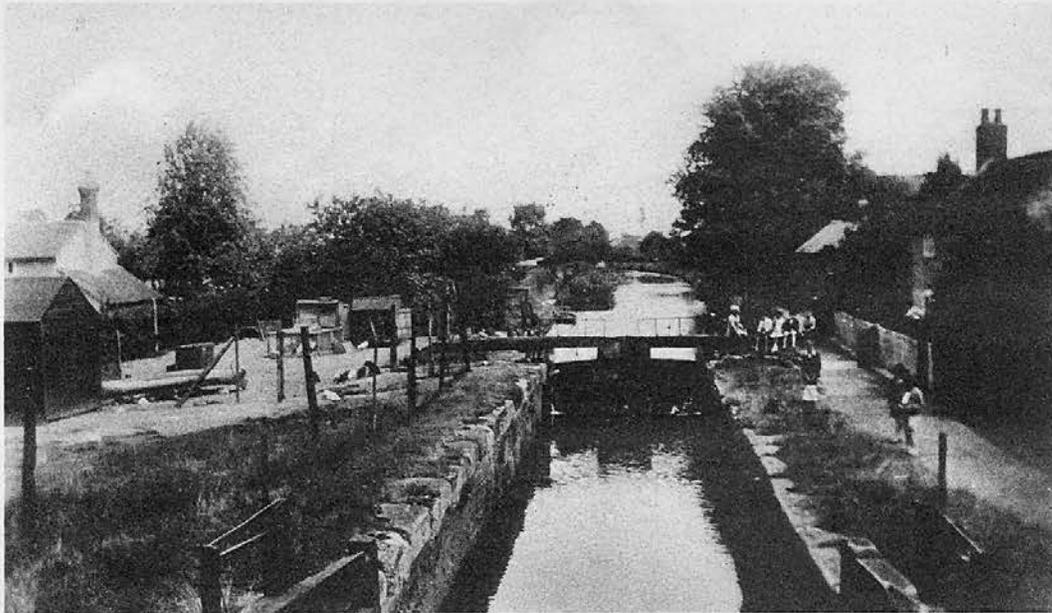


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Shelton Lock on the Derby Canal

**The Local History Bulletin
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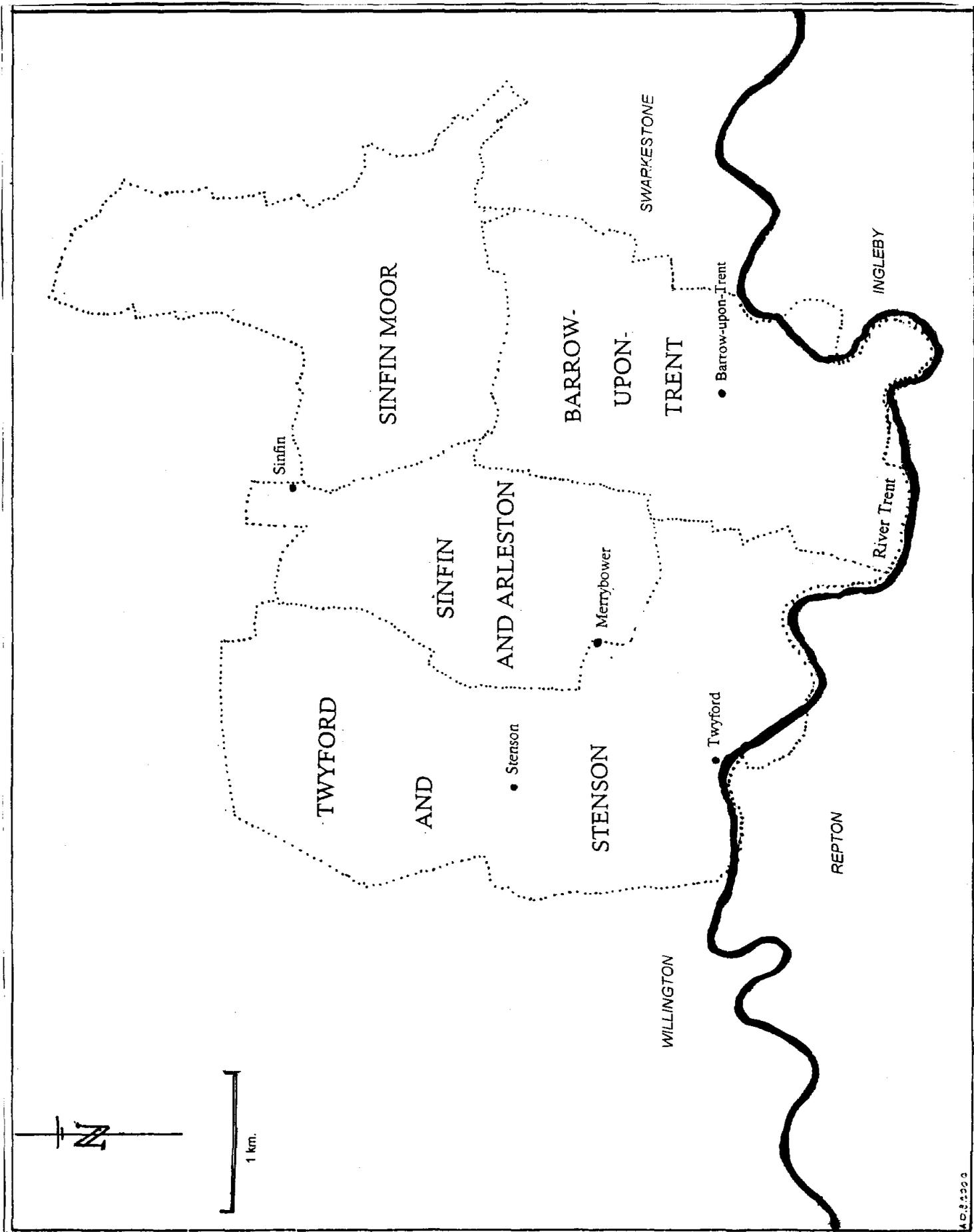


Fig. 1 Barrow-upon-Trent and Twyford: location map

FARMING IN BARROW-UPON-TRENT AND TWYFORD IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES USING THE EVIDENCE OF WILLS AND PROBATE INVENTORIES

(by Joan Davies,
Barbara Hutton,

Introduction

The parish of Barrow-upon-Trent with its chapelry of Twyford lies to the south of Derby city against the north bank of the Trent just west of Swarkestone Bridge. Because in recent history no bridge crossed the river between Swarkestone and Burton-on-Trent some ten miles upstream, both villages were the sites of important fords and ferries, especially Twyford which lies on the direct route from Derby to Repton. The villages lie close to the Trent on the flood plain, in spite of the ever present danger of flooding which frequently to this day renders the village streets impassable. Each parish had a small piece of land on the other side of the Trent which has probably changed its course in earlier times; in Barrow this is Balkholmes and in Twyford a meadow called Hailstones which was later divided between Twyford and Repton parishes at Repton's enclosure. Balkholmes was described in 1652² as "*all that Swathe with appurtenances of a certain common meadow called Bawlkeholmes in the parish of Barrow containing 12 acres in the tenure of Lady Cooke or her assigns to have, take, mowe, make and carry away the same...*", which shows that the land bordering on the river was meadow used for hay.

The Trent valley is bounded to the south side by a steep bank rising to a prominent east-west ridge 119 metres above O. D. On the north, however, it rises more gently towards the outskirts of Derby, and located on this rising ground are Stenson in Twyford parish and in Barrow, Arleston with Merrybower and Sinfin. Barrow Hill, rising to about 60m O. D., divides the village from Sinfin Moor - a geologically distinct low-lying area, marshy before the first modern drainage scheme in 1828. Lacustrine clay lines this shallow basin of about two square miles in extent, now filled with black clay and silt with much decayed vegetation, disintegrated shells and quicksand. It was not legally enclosed until 1804 and in an undated Barrow Court Roll³ is described thus: "*the moore lying on the backside of the towne is and hath bene part of our Cow Pasture and enten by stints with Cattell which they kept of the pasture tyme out of mynde*". Sinfin Moor was also subject to rights of common exercised by the hamlet of Sinfin itself, Arleston and six surrounding parishes (Chellaston, Swarkestone, Normanton, Osmaston, Alvaston and Boulton). There was other land in both Twyford and Barrow parishes subject to rights of common pasture in addition to Sinfin Moor.

The transcription of a large collection of wills and probate inventories for these villages offered the opportunity to learn something about farming in the 16th and 17th centuries and how it developed during that time. Beginning with a system inherited from the Middle Ages, when crops were grown in open fields; we hoped to find out how far the trend towards independent enclosed fields was moving, and whether farming practices were changing. In the 16th and 17th centuries life was very different from what we experience today. In a village almost everyone was concerned to a greater or lesser extent with farming, as a landowner, a tenant farmer, a smallholder or a labourer. Even those practising a trade or profession, for example the smith or the parson, had a small amount of land and one or two beasts. This is not at all like farming as we know it today, so we have tried to find out what we could about the farming carried on near Derby at that time using the evidence of wills and probate inventories.

The total number of people whose probate documents were transcribed was 155 but not all had both wills and inventories. For the purpose of this study we have used nearly all the probate inventories dating between 1533 (the earliest) and 1702. The ones we could not use were those that were incomplete, or provided no evidence of farming activity, such as John England whose inventory of 1685 lists "*coggs and rounds for a mill, six hundred and a half of boards, some srouds for a water wheele, six hundred and a half of boards, his working tooles in his roome he being a boarder*", clearly a millwright not living in his own house and not farming. We divided them into four groups according to the reigning monarchs. These are not equal either in the number of years or the number of inventories in each, but they make a rough approximation, the death of Elizabeth I forming the watershed.

1533-1558 - 25 years, Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I	22 inventories
1558-1603 - 45 years, Elizabeth I	32 inventories
1603-1649 - 46 years, James I and Charles I	39 inventories
1658-1702 - 44 years, Charles II, James II, William and Mary and William III	33 inventories

The dates used are dates of probate, which followed fairly soon after death; the will was often not made until shortly before death and the inventory was taken as soon as possible after death, but of course before probate.

During these two centuries the Julian calendar was in use, whose year started on Lady Day 25th March; dates between 1st January and 24th March are written e.g. 1591/2.

A probate inventory is intended to record and value the whole personal (as opposed to real) estate of the deceased, and should be taken as soon after the death as possible by three or four independent appraisers. In practice the amount of detail varies considerably and the valuations are very approximate. The absence of information about real estate, owned or leased, is a serious drawback and we have found no way to overcome this for the 16th century since no rentals or surveys have been found for that period. In the 17th century there are some rentals giving partial information not easy to link to the inventories.

Another difficulty common to all work on probate inventories is to know how many of the population of our villages made wills and how typical they were. We have an approximate idea of the number of inhabitants at three dates. In a Diocesan Census of 1563⁴ there were 64 households in Barrow and 33 in Twyford which using a multiplier of 4.5 persons per household, translates as 288 and 148 respectively. The Hearth Tax of 1670⁵ records 43 houses in Barrow and that of 1662, 30 in Twyford, giving (using the same multiplier) totals of 193 and 135 persons. In 1676 The Compton Census⁶ of communicants (i.e. persons aged 16 or over) gives a population of 194 adults in Barrow, which presumably includes Twyford. Using Chalklin's multiplier of 1.45 this would come to 281 persons.

Households and Persons

	Barrow			Twyford		Totals of both villages	
	Households	Persons		Households	Persons	Households	Persons
1563	64	288	1563	33	148	97	436
1670	43	193	1662	30	135	73	328

The Church Registers for Barrow on Trent and Twyford date only from 1660 with a few entries for 1657 added to one page. Up to 1702 burials are recorded of 113 adult males, four spinsters and 55 widows which gives a total of 172 people who might have left wills. There are altogether 32 wills for these 45 years which means that there are wills for 19% of the population of these villages who at that time could have left a will. Allowing for omissions and errors in the Church Register this is very similar to Joan Thirsk's⁷ calculations for a Nottinghamshire village where she found that from 1660-1725 a fifth of the population made a will.

This is an example of one of the probate inventories taken in the reign of James I.

An Inventory of the goods and Cattells of Robert Jackson of Barrowe in the county of derbye yeoman deceased the tenth of Aprill in the yeare of our Lord god 1612.

	£	s	d
Imprimis on yoke of oxen	7	0	0
Item tow mares tow fillyes and on fole price	10	0	0
Item tow steares or bullockes price	3	13	4
item foure kyne and 4 caulves and on other cowe	17	0	0
Item three yearlinge caulves price	3	0	0
Item three swine price	1	4	0
Item 13 yewes and lambes and 3 wether sheep ⁸ price	6	8	0
Item on score of yonge sheep price	5	0	0
item seven coverleds ⁹ and eight blankits price	3	13	4
Item 12 payre of sheets three tableclothes and 2 towels	3	0	0

	£	s	d
Item 2 mattresses and on fetherbed price	1	5	0
Item 2 boulsters and 4 course pillowes	0	10	0
Item 4 ould cofers price	0	4	0
Item 4 ould wheelles ¹⁰ price	0	3	0
Item 4 payre of Bedstids and some other ould wooden ware	0	6	0
Item 5 flickes of Bacon price	1	10	0
Item on quarter of Rie and six strike of mault price	3	0	0
Item a peece of Linn cloth and som at the wevers price	0	10	0
Item halfe a ston of wolle price	0	5	0
Item 2 Brasse pots price	2	0	0
Item 4 Cettels ¹¹ price	1	10	0
Item 13 puter dishes and 4 saucers ¹² price	1	0	0
Item 3 brasse candelsticks and on puter salte ¹³	0	2	0
Item on dishbord ¹⁴ 2 barels loomes ¹⁵ payles and pigins ¹⁶ price	0	13	4
Item a Table with a forme with som ould cheares ¹⁷ and stooles	0	10	0
Item corne on the grounde price	12	0	0
Item 4 cushins with som ould paynted clothes ¹⁸	0	4	0
Item a spit ¹⁹ coberde ²⁰ and a payre of tonges and other Iron stuff	0	3	4
Item 4 geese and a gander seven hens and a cocke	0	14	0
Item 2 weanes ²¹ and som ould timber	2	10	0
Item 22 fleakes ²²	0	10	0
Item yokes teames ²³ horse geares ²⁴ towe ould lathers ²⁵ on payre of small harrowes some ould harowe limes (?) and other implements of husbandrie price	0	16	0
Item dishes spoones and other such small ware as trenchers ²⁶ and milkpans with other trifles	0	3	4
Item due to him in debts	22	3	0
Item his apparell and his purse	2	0	0
Somma Tota	114	10	8

To find out about farming from such an inventory our first step was to work out what proportion of each testator's personal estate lay in livestock, field crops and farm equipment. Apart from these obvious categories, the inventories list the purse and apparel, household goods and produce stored in the house. Such stores as wool and fleeces, flax, hemp and yarn, corn, hay, bacon and cheese are often found in the upper rooms of the house; they cannot simply be added to crops in the field or barn because we do not know if they are household or marketable stores, grown on the farm or bought in. We therefore account for these separately. This is how we summarised Robert Jackson's inventory:

Personal and household goods	£17	7s	4d
Stores in the house	£	5	5s 0d
Farm equipment	£	3	16s 0d
Field crops	£12	0s	0d
Livestock	£53	19s	4d
TOTAL	£92	7s	8d

Robert Jackson had £22 3s 0d owing to him in debts. In assessing the value of a testator's estate the appraisers usually took debts into account, both those the testator owed and those owing to him. (The latter was the only legal requirement.) Not only is the moment of death not chosen so the debts owing are a chance amount, but also in the days before banks lending between neighbours was common - not only of money but of two pecks of rye or the use of an ox. Money would come in when crops were sold and the recipient might have no immediate use for it, whereas at other times he might need ready money. After funeral expenses, the repayment of debts is the first call on the testators estate. However, there may occasionally be an interesting detail among the records

of debts, e.g.:

<i>Robert Blodworth for a colt</i>	12s 8d
<i>Wyke of Stenson for a boschell of barle</i>	22d (1533/4)

For our present purpose the actual value of the various goods on the farm is recorded without the sums owed to or by the testator.

The Sixteenth Century: Henry VIII to Mary I (1533-1558)

In the twenty-two inventories that survive from this period the information is not very detailed, but it is naturally more so for the farm stock than for household and personal possessions. For example, in eight out of the 22 inventories the word '*instore*' is used to cover all household goods. In only five inventories are the rooms in the house named, making it difficult to assess status from house size. Fifteen testators claim no social position; the other seven are one yeoman, two husbandmen, two vicars of Barrow with Twyford and two widows. This leaves only the financial totals as indicators of status; in this first part of the century totals ranged from £114 18s 0d down to £4 2s 2d, two-thirds of them being under £30. The average is £36 6s 5d. All the testators seem to have been working rather than retired, though for some farming was on a very small scale, as in the case of the two vicars.

We may take as an example John Gilbert of Barrow whose will was proved in 1541/2 and whose inventory (not dated) totalled £45 17s 8d. From his will we learn that he left a widow Alys and three young children, John, Thomas and Anne. However, it appears that he had been married before, because later in the will he mentions his elder son William and his son-in-law William Swarkson. As executors, he nominates Thomas Gilbert his brother's son together with Alys and requests his cousin Hugh Gilbert and his godson John Knight to oversee the carrying out of his dispositions. This extra safeguard may seem odd to us but about a third of testators in the 16th century appointed overseers, and this use of the word is recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary as the second commonest, though obsolete. Their duty was to give advice to the executors and to make sure they carried out the terms of the will.

The will is witnessed, and very likely written, by the vicar, and its first concern was with the testator's soul which explains why wills were proved in Ecclesiastical Courts. Before the Reformation a usual expression was "*First I bequeath my soul to God Almighty, his blessed mother St Mary and all the holy company of heaven*". John Gilbert had lived most of his life as a Catholic and repeats this formula as if there had been no change in the country's religion - or perhaps the vicar repeats it for him. He goes on to request burial in St Helen's church, Barrow, and leaves to the church two torches and five wax tapers "*to burn at my burial*". His goods are to be divided into the customary three parts, one to satisfy his funeral expenses and debts, one for his wife, and the third for his young children. He provides 3s 4d to be paid towards the upkeep of Swarkestone Bridge (one of nine testators in this century to make such a bequest),²⁷ and wishes the components to make a set of wheels to go to his son William. Was William, or John himself, a wheelwright, or was this a do-it-yourself matter? There are, unusually,²⁸ two references in the will to land; first, to his wife as well as her third part '*all the lands which I have given her*' and later on '*I will that all my lands shall be at the ordering of my executors*'. These references suggest that John was not a tenant but owned his farm, or some part of it. There are two possible meanings for the word land; it may mean landed property in general, or it may mean a strip of land in the open field. Here it seems to have the general meaning. Lastly, he provides that his executors shall decide any dispute between his heirs if the sons cannot agree with their mother.

It is interesting to take a look at John's house before considering his farm. Five rooms are named: kitchen, house, buttery, chamber and brewhouse - as the last is listed after the upstairs chamber, it may have been an outbuilding. There is no mention of a parlour, which is where the master of the house would normally sleep, and it is a possibility that Alys had taken possession of the parlour for herself and excluded it from the inventory. The chamber contains five mattresses and a featherbed, five bolsters, four pillows, 13 coverlets and 23 pairs of sheets. The house is equipped with wall hangings and cushions, has a table, a form and three chairs, with 32 pieces of pewter, i.e. a dinner service. This was an unusually large quantity of pewter at a time when most people ate off wooden trenchers; Harrison²⁹ says that "*a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house.*" The kitchen has fire irons and cooking vessels. In the buttery

are seven silver spoons and a silver 'piece', together with trenchers, napkins and tablecloths. It seems odd to us that someone who owned silver spoons should have no bedstead - only three of these inventories record a bed. Turning to Harrison again³⁰: "*for our fathers, yea, and we ourselves also, have lien full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dagswain or hop-harlots [i.e. rough] and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow.*"

The furnishings of his house are not the most valuable category of a man's possessions at this time. In John Gilbert's case they accounted for £11 12s 0d out of a total of £45 17s 8d, about 25%, and that is a high amount the average being only £5 3s. 2d. At the top of the scale is £12 out of an inventory of £114, nearly 10% and at the bottom only 5s. 8d. out of £4 2s. 2d, nearly 7%. In just over half the inventories the household goods are valued at five pounds or less.

Far more important are the farm animals which make up between half and three quarters of the total value of nearly all the inventories. The maximum value given to livestock is £74 and the minimum £2; half have livestock valued between £10 and £30, the average being £23 11s. 5d. The exceptions, which we shall consider later, are the two vicars who happened to die during this period.

John Gilbert's farm animals begin with eight oxen worth £8. With four yoke of oxen he could plough a good acreage, but we have no means of knowing how much land he or anyone else had. Eighteen out of the 22 inventories include oxen, the largest number being ten; those who had none would borrow from their neighbours in return for some other help. There is no close relationship between the number of oxen and the value of field crops; the alluvial soil in Barrow and Twyford is fairly easy to till.

John Gilbert's other cattle are described as ten kye and eight ... beasts; probably the missing word is 'young'. The kye (kine) are milch cows and the young beasts might be heifers or bullocks, probably some of both. The value of kye and beasts together is given as £8 4s 0d. John had more than the average number of cows of six per farm, not counting the few that were barren. Everyone except one of the vicars kept cows, the maximum being 18 and the minimum one; this suggests that everyone could make cheese but this is not mentioned in any inventory of this period so the quantity must be small, nor has anyone a cheese-press. But if you had a herd of 16 or 18 cows in milk you would be able to produce more cheese than one family would consume. Cattle were seen chiefly as producers of milk and milk products, as described by a farmer "*my Cow is a Commonwealth to me, for first sir, she allows me, my wife and sonne, for to banket ourselves withall, butter, cheese and whay curds, cream, sod milke [boiled], raw milke, sower milke, sweet milke and butter milke*".³¹ Cattle also provided meat, hides, horn, glue (from hooves) tallow (from suet) and manure, so they were an important part of the farm stock, usually the most important. Two inventories mention bulls.

At this date most people kept sheep and there were some big flocks of 600 and 400 head. They were probably pastured on a large area of common grazing such as Sinfin Moor. John Gilbert was among the six farmers whose flocks were over 100; the next largest flocks were those of the vicars who received lambs as tithe. Only four inventories record wool, but this is probably because the crop was normally sold off at shearing; of those who do, three have a small amount in the house to be spun at home. There is no loom in any inventory, and only two mention spinning wheels, but this may be due to the lack of detail in house contents.

The other important category of farm animals is horses. John Gilbert had 11 mares, colts and fillies valued together at £5, the second largest number of horses recorded. Another farmer, Edmund Smith, had six capuls (horses) valued at £10 and ten horses and mares valued at only £5. Probably these last would be used for riding and for light farm work although Edmund had eight oxen as well. All but three inventories include some horses and two of those without are the vicars who, one might have thought, would want to ride around the twin parishes; but the distance from one church to the other is only two miles by road and could easily be covered on foot in a less impatient age. Perhaps the lack of a horse implied the priest's standing was not high.

Other common farm livestock at this time were pigs, poultry and bees, though John Gilbert left none of these. Fifteen out of the 22 inventories include swine, that is 68%, an average of seven per farm which is a lot. They are priced from 2s to 6s 8d each. One might expect the farms with a big milk herd to keep pigs to use the whey but the farmer with most cows had none. Poultry was probably kept by more farmers than recorded it (or their wives), and one inventory gives poultry no value. It is impossible to price hens because no numbers are given, but geese ranged from 3d to 1s each. Three farmers have bees, one with three hives for 3s, another one hive for

1s 8d and the third with hives worth 4s; we cannot guess how many because of the changing value of money. Honey was a valuable dietary item, bees were needed to pollinate orchards and wax was valuable for church candles though domestic lights probably used tallow.

We now turn to field crops. The total value of field crops is much less than that of the livestock and forms only 16% of the total estate on average. On 12 farms the field crops are valued below £5 and the maximum value is £23. The average is £6 7s. 5d. but that figure does not include the five farmers who also had an average of £1 13s. 7d. worth stored in the house. John Gilbert's field crops were valued at £3 10s 0d. which is very much less than his animals or even his household goods.

The most commonly grown crop is corn; unfortunately it is usual, especially towards the end of Mary's reign, to value corn and hay together and we have no means of knowing how much there was of each. In these inventories corn usually meant wheat but could indicate rye, barley or oats grown separately or as mixtures (maslin, a mixture of rye and wheat, or dredge which is oats and barley). John Gilbert left £3 worth of hard corn (winter wheat) and 10s. worth of flax. Although only six inventories mention flax and/or hemp, two of these are the vicars who would receive it as tithes so it must have been grown. We also find both flaxen (linen) and harden or canvas (hempen) sheets in most of the inventories that go into enough detail. The sums listed for flax are not high in relation to other crops, but no quantities are given.

Other farmers grew other grains. Rye was a bread grain, sown in the early autumn and sometimes used together with wheat to make bread. We do not know where it was ground into flour but there were mills in the neighbourhood. In Domesday Book a mill is recorded in Twyford with Stenson, in a survey of 1338 the Hospitallers had a windmill in Barrow, and in a deed of 1542 there was a mill at Arleston. There was also a watermill in Ingleby and a windmill and watermill at Willington recorded in an Inquisition taken after the death of Sir John Harpur of Swarkestone in 1622.³² Oats and pease may have been grown either for human or animal consumption; if the latter, it is not necessary to thresh it as the haulm has food value. In four inventories barley and/or malt are found, because ale was a universal drink, safer than possibly polluted water. We find mention of brewing equipment in five inventories, e.g. William Smith in 1533 had four ale lomes (tubs) and three fatts (vats for steeping barley), whilst John Gilbert had three leads (lead-lined heated brewing vessels) in his brewhouse; he is the only one to have a brewhouse.

According to the time of year, field crops might be found growing, or in barns or ricks, or threshed in the house. From about 1550 there was a marked deterioration in the weather³³ leading towards the so-called 'Little Ice Age' 1550-1850. This period saw the greatest advances of Northern hemisphere glaciers since the Ice Age and the late 1500s and 1600s were probably the worst time. During the 16th century the Thames froze four times and in the 17th century eight times. This also meant wetter summers resulting in poor and later harvests, so that we find on 23rd August 1555 George Bacall had 3½ acres of oats still not harvested.

Of the 17 farmers who had any implements of husbandry ('dead stock') in their inventories, 16 had one or more wains, at least 24 wains in all. A wain has two wheels and is designed to be drawn by oxen rather than horses. Fourteen had a plough or ploughs and ten a harrow or harrows. The yokes, teams, clevis (shackles) etc. to attach these were also recorded, showing how important blacksmiths' work was. Gilbert himself had two ironbound wains, three harrows and ploughs with their irons, yokes and teams. The value of Gilbert's dead stock was £1 11s. 8d., close to the average of £1 14s. 8d.; five farmers had no dead stock, four had less than £1 worth and the majority (11) between £1 and £3.

A word must be said about the vicars. It is quite unusual to find two vicars' inventories so close together - William Franks in 1541 and Thomas Wilson in 1555. The total values of their inventories were £16 and £7 respectively; neither had any tools of husbandry and their only crops were flax and hemp. Neither Franks in May or Wilson in October had corn in store, but they had animals, notably sheep. Franks in May had 65 lambs; Wilson in October had 28 sheep but eight of the sheep, one shott (young swine) and one swine were dead. We do not know how Wilson died, but perhaps he was alone when he was taken ill and died leaving his animals uncared-for. The inventories of both are fairly detailed. William Franks had a hall, buttery, chamber and kitchen; the earliest glebe terrier is 1612 and describes the vicarage house simply as five bays of building. This is not the house now called St Wilfred's in Barrow-upon-Trent which can be dated by its structure after 1612 and before 1638. William Franks slept in a joined (framed) bed and ate off pewter sitting at a trestle table on a bench with cushions. Surprisingly this bachelor had a spinning wheel - this may be explained by his bequest to Elizabeth

Campyon (perhaps his servant) of one cowl, five caws of flax and five caws of hemp. Thomas Wilson, whose inventory does not name rooms, had a bedstead (the same one?), two pewter dishes and two saucers, two trestle tables and two chairs as well as a form. His clothes are listed as *'the shirts'*, two gowns, two doublets and a *'doublet body with one velvet night apparel'*; two hats, a ruff, a hood, two pairs of hose, two jackets, a girdle, a purse and five pens. Although the other vicar, William Franks, has no clothes named in his inventory, he left in his will to Sir Henry Brawdston, *"one gown to make him a jacket upon"*, and to William Hurst one doublet, one pair of hose, one shirt and a jacket. *"To Mr Parson of Stanton my best gown"*.

The Sixteenth Century: Elizabeth I (1558-1603)

There are 32 inventories from the reign of Elizabeth and their average total value is £55 2s. 1d. with a range from £277 down to £3 2s. 4d. Fifteen testators have no social description but ten call themselves husbandmen with estates valued from £101 to £16, averaging about £58. There is only one yeoman, whose estate is valued at £40 and one gentleman with an estate of £56, which puts them into the same financial bracket as the husbandmen. Three testators were women, and three are described as labourers with estates valued at £3 2s. 4d. and £3 2s 8d., the lowest of all values. It is perhaps unexpected that people with so little to leave should have made wills. One of these, John Huse (1568), left a very brief will chiefly entrusting his soul to Almighty God and then naming two beneficiaries for his worldly goods. This re-enforces the religious significance of wills; *"There was a lasting and strong belief that to die intestate was a shame and a disgrace."*³⁴ The remaining testator is a housewright (carpenter) also running a small farm, with an estate of £25.

As an example this time we will take William Bancroft of Sinfin whose will was proved and inventory appraised in 1592 with an estate valued at £74 6s. 8d. He had three sons, one married with a son of his own, and a married daughter, but his wife had predeceased him. William's second son, Michael, was his executor and residuary legatee; there are no overseers, though 13 other wills have them.

The dwelling house had three rooms downstairs and a chamber above. In the house were three chairs, a table and a carpet on it, a form, cupboards and a bench with two painted cloths. The latter were hung on the walls both to alleviate draughts and for decoration. The outhouse adjoining served the purpose of a kitchen with fire-irons, spits, etc., pots and pans, 30 platters and dishes. In the parlour were no fewer than seven bedsteads, with a lot of bedding and more painted cloths, while in the chamber were three more bedsteads, more painted cloths, coffers, shelves and forms. The total value of his household goods was £26 3s. 4d., more than twice the average for this reign which is £12. Only three inventories had more household goods than William, the range going from £42 17s. 8d. to 13s 4d.

William Bancroft is also exceptional in having less of his estate in livestock than in crops or household goods. His £20 worth of farm animals includes no oxen though 17 out of the 32 farms have them. He had £9 worth of geldings, mares and fillies but the numbers are not specified. Going by other inventories, a mare might be worth more than £1 but less than £2, a gelding anything from £1 to £5, a filly less than a mare. Unfortunately most inventories, like this one, lump all the horseflesh together, usually giving the numbers. Only three had no horses, three had ten or 11 (plus foals) and most had from three to five. Total values of horseflesh averaged £6 with a range from £24 10s 0d. down to 8s.

As for other animals, William had five cows with two calves and four young cattle, namely, three bullocks of two years old and one of one year old. The total of these was £10 10s 0d. The average number of milch cows was between four and five, so William's herd was usual for his time: more than adequate for his household needs. Bulls are not specifically mentioned in any inventory. William had no sheep; 21 farms kept them, the flocks averaging 31. William had five swine worth £1 but no poultry. Twenty five inventories record swine and eight had bacon among the stores in the house. Seventeen inventories include poultry, not always separately valued; 16 have hens, 12 have geese and three have ducks. No inventory records bees.

The largest part of William Bancroft's inventory is accounted for by crops worth £24, described simply as corn and hay. Nearly two-thirds of inventories now lump corn and hay together, making it difficult to know whether corn should be taken to mean bread corn, i.e. wheat, or all kinds of grain. Seven inventories specify rye, seven barley and six oats; there are also five mentions of pease. Only three farms grew no corn. Field crops account for nearly a fifth of the inventory totals, with an average value of £11. As William had £24 worth he was clearly

exceptional, having more than twice the average; only three farms had more, though these had even more of their capital in livestock. Two-thirds had less than £10 worth of field crops, the range being from £82 down to £1. There is an almost complete absence of flax and hemp as a crop, one inventory having an unspecified amount growing and two others with some stored in the house. Nevertheless, in five inventories spinning wheels are mentioned, and in another a ripplecomb for processing flax. Taking this together with the decrease in sheep - there is only one mention of fleeces in Elizabeth's reign - we conclude that textiles are of less importance and food crops more so in proportion.

The average number of milch cows was only four and a half, but there is some evidence of butter and cheese making. Two inventories include churns for making butter, and three mention cheese in the house, one of these having also a cheeseboard and another cheese cratches (slatted shelves) and a cheese press.

There is also evidence for malting and brewing - one mention of a malt kiln, eight of steepfats, four leads for boiling the wort, two tubs and nine lomes (also tubs), a couple of barrels and one mention of bottles.

Farm equipment was only a minor part of the deceased's estate. William Bancroft had £4 3s. 4d. dead stock, described as "*old carts and divers parcels of implements belonging to husbandry*". These are carts and not wains, as William had no oxen. This sum is above the average of £3 2s. 5d. Eight farmers had no equipment, only two had under £1 worth, 11 had between £1 and £3 and 12 over £3, the maximum being £13. Only half had wains and five more had carts but no wains. There were 19 or more ploughs and at least 18 harrows. Yokes (implying oxen), teams and clevis, as well as plough irons, are recorded in about half the inventories but their presence must be assumed wherever there are ploughs and harrows.

Two testators had special skills: Hugh Hancock and Robert Dethick. Hugh Hancock (1592/3) of Barrow was a fisherman and had £3 of nets, some of them shared with an unnamed partner:

"Item one bott [boat], one codd nett, one half of a trennett, one half of a stallingnett, one trunk³⁵, the half of the weare netts³⁶ and the heades of them".

Hancock also shared the cultivation of his land with his partner (*Item half the corn...*) and had an exceptional array of farm equipment:

"Item one wayne, two iron teames [harness chains], two drought yokes and one copyoke, one plowe with coulter and share, one pair of plowe clyvys [shackles to attach gear], two iron togwiths [bands to attach to the head of the of the plough] one pair of temes, a pair of treases [to link yoke to swingletree] and one pair of wayne clivys without a pin - 3s.

Item of plowe timber three axletrees, 12 sheldreades [boards to raise the sides of a cart] and three plowe heades - 5s."

He had a very well equipped house with painted cloths to adorn the walls of house, parlour and chambers, and he had half of the lease of the house which must have been shared with his partner, worth £2 10s 0d. Unfortunately we do not have his will so we do not know who his partner was - perhaps a son or a brother?.

Robert Dethick (1594) was a carpenter and left unspecified tools worth 5s. His will describes him as a housewright of Twyford, who is survived by a wife Feles [Phyllis], two sons Robert and John, the latter married, and a daughter Elizabeth. He left half his estate to John "*in consideration and for performance of those promises and agreements which were between him and me at the day of his marriage*". Perhaps these related to the carrying on of his profession.

The Seventeenth Century: James I to Charles I 1603-1649

There are 39 very detailed inventories of working farmers from the first half of the seventeenth century. The total values of these inventories range from £4 13s. 6d. to £355 7s 0d. with an average value of £75 11s 2d. Twenty inventories have totals below £50. Only three testators do not have their social status or occupation stated in their inventories. There are 16 husbandmen, three yeomen, six labourers, four craftsmen, four widows, one

spinster, one vicar and one gentleman. The average total value of the inventories of the six labourers is only slightly below that of the craftsmen or poorer husbandmen. Five husbandmen had totals exceeding £100 and one of these was over £200 which was more than one of the yeomen. Two of the better-off testators describe themselves as yeomen in their wills but their appraisers think they are husbandmen.

A good example of the inventories of this time is that of Richard Foster, yeoman of Twyford, whose goods were appraised in January 1641/2. The total value of his inventory was £213 2s. 10d. which was well above average and he was a farmer of some standing in his community. He had appraised the inventories of several of his neighbours and witnessed their wills with his mark. His sister Jane was the widow of William Mather who until his death in 1638 had been the vicar of Barrow and Twyford. Richard had made his will in 1639 and requested that he should be buried in Twyford Church as near as possible to his late wife. Four of his children were unmarried and these two daughters and two sons were living at home. Two other daughters were married with children, one living in Sandiacre, the other in Ildridgehay. He had servants who may have been living in the house.

Twenty-three of the 39 inventories name the rooms of the house in which the testator lived. Most of these houses had at least one upper room or chamber but some were very small with no mention of chambers, e.g. Anthony Goodwin's house of 1609/10 in Barrow had a houseplace and parlour only. Richard Foster's house had five named rooms downstairs. The houseplace had a fire and cooking equipment including four spits and brass and iron pots, a board from which meals could be eaten, two forms, three chairs and four stools for seating, 12 pewter dishes and four candlesticks for light. The "lowerhouse" was where the his cheesepress stood and a store of painted cloths. The "little buttery" was full of barrels, kinnells and other lumber. The other two rooms were parlours. The "sellor parlour" (probably the parlour over the cellar) seems to have been partly a storage room for syves, baskets, leather bottles, an old spinning wheel, two troughs and other miscellaneous lumber but it also held two old bedsteads, two mattresses and bedding so it may have been a sleeping room. The "parlour" had four beds and bedding for them, a great chest, a coffer and folding table were also in this room which was hung with painted cloths and may have been where Richard slept. Upstairs, the "high chamber" was also a sleeping room with two feather beds and bedding but also contained stores of flax, malt and cheeses. The "ould chamber" might have been a sleeping room for it contained an "ould bedstead" and bedding as well as five bacon fitches, corn and barley.

At this time many stores were listed in various rooms of the farmhouses either because the inventories were very detailed or because half the inventories were taken in the winter months or for other reasons such as increasing wealth or weather conditions. Bacon fitches hung in 20 houses, yarn was stored on 15, 13 had corn, 11 butter, 10 cheese or cheeses, nine had wool, seven flax, seven malt, seven hemp or towe, five wheat, three barley, three woollen cloth and three linen cloth, two had rye, two oatmeal, two grease (perhaps for making candles), two had hay, two canvas and there was one mention of pease, one of salt and one of linsey-woolsey (a fabric of coarse wool with linen). Sometimes the upper rooms or chambers were used for storage e.g. John Taylor of Barrow in 1634/5 had a bushel of pease in his nether chamber and corn, oatmeal, flaxen yarn and towe in his upper chamber; butter and cheese were in the upper parlour. Robert Hegge of Sinfin stored his bacon and cheese in the chamber over the houseplace and yarn and wool in the chamber over the parlour. Wheat, rye and malt were in another chamber.

So detailed is Richard's inventory that it is tempting to think of him dictating his will to a writer, possibly to the new vicar Gervase Wheeldon, and both sitting together at the folding table in his parlour. Richard's main concern in this will is for the welfare of his two unmarried sons, Thomas and Francis. He leaves his lands sown and unsown, his pasture fields by the Trent, his barns full of hay and rye, his pea ricks, his cattle and horses to whoever will care for his sons whom "*It hath pleased God of late to strike and beset them both with great weakness and simplicities in their wits and persons which God grant to restore them to their former perfection.*" He chooses one of his unmarried daughters Joan to be his heiress and to take charge of her brothers and to provide the boys with "*meate, drinke, apparell, washing, wringing, lodging, fyer, candell and all other necesaryes fit competent and convenient for them and ether of them and also to provide for them and ether of them During their and ether of their said lives...*" He then urges the overseers of his will that if they think Joan is not fulfilling his wishes they should give the farm and the care of the two boys to one of his sons-in-law and if this proves unsatisfactory then to the other son-in-law.

The total value of all the livestock on Richard's farm was £96 11s 10d which was 45% of his total inventory; this

was just below the average at this time of 46.2%. He had eight milking cows worth £21 6s. 8d. This was above the average holding of 4.4 and would have made it possible for his family or servants to make butter and cheese. He had three pots of butter worth 6s. in the little buttery and four little cheeses worth 13s. 4d. in the High Chamber. There are nine mentions of cheese and butter in store in other inventories, often it is recorded with other items in store and so it is difficult to estimate its value e.g. Henry Berrie in 1616 had butter and cheese worth 2s. 8d. and Ales Barke in 1619 had bacon, butter and cheese worth 10s. A cheese press was in Richard Foster's lower house and Ann Hancock in 1635, had one in her backhouse. There are also a few mentions of churns, cheesefats, cheese shelves, cheese cratches and cheeseracks, so butter and cheese were being made but probably in small quantities and for home use. He also had seven yearling calves, one heifer, eight young beasts and four little bullocks worth altogether £26 3s. 4d. This holding was again well above the average value of seven "other" cattle worth £11 15s 0d. There is no bull on the farm and none are listed in any other inventory we have at this time. On other farms twinter bullocks and twinter beasts are mentioned, these are animals two winters old which may have been used for breeding. Richard's inventory was taken in January and there seems to be no indication that herds of cattle from winter inventories were lower in number than those in summer. It is difficult to be certain of this because half the inventories were taken in the winter months; most people died in the winter. The farm also had a team of four oxen worth £22. Only eight of the 39 inventories at this time record oxen so clearly their use as draught animals is diminishing.

The farms which had oxen also had horses e.g. Richard Jackson of Stenson who died in 1612 had four draught mares and four oxen. The farms without horses did not have oxen e.g. Thomas Holmes who died in 1604/5 had neither horses nor oxen although he had a reasonably sized farm and ten other farmers at this time also had no oxen or horses. Richard Foster had two mares, two nags, one black colt in the Ferries Close, one yearling colt in the Prince Croft and one yearling filley in the Bath Croft worth altogether £15. This was above the average holding of 5 horses worth £12 5s. 9d. Only nine farms had no horses at all. On most farms it is impossible to tell which horses were for riding and which were draught horses. Richard's two nags would be saddle horses, Thomas Bristowe in 1618 also had "1 nagg" among his horses but saddles are listed on a number of farms and draught horses must also have been used for riding.

Richard Foster had only four "rotten" sheep on his farm worth 6s. 8d. (These sheep were probably suffering from "the rot", an inflammation of the liver caused by the fluke worm.) This was well below the average holding of 14 worth £3 6s. 4d. One sheep at this time was worth between 3s and 5s. The majority of farmers kept some sheep, 25 out of the 39, but there were no very large flocks and fourteen had holdings of less than ten sheep. Richard Jackson of Stenson had the largest flock, five score worth £29, when he died in 1612. He also had ten yards of "wollen cloth" stored in the house and there are eight other records of wool in store. Sheep are often bequeathed to children in wills. Richard Ston of Stenson who died in 1605 remembered his granddaughters Elizabeth and Elen in his will and left each of them "an ewe and a lambe which I have named particularly".

Three quarters of farmers kept at least one pig, Richard Foster had four swine and one little pig worth £2 6s. 8d. which was above the average holding of two. He had five bacon flitches in his "ould chamber" and bacon flitches occur in half the inventories. Pigs would be fattened for winter slaughter. John Taylor, labourer of Barrow, whose inventory is dated December 1634 had only one swine but it was valued at £1, far above the average price of 9s. He had many stores in the house: butter, cheese, corn, oatmeal, peas but no bacon so perhaps this valuable animal was intended for slaughter that winter or it was a very good breeding animal.

Richard had three geese and a gander worth four shillings, six hens and two cocks worth 4s. 6d. Only eight inventories from this time record no poultry at all and it is often listed simply as pullen or poultry and worth less than ten shillings on each farm. Henry Benet of Barrow whose total inventory was only £4 13s. 6d. in February 1603 had three geese and two hens worth twenty pence. Where poultry is detailed 21 farms were keeping geese but only four listed ducks.

Seven farmers were keeping bees and Richard may have done so at some time in the past for he had two "ould hives" among the lumber in his "sellor parlour". Bees were valuable, they were worth about four shillings a hive. William Barke, husbandman of Barrow, and his wife Ales had 15 hives when William died in May 1619. There were seven hives remaining when Ales died two months later and in her will she left one caste of bees to her landlord's son Granger Sale. No will survives for William only an inventory so we do not know which friends or relatives were given the other hives. Robert Hegge of Sinfin died in 1647 and his inventory lists "all the bees in the garden" worth £4 so he probably had about twenty hives.

Only three of our 39 inventories of the early seventeenth century did not list any crops either growing or stored. On average crops accounted for almost 23% of the total inventory and the average total of farmers' crops either growing or stored was £19 5s. 1d. with totals which ranged from 10s. to £113 6s 0d. Nineteen farmers had crops worth less than £10. Richard Foster's crops were worth £96 11s 10d. which was well above average and worth 26% of his total inventory. His crops are listed in detail but in many inventories they are summarised simply as "crops on the ground" or "corn and hay". This extract from his inventory even tells us something about the layout of his barns:

In the Barne next the shee

Imprimis one parte of a bay of Rye £3 Two parcells of Wheat £3 and a little parcell of Barley 6s. 8d.

In the hither newe Barne

Imprimis one parcell of Rye £3 6s 8d.

Item in the yard on the Eastside one litle Rye Ricke £3 6s 8d. one litle oate Ricke £2 and one Ricke of hay £3

Item in the little bay of the barne one parcell of hay £1 6s 8d.

Item one little Ricke of Pease at the litle new barn end £3 6s 8d.

Later in the inventory his crops in the field are listed:

Corne in the fields of Twyford and Stenson

<i>Imprimis in Heewer field six Acres of Rye</i>	£12
<i>Item on Arleston field one Acre and an halfe of Rye</i>	£ 1 10s 0d
<i>Item in Pitch furlong field two acres of Wheate</i>	£ 6 13s 4d.

Corne in Barrowe field

<i>Imprimis in the Middle field there two Acres and a halfe of Rye</i>	£ 5
<i>Item in the same field two Acres of Wheat</i>	£ 5 6s 8d

Most of Richard Foster's crops were cereals and 89% of the farmers were growing or storing some cereals at this time. Where specified wheat, barley, rye and oats, sometimes all of these, were either growing or stored. Blendcorn (a mixture of wheat and rye) and big barley (a hardier variety of barley) are also mentioned. Other crops listed were hay, pease, hemp and flax.

There is some evidence in these inventories of when crops were sown. Richard Foster's January 1641/2 inventory lists rye and wheat sown in the fields. The inventory of Elizabeth Holmes of Twyford was taken on October 9th 1605 and she had three strike of Wheat sown. By 1st March 1616 Henry Berrie of Barrow had two lands sown with peas, half an acre sown with wheat and the rest to be sown with barley. On 8th March 1618 Thomas Bristow of Twyford had clods in the field with peas undersown. Thomas Tusser³⁷, the sixteenth century agricultural writer, gave this advice on seed sowing:

*"The rye in the ground while September doth last,
October for wheat sowing, calleth as fast,
Whatever it cost thee, whatever thou give,
Have done sowing wheat before Hallowmas eve."*

Barley, oats and peas were sown in the spring, the time would vary with the weather. On 21st March 1624, 16 acres of peas and oats were still to be sown on Thomas Hancock's farm at Stenson. This was perhaps a colder spring than 1616 or it could be that the fields were flooded. Richard Ston's will of June 1605 reminds us of high water levels at times in the Trent Valley when he bequeaths to the "footway at litle medowe a good and sufficient planke".

Richard Foster's wheat and rye were sown in the open fields of Twyford and Barrow. The variation in these prices may indicate the quality of the land on which they were growing; the rye in Heewer field was worth £2 an acre but that in Arleston field only £1 an acre. Another reference to the open field system occurs in the 1616

inventory of Henry Berrie who had two lands (strips) sown with pease. But there are also references to enclosure; as we have said, Richard Foster had a black colt in the "Ferries Close" and seven yearling calves in the "Prince Croft Close". In his will he leaves *"My Closes Medowes lands tenements hereditaments and premises with the appurtenances whatsoever lying and being Disposed within the former Fields libertes and teretorie of Twyfford and Stenson in the Countie of Darbie..."*

Ploughs and harrows for cultivating the land are listed in over half the inventories but apart from their size "*the great harrow*" or age "*olde plows*", there is no indication that some of these implements might have had special uses. William Wilkinson of Barrow had four ploughs on his farm in 1626 but we do not know if they were all the same. Manure would be spread on the land to increase fertility, Richard Foster had £1 worth in his yard and it is listed in ten other inventories. Muckforks and muckhooks are also mentioned in many inventories. Seed was sown by hand from a bag or basket and Richard Foster had a hopper or a basket in his *olde chamber* for sowing corn.

Tools for harvesting such as scythes appear in more detailed inventories. Richard Foster had four pitchforks, three old scythes, a wain and carts. In other inventories peasehooks and rakes occur. Throughout the autumn and winter corn would be threshed when needed for the household, the animals or for sale. On 21st March 1624 Thomas Hancock of Stenson had barley "*in sheaf and some threshed not winnowed*". Flails for threshing are not listed in any inventories probably because they had no value and could be quickly made when needed. Richard Foster had winnow sheets (used to separate the grain from the chaff after threshing), sacks and bags listed together ready for threshing on the floor of one of his barns.

Rye, wheat and barley were stored in Richard Foster's barns and there was a little rick of pease. Pease were cut close to the ground when ripe and had to be stored in a dry place. John Taylor of Barrow had one bushel of pease in his nether chamber in December 1634 and John Ragge of Barrow had a store of pease in his house in June 1626. Pease were kept as a fodder crop for animals and would provide a necessary food for people, particularly the poor who Harrison³⁸ says "*in time of dearth, many with bread made either of beans, peason or oats, or of all together with some acorns among*". In Richard Foster's yard were little ricks of rye and oats and a rick of hay. Hay is stored on 77% of farms at this time e.g. Roger Wright of Stenson kept hay in the chambers of his house as well as his barns in 1627, Richard Foster had blend corn and 5 strikes of barley in his "*ould chamber*". Corn, wheat, barley, rye and oats are listed inside several houses. Joane Bery of Barrow had threshed corn in a chamber of her house in November 1633 and John Taylor of Barrow had corn and oatmeal in his upper chamber in February 1634/5. Malt in varying quantities is listed as stored in seven inventories. Richard Foster had a parcel of malt on the floor of his high chamber. He does not seem to have any brewing equipment but he may have been brewing in a small way in his kitchen and using his kiln. Nobody in our inventories had a Brewhouse at this time but haircloths (coarse open fabric made from horsehair and used for drying malt over a kiln), steepvats, malt and malt milnes (mills) occur in other inventories.

Hemp and flax are listed as growing or stored on fifteen farms and implements connected with these crops also occur. Richard Foster had two stones of flax in his high chamber, a parcel of yarn and towe and a spinning wheel in the '*oulde chamber*' and near his kiln a parcel of rough hemp, two cracks, one brake and one board. Seed of flax and hemp was usually sown in April and harvested in late July and August. The plants were pulled from the ground by their roots and left to dry in the sun. A ripplecomb was used to remove seeds which would be carefully stored for sowing the following year.³⁹ Richard Ston of Stenson had a ripplecomb among his tools in August 1605. After drying, hemp or flax would be placed in water, preferably a running stream or river, held down with wooden stakes and heavy stones. After four days or longer it was cleaned of leaves and dried thoroughly before being taken to a wooden brake such as Richard Foster had in his kiln room. In the brake the outside covering was beaten from the stalks. After this it was swingled on a swingle-tree block and beaten with a piece of wood called a swingle tree dagger. John Dawson of Twyford had a swingle block listed in his inventory of January 1618. This beating was repeated several times for better quality and the refuse falling from the block would be collected and eventually used for coarse goods such as winnow cloths after being teased in wool cards. The hemp or flax was then put through a heckle, a comb like implement, where it was straightened and smoothed. William Barke of Barrow who had a double heckle in his bolting house (a room where meal and flour were prepared) in June 1619 also had a pair of wool cards in his parlour and some linen yarn. He did not have a spinning wheel but 15 farms listed wheels of various kinds; great wheels, long wheels, little wheels and wool wheels. William Astle of Barrow had seven listed in his inventory of 1612.

Richard Foster had more farm equipment than any other farmer at this time. It was worth £15 12s. 8d. but only 7% of his total inventory. This larger amount of equipment suggests that he must have had a larger land holding. At this time the average value of equipment was £4 7s. 10d. and amounts ranged from one shilling up to £15 12s. 8d. Twenty-three farms out of the 39 had under £5 worth of equipment. On average equipment was worth about 5% of the total inventory. Larger implements such as carts and ploughs are usually listed and priced separately and sometimes smaller items are listed together only as implements of husbandry. Six farmers had no equipment listed in their inventory, of the rest 64% had a plough or ploughs, 45% had carts, 42% harrows and 27% had wains.

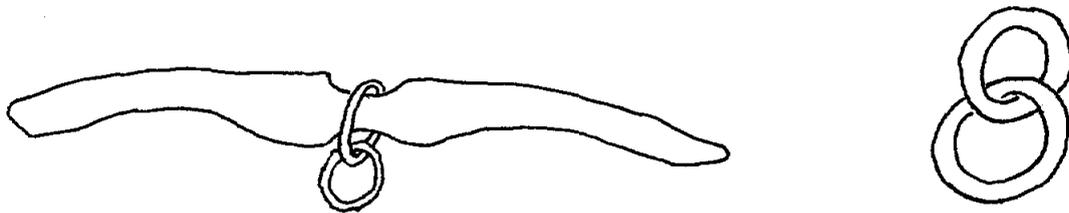
Several farmers had hovels on their farms. They were not highly valued and are often listed with other oddments lying in the farmyard. In 1612 William Astle of Barrow had "12 broken fleaks, 1 hovel and som od refuse wood" worth 20s and Thomas Bristowe of Twyford who died in 1618 had "some old fleakes with cratches hovils and all refuse wood about the yard" worth 13s 4d. Roger North⁴⁰ in 1698 described hovels in the Midlands: "they make frames of wood, and lay sticks and rafts over and so lay corne upon them, about 15 foot from the ground, and underneath they stow carts, plows etc. where they stand dry; and next to the braces they line the posts with brass tinsell, and by that means keep vermin from ascending. And all thatch. By this they pretend so great convenience in the sweetness of their corne, and preservation of it, that nothing shall move them to doe as in the East Angles, lay all in barnes". Robert Jackson of Barrow in 1612 bequeathed "one hovell upon the which I lay my pease" to his son William. Richard Foster had one wain under his long hovel and two old carts under the old hovel.

The wain was his most valuable vehicle and worth £2. A wain was a two wheeled cart which was pulled by oxen. "It is a cart when drawn by horses, having two sides called trills, but a wain when drawn by oxen, and having a wain-cope".⁴¹ The cop(pe) was a beam or shaft placed between a pair of oxen and it fitted to the ox yoke as follows. The yoke had a carved indent at its mid-point round which was a loop of twisted leather. Set into this loop was a second loop like two links in a chain, one at right angles to the other. The beam had a hole into which a peg was fitted. To attach the yoke to the beam, the beam passed through the second link and the peg was put in place. Forward pressure pulled the end of the beam back into the loop which was held there by the peg.⁴² (see Fig. 2)

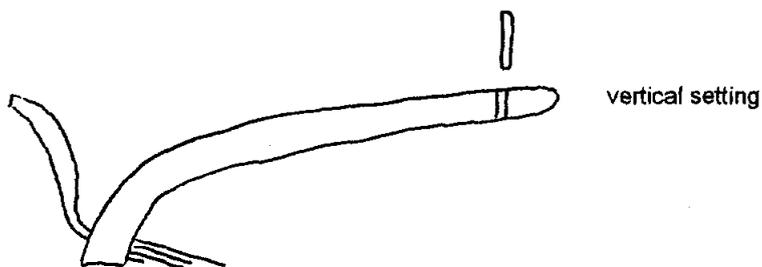
Richard Foster's two old carts were together worth £3. The value of these three vehicles together with wain timber (shafts) and wain clives (shackles) were worth about one third of all his farm equipment. He had six old ploughs, plough timber (beams), plough irons (the coulter and the share) worth altogether £1. These ploughs may have had specialised uses, but like ploughs listed in other inventories, no distinction apart from age is made between them. A grindstone in his yard would have been used for sharpening the plough blades regularly: "One must have a care every night to look to the mending or sharpening of the plough-irons, and the repairing of the plough and plough gears, if any be out of order, for to defer them till the morrow, were the loss of a day's work, and an ill point of Husbandry".⁴³

Tools would be needed for general repairs to all equipment. Richard Foster's inventory only lists two hatchets and two agers (augers) but axes, whip saws, framing saws, hand saws, hammers, wimbles (gimlets) and iron wedges are mentioned in other inventories. Richard Bond of Barrow who died in 1641 was a blacksmith as well as a farmer and he left a blacksmith's stiddy (anvil) and a pair of bellows worth £2, two great hammers and four little ones worth 6s, six pair of tongs and a pair of pincers worth 4s. and a vice and a pair of weights worth 6d.

Harrows were used to break up the ground after ploughing ready for seed sowing and after the seed had been broadcast on the soil it was harrowed again into the soil. Richard Foster owned "one ould great harrowe and two litle harrowes". The light soils of the Trent Valley would not be as difficult to work as clay and the laborious breaking up of clods of earth by a mallet called a "clotting beetle" which Markham⁴⁴ describes in his writing probably was not necessary because no "clotting beetles" are mentioned in any inventories. Smaller items mentioned in this inventory and others include the following: forks, hay forks, pitchforks, scythes, bills (implements for cutting corn), cutting knives (large triangular instruments for cutting hay at the stack), rakes, hay rakes, great iron rakes, spades, shovels, muck forks, muck hooks (for manure), pease hooks (implements for cutting down the peas), gorse hooks (gorse was cut for kindling and animal fodder), a browme bill (for cutting broom) and winnow cloths or sheets. The measures of pecks, hoops and strikes are listed in many inventories. They were dry capacity measures, a peck was two gallons, a hoop four pecks or 8 gallons and a strike was one bushel or eight gallons. In 1605, Elizabeth Holmes bequeathed "to eych other poore housekeeper in Twyford that getteth no corne one pecke of rye when it is reaped". Richard Ston had eight strike of wheat stored in his chamber and



twisted skin, leather or rope about 30mm thick



Peg can be fixed or movable. If fixed the lower link has to be worked around the peg.

or horizontal setting



Forward movement pulls very tightly against peg.

Fig. 2 The principles of attaching a cop to an ox-yoke
(after Dr P.J. Reynolds, Director of Butser Ancient Farm, Hampshire)

William Bludworth in 1623, had three hoops of wheat on his farm. Lathers are mentioned in many inventories. They may have been climbing ladders or extensions to the carts or wains which by allowing the load to overhang considerably increased the carrying capacity of the vehicle.

Only one farmer Thomas Bristowe had any fishing equipment. In 1618 he had two old boats, one old worn tramell net (a triple dragnet) and "*engines of fishing belonging to the water*" worth 20 shillings.

Much equipment was needed for animals. Richard Foster had four oxen yokes for harnessing his oxen, old bridles, saddles, horse gears and containers for feeding animals: troughs, mangers, cratches, racks, and ranges. Fleaks or hurdles which were movable fences for controlling animals occur throughout the inventories. Shearing hooks for sheep shearing are also mentioned.

The Seventeenth Century: Charles II, James II, William and Mary, William III 1660-1702

During the Civil War and Commonwealth period local records were disrupted. The office of Bishop was abolished in 1646 and wills should have been proved in civil courts and collected centrally. In our case, two 1647 probates and three of 1660 relate to deaths between 1646 and 1658 but have remained with the Lichfield records. We have found none in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Up to the death of William III we have 33 inventories of working farmers. The total values of these inventories range from £15 15s. 4d to £392 17s. 5d. with an average value of £86 12s. 6d. Nineteen of these inventories have values of less than £70. Four testators do not state their occupation or social status, otherwise there are two gentlemen, seven yeomen, 14 husbandmen, three craftsmen, one labourer and two widows. There is a clear distinction in the value of their inventories. The average total of the gentlemen's inventories is £270, the yeomen's about £98, the husbandmen's £70, the craftsmen's £26 and the one labourer had possessions valued at £18.

The most detailed inventory from this period is that of George Harpur, gentleman, who died in 1673. He lived in Twyford in a house later called Twyford Old Hall which was built by his father George Harpur who was the son of Sir Richard Harpur of Littleover. This house still stands though much reduced from its original size. When George Harpur died in 1673 he was 32, his wife Catherine had died three years earlier after the birth of their fourth child. His children were John who was eight, George seven, Frances six and Katherine three. The care of the children is not mentioned in the will but he is survived by his mother, sister and brothers and a private arrangement must have been made for their future welfare. The house then passed to another branch of the Harpur family who lived there until the early eighteenth century. The total value of George's inventory was £392 17s. 5d. well above the average for this period. Simon Bristowe of Twyford who died in 1681 was the wealthiest yeoman and his inventory totalled £213 3s. 2d. Both of these inventories also list substantial amounts of money owing to them or in securities in addition to their possessions which are not included in these totals.

Only five inventories from this period do not name the rooms of the house. In the other 28 the rooms and their contents are named in detail. Most had a houseplace, some had a kitchen as well and ten houses had more than one parlour. Additional rooms such as buttery, brewhouse, dairyhouse and wash-house are named. George Harpur's house had two parlours, a hall, a study, a kitchen, a dairy, a cooking house, a brewing house, a cheese chamber, a larder, a buttery, two cellars, five chambers and a nursery. This must have been one of the largest houses in South Derbyshire. In his will George left mourning rings to Sir Robert Coke and his lady, Sir John Harpur Kt and his lady and to his cousin George Vernon Esq and his lady; all local gentry who may have been entertained in his large house at Twyford.

The total of the livestock on George Harpur's farm was £166 5s. 10d. which was 42% of his possessions. This was below the average of 46% at this time because a higher proportion of his inventory was in personal and household goods. Only one other farmer had livestock worth more than £100, the majority (19) had livestock valued at between £10 and £50 and two had totals below £10. He had nine milking cows at a time when the average was five. They were worth £25 or £2 14s 0d. each, this was above the average value of £2 8s 0d. He also had a sucking calf and a cow so eventually he would have 10 milking cows which would give him surplus milk for butter and cheese making.

George Harpur had a dairy and dairies or milk houses are recorded in five other inventories. The Harpur dairy was very well furnished with £7 worth of equipment including brass pans, a lead, pails, kits, a kimnell (a

wooden tub), a cheese tub, cheese fatts, a cheese board, a bowl, a churn, four panchions, seven mug potts, weights, scales and a cheese ladder. This suggests butter and cheese making.

Butter was made probably on a small scale at this time; not a lot of butter making equipment is noted but it is difficult to be certain e.g. John Williamson of Twyford who died in 1682 had 20 cows and 50 ewes on his inventory but no rooms of his house are named and everything in the house is listed together as "*household goods*", so he may have had a dairy but we do not know. Butter was made from the milk of cows and probably ewes and cleanliness was all important in its manufacture. The cream from the early morning milk was put into a covered pot and to this was added the cream from subsequent milkings. If it was summer the cream would not be kept for more than two days or four or five in winter. The cream was strained through a cloth into a churn. Churning had to be done with an even stroke and continued until the butter came. It was then washed in cold water and worked by hand to remove any butter milk. After this it was put into salted pots and covered with salt to preserve it. Buttermilk could be made into curds, used as a drink or given to poor neighbours.⁴⁵

George Harpur had a cheese chamber containing three new milk cheeses valued at 20 shillings the hundred, 93 meale cheeses (made from one milking) at 17 shillings the hundred and 24 simed milk cheeses, i.e. skimmed milk cheeses at 14 shillings the hundred. The total value of his cheese was £3 so hundred might have meant hundred weight. This amount of cheese could have been intended for sale at a market or for the use of his large household. Cheese to a lesser extent was stored on eight other farms. It is difficult to know its value because it is listed with other stores, e.g. William Wilkinson in 1678 had corn and cheese at £1 and George Holmes in 1680/1 had cheese and wool worth £2. Also in the Harpur cheese room were ten shelves each about six feet long for storing the cheeses: other cheese equipment was in the Dairy. A cheese press was in the Brewing House and cheese presses are listed on four other farms. The new milk cheeses were made by taking the morning's milk and adding it to the cream from the previous evening's milking and straining it through a clean cloth into a tub; some boiling water was then added. When the mixture had cooled to lukewarm, rennet was added at the rate of one spoonful for every three gallons of liquid.⁴⁶

The rennet (which is undigested curd) was made by taking this curd from the stomach of a young sucking calf which had been fed only on milk. It was washed and left to drain on a clean cloth. Salt was added to it and then it was returned to a salted bag and sealed up. It was recommended that this should be kept for a full year before use and "*not kept in a chimney corner*". When needed for use the curd was taken from the bag and broken up with a wooden pestle in a stone mortar. The yolks of two or three eggs, half a pint of cream, a pennyworth of saffron dried and beaten to a powder, cloves and mace were added and the mixture returned to the bag. It was then boiled in a strong solution of brine and a handful of saxifrage. When it was cold a few walnut leaves were added. The curd was mixed with this brine and the bag again closed up and hung up to be ready in a fortnight as rennet.

After adding the rennet to the warm milk the dairymaid would wait until the curd came then she would break and mash it by hand and press it to the bottom of the tub, removing the whey as cleanly as possible. After this the curd was put into a cheese vat and pressed down hard and laid on a cheese board with a weight on top. When the whey had dripped out it was placed in a cloth and carried to the cheese press. Here it was pressed for half an hour and put into a dry cloth. This was repeated five or six times on the first day. In the evening it was taken to the press for 24 hours and the following evening it was laid in a vat without a cloth. It was then put into a salting tub or kinnell and placed on a clean table or shelf to dry and turned at regular intervals until ready to go onto a cheese heck or rack in a cool dark place. The whey could be given to the poor "*for it is a good drink for the laboring man*", made into curds or fed to the swine.⁴⁷

George Harpur had other cattle: a bull, four little bullocks, four stirks (bullocks a year old), a stirk heifer, four yearling calves and three calves at stake worth altogether £25 13s. 4d. Bulls are only listed on four other farms: William Sale 1663, John Williamson 1682 and Rebecca Endon 1693 each owned a bull and Henry Kirkham, a weaver whose whole inventory only totalled £17, owned 2 bulls. George Harpur had no oxen but two ox teams (harness chains for oxen) and clives (shackles linking yoke to chain) are among the miscellaneous objects in the Men's chamber. No oxen are recorded in any inventory at the end of the seventeenth century. Every farm had some cattle in varying quantities. William Ward a yeoman of Stenson had a valuable herd of 15 beasts worth £42 but John Pickering of Barrow, a tailor, had only two cows, one heifer and a calf worth altogether £3 6s 0d. James Ragg, a husbandman of Barrow, was a little better off with "*foure kine and foure heafares*" worth £16.

Twenty six inventories record horses and there was an average holding of six. The average price of all horses was £3 7s. 7d. Horses generally would have been used both as draught animals and for riding. It is only in George Harpur's inventory that special riding horses are mentioned. He had a bay mare for the saddle worth £7 and a chestnut saddle mare worth £5 10s 0d. A little bay mare for the saddle worth £5 10s 0d. was perhaps for a lady or his children to ride. His most valuable horse was a black stoned horse for the cart worth £10. Dorian Gerhold⁴⁸ estimated that a cart horse at this time might be pulling loads of between 3.5 and 5.8 cwt. A roaned cart gelding, three cart mares for the house, three cart mares at grass, a two year old filley for the cart and a black yearling stoned colt were also listed. A number of saddles and other horse equipment were recorded: four saddles, a male pillion (a stuffed leather cushion behind a servant's saddle for carrying luggage), a pillion side saddle, a curb bridle and a bridle bit.

It was March when George Harpur died and his ewes already had lambs. He had 40 ewes and lambs worth £14, 42 hogs (yearlings) worth £10, 20 wethers (male sheep, especially castrated rams) worth £6 10s 0d. and 39 barren ewes and the worst of the wethers worth £9. The average holding of sheep was worth £6 18s. 1d. and a sheep about 3s 9d. each. Two other farmers had larger flocks. John Williamson of Twyford whose inventory was taken in May 1682 had had 50 ewes and lambs worth £12 10s 0d. and 60 other sheep worth £9 and in January 1682 Bartholomew Lowe of Barrow had a flock of 120 sheep worth £23. Eight farmers had less than ten sheep and William Martin of Sinfin in April 1679 had just one ewe and a lamb worth 2s. 6d. Wool stored in the house is recorded in only four inventories and only six inventories record spinning wheels. George Harpur had about four stones of wool stored in his "nurserie" and a spinning wheel was in his cooking house. Francis Middleton of Barrow who had kept 50 sheep in 1681 and had grey wool stored in his chamber and a greate wheel for spinning in his parlour also had two pieces of grey cloth and two pieces of linsey woolsey which he may have had woven at the weaver's from his own wool. The only weaver recorded in this group of inventories is Henry Kirkham who died in 1660/61 and whose will was noncupative, i.e. recorded by word of mouth before witnesses. He bequeathed all his possessions to his wife Elizabeth but his two looms, gears and slays he gave to Henry his son and desired that his uncle should teach him his trade.

Pigs were kept by 20 out of the 33 farmers but not in any great numbers and bacon and lard were stored in ten houses. George Harpur had four pigs valued at £4 and four fitches of bacon in the kitchen valued at £2 15s 0d. William Sale of Barrow whose inventory is dated 1663 had two sows and eight young pigs valued at £3. The prices of the rest vary probably according to the time of year and the size of the pigs.

The first evidence of turkeys is on George Harpur's farm where he had a pair valued at 1s 6d and his neighbour, Simon Bristowe, also had turkeys when he died in 1681. Turkeys were imported into England from Mexico about 1540 by merchants of the Levant Company and James I is said to have begun to make them popular by having turkey for Christmas dinner instead of goose.⁴⁹ Only nine inventories at this time list poultry on farms. It seems unlikely that fewer people were keeping poultry and it may be that it was thought worth so little that it was not worth noting down.

Bees were kept by only six farmers and nobody had large numbers of hives. William Briggs of Twyford had three hives of bees in 1666 worth 13s 4d. In the seventeenth century hives were made of wicker or straw and were set on stools or ranged along a plank to keep rats and mice away. Cobbett⁵⁰ writing a century later said that the best material for hives was clean unblighted rye straw and over the hive should be a cap of thatch also made of clean rye straw which should be replaced every three or four months to keep it free of unwanted insects. The hives would need additional protection from the weather, a wooden covering or sometimes a shed might be used or they were put in niches in a wall called bee-boles, ideally facing south east. In 1609 the Reverend Charles Butler wrote *The Feminine Monarchie* in which for the first time the knowledge of often illiterate village bee keepers was recorded for others to read. Later in the seventeenth century books of designs were published for better wooden bee hives with separate honey compartments so that the honey could be removed without destroying the hive and the bees.⁵¹

Only three inventories list no crops at all either stored or growing in the fields and crops are worth on average over 23% of the total inventory. The average value of all crops was £22 16s. 9d. and totals ranged from £2 to £81 12s 0d. Fifteen farmers had crops worth less than £20. George Harpur's crops were worth £81 12s 0d. which was very much above the average and indicated how much land he was farming. Four farmers who had crops valued at between £40 and £50 were the next largest producers at this time. All were growing some cereals but where crops are listed as "corn on the ground" or "corn stored" it is impossible to assess overall the quantities of

different cereals being grown, e.g. William Ragg of Barrow in 1659 had "corn growing in ye field of all sorts of graine and corn about ye house of all sorts". Where it was clearly stated barley was being grown on 15 farms, wheat on 14, oats on 12 and rye on 12.

George Harpur's crops are all listed by name and taking stored and growing crops together, wheat was 33% of the total monetary value of all his crops, rye 26%, barley 8%, oats 4%, peas 23% and hay 6%. He had 26.5 acres of land in cultivation in 1673 and 14 acres, more than half the total, was growing peas, 6.5 acres were growing wheat and 6 acres were rye. At the time of his inventory, March 10th, only 25% of the value of all his crops were growing in the fields, the remaining 75% were in store. This proportion must of course have varied at different seasons of the year. He grew no flax or hemp and only Francis Middleton, in 1681, had any in store, a stone of towe in his Great Chamber.

There is a reference to the open field system in Roger Clarke's inventory of 1658 for he had three quarters of a yardland worth £6. John Williamson of Twyford in 1682 had barley "in a close called by the name of Lord's Flatt". A flatt was one of the larger portions into which the open field was divided by turf balks. John Williamson's close indicates that land was being enclosed from the open fields. In Richard Wilder's will of 1660 there is another reference to open fields when he bequeathes to his grandchild Mary Wilder "All that arable ground which I bought of Anthony Kirkham lying in the Towne fields of Twyford and Stenson estimated at five acres be it more or less".

George Harpur owned more than £6 worth of malt, most of which was at Derby, "16 quarter of maulte at Derby £4 18s. 8d". He may have sent his own barley to be made into malt or he may have bought the malt. Not many of his fields were yet sown with barley in March 1673 and he did not have much in store but of course other grains could be made into malt. In George Harpur's wheat chamber were three strike of malt and in his rye chamber one quarter of malt but this was most likely for convenience of storage rather than an indication of which cereal his malt was made from. Malt made in the northern counties of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Lancashire was recommended by Nathan Bailey,⁵² the writer of a household book in the early eighteenth century, because coke was used to dry it. Coke was used from the late seventeenth century because it gave off less smoke than straw and other fuels and did not affect the taste of the malt. Also the maltster could control the temperature of the kiln better and produce a paler malt. By the eighteenth century Derby malt was highly prized for having the best quality for strong brews.⁵³ Hops worth four shillings were in the kitchen chamber closet. In 1662 hopped beer in Derbyshire was remembered as being an innovation within living memory⁵⁴ but in 1577 William Harrison⁵⁵ was using hops in his household beer and thought that unhopped beer was nothing more than "an old and sick man's drink". Hops added bitterness to beer and increased its keeping quality.

*"Turkeys, carps, hops, pickerels and beer
Came into England all in one year."⁵⁶*

George Harpur's brewing house probably stood next to the Cooking House from the order the rooms were listed by the appraisers and may have shared the same chimney stack. The kitchen, dairy and larder were in this part of the inventory and these rooms were possibly not connected to the main house. Brewhouses were usually away from the main house because of the danger of fire. Only one other brewhouse is listed and that belonged to William Sale, gentleman of Barrow and his was fitted with a copper and brewing equipment. Rebecca Endon of Barrow, in 1693, had an outhouse containing brewing vessels so this was probably another brewhouse.

Brewing equipment was listed on five other farms and malt was stored on two of these. There is no copper listed in the Harpur brewhouse but water may have been heated in a fireplace possibly in the very large kettle (an open cooking pot with handles on both sides) which weighed 24 lbs. A great tub for mashing, kinnells (wooden tubs) and a bucking tub are also in the brewhouse, a malt mill is in the farmyard and in the Cellar are six hogsheads (large casks which held about 54 gallons variable according to the quality of the ale or beer), barrels (34 gallons) and black Jacks (large leather jugs coated with tar, for small beer). Beer which was drunk at this time by men, women and children was nourishment as well as a drink and often safer to drink than water. The strength of the beer would vary from very strong to the "small beer" (made by using the malt a second or third time) which was drunk by young children. Small beer had a calorific value of 150 - 200 calories per pint and also provided calcium and vitamins.⁵⁷

There is no hemp or flax recorded in any of the inventories but in the Harpur farmyard was a beating stock, an implement on which the stalks of hemp were beaten and Roger Clarke of Barrow owned a crack and a brake in

1658 but they were at the very end of his inventory and worth only 2s.

Generally farm equipment was not of great monetary value. George Harpur had £24. 5s 0d. worth which was a large amount for this time when only four out of the 33 inventories had over £10 worth and thirteen had less than £5 worth also seven had no equipment at all. Simon Bristowe, whose house, now called Twyford Hall, was near to the river had equipment worth £26 1s 0d. but £20 worth of boats and boat timber was included in that amount. No wains are listed in any inventory at this time but wains are two wheeled vehicles drawn by oxen and none of the inventories at this time mention oxen. The following list of George Harpur's farm equipment gives an indication of a larger land holding than his neighbours. This is in the order recorded by the appraisers on their journey round the farmyard and outbuildings which accounts for the repetition of some items. He had a malt mill and old plough timber, four saddles, one porte manteau and male pillion, one cart and a tumbrell (a cart made for tipping, possibly used for carrying manure to the fields), a pillion side saddle, clothes and bridle, wood in the rick yard, two great harrows and yokes and a coach wheel, two ploughs and irons and swingle trees, geares and all that belongs to them new and old, wood in the coachhouse, wood in the orchard, a grindle stone, the beating stock, laths and fleak bars, a pair of nathes spokes, a provender tub and chafing halter, the great stone trough and three little ones, two forks, two spades, two shovels, one muckhook, an axe, a hatchet, a muckhook, two augers, a chisel, a handsaw, a mall, two wedges, a cutting knife, a peasehook, a melting pan, one strike, a shovel, two sieves, tiles, bricks and three cratches.

Conclusions

It is impossible to make any precise statement about the fluctuating value of money throughout the two centuries with which we are concerned. After studying various indices of the value of the £, of the cost of foodstuffs and of the market prices of crops, we feel able to make only the most general statements. The value of the pound fell steeply during the 16th century but remained level within fairly wide limits through the 17th. The cost of foodstuffs rose commensurately through the 16th century, with two major "blips" - late 1550s and late 1590s - when there were runs of bad harvests. In the 17th century food prices fluctuated more widely, particularly during the Civil War, but rose little in the main. Farm produce, both crops and animals, rose in price up to the Civil War and from then experienced wide fluctuations. In every case these national trends must have been subject to regional differences. Against this background, the total value of inventories rose in general from one decade to the next; but by looking at the items valued it is clear that the standard of living was also rising. From the inventories alone, it would not be possible to determine overall trends of inflation, deflation or stability.

The following tables show the average value of each category of our inventories in the 16th and 17th centuries and the percentage share calculated for each category of the total inventory. The monetary values are difficult to separate from inflationary trends but the change in percentage values for each category is a more reliable indicator of how the composition of the inventories changed over this period.

Table to show the Average Monetary Value of each Inventory by Categories

	1533-58	1558-1603	1603-49	1658-1702
Personal & Household	£36 6s 5d	£57 6s 4d	£75 11s 2d	£86 12s 6d
Stores	£1 13s 7d	£1 0s 1d	£2 19s 6d	£2 13s 7d
Livestock	£23 11s 5d	£29 11s 10d	£34 18s 7d	£40 4s 1d
Crops	£6 7s 5d	£11 2s 2d	£19 5s 1d	£22 15s 8d
Farm Equipment	£1 14s 2d	£3 2s 5d	£4 7s 10d	£6 5s 6d

Table to show the Percentage Share of the Total Inventory

	1533-1558	1558-1603	1603-1649	1658-1702
Personal & Household	14%	22%	23%	23%
Stores	1%	2%	3%	2%
Livestock	65%	52%	46%	46%
Crops	16%	19%	23%	23%
Farm Equipment	4%	5%	5%	6%

The major part of a farmer's possessions in the 16th and 17th centuries was his livestock. In the earlier part of the 16th century it accounted for 65% on average of the total values of the inventories. By the end of the 17th century this had dropped to about 46% mainly because some of the farmers must have been enjoying a better standard of living. Furniture and other personal possessions now accounted for about 23% on average of most inventories and luxury items such as carpets and cushions were now being mentioned more frequently. The amount of crops grown and stored on the farm had also increased from 16% of total possessions in the early 16th century to more than 23% by the end of the 17th century. But there are several inventories of poorer farmers at the end of the 17th century where livestock still accounted for the greatest part of their inventories, e.g. Thomas Jerram a husbandman of Stenson (1668) whose total inventory was only £22 1s 8d owned £15 worth of livestock, i.e. about 68% of his total possessions.

Usually milking cows (kine) were listed separately from the other cattle but there were no herds larger than Thomas Hancock's 50 in 1624 and this was exceptional. The average number throughout both centuries was about 5 milking cows and about 6 other cattle. Bulls are rarely mentioned specifically and probably some of the younger animals would have been used for breeding, then slaughtered or sold at the local market. Grazing was available in four ways: in stinted common pasture like Sinfin Moor, on common meadow before and after hay, on arable when fallow, all of which were available in proportion to the size of the arable holding; and in private closes.

The numbers of oxen listed on farms markedly declined throughout the two centuries. In the early part of the 16th century they were listed in 81% of the inventories, by the end of that century in 48%, at the beginning of the 17th century in 21% and none were recorded at the end of the 17th century. There were larger numbers of oxen in the earliest inventories; teams of 10, 8 or 6 were common, but by the 17th century those who had oxen usually had only 4. Their use as draught animals had probably not ceased altogether in these villages but obviously horses were being used more.

Horses were being kept by most farmers throughout the two centuries whether they had oxen or not. About 80% of them kept horses in varying numbers, on average about 5 or 6. Occasionally there were larger numbers kept particularly in the 16th century but never more than 16 on a farm. They must have been used throughout as draught animals in addition to oxen. The average price of a horse rose but whether this was because of inflation or improvement in the stock it is difficult to know.

Average Price of A Horse

1533 -1558	1558 -1603	1603 -1649	1660 -1702
£0 16s 2d	£1 7s 9d	£2 9s 10d	£3 7s 7d

The most valuable horse recorded in the 16th century was Elizabeth Brasbreg's great stoned horse at £5 and George Harpur's horse for the cart valued at £10 was the most valuable horse recorded in the 17th century.

There were larger flocks of sheep at the beginning of the 16th century including one flock of 600 and sheep were being kept by 81% of farmers but after this their numbers fluctuate. There were very small numbers on each holding in the early 17th century, only 14 on average but this had increased to 40 by the end of the 17th century. On average 72% of farms had some sheep throughout the two hundred years. They would always be a source of wool, leather, meat, milk and cheese and of course could be used to manure arable land. The importance sheep had to many farmers can be seen in bequests of ewes and lambs to grandchildren and godchildren. Probably they were seen as a good way for children to begin to build up some farm stock for themselves and increase their inheritance.

Similarly, most farmers kept pigs but their numbers varied from as many as 7 on average to a holding in the early 16th century to just one or two pigs by the end of the seventeenth century. Perhaps the earlier larger numbers were kept communally on wasteland and later they were kept in the farmyard sty and fattened on household scraps. There is a reference to "the pigge" in Edward Foster's inventory of 1668 and the first reference to a swinecote in 1613/14.

Poultry was mentioned in the majority of inventories but not in great detail. Turkeys appeared at the end of the seventeenth century but only in the inventories of two wealthy farmers. Bees were not kept by many farmers so it was probably then as now the skilled occupation of certain families.

Our analysis of the farm equipment shows when the use of oxen as the chief draught animal gave way to horses. Wains were drawn by oxen harnessed by means of yokes so where there were wains and yokes oxen must have been used, not only for traction but also for tillage. In the earlier 16th century 59% of the inventories mentioned wains and 40% yokes, falling to 50% and 45% in Elizabeth's reign. In the 17th century there was a marked decline first to 20% of each and later to no wains at all and just one yoke. At the same time the use of carts and horse gears showed a corresponding increase, indicating that horses were being used instead of oxen:

Table of references relating to Ox or Horse-drawn Vehicles

	Early 16th Century	Late 16th Century	Early 17th Century	Late 17th Century
Wains	13 = 59%	16 = 50%	8 = 20%	Nil
Yokes	9 = 40%	15 = 45%	8 = 20%	1 = 3%
Carts	1 = 4%	6 = 19%	16 = 41%	23 = 69%
Gears	3 = 14%	6 = 19%	15 = 38%	15 = 45%

The value of farm equipment was never a very high proportion of the total inventory although it had risen slightly from nearly 4% in the early 16th century to nearly 8% at the end of the 17th century. Even larger pieces of equipment such as carts, wains, ploughs and harrows were rarely valued individually but grouped with other items as in Thomas Sharpe's inventory of 1618/19:

*1 wayne 1 harrowe 1 plowe with yokes
temes horsegeares and plowirons* 53s 4d

It is difficult to assess any other changes in the farm equipment used through the two centuries because so often it was valued as implements of husbandry particularly the smaller tools, so we have few mentions of e.g. bill hooks, scythes and sickles, all implements which must have been very common at this time. Great rakes are mentioned for the first time in our inventories in the 17th century and from the context in which they are listed may be implements pulled by horses, perhaps varieties of harrow as in Ales Barke's inventory of 1619 "1 geare harrow 1 greate rake". The tumbrill, a cart which can be tipped, is first mentioned in the late 17th century.

Arable farming was not as important as livestock, though as time went on it began to account for a higher proportion of the total value of inventories as shown in the tables above.

The most important crop grown was of course bread corn. This is variously described as corn, wheat, rye or blendcorn. Wheat and rye might be grown together in the same field, as recommended by Fitzherbert of Norbury, Derbys, in his *Boke of Husbandrye*, 1523, on the grounds that rye would succeed if wheat failed and vice versa; but Thomas Tusser half a century later in East Anglia thought otherwise.⁵⁸ In that case the miller would mix them when grinding. Bread grains were grown by most farmers:

Farmers Growing Bread Grains

Early 16th century	15 farmers out of 22	= 68%
Late 16th century	30 farmers out of 33	= 90%
Early 17th century	29 farmers out of 39	= 74%
Late 17th century	27 farmers out of 33	= 81%

A large part of the difference in these amounts is due to the time of year the inventory was taken, and some of the rest must relate to the weather in that particular season. In one year, 1586, Elizabeth Brasbreg died in April with "Ry in the great barne"; Ellen Sharpe in May leaving "too acres of wete"; in September Ralph Stevenson had "corne in the barn" and "corne sowen", and in November John Knight had "rye, wheat and blendcorne" and "rye sowen". There is no suggestion in the 16th century that rye was a poor man's grain because both Brasbreg and Knight were among the wealthiest testators (£123 and £274 totals respectively); the former had a boulting tub in her boulting house where the coarse flour was sifted.

Similarly in the early 17th century we find bread grains in the ground through the winter:

October 1612	4 acres of rye sowed in the field and half an acre of wheat
November 1633	Corn sowed in the field
January 1614/15	Corn in the ground
February 1618	Wheat and rye in the field
March 1624	20 acres of winter corn

Even in the late 17th century, one third of the farmers were still growing rye, while 23-25% grew wheat and another 23- 25% "corn".

As well as lying in field or barn, bread corn was sometimes found stored in the house, e.g. Elizabeth Brasbreg of Twyford (1586) 30 shillings for "rye and wheat in the chambers", Robert Hegge of Sinfin (1647) - wheat, rye and malt in the chamber - £3.

The other grains grown were barley to make ale and oats which might be for human or animal food. The two might be grown together as dredge or dreg, which could also be used in brewing, but dreg is not found here after the 16th century. There were two strains of barley, bere (*hordeum hexastichon*) and bigg (*h. tetrastichon*) but they are not usually distinguished - modern barley is *h. sativum*. Bere had larger ears than bigg. Barley like oats was sown in spring, preferably before the end of March.

Farmers Growing Barley and Oats

	Early 16 th century	Late 16 th century	Early 17 th century	Late 17 th century
Barley	4 farms (18%)	6 farms (18%)	7 farms (18%)	15 farms (45%)
Dreg	1 farm	1 farm	-	-
Oats	5 farms (23%)	7 farms (21%)	10 farms (26%)	12 farms (36%)

It will be seen from the table that the number of farms growing barley and oats grew fairly steadily rising to quite a high proportion.

Since Dr Johnson, oats have been written off as food for horses in England, but in fact were too valuable to use as fodder in the ordinary way. They have been used to make oatcakes where wheat and rye could not easily be grown, but that was not the case in this region. They also make porridge when cooked very slowly for a long time, and this is a sustaining dish for people engaged in heavy work.

Peas or pease was a generic term for legumes from which, when dried, a nutritious flour could be made.

*"Pease porridge hot, pease porridge cold,
Pease porridge in the pot nine days old."*

In Staffordshire peas, beans and small pieces of fried bacon were cooked together for a dish called "*blanks and prizes*",⁵⁹ this had the advantage of adding a small amount of animal protein to cheaper vegetable protein, like Boston baked beans or lentil soup today.

Peas and beans (if beans were included) were also a valuable animal food as cattle could eat the whole plant. The number of inventories listing *peyse* or *pese* rose from 23% to 31% to 33% to 48% in the late 17th century. They were sown in Lent, earlier than oats or barley, onto unploughed stubble and turned in by the plough to protect them from birds and frost. We have found no mention of turnips though in other places they were beginning to be grown as a fodder crop.

There is an increase in the amount of goods, both food and textiles, stored in the house in the earlier 17th century inventories. Possible reasons for this might be that this group of inventories are very detailed, hard winters might have encouraged householders to keep more in the house or perhaps politically unsettled times were responsible. Only a wider study of inventories could determine if this trend was general.

In the 16th century there is little or no evidence of cheese making. There are more mentions of cheese and butter, cheese presses and other dairy equipment by the 17th century but the amount of cheese and butter on a farm would have varied throughout the year. Most would be made in the summer and if there was enough would be

sold in the autumn or stored for winter use so it is impossible to tell from the inventories how much was really being made. No farmers at this time were exclusively dairy farming or producing as far as we can tell very large amounts of cheese and butter, e.g. George Harpur (1673) who had a dairy and the most equipment for producing cheese and butter was dairying as a part of mixed farming.⁶⁰

The common meadows bordering the Trent were the main source of the hay crop. These were Hailstones and Fenholm in Twyford, Balkholmes and Waterwash in Barrow - which would be managed according to custom by the manor court. In spring the meadows would be closed on a fixed day to allow the grass to grow; each of the common-right holders would cut and carry his own hay on a fixed date, often Lammas, August 1st, the meadows would be open again for the common-right holders to let in their beasts to graze the aftermath. This meant it was necessary to have grazing elsewhere when the meadows were closed, and this was available on Sinfin Moor and any other areas of common pasture, as well as closes.

Hay is not always mentioned in the inventories and is often coupled with corn making it difficult to assess any changes in value or, indeed, in availability. Not every inventory in the 16th century is dated but there are most mentions of hay in October and least in May, June and July. In the 17th century there are most mentions in January to March, none in April and May.

As in most other villages, the open field system was practised in Barrow and Twyford in the Middle Ages. We can tell this from the occasional references to holdings in the open fields that are found in 16th and 17th century wills and inventories; but by this date the system had begun to change towards enclosed farms. Because real (landed) property was not the concern of inventories it is usually only mentioned in wills by such entries as "*a rowde (rood) of rye lying in the field againe the towne*" (Roger Hurte of Stenson 1594). However, in the 17th century there is a detailed example in the inventory quoted above of Richard Foster of Twyford (1641/2), from which we learn the names of two fields in Twyford and Stenson called Heewer Field and Arleston Field, and one in Barrow called Middle Field.

In the wills we find mention of closes, for example, William Wilder of Twyford 1593: "*the close and parcell of ground called a Land which I purchased*". A close is an enclosed field in private ownership, and a land is a strip in the open field, so here both systems are being used together. The need for closes was not primarily to use as arable but to graze horses and cattle apart from the village herd.

Land might be rented or owned outright, whether enclosed or not. Strips in the open field were traditionally held by customary tenure in exchange for services to the Lord of the Manor, which were by this time exchanged for a money rent. But open field land could also be purchased as the above reference shows. Closes were enclosed out of the open fields and commons and did not confer the rights particularly that of common pasture, which were attached to open field holdings, so it was convenient to have both.

Holdings in the open field were sometimes still expressed as yardlands or virgates and were originally of a size considered appropriate to the needs of a family, varying according to the fertility of the soil and other local factors. The yardland in Barrow was probably 20 to 30 acres because the inventory of Edmund Smith (1533/4) lists

xxii acars of wett and rey
xi acars of barle
xi acars of otes

The last mention we have of yardlands as a way of measuring land was in 1658. In the adjoining parish of Swarkestone⁶¹ the yardland is found to be 24 acres, but in Melbourne about 30 acres and in Stanton by Bridge⁶² 30-36 acres; the last two villages are on clayland whereas Twyford, Barrow and Swarkestone are on alluvium which is easier to cultivate.

The information from these wills and inventories gives a picture of a mixed system, still with open fields but enclosed ones as well, but it does not show a trend developing because the amount of evidence is insufficient. When Barrow was enclosed in 1786 it is clear that this was a tidying-up operation, not the full-scale breaking up of a working open field system, and the same applies to Twyford in 1844. The enclosure of Sinfin Moor in 1801-2 was not the same because it was a simple common, so the persons concerned were those who had grazing

rights, not only locals but inhabitants of six other parishes (Chellaston, Swarkestone, Normanton, Osmaston, Alvaston and Boulton).

During the period we are concerned with, the vill of Sinfin in Barrow parish was in effect enclosed.⁶³ In 1600 Sinfin had four open fields totalling about 350 acres; they were Cliff Field, Great Field, Middle Field and a fourth on the boundary with Stenson. They were cultivated in common by four farmers - Henry Millward, Randolf Pegg, Henry Fisher and Michael Bancroft - after the custom of the county of Derby, and were tilled by teams of oxen and horses.

In 1600 Edward Blunt bought Sinfin together with Arleston,⁶⁴ and after five or six years he dispossessed the four tenants and let the land in severalty. In 1617 the lessees were Greaterex and Francis butchers of Derby, Kniveton of Stenson, divers inhabitants of Weston on Trent and Edward Walker of Derby. Apart from three or four acres, all the land ceased to be tilled and was used as grazing for fattening cattle. By 1789⁶⁵ Sinfin (apart from Sinfin Moor) was divided into about 40 enclosed fields.

Looking at these inventories has given us an insight into farming in these two centuries and led us into further research so that we could interpret our data and identify trends. The most interesting discoveries that we made were, the changeover from oxen to horses and the vehicles that went with them, further enclosure taking place in the 17th century and the increasing importance of field crops to the mixed farm economy by the end of the 17th century.

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And cuts me from the best of all my land
A huge half moon, a monstrous cantle, out.
I'll have the current in this place dammed up
And here the smug and silver Trent shall run
In a new channel, fair and evenly."
W. Shakespeare, *Henry IV pt 1*, 3,1.
2. Survey of the Possessions of the late Bishoprick of Carlisle in Melboume and Barrow-on-Trent made by Order of Parliament 1652. Melbourne Muniments 52/7/1.
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9. coverlid: bed covering made of various materials, but frequently woven by a coverlet weaver. *ibid*; p19.
10. wheel: used for spinning wheel. N.W. Alcock, *People at Home Living in a Warwickshire Village 1500-1800*, (Phillimore 1993) p228.
11. cettel: kettle; an open cooking pot or pan with semi-circular handles fixed to both sides, not the modern type. Rosemary Milward, *op. cit.*, p33.
12. saucer: a small deep container for sauce, a dish or deep plate in which sauces were served at table, not in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, used under cups. *ibid*, p50.
13. salt: salt cellar. *ibid*, p47.
14. dishbord: dresser for displaying dishes and plates. *ibid*, p21.
15. loome; open vessel of any kind; tub, bucket or vat. *ibid*, p.36.
16. piggin: a small wooden vessel made in the manner of half barrels, with one stave longer than the rest to form a handle. *ibid*, p42.
17. cheares: chairs. *ibid*, p15.
18. painted clothes: cloth or canvas painted with religious scenes, patterns of flowers, mottoes, etc. A cheap substitute for tapestry, it was used mainly for wall hangings to keep out the draughts, but also for bed

- covers, hangings and other decorative purposes in the house. *ibid*, p41.
19. spit: a slender pointed rod of metal or wood used for thrusting through meat which then revolved and roasted before the fire. It was supported at each end on cobirons. *ibid*, p57.
 20. coberdes: irons for supporting the spit in front of the fire, similar in form to a land-iron but smaller. *ibid*, p17.
 21. weanes: wains. *Oxford English Dictionary*.
 22. fleakes: hurdles. Rosemary Milward, *op. cit.*, p24.
 23. teames: harness chains for oxen and horses. *ibid*, p55.
 24. geares: parts of plough or cart harness for horses. N.W. A!cock, *op. cit.*, p224.
 25. lathers: ladders. *Oxford English Dictionary*.
 26. trencher: flat plate of wood, originally of bread, on which food was served. Some were square with a small depression at one corner for salt; others were round, and some were stained or painted. Rosemary Milward, *op. cit.*, p57.
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THE FAMILY OF JOHN H.D.M. CAMPBELL SOUGHT

(by Christine Richardson, 15 Coral Drive, Aughton, Sheffield S26 3RA)

The February 1959 edition of the *Derbyshire Miscellany* contained an intriguing item by the above gentleman. In it Mr Campbell told of his family links to the eighteenth century canal engineer James Brindley, and that he possessed a number of personal items originally owned by his illustrious ancestor. In summary - a prayer book, a miniature with a lock of hair, a fob seal, two silhouettes, etc.

The family tree shows Mr Campbell was born on the 6th of October 1892, and that at the time of writing he was married with issue. It is, therefore, very likely that the Brindley relics are still in the possession of Mr Campbell's family.

Of course family treasures are a private matter but I would dearly love to see the items as I have a great admiration for James Brindley and his work. Naturally, I would abide by the wishes of the family in the matter of privacy.

If anybody could help with this quest I would be most grateful.

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SOUTHWOOD HOUSE AND GARDEN: A RARE SIXTEENTH CENTURY SURVIVAL

(by Janet Spavold
Sue Brown,

When Repton Priory was dissolved in 1538, it was bought by Thomas Thacker. He acquired the Priory itself, Southwood and other Priory property in 1538 and the family used Prior Overton's Tower at Repton as their main residence. He came from Heage in Derbyshire and was described as a servant of the King. No will has been found from when he died in 1549. His son Gilbert (I) inherited and he demolished Repton Priory during the reign of Mary Tudor. Gilbert I died in early 1563, leaving three sons: Gilbert (II) and Richard already born, and Thomas (II) born posthumously. Gilbert II was described as "esquire", of Repton, at his death in 1612; he inherited the majority of the property. Richard inherited Potlocks, and by Gilbert II's death in 1612, Thomas II was living at Southwood House. This may have been his inheritance, but it seems more likely to be the start of the family practice of using Southwood as the home of the younger branch of the family, or as a dower house. In his will Gilbert II wrote, "*Item I will that my heire deale well with my Brother Thomas Thacker for his house in Southwood wherin he nowe Dwelleth*", which implies that Southwood still belonged to Gilbert. Gilbert II's wife died in 1622 at Repton so she had not used Southwood as a dower house.

From the evidence of the surviving elements of the original house, Gilbert I built Southwood between 1549 (when he inherited) and 1563 (when he died). The gable wall shows that the house was built of roughly dressed stone with a thatched roof; it was only one room deep and did not have any upstairs rooms. It would have been a cross-passage house with the passage running through the present kitchen and behind the chimney stack. To the right of the passage would be two rooms, probably the kitchen or buttery (facing south) and dairy (facing north). We think that the houseplace or hall (the main room with the fireplace) would have extended beyond the present dividing wall and across the corridor for a longer room, as there is no end-stop to the fluted carving running along the beam. The east gable end had a parlour to form a separate sleeping room. It was unheated.

The massive fluted axial beam means that the rooms had ceilings when they were built and were not open to the roof. This was a recent fashionable innovation. It is likely that there was storage space in the roof but it was clearly never used for accommodation, even of servants, as there was no regular means of access. The fireplace runs from the front wall to the entrance from the cross-passage. If regular access had been required there would have been a ladder type stair between the fireplace and the front wall. The shape of the gable as seen from the outside shows that the house never extended far enough forward for this. It is more likely that a ladder was used in the cross-passage at the position of the internal door to get up there when needed. The fireplace was woodburning, probably with a cast iron fireback and crane equipment. It has a dry cupboard large enough for salt and herbs. Any spit at this date would be hand operated or turned by a dog.

Beneath the parlour was a secure cellar. The stone staircase was placed in the northeast corner of the room and was probably boxed off and kept locked. The steep stairs, each a single stone block varying in width from 19" for the upper steps to 30" for the step on the turn and 28" for the lowest surviving step, twist down into the cellar; there is a half-buried window to give light which can be seen fully from the cellar and partly from outside at ground level. The south wall of the cellar has two concave niches with raised bases, each the right size and shape for a barrel of beer or wine. Between them is a recess with a convex back, which is the rear wall of the well. Now the well can be seen in the adjoining cellar but originally it would have been outside the house on the south wall. It may have been covered or in a little lean-to house. It is some 4' diameter, fully lined with stone and the water rises to floor level. The stone shaft must have been lowered to its present height when the house was extended for the new south front.

Gilbert I would have needed a stone quarry close to the site of his house, because of the effort and cost of transport. We suggest that one probable quarry site is in the field across the road from the farm track, to the left behind the hedge. Another is on the bend of the road, on the same side as Southwood.

The structure of the house as outlined above implies that its inhabitants were only Gilbert's family and that the servants did not live in. This was unusual since they would be needed to help run the household. But if Gilbert I built a community at Southwood, to farm it as an arable estate, and if they all lived close to the house, the

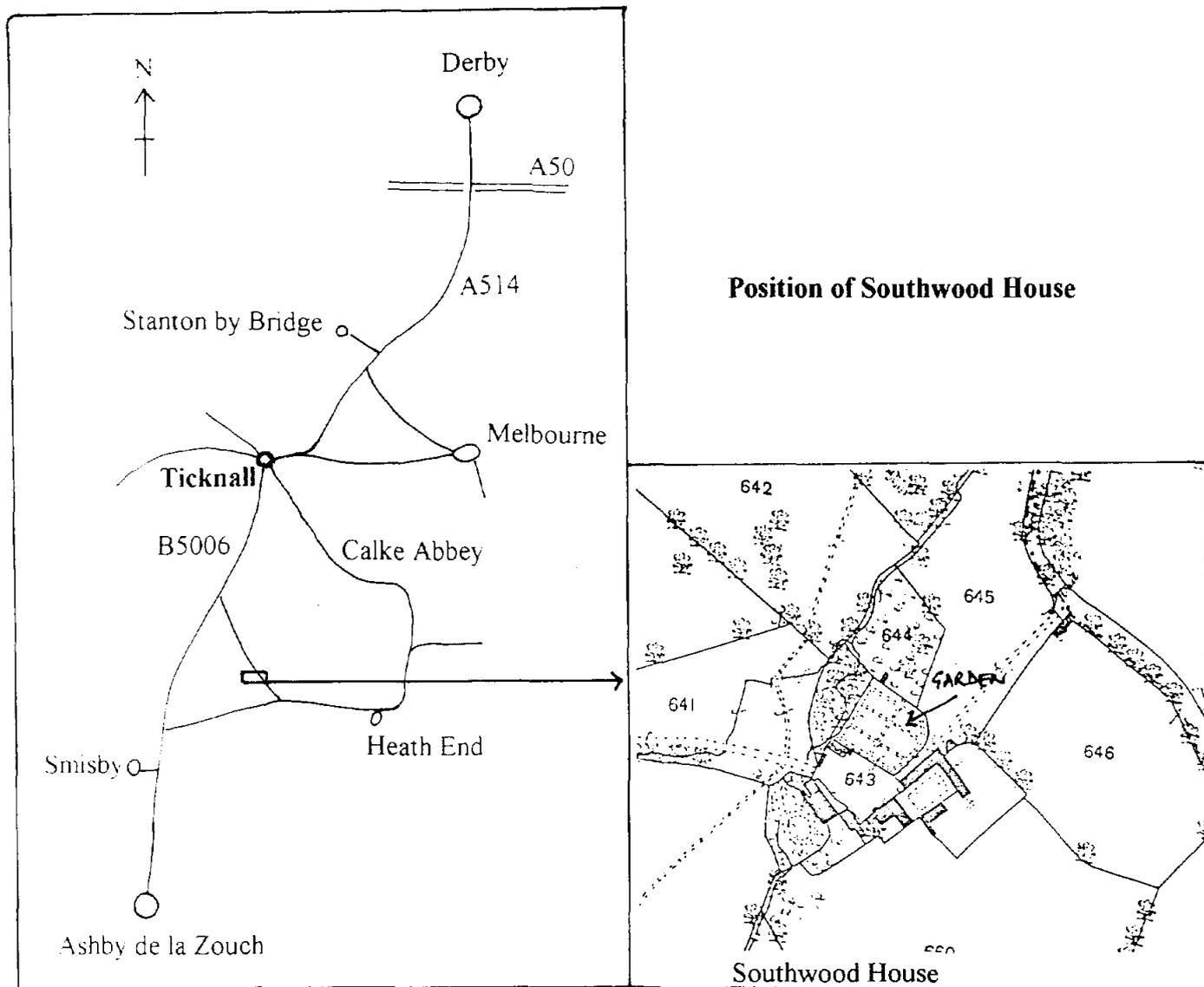


Fig. 1 Southwood House, Ticknall: location map

women needed as servants could live in their own homes. It is possible from the stonework, its size and its position that the stone outbuilding now part of a larger brick structure which can be seen from the lawn is one of these single-room dwellings. Because it was only one room deep, Gilbert's house would benefit from a south aspect: this is now lost for the original part of the property though one of its south facing windows survives as an internal window. The house itself was a good-quality property, fashionable for an aspiring gentleman.

The detached garden was most probably built by Gilbert I along with the house. Although it looks back strongly to the late Middle Ages rather than forward to fashionable garden design (the knot garden, for instance, was beginning to appear), there is evidence from contemporary writers that this type of garden persisted among minor gentry well into the seventeenth century.² The key elements of such a garden are that it is separated from the house by a flowery mead; it is walled; it has water running through it and a lake, usually with an island, close by. In the walled area we would expect to find a bower in a sunny spot, and a raised terrace from which to admire the lake. A path (or paths) usually divided the walled area into two or four, with gates set opposite each other. Half the garden would be set out with grass and grassy benches for sitting on; the water would run in an artificial bed, often from a fountain. Trees for shade would be found beside the walls. The other half of the garden would be laid out as rectangular beds with flowers or vegetables. The bees were an essential part of the scene, flying round the garden and its associated orchard. There would have been straw skeps in the recesses of the wall for them in this part of the garden. Often peacocks strutted round.

This garden we suggest was laid out in quarters, with the water running underground where the flower or vegetable beds were, and then possibly in an open channel across the centre, or across the lawn, to the lake. Water still runs through this garden from east to west in an artificial course which has been built with flat stone slabs for the floor and roof, and rough stonework for the sides; it is now all underground and has been photographed where it emerges to fall into the lake. There may have been a pool or fountain if it emerged in the centre, but archaeological work would be necessary; the stone covered watercourse extends to the west end. It appears to be made from the same type of stone as the house. The terrace is still in place, as are the eleven recesses for the bee skeps and the four gateways. We think the bower would have been made by growing trees over arches, probably in the north-west corner, facing south, against the wall. We think the farm track ran along its present route, passing the garden, and skirting the east gable of the house thus separating the high status house from the labourers' cottages. The working farmyard would have been on the south and east sides of the house, not on the north side. The area between the north face of the house and the garden, now used partly for parking and partly as a farmyard, would have been a "flowery mead" - grass scythed to about 4" high where lots of flowers grew such as daisies, primroses, violets, pinks and other low growing plants. The ladies of Gilbert's family and their guests could walk directly from the cross-passage door across the mead into the garden. These gardens were usually created in close proximity to a carefully tended orchard. In this case the orchard lay to the north of the garden, filling part of the area between the garden and the road; its remnants are still remembered.³ The north gate led directly into an irregularly shaped orchard, as can be seen on the 1882 OS map.

The garden is not a regular shape; it measures approximately 94' 7" on the south side, 70' 4" on the west side, 115' 7" on the north side and 138' 1" on the east side. The lake, which is heavily silted, lies against the length of the west side and the island is in line with the east/west gates so that it could be seen as a focal point. There seems to have been a small promontory at this point, which could have been used (as could the terrace) for fishing. The four gates are not symmetrically placed; they are not quite opposite to each other, nor are they in the centre of their walls. The terrace is in the south west corner, with a 7' high battered wall where the lake originally came up to it. A low wall curves round to give an attractive view of the lake. Sylvia Landsberg, the expert on gardens of this type, suggests that there may have been a small building here such as a banqueting house or distilling house, but if there was it has been replaced by a stable and pigsty in the early nineteenth century.

The west wall from the south west corner as far as the west gate is in very poor condition. It seems to have been built mainly without mortar, and is falling down. The rest of the walls are built with lime mortar. Beyond the west gate to the north corner this wall is approximately 3' 6" high, built of a double skin of local stone with a rubble infill. There are no coping stones, and it is heavily overgrown with creepers. It may well have been higher originally. The highest point of the wall is that from the north west corner to the north gate. It is 5' 8" high for approximately 12' 11", then for most of the next 54' 7" it is 6' 5", tapering at the end to 5' 3" by the gate. Its construction is double skin with rubble infill, and there are no coping stones other than one by the gate. It is possible that the walls were of a uniform height all round. This section of the north wall is built of the same type

of stone as the original house.

Moving east from the north gate, the wall takes a wide curve right round the north east corner. In height it is 4' 5" along the north run and round the curve, then it falls to 3' 9" at the east gate. The most interesting feature of this section is the set of eleven bee boles built into the curve of the wall, where they would catch maximum warmth and sunshine. They are the depth of the inner skin and the rubble infill; the inner face of the outer skin forms the back of them. They are edged with narrow bricks, of a type and size seen elsewhere in late sixteenth and seventeenth century buildings in the area. They could have been added to the wall later. We understand that someone with an interest in bee boles has been to look at them, so they may be recorded. If so, their context should be recorded with them. This part of the wall seems to be the most irregularly built and may be the oldest. Like the rest of the north wall, it is built of the same type of stone as the house.

After the last (eastmost) bole, the stonework changes type, and the wall takes a sharper bend to the south. The section to the east of the north gate has large flat coping stones, and these continue along the east and south walls. They were put there in the 1940s when most of the east and south walls were lowered and in part rebuilt.⁴ None of the walls has internal piers to support espaliers. There is a dog kennel on the garden side of the south wall, with access from the yard side; it was probably built in the nineteenth century.

The south gate is 3' 7" wide, the west is 4' 6", the north is 4' 4" and the east, which has been widened to allow machinery in, is 9' 8.5". Part of the garden has been used in recent years as a kitchen garden, but it has mainly been used by children playing. There are the remains of a more recent orchard, and the north west corner is very overgrown, otherwise the garden is an open, grassy space. There are no obvious traces of the original layout and I guess it would need some excavation to discover this layout.

An amateur survey of the garden has been made, and its features photographed, but it really needs professional work and maybe an archaeological dig to establish for example what stood on the terrace corner. The features of this rare early garden are all in place, and it could be fully restored to a garden that its sixteenth century creators would recognise. Given that so few gardens of this date survive, this one deserves care and restoration; it must be the more unusual in that it still has its original context. It may be the earliest garden in Derbyshire.

The Thackers owned Southwood until the end of the seventeenth century, remodelling the house in the middle of the century. It became a tenanted farm after 1688, in the Woodward family until 1864. It passed to the Burdets by inheritance, then to the Harpur Crewes by marriage.

The house was altered a third time in about 1760-70, and again soon after to create the present double-pile house. By then the garden had probably been made into a kitchen garden and all memory of the original design was lost. Various small extensions were added to the west end, and alterations made, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Southwood had three or four tenants between 1864 and 1905, when the first of three generations of Dumelows came. The Dumelows have been the tenants since; their landlords were the Harpur Crewes and latterly the National Trust, as Southwood House was one of the farms transferred to the Trust on the death of Charles Harpur Crewe. Their departure in 2000 marks the end of a stage in Southwood's history.

Notes and References

1. Public Record Office PROB 11/210 f108. Will of Gilbert Thacker esq, 1612.
2. See for instance William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 1618.
3. Information on the orchard from Mr. Dumelow. There were remains of fruit and walnut trees.
4. Information from Michael Dumelow.

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