing
OVERSEER	"Someone appointed to supervise the carrying out of the terms of a will to help the executor" (Munby).
OXBOWES	"The U-shaped rods, usually of ash, which passed under the ox's throat and up through two holes in the yoke above to hold the ox in place" (Brears).
OXEN	"Castrated bulls rendered docile and fit for farm service by reason of their loss of virility" (Moore).
PACKE	For carrying goods on horse-back.
PACK SADELS	Pack saddle. "Saddle with straps for carrying packs" (Moore).
PALITIE	Perhaps pallet, a straw bed or mattress.
PANBRAS	See PAN BRASS.
PANNER	Pannier. "Light basket set on a horse's back for carrying produce to market" (Moore).
PAN BRASS	Pans made from brass.
PARLOUR	"Private sitting room mainly used on special occasions or as a best bedroom" (Moore 2).
PARSILL OF HAY	Parcel of hay, that is, a considerable quantity.
PAWTER WARE	Pewter.
PAY OF THE PARISH	Poor relief.
PEAGES	Pig.
PEALE, PEALL	Probably either pail or pillow, depending on context.
PEASON	Plural of pea.
PEATER	PEWTER.
PECK	"Two gallon container for dry goods" (Moore).
PEECE	Piece.
PEGE, PEGG	Pig.
PENGJERD	PORRENGER or PODDENGGER.
PERFORMED	Fully set up.
PESTELL	A pounding implement.
PETER	PEWTER.
PETICOTTE	Petticoat: woman's skirt, worn externally.
PEWTER	An alloy of tin, lead, and sometimes other metals.

PEWTRI	PEWTER.
PEY	In 100W, perhaps a mineral of some kind - possibly tin? Or possibly pitch, tar, resin, or tallow.
PEYTER	PEWTER.
PICCE	Price.
PICKE	PIKE.
PIDG	Pig.
PIGGS TROAFE	See TROUGH.
PIKE	"A hay fork, especially a pitching fork" (Milward).
PILLOSE	Pillow.
PILLOW DRAWERS	Probably pillow case.
PINT, PINTERPOT	"Pint measure" (Moore).
PLANCKE, PLANKE	Plank. In 4I, probably seating.
PLATE	Either precious metal (in 146 I) or plate from which food is eaten.
PLATTER	"Flat dish or plate of pewter, wood, or earthenware" (Milward).
PLOTER, PLOTOR DISH	PLATTER.
PLOUGH SHAIRES	"Iron blade in a plough which cuts the ground" (Milward).
PLOUGH BOOTE,	Equipment for a plough.
PLOUGHSTUFFE	See CHAINS.
PLOW CHAINE	Plough.
PLOWE	Poultry.
PLTERIE	A pewter dish or earthen platter.
PODDINGER, PODGE, PODGER,	
PODGINER, PODINGER,	
POGENGER	
POLOWE	Pillow.
POND KEADS	"Pound keives", presumably for use in making cider. See POUND and KEIVE.
POORE MENS BOXE	Box for alms in the church.
PORRENGER	"An earthenware porridge bowl, often with a lid and a handle" (Havinden).
POOTS	POTS.
POSSENTT	A cooking pot with a long handle and three legs.
POTT CROOKS	See CROOKS.
POSSES	Perhaps a stone sink for washing clothes in.

POT	Usually a cooking vessel, for standing or hanging above the fire.
POT HANGINGS	See HANGINGS.
POTTLE PANN	"Pot holding half a gallon" (Cash).
POUGGERS	PODDINGER.
POUND	In 149 I, "a large trough where apples were crushed for cider-making" (Cash).
POUNDING MILL.	Obscure.
POWGER	PODDINGER.
POYNADA	Poniard: a dagger.
PRESSE	"Large cupboard, usually shelved, for holding clothes etc. (Cash).
PREYSORS	"Person listing and valuing goods included in an inventory" (Moore 2).
PRIS	Price.
PRISED	Priced, valued.
PROCTERS, PROCTOR	Lawyer in probate court.
PROVYSYON	Provision: food.
PUATER	PEWTER.
PULLEN, PULLIN	Poultry.
PUS	Purse.
PUTER, PUTOR, PUTTER	PEWTER.
PUTT TO USE	Invest.
PWETER	PEWTER.
QUART	Pot or container holding a quart.
QUICKE GOODES	Animals.
RANGERS	"A sieve or strainer" (Cash).
RATE	Tax due to the church in 1 C.
REDDY	Ready.
REEK	RICK.
RELEASE	Written acquittance.
RESTERS	Perhaps the support for a musket whilst it is being fired.
RIALL	"Rial: a gold coin" (Needham). Could be English or Spanish.
RIDING BEAST	Horse.
RICK	A stack of hay, wood, etc.
RINGERS	Those who ring the church bells at the funeral.
ROAPES, ROOPES	Ropes.

ROFFE, ROOFE	Roof.
ROPPE	Ropes.
ROSTER	Rooster.
ROUGH	Roof.
RUG	1. Rug or 2. Counterpane. The latter meaning is indicated "wherever the item is mentioned in connection with other bed-linen" (Moore).
RUGSKIN	Rug made from a skin.
RUGGED COWE	Perhaps horned.
RUNGES	In 2 I, probably cross-bar.
SAKS	Sacks.
SALT SELLER	Salt cellar.
SALT VICTUALS	Meat that has been salted for preservation.
SALTE	"Special container for salt" (Cash).
SALTERS, SAULTER	SALTE.
SALTIN	
SAND SACKES	For carrying sand from Widemouth or Bude, for use as fertilizer.
SAUSER, SAWCER	Saucer: "a vessel used to hold sauces and condiments" (Gibson). Not used under cups.
SCAINOR	Perhaps Skimmer, a shallow utensil for skimming cream.
SCELLET, SCILLETT	SKILLETT.
SEAD LIPPE	"Basket for carrying seed when sowing" (Cash).
SEAME PANIERS	Baskets for carrying fat or grease.
SEARGE	Durable twilled cloth of worsted.
SEAVE	Sieve.
SECURITY	In 99 W, a written acquittance.
SEEIVE, SEEVE	Sieve.
SELLAR	Cellar, a store-room, not necessarily underground.
SELLEPP, SELLIOP	SEAD LIPPE.
SERINGS OF IRON	Perhaps a bolt or lock.
SERMOND	Sermon.

SETLYN OF THE HOUSE	Perhaps the "Sealing: the wainscotting or panelling" (Needham).
SEVE	Sieve.
SEYTH	Scythe.
SHEERES, SHEARE	See PLOUGH SHAIRES.
SHEILL	Shillings.
SHEIPE	Sheep.
SHEITTS	SHEETS.
SHEPE, SHEPPE	Sheep.
SHITT, SHITTES	SHEETS.
SHOOES, SHOOLLES	Shoes.
SHOP	The place of work of a craftsman.
SHOP BOOKE	Account book for recording trading debts.
SHOTT	Perhaps Shot: a fabric with warp threads of one colour and weft threads of another.
SHOULL, SHOWELES	Shovel.
SIDERWRING	Cider press for squeezing apples to make cider.
SIDE SADELL	"Woman's saddle so made that both the rider's legs are on the same side of the horse" (Moore).
SIGNE	Signature.
SILLING	See SETLYN OF THE HOUSE.
SITHE	Scythe.
SIXES GRUUNDS	Obscure; probably something to do with the trade of gloves; cf.149I.
SKILLET	"A metal pan with a long handle and three short legs for setting in the open fire" (Havinden).
SLAYES, SLEY	"The weaver's reeds; the wooden frames holding the reed and driving home the weft; the handboard of a loom" (Cash).
SMITHS COLE	Charcoal.
SMOCK, SMOKE	"A woman's undergarment" (Gibson).
SNEEDS	Shaft or handle of a scythe.
SOCERS	SAUCER.
SOLDIRIR	Soldiers.
SORDE	Sword.
SOUSERS	SAUCER.

SPANISH MONYES	Foreign coins "circulated widely in England between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries" (Moore 2).
SPECET, SPECIALLYES	SPECIALTY.
SPECIALTY	"A sealed obligation or BOND. These are bills showing debts owing to the deceased" (Cash).
SPININGE TURNNE	See TURNES.
SPINSTER	Woman who spins; not necessarily a single woman.
SPIRATE	"Debts of which there is hope of recovery" (Trinder and Cox).
SPIT	"A thin iron bar which stood in front of the open fire and was revolved; it was used for roasting" (Gibson).
SPOONE MOULD	Tinker's mould for making spoons.
SPININGE TORNES	See TORNES.
SPRUSE CHEST	Chest made of spruce.
SQUAR	Square.
STAKE	"A small movable anvil" (Gibson) in 106 I.
STAME	Probably Stamen. See next entry.
STAMIN COATE	Coat made from Stamen, "a kind of worsted formerly coming from Norfolk" (Cash).
STANDERS, STANDERT	Standard; "frame ... for supporting pails or barrells" (Moore).
STANDING BEDSTEAD	See BEDSTEAD.
STANDINGE CUPBOARD	See CUPBOARD.
STAPES	Perhaps staple: a wooden beam for a plough.
STARE	STEER.
STEANE	"A clay vessell with two handles or ears, used for storing foods and liquid
STEARE	STEER.
STEEDS	In 157 I, BEDSTEADS.
STEER	Young castrated bull, young ox.
STEWER	STEER.
STILE	Still: apparatus for distilling.
STOCKE OF BEES	Swarm.
STOANE	Probably a utensil made of stoneware.

STOLES, STOLLS	STOOLS.
STONE	A measure of weight.
STONIGE, STONING STONY	Made of stone, usually MOORSTONE
STOWELS	STOOL.
STRINGE, STRINGS	"The reins by which the ploughman controlled his horse" (Moore).
STROW	STRAW.
STUERS, STURES	STEERS.
SURVEIN OF BULLUKE	Castration of a bull.
SUTE, SUTT	Suit: of clothing, or suit of law, depending on context.
SWAINES	Swine.
SYVES	Scythe.
TABLE BOARD	Treſtel table.
TALLOWE	Hard animal fat used for making candles, soap, dressing leather, etc.
TANNER	Maker of leather.
TANCKERD, TANKERD	Tankard: a drinking vessel.
TAX	In 135 W, text.
TAYTH	Tithe.
TEMBER, TEMBER STUF	Timber.
TENDS, TENES, TENNES	Tine: prongs of a harrow.
TERN	See TORNES.
TEWSSE BED	See BED.
THAPPERTENANCES	The appurtenances.
THONE	The one.
THRASHT	Threshed.
THREED TORNE, THREEDE	See TORNES
URNS,	
THRESHINGE BORDE	Board on which grain is threshed.
TIETH	Tithe.
THWARTESAWE	"Cross-cut saw" (Moore).
TICKES	See BED TICKES.
TINING	Made of tin.
TINKER	Craftsman who mends pots, pans and other household utensils.
TINKERS HAMMER	A light hammer used by a tinker.

TINNIN BOTTEL	BOTTLE made of tin.
TOBE	Tub.
TOBB	Tub.
TOMBER WARES	Timber ware.
TONE	Tine: the spikes of a harrow.
TORNES	"Wheel, generally spinning wheel" (Cash).
TOSTER, TOSTES	Toasting form or iron plate used for toasting.
TOUBE	Tub.
TOULES	Tools.
TOWLES	Tools.
TRAFFES	TROUGH.
TREE CHAINE	CHAIN attaced to a TREE: the wooden framework of a plough.
TRENCHER	"A thin, flat wooden platter, square or round, off which food was eaten; it usually had a hole in the rim for salt" (Havinden).
TRENDING STONE	Obscure.
TRENDLE, TRENELL, TRENDLS	"Large wooden tub used ... as a cooler in brewing for the drink to ferment in before being tunned" Probably trestles.
TRISTERS	See BEDSTEADS.
TROCLE BEDSTEDES	Troughs, usually made of MOORSTONE.
TROFFES	See BEDSTEADS.
TROUCLE BED	
TRUCLE BEDSTED	See BEDSTEAD.
TRUNCKE	Trunk.
TRUSSE ROAPES (for horse)	Probably rope for tying up a horse.
TRUNNILL BEDDS	See BEDSTEAD.
TUBB; TUBE	Tub.
TULES	Tools.
TURNES	See TORNES.
TYBES	Tubs.
TYNING	See TINING.

UTENCELS, UTENCOSE	Utensils.
UEARLINGS	Yearlings.
UNDER COT, KOT	Probably worn under a PETTICOAT.
UNTHRASSED	Unthrashed.
VALLENCE	"Short curtain round frame or canopy of bedstead" (Gibson).
VATE (. . .)	"A cask or tun" (Cash)
VECTUALLS	VICTUALS.
VESSELL	Container.
VESSELL TIMBER	Wooden VESSELLS
VICTUALS	Foods.
VITTAILES	VICTUALS.
VOLMONGER	Fellmonger: a dealer in hides, especially sheep-skins.
VOLVINGE TABLE BORDE	Probably round.
WAINE	"Large open four wheeled wagons, used on farms" (Milward).
WALLET	"A bag for holding provisions, etc." (Trinder and Cox).
WATENCOSE	Utensils.
WASCOTE, WASTCOATE, WASTKOT, WASKOT, WASSCOAT	"A short garment worn by women about the upper part of the body, usually beneath an outer gown, but so as to be seen" (Gibson).
WAYE	
WEARING APPARRELL	See APPAREL.
WEARING CLOTHES	See APPAREL.
WEIGHINGE BEAME	"Transverse bar of a set of scales" (Moore).
WEMING SHETTE	See WINNOWING SHEET.
WERING BAND	Falling collar, worn around the neck.
WEYNE	See WAINE.
WHEALLS, WHELES	Wheels, probably for a plough or WAINE.
WHETT	Wheat.
WHIPP	Whip.
WHIPPING TREES	Probably a whipple tree, "a free-swinging piece of wood to which the traces of a plough were attached (Havinden).

WHIT WOLL	White wool.
WINDING SHEET, WINDSHEETE	See WINNOWING SHEET.
WINNOWING SHEET, WINSHEETT	"Cloth which was used in winnowing, a process which took place after threshing ... to separate the husk and chaff from the grain. The grain was sieved or screened in a wind ... and the chaff blew away while the grain fell on to the winnowing sheet" (Havinden).
WOLL	Wool.
WOLL CARDS	See CARDS.
WOLLING	Woollen.
WOMBING SHEETE	See WINNOWING SHEET.
WOOTS	Oats.
WORKIN TOYELS	Working tools.
WORST, WOSTARD, WRAST	"Worsted; a closely twisted yarn of long-staple wool" (Cash).
WOSTARD COMBES	See COMBES.
WRITING OBLIGATORIE	See BILL.
WYNDING SHEET, WYNNYING SHEETT, WYNSHEETE	See WINNOWING SHEET.
YAKES	See YOKE.
YARLINGS	Yearlings.
YARNE	"Spun thread as used for weaving" (Brears).
YEARDE	Yard: a measure of length.
YEARNE	Yarn.
YEO, YEOWES	Ewe.
YERLINGS	Yearling.
YEWE	Ewe.
YN	In.
YOAKES YOKES	Yoke.
YOU	Ewe.
YOUKES	Yoke.

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