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General Introduction

The aim of this project was to ascertain as much information as possible from wills about the changing way of life in the ancient parish of Giggleswick with a view to comparison with other localities and communities in the North of England (e.g. Swaledale for which a similar exercise has been published by the YAS) and particularly Horton in Ribblesdale parish in upper Ribblesdale.

Wills have been located using the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series volumes for Wills in the York Registry, 1389 to 1688, vols. 6, 11, 14, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32, 49, 60, 68, and 89; YAS Yorkshire Wills Registered in London 1649-1660; and YAS Consistory Court Wills vols. 73 and 93. One will was found at the North Yorkshire County Records Office.

The probate copies of the wills are held at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research at the University of York, mainly on microfilms. The YAS listings go up to 1688 and further indexes in the Borthwick Institute were used for wills up to 1702. After 1688 inventories are found with some probate copies of these wills on the microfilms but are mainly found in bundles to be examined separately. The Prerogative Court of Canterbury collection has been used to obtain wills proven during the Commonwealth period: see

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/

The wills transcribed by us have been lodged on CD with the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research at the University of York, the North Craven Historical Research Group (Hudson History in Settle), and the North Yorkshire County Record Office. Photocopies made from the microfilms at the Borthwick Institute vary very much in quality and sometimes are very difficult to read. The accuracy of transcription cannot therefore be guaranteed.

The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research at the University of York hold the copyright of the documents themselves but not the transcriptions. Anyone may therefore use the information on the CD made containing the wills or as available www.northcravenhistoricalresearch.co.uk (currently under 'News') for their own research purposes, but acknowledgement of the authors is requested in any publication or website using the material.

The administrations (admons) have not been looked at except for two or three very early ones of local interest. They are not associated with any inventories on the microfilms.

The style of transcription varies, with some wills transcribed into modern English using voice-activated software (with inevitable mistakes not noticed), many transcribed as written in the original spelling, and some typed directly in modern English. In reproducing original spelling short forms have not always been written in full except where there might be difficulty in understanding the text. The main concern was to investigate content and not spelling of words or names, and not to attempt a faithful reproduction of every word with ligatures and contractions noted. Indeed the rather low quality of the photocopies must inevitably give rise to uncertainty about some spellings. Occasionally the scribe seems to have made an error and in several places we have inserted (*sic*) to indicate that it is not a typing error or misreading on our part, or it is our best reading of an uncertain word.

The few Latin wills have been translated with the expert help of John Harrop of Austwick but remaining errors are the fault of the authors. The texts of these wills in Latin are very difficult to read with many word-endings missing.

Any search for names of people or places must bear in mind idiosyncracies of spelling and difficulty in reading the names. The year dates used are usually those in the will but the probate year may be later.

It is necessary to have some background knowledge of various matters if the content of wills is to be understood and given justifiable weighting. The content of wills must be considered along with knowledge of the testator's family circumstances - the context needs to be known and generally this is not available. Wills are rather selective in nature since arrangements for widows and children may already have been made. Many men were content to die intestate because their affairs were settled or satisfied by common law descent of lands and goods. Wills are not representative of the population, perhaps about 30% of men left wills - but we do not know the population count at any time. A will was needed to devolve property in ways in which common law could not so we may see examples which are not representative of common practice. It requires the skills and knowledge of a professional historian of all written evidence before conclusions about many topics can be reasonably inferred. Professor Richard Hoyle has carried out this task for land tenure matters in his doctoral thesis of 1986 at Oxford (British Library D 074195 parts 1 and 2). Any conclusions reached are still specific to Giggleswick parish since conditions elsewhere varied and generalization to conditions in the North of England cannot be sustained.

It may be that oral testimony was sufficient as a will in early times but there was a drift to written contractual agreements in common law as time went by. Declaration to 'recorders' was also an accepted procedure. The Statute of Wills of 1540 made an age of 14 for boys and 12 for girls the minimum for making a will.

Hoyle discovered and read much material in archives before computer searching of catalogues and indexes became available. The transcripts of wills made here make them accessible for others to consider and have allowed us to record factual matters and the frequency of occurrence or reference to various items, with the caveat already made that conclusions must not be drawn from such information alone.

Most of what follows in this section is taken from Hoyle's thesis.

Tenure

The nature of tenure of tenements has a major influence on content of wills. In Giggleswick parish comprising the manors of Giggleswick, Settle, Rathmell, Langeliffe and Stainforth there are several possibilities.

Before dissolution of the monasteries in 1536-8:

Sawley Abbey held Langcliffe and Stainforth. The Percy estate (Fee) directly held the manors of Settle and Giggleswick (and other manors elsewhere). Rathmell had been granted to the Catteralls by the Percy Fee.

After Dissolution:

Monastery lands were sold to private speculators, such as the Darcy family (Langeliffe and Stainforth) and later sold on to the tenants as freehold property in 1591 (Langeliffe by Nicholas Darcy) and 1595 (Stainforth by Edward Darcy).

The Percy Fee was inherited in 1537 by Henry Lord Clifford, the future 2nd Earl of Cumberland. Tenants of the manors of Giggleswick and Settle were then subject to the Cliffords thereafter.

The manor of Rathmell was still held by the Catteralls under the Percy overlords.

The wapentake of Staincliffe (virtually the same as the Deanery of Craven) was leased by the Duchy of Lancaster to Sir John Tempest and sold by him to Henry the 2nd Earl of Cumberland in 1553.

Tenants generally held leases and paid annual rents and were due for services and when they died the heir had to pay a fine (gressum) and seek consent to be allowed to continue on the tenement or to sell land. This is termed customary land tenure. A 'good lord' would respect this process so families kept the same tenement in their hands for long periods. Tenants rarely sold to others outside the family and other tenants refrained from taking away leases from other families.

Freeholders paid no rent and were economically secure but still were subject to duties to the overlord, such as knight service or payments in lieu to the Crown or the Cliffords, making them liable to wardship (when the heir was under age). They used the Clifford courts (holders of the franchise of the Staincliffe wapentake) to settle local grievances. They also had duties to serve as voters and jurists as far away as York Assizes which were felt to be onerous so freeholding was not sought by all tenants and some sought to exchange freehold for the greater convenience of long leasehold. Freehold was separate from manorial rights. Freeholders held land in which they had an absolute right of sale, with reference to a superior lord (if only the monarch) only in a most nominal sense. Land sales were typically priced at 20 years annual rent, i.e. 5% return on capital, but examples of 30 to 40 years are recorded.

Tenants holding under the Cliffords (who became Earls of Cumberland in 1525) mainly in Settle and Giggleswick, mostly held their tenements by warrant - a lease which terminated on the death of tenant or lord. These were arrangements under which rents were essentially fixed but at every change of tenant a fine had to be paid. They were unknown elsewhere in England. It was difficult to raise rents, with the objective of achieving a break in custom or persuading tenants to take new leases. The 10th lord Clifford died in 1523; the 1st Earl of Cumberland died in 1542/3; the 6th lord died in 1537. On all these occasions a general fining occurred. In 1564 however 21 year leases were substituted. Furthermore the fine was imposed also on the lord's coming of age. The 3rd Earl became 21 in 1579 and a new set of warrants was arranged. The tenants seemed to prefer static rents with increasing fines over the 16thC. Early on the fine was of the order of one year's rent but as capital values increased later in the century fines were very much higher, even up to 80 times rent. Very long leases could be made, in which the owner of the land retained the fee simple but gave up any hope of taking possession of the land except by full purchase of the lessee's interest. Extremely large entry fines were taken as the 'purchase price'.

Tenant's widows had a residual right in the tenement (which could be bequeathed) under the husband's warrant when he died. The inheriting son then paid the fine while his mother was still alive and she was normally allowed one half of the tenement (or one third if a second wife) as long as she remained unmarried.

Clifford warrants obliged military service with horse and harness but knight service was in decay by mid-century, reinforced by Statute in 1549.

The nature of the tenure had impact on the will bequests and could differ according to the manor in question.

Partible and primogeniture inheritance

In mediaeval days it was common practice that all the sons would share the inherited property (partible inheritance or gavelkind) with the consequence of subdivision of holdings to an extent of making each potentially non-viable. This was not in the interests of the lords who benefited from having the eldest son inherit (primogeniture), who was more likely to be of an age suitable for knight service. Virtually all the men's wills prior to 1603 mention land, but only 10 to 21% (varying by decade) propose some degree of partibility.

Provision for widows

Provision for widows depended on the tenurial situation.

For Clifford's tenants:

for 1540s warrants - the widow had the whole tenement

for 1579 warrants - widow entitled to one third

For freeholders:

An automatic dower in common law, dating from the 1200s, was one third in the North of England and there was no need to make a will to confer it.

For other tenants:

In the first half of the 1500s about one third of all wills granted the whole tenement to the widow. In the latter half the proportion drops to 10 to 20%. An average of 7% of wills throughout the century shows a grant of half the tenement to the widow, and the grant of one third of the tenement in an average of 15% of all wills but showing some increase. This might suggest that the inheriting son found it gradually harder to make a living and the widow had to be treated differently. If one half, there was no further provision for a room in the house or food. If a conditional term of years was granted, a room and food was allowed. It seemed expected that widows could live in the same house as the inheriting son and his wife and children but the widow had full patriarchal authority. It must have been difficult for widows to find other accommodation.

Other benefactors

All children or siblings of a tenant had rights in a tenement which could be exchanged for cash. An inheriting son was expected to make some compensation to his brothers. A child who inherited unexpectedly (on the death of the eldest son for example) should compensate the siblings. Sons could not normally be disinherited (they had to be financially

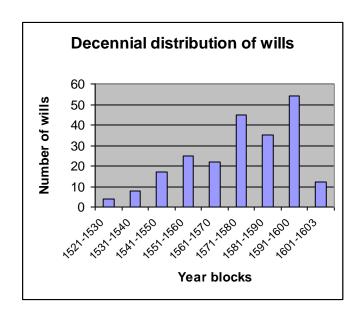
compensated). There were rights of co-residence granted to younger children, as long as they remained unmarried. However, fewer testators showed this pattern later in the century.

1.1 The Giggleswick Wills Project: Part 1 1390 to 1603

The work of photocopying and transcription of 231 wills (from 1390 to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 24th March 1603) has been carried out by Sheila Gordon and Mary and Michael Slater mainly during 2005, 6 and 7. Virtually all the wills seen are the probate copies lodged at York and not the originals. A few Somerscales wills were transcribed by Roy Price. A number of wills were provided by Reg Postlethwaite, with and without copies of the originals (deposited at Hudson History in Settle).

The total number of wills in this collection is 231 and they are decennially distributed as in the table and graph below.

Pre-1500	7
1501-1510	0
1511-1520	2
1521-1530	4
1531-1540	8
1541-1550	17
1551-1560	25
1561-1570	22
1571-1580	45
1581-1590	35
1591-1600	54
1601-1603	12



1.2 Introduction 1390 to 1603

The regnal periods of interest are

		Number of wills
Richard II	1377-1399	1
Henry IV	1399-1413	1
Henry V	1413-1422	
Henry VI	1422-1461	3
Edward IV	1461-1483	1
Edward V	1483	
Richard III	1483-1485	
Henry VII	1485-1509	1
Henry VIII	1509-1547	22
Edward VI	1547-1553	21
Mary	1554-1557	10
Elizabeth	1558-1603	171

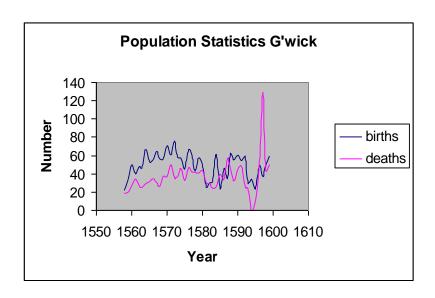
and the Dissolution of Sawley Abbey, a major land-holder, took place in 1536.

The bias is clearly towards wills in the Elizabethan period. The death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 marks the end of the Tudor dynasty and the start of the Stuarts. It also marks the time of a permanent change in the established church away from Catholicism and the development of more secure legal practices and rights.

Distress in the 1580s and 1590s

The parish register lists can be used to count births and deaths but the reasons for a high death rate in these periods is subject to uncertainty. With reference to other sources it seem likely that famine followed by disease is most likely. In particular there is large scale mortality in 1587/8 and 1597/8 in most parts of the country. Crops of oats used for bread and malting could fail and animals providing milk, butter and cheese could suffer fatal diseases. The price of wheat doubled between 1590 and 1597. There was no organization or technology for grain storage from one year to the next. The population might have doubled in England between 1540 and 1600, resulting in some pressure on land, but the population of Giggleswick is unknown.

Data from the Parish Register clearly show the high mortality in the late 1590s but not in the late 1580s.



1.3 The religious aspects

Nearly all the wills include a reference bequeathing the soul to almighty God. Further references concerning salvation are often added, first in a Catholic manner, and later in a Protestant manner, or with no further mention. In the north of England it is likely that Catholic customs were not completely to be replaced by Protestant practice until well into Elizabeth's reign.

Up to the point of Dissolution in 1536 the Abbey of Sawley owned land in the parish, mainly in Langeliffe and Stainforth townships, so there are occasional mentions of the Abbey and convent. Furness Abbey was another major landholder; Preston, Knaresborough and Lancaster are also noted in the very early wills.

Pre-Reformation (1536) gifts were made to the church and clergy, money was bequeathed to priests to pray for a testator's soul and payments of the obligatory mortuary fee and for forgotten tithes were normally made (to minimize any stay in Purgatory). Post-Reformation bequests for church repairs, road and bridge repairs, and to the poor were encouraged instead.

In medieval times it was customary to give the best animal belonging to the testator to the Lord of the Manor and the second best to the parish priest as a mortuary payment. There is no record of the best beast going to the Lord but several early requests for the best animal to go to the church. An act of 1529 regulated the payment of the mortuary so that people with goods valued under 10 marks were exempt and those liable to pay were on a sliding scale. Of the 219 wills in the period 1521 to 1603, 159 (representing 73%) mention mortuary payments so presumably the other 27% were worth less than 10 marks. Thus it is not only rich people who made wills.

Analysis of the religious preamble has been made in terms of reference to

- a) Mary and saints in heaven
- b) masses for the soul
- c) the glorious / celestial company in heaven
- d) Jesus and redemption

e) no reference at all

The periods used in the table cover the reigns of various kings up to 1508, then Henry VIII. The Dissolution took place in 1536. Henry was followed by Edward VI (1547-53), then Mary (1554-57), then Elizabeth (1558-1603).

Period	No. of	No.	Mary	Masses	Company	Jesus	Nothing
	wills	wills/year	%	%	%	%	%
1390-1500	6	0.04	100	33	0		
1501-1536	8	0.23	75	63	13		
1537-1546	11	0.58	100	91	18		
1547-1553	23	3.8	13	17	52		30
1554-1557	10	3.3	30	10	70	0	10
1558-1570	23	1.9	4	0	43	0	35
1571-1580	46	5.1	0	0	20	17	20
1581-1590	35	3.9	0	0	0	97	0
1591-1603	66	5.5	0	0	0	76	18

It is clear that up to the end of Henry VIII's reign Catholic adherence to devotion to Mary and the saints was still virtually total with masses being increasingly requested. Henry broke with the Pope as overlord of the Church and country but was still essentially Catholic while curbing what was seen as excess devotion to images and intercession for the dead.

During Edward's Protestant reign there is significant decrease in expressed devotion to Mary and request for masses and a marked increase in reference to the company in heaven and a notable number of wills saying nothing concerning the testator's beliefs.

Then Mary came to the throne, determined to restore Catholicism. After the turbulent times of the past two decades with people in a state of confusion, yet believing that the monarch should be deciding religious truth, there was some increase in reference to Mary and saints, but fewer masses, a large increase in reference to heaven and many keeping quiet. Perhaps people were being cautious.

Elizabeth was crowned in 1558 and lived to 1603. She was prepared to be much more tolerant but at times Catholics were persecuted on grounds of threat to the throne. During her reign there was a virtually complete cessation of references to Mary, no masses, a decline in references to heaven, and a very large increase in references to Jesus and redemption. A large fraction said nothing.

These data clearly show the effects of royal influence and the gradual change away from Catholic practice. The small number of wills of very early times means that the data are subject to statistical uncertainty but the numbers appear to have a rational explanation.

The subject of mortuary payments has also been analysed and three main categories are found using the expressions:

- a) 'for my mortuary that right will'
- b) 'for my mortuary and other church dues that at right will'
- c) 'for my mortuary that which is due and accustomed'
- d) completely different in wording or with no reference to mortuary

or phrases very nearly identical to these.

Period	No. of	a)	b)	c)	d)
	wills				
1521-1536	5	2 (40%)	0 (0%)		
1537-1546	11	7 (64%)	0 (0%)		
1547-1553	23	9 (39%)	4 (17%)		3 (13%)
1554-1557	10	3 (30%)	7 (70%)		0 (0%)
1558-1570	23	7 (30%)	13 (57%)		1 (4%)
1571-1580	46	3 (7%)	33 (72%)		3 (7%)
1581-1590	35	0 (0%)	17 (49%)	8 (23%)	7 (20%)
1591-1603	66	2 (3%)	14 (21%)	9 (14%)	7 (11%)

These figures show that mention of church dues is not usual until Edward's reign and most common in Mary's reign. The ancient phrase 'right will' is popular at all times. The neutral phrase 'due and accustomed' which avoids mention of the church is used for 20 years at the end of Elizabeth's reign but may be the work of one man. The vicar for this period was Christopher Shute; alternatively a schoolmaster might have been responsible for this wording. After Henry VIII a small number of people chose to express themselves in their own style.

The gift of a best animal occurs in seven wills out of eleven, the latest in 1525, so the practice does not seem universal.

Various wills to 1558 (Elizabeth took the throne in 1558), make individual bequests to the high altar, to abbeys and convents, chantries, funding of a priest, a crucifix, to church repair, candles and wax, tithes, bells, food and cloth. From 1562 to 1603 references mainly concern transfer of tithe rights presumably bought from the church. They are detailed as follows.

Robert of Staynford	1390	40lb of wax, 100 marks for funeral
		money for church building
		32s for the four orders of mendicant brothers
William Stalmyn	1412	2s to high altar of Horton Church,
(vicar)		and an ordinal to Giggleswick Church
		9 coverlets to Hospital of Salley
John Kydd	1440	5s 8d to the Brothers at Lancaster
		20d Preston
		20d Knaresborough
		3s 8d to the Abbot of Salley
		20d to the Abbot of Furness
Christopher Altham	1461	a horse for his mortuary
(chaplain)		
Alan Caterall	1513	3s 4d to high altar
		£4 6s 8d to priest to pray
		6d to each priest in Giggleswick
		2d to each clerk
		1d to others
Oliver Foster	1516	altar, vestment Rubio Sattari
		£4 Giggleswick Church, salvation

		6s 8d Abbot and Convent
		6s 8d Augustinian Brothers
		6s 8d Abbot of Sawley and Convent
		6s 8d Abbot of Preston
		3s 4d Brothers of Appleby
Kateryn Catarall	1525	3d lights on my body
Tracer y in Cataran	1020	6d high altar
Hugh Lawkeland	1527	40s Abbot of Salley
Tragit La Wilotalia	1027	26s 8d Convent of Salley
James Carr	1528	6s 8d Our Lady Guild
(chantry priest)	1020	12d Brothers Augustines of York
() F)		12d Lady House of Appilby
		12d Gray Freres of Preston
		12d Freres Lancaster
Richard Frankland	1532	13d high altar and forgotten tithes
		20s Chantry of St Sunday
		6s 8d Abbot of Sallay
		3s 4d Convent of Sallay
Richard Lund	1537	12d high altar and forgotten tithes
		3s 4d Giggleswick Church
Sir John Malton	1538	£33 6s 8d parishing of Giggleswick or Clapham
(chantry priest)		40s Giggleswick Church for 3 vestments for high altar, rood
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		altar and Our Lady altar
		books to Clapham Church
Sir John Mone	1538	£4 6s 8d Copper crucifix and gilted
(chantry priest)		for Giggleswick Church
John Catterall	1539	20d high altar and forgotten tithes
William Foster	1539	6d high altar and forgotten tithes
Richard Clapham	1540	6d altar and tithes
William Newhouse	1541	6d high altar and forgotten tithes
		6s 8d St Sunday Chantry
William Yveson	1544	6d high altar and forgotten tithes
Alan Armitstede	1547	3s 4d repair of church
Margaret Haull	1550	tithe corn right
Joan Watkynson	1552	cheese and bread for attendees at funeral
Robert Sommerscales	1553	3s 4d high altar and linen cloths
John Foster	1554	12d high altar
Richard Clerke	1556	3s 4d high altar
Isabell Palay	1556	3s 4d high altar and forgotten tithes
		20s great bell
Robert Gregson	1557	2s great bell
		2d high altar and forgotten tithes
Anthony Knolles	1557	16s 8d great bell
Thomas Watkinson	1558	3s 4d for bell
Thomas Iveson	1562	tithe right of tenement
Robert Stackhouse	1567	tithing
Alan Carre	1569	one eighth part of tithe corn of Rathmell
Thomas Somerscale	1573	fourth part of tithe corn of Settle
James Brown	1576	tithe of Giggleswick

William Banks 1577 tithe corn

Robert Crake 1594 one new spade belonging to the church

Crake also says that 'I give to Thomas Sommerscales to whom I am godfather my virginalls and I require my friend Richard Idle (?) to dress them for I have strings ready for them.'

Several vicars and chantry priests made wills:

William Stalmyn vicar 1412 John Wodhous vicar 1438 Christopher Altham chaplain 1461

Christopher Tennant vicar (administration) 1496

John Malton chantry priest 1538

John Mone priest 1538 Richard Somerscall priest 1557

The wills clearly show an influence of the religious thinking during the various reigns.

1.4 Charitable bequests

Of the testators of the 231 wills 14% show charitable bequests, mainly to the poor. They deserve to be mentioned by name. The bequests are roughly evenly distributed over the years with no obvious sign of external influence.

Robert of Staynford	1390	to the poor and to those to whom I have done injustice 100 marks
William Newhouse	1541	to the amendinge of the hieway within the parish of Gigleswicke 6s 8d
Alan Armitstede	1547	2s to the mendinge of the hiewaie
Hugh Armitstede	1547	" "
Richard Browne	1548	12d to the common chiste
		to the scoleres that day I am buried 12d
James Saylebanke	1548	4d to the comon chiste
James Wilson	1548	12d to the common chest
Peter Currer	1550	to the poore folke that shalbe at my burial that daie ther dynner
John Howson	1550	13s 4d to the poor people of the parish
		(if son Sir Thomas Howson does not have it)
Joan Watkynson	1552	4d to the poore mans Boxe
		they that shall come with me to the church to
		be buried shall have cheises and bread that
		shalbe of half a bushel of meall
Thomas Foster	1553	12d to the mending of claishouse lane if neighbours will make it
Robert Somerscales	1553	3s 4d to the mendinge of Settell Bridge
Sir Richard Somerscall	1557	increase of all my sheep - one half to be divided among the poor people
Richard Altham	1572	13s 4d to the poore and Fatherles children of Settill
Robert Hedilston	1572	to Seaven poore widowes of Settill to every of them

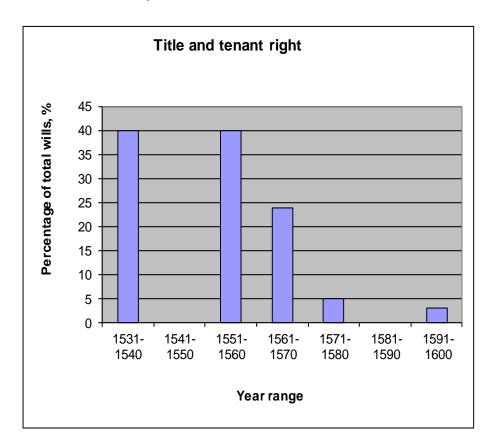
a pecke of barley

		a peene of variety
Thomas Somerscale	1573	6s 8d to the poore people of the hamlet of thorppe
		6s 8d to the poore with in the parishe of Rilston
Alan Wharffe	1574	to the relieving of the poor people - as thought
		mete by executors
Edward Preston	1575	3s 4d to the poore folks of gigleswecke parishe
James Brown	1576	12d to the poor mans box
Hugh Lawson	1577	to the poor men's box one bushel of barley
John Bawderston	1578	2d to the poor man's box
Roger Carre	1579	3s 4d unto twenty of the most needful poor folk in
_		this parish of Giggleswick
Hugh Stackhouse	1579	8d to the poore manes boxe
James Cam	1580	2d to the poor man's box
Robert Altham	1583	s to the poore people of this parish of
		Giggleswicke
John Armitstead	1584	12d to the poor people of this parish which stand
		in most need
Richard Kydde	1589	unto the poore of the parishe
Roger Saylebanke	1593	3s 4d unto the poore of the parishe of Gygleswyke
Richard Lynsaie	1595	6s 8d to be bestowed on such poor folk as
•		here after I shall nominate before my
		neighbours
Roger Carr	1597	3s 4d to the poore in Gigleswick parish
William Craven	1597	6s 8d to the poore of Gigleswicke
Giles Foster	1602	5s to the poore of the parish of Gigleswicke

1.5 Widowright

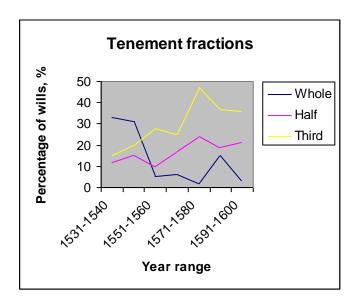
Wills of the early 16th century can be rather vague and trying to work out exactly what proportion of the tenement was left to the widow is confusing. 'Widowright' is a term frequently used and not explained, but an 'automatic dower right of a third' (Hoyle, PhD thesis,1986) seems to have been accepted as the norm in the Dales. This has been the proportion used for the survey when no specific figure was mentioned.

Even more complicated is the term 'title and tenant right' which was used frequently in the wills of the first half of the century. The use of this terminology drops dramatically in the latter half of this period as the wills become more detailed. The graph below shows the decline in the use of the these terms as used in wills during this one hundred year period. The term becomes almost obsolete by 1580.



Women generally did not hold tenements in their own right but based their titles on their husband's or son's agreement with their lord, which in the Giggleswick and Settle area during this time was the Clifford family. Early in the century surveyed, the Cliffords issued warrants of agreement which did not specifically state that a proportion of the tenement passed automatically to the widow but, as the tenants believed this was their customary right, the Cliffords turned a blind eye when this happened. This helps to explain why tenants frequently followed the words 'title & tenant right' by 'with the licence of the lord'. A further complication is that warrants granted in the 1540s gave the whole tenement to the widow after her husband's decease but those warrants granted later in 1579 reduced this to a third (Hoyle).

A study of the last sixty years of the sixteenth century, when wills became more detailed, shows 8% of men leaving the whole tenement to their wives, 20% leaving half the tenement to them and 37% left one third to their wives. The graph below shows the sustained rise in wills where one third portion became the norm towards the end of the century. This bears out the figures quoted previously of the Clifford warrants whereby a grant of the whole tenement to the widow was reduced in 1579 to one third.



The widow's portion was not quite as straightforward as it sounds; invariably there were stipulations attached. Frequently the widowright was only until the eldest son came of age, the assumption being that the son would provide for his mother during the rest of her life e.g. 'When a man died his heir must make provision for the widow' (R.B.Smith, 1970 'Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII'). In some cases the deceased specified where his widow should live as in the will of John Houghton of 1558 'One chamber in the nether end of the fire house and the loft over 2 bushels of barley and one of malt during her life'. In another case the widow was to receive a half portion with the son ' if they can agree' but if not then one third.

As can be seen from the above, interpreting wills can be a complicated business and it is all too easy to make judgements which may or may not give an accurate picture of the intentions of the testators during this period. Not until we get into the next century does the picture become clearer as many wills are more detailed and inevitably a lot longer.

1.6 Women's Wills

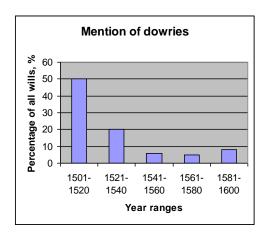
Of the 231 wills studied, only 8% make no mention of women, whilst 10% were actually made by women. Of those females making wills during this period sixteen are widows and seven are spinsters. More than half (56%) of the widows left the residue of their goods to their sons. Three left their goods to their children equally whilst two who presumably had no sons, left their goods to their daughters. Of the seven spinsters in the survey, the residue of goods were left to brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces as one would expect.

The 'title and tenant right' of the messuage is only mentioned four times, a figure of 18%. This low figure is explained by the fact that the title and right usually went to the son on the death of the husband with provision being made for the wife within the property during her lifetime. This is discussed further under 'widowright'. Three of the above instances where the title and tenant right was mentioned, were bequests to sons or in one case a nephew, with just one instance where the right was passed to a daughter, and even here the widow was merely reiterating the wishes of her husband e.g. the will of Jaine Crake 1597 – 'my said daughter Ann shall obteyne the said tenement according to my said husbands will,' presumably because the widow had no sons to inherit.

Women's Role In Men's Wills

It was not uncommon for women to take on board the management of the farm, either solely or in conjunction with her son or sons. This however is not often specified but is frequently implied as in the instances where farm implements are bequeathed to the wife, namely 'plough gear'. The first mention of this occurs in 1548 in the will of Richard Browne; 'my wife have all such goods as I the said Richard Browne did have at the house....one plough one culter one hede yoke and four wayne...'

Of the 190 wills where women are mentioned, only 7% bequeath money specifically for a dowry. We have no way of knowing however whether separate arrangements were made which are not mentioned in the wills. Certainly though there is a steep decline in references to dowries from around 1520 onwards as can be seen by the graph. This reflects the trend in other areas of the survey where there are significant changes through the century as wills become much more detailed.



A woman's inheritance was often subject to different arrangements if she chose to remarry, with twenty seven wills (14%) making very specific stipulations regarding this. Usually her portion was reduced, particularly if she had a son who was running the farm, the continuity of the farmhold within the family being of paramount importance. There is little fluctuation in the number of remarriage arrangements during our hundred year period apart from a sharp rise up to 50% in the years between 1511-1520 as yet unexplained.

Women are the chief executors of men's wills as might be expected, the majority being either sole or joint executors with their sons. This is fairly evenly split between wife as executrix (36%) and wife joint with her son (40%), with daughters, sisters and one mother-in-law (wife

deceased) making up a further 6%. These figures relate to the 190 wills in which women are mentioned. However looking at the total number of 231 wills, then women as executors in one form or another make up 67% of the total. On examining the twenty four wills made by women we discover that only five females are named as executors.

1.7 Clothes

49 of the 231 wills looked at (21%) mention clothes as bequests. It might be guessed that women would have a greater interest in clothes than men, and consequently clothes would appear in more women's than men's wills. This is borne out by this study. Of the total of 24 women's wills, 10 mention clothing (42%). Of 207 wills of men, only 19% list clothing bequests.

Over the period of the study, 1390 - 1603, only the decades 1521 to 1600 produce enough wills (210) to show any sign of a trend in the numbers mentioning clothes, i.e. a trend downwards from mid-century, but the sample is insufficient to draw conclusions.

Period	Total no. wills	No. wills mentioning clothes	% wills mentioning clothes
1521-1530	4	1	25
1531-1540	8	3	37
1541-1550	17	3	18
1551-1560	25	9	36
1561-1570	22	6	22
1571-1580	45	12	27
1581-1590	35	4	11
1591-1600	54	7	13

Hard-wearing clothes were items of value in the days of draughty houses, outdoor labour and little money for more than the basics. Similarly, for those who could afford a bit more, "best" or holiday wear was carefully hoarded.

Jackets, jerkins, coats, doublets, and cloaks are left in 65% of the wills mentioning clothing. The "best" garment is a frequent bequest. 'To John Watkinson my son my best jacket, to Thos. Lawson a violet jacket, a doublet ... to Lawrence Townhead a white jacket ... to Ric. Rome my best violet jacket, to Roger Settill a doublet, to Jeffrey Settill a jerkin ... to John Watkinson my cousin my best jerkin' (T. Watkinson 1558). He clearly is a reasonably well-off man with a good wardrobe. Violet was a costly dye and appears in at least three wills. Other colours are mentioned in the wills (white, blue, black, gray, green, tawny) and different fabrics (frieze, mold (moleskin?), leather buckskin, linen, damask). These descriptions define the particular garments and their quality.

Hose (and a late mention of stockings in 1599) appear in 27% of the 49 wills. Gowns also are bequeathed in 27% of wills. Gowns were left by men either early in the study period (J. Malton and J. Mone both 1538, both men of the Church) or in one case by J. Dawson 1580 who leaves a gown 'at Embsay undeliv'd' to his sister - perhaps an intended gift not yet given.

Women leave gowns, kirtles, petticoats and cloth for their manufacture (e.g. E. Twyssilton 1569).

Shoes appear in only 16% of the wills (not so easy to alter to fit by the recipient). New shoes feature in at least two wills - a recent outlay not to be wasted. Hats feature throughout the period. A suitably clerical 'violet felt hat' is left to a Sawley monk in 1461 by the local priest (C. Altham). A 'cardinal hat' (colour or style?) is bequeathed in 1577 (H. Lawson). In 1539 J. Caterall leaves 2 sallets (or helmets). Clearly he is in a wealthier bracket than most others, as he also leaves a damask doublet and a chamlet (costly eastern fabric) gown.

Shirts are left in 14% of wills including a 'harden' (coarse flax) shirt (J. Watkynson 1552), but breeches (3 wills) are not bequeathed until nearly 1600 - fashion or what? Women leave aprons in 6% of wills, and other womenly garments such as kerchieves and sleeves appear in a couple. M. Sailbanke 1551 bequeathes a coat to Christopher Foster's wife and also 'to Alice my maid a pair of red sleeves and one kerchief ... to my mother ... one pair of new shoes ... to my goodsister a pair of knit sleeves and one holiday kerchief ... to Jenett Batersbye one apron ... to Alice my daughter my green kirtle and my best white coat'. Was she particularly interested in clothes, did she have few other possessions, how old was she?

Other items receive only one or two mentions throughout. Shawls are left by a man in 1571 (S. Iveson 1571), and wetherstocks (cravats?) in 1585 (J. Edlestone). A bequest of a 'gay gown that was his wife's' perhaps evokes a man (W. Armestead 1602) who has kept the dress in her memory, and he now gives it to a male relative - why?

1.8 Household Goods and Furniture

Of the total 231 wills in the period studied, there were household goods and furniture bequeathed in 59, or in 26%. However apart from two wills prior to 1500 such bequests did not start until the 1530s. In the decades 1531-1600 the picture was as follows:-

Period	Total no. of wills	No. wills mentioning household goods and furniture	% wills mentioning household goods and furniture
1531-1540	8	2	25
1541-1550	17	5	29
1551-1560	25	9	36
1561-1570	22	6	27
1571-1580	45	10	22
1581-1590	35	9	26
1591-1600	54	15	28

This shows that over that period there was a fairly even proportion of the wills bequeathing household items, averaging 28%.

Of the total 59 wills mentioning such items over the complete period 1390-1603 studied, only eight were from women, 14%.

Items most commonly bequeathed were arks, kists (chests), armoires or aumbries (cupboards), mentioned in 47% of the 59 wills. These (of which many examples are still around today) were often left as heirlooms. '... two of my arks and one old armory shall stand ... in my house as heirlooms for my wife and my ... brother ...' (R. Brayshay 1582). R. Crake 1594 leaves 'two of my best oak trees to make (my daughter's) arks and chests of ', and J. Franklande 1574 leaves his daughter 'boards for an ark'. W. Yveson 1544 leaves his son a kist and all therein. Other widely mentioned basic furniture includes 'boards' and tables in 20% of the wills, wooden chairs, stools and forms in 10%. A sconce (screen or fixed seat by the side of the fireplace) appears in R. Browne 1548.

Bedstocks (*the bedstead or its upright framework*) form a large proportion of bequests, in 25% of the wills. With them or as separate bequests are found a similar percentage of bedding, *'beds of clothes'*, feather beds, mattresses, coverlets, (two *'bound work'* coverlets (E. Twyssilton 1569)), sheets, (*'of linen'* C. Altham 1461), blankets and cushions.

The other basic household items of value were pots and pans. Brass (or 'brazen') ware is mentioned in 7 wills. Two of these are described as 'new' and their high value is demonstrated by R. Wildeman 1575 - '...I will that the brass pot which I bought with the gold that the queen's majesty gave me shall be an heirloom at my house and also the great board that stands above the fire and the form in the house shall be heirlooms'. In 1568 W. Twyssilton's 'great ark and great new pan' were 'to remain as heirlooms'. There are frequent mentions of other pans, including a brewing pan (I. Palay 1556), and 'my greatest pan' (T. Foster snr. 1571), appearing in 22% of the 59 wills.

Troughs, stone or wood, are bequeathed (7%). One 'stee or ladder' features (J. Houghton 1588). Looms, tenters and shears also appear in wills, but it is difficult to assess whether these are for purely domestic use or for a trade carried on. The distinction between the two may be blurred - 'the best feather bed at my house and my two pair of looms ...' are bequeathed to his son by W. Kydd 1591 probably indicative of a domestic industry. Domestic stocks of wool and cloth are bequeathed. R. Altham 1583 leaves 'a stone of wool' to his brother, and E. Twyssilton 1569 (a woman) leaves 'four yards of white cloth to a kirtle' to another lady.

In this region there were no noble families and the wealthiest were little more than successful yeomen or tradesmen or men of the church. J. Catterall 1539 'Esquire' made various valuable bequests but household goods bequeathed were limited to a great ark and a salting trough. His family and friends were probably already well enough endowed with ordinary goods. Silver items in the wills studied are spoons (W. Stalmyn 1412, five, J. Foster 1567, four, R. Wildman 1575, one, W. Browne, two), a silver-lined wooden bowl and a silver-lined silk purse (C. Altham 1461). Stalmyn and Altham were vicars. Even pewter is rare - it is 1596 before E. Cockytt (a woman) leaves 3 pewter doublers and a pewter saucer among her bequests.

R. Crake 1594 in his interesting will leaving, *inter alia*, arks, tubs, chests, cupboards, shelves, bedstocks, tables and chairs, also bequeathes his virginals and strings to his godson, and his singing books to another person, *'care to be taken in delivery'*.

Other valuable or distinctive items include a dagger (C. Altham 1461), best spurs, saddle and sword (T. Browne 1600) and a fork (J. Watkynsone 1552).

The term 'nail fast' is used by H. Palay 1564 and T. Somerscale 1573, the equivalent of present-day fixtures. For the majority of people, their 'household stuff' (R. Altham 1583 and C. Cooke 1589) comprised the necessities of living for the immediate family, and what they had to give as useful keepsakes to friends.

1.9 Farm Goods and Animals

There were 231 wills in the study period, and 102 had bequests of farm goods and animals. The table below shows the proportion of wills bequeathing such items. The average over the decades 1521 - 1600 (where there are sufficient wills to make some statistical sense) is just over 50%. The number peaks at 68% in the decade 1551 - 1560, the same decade that sees a peak in household goods bequests.

		No. wills mentioning	% wills mentioning
Period	Total no. of wills	farm goods and	farm goods and
		animals	animals
Pre-1500	7	2	29
1501-1510	-	-	-
1511-1520	2	-	0
1521-1530	4	2	50
1531-1540	8	5	63
1541-1550	17	9	53
1551-1560	25	17	68
1561-1570	22	11	50
1571-1580	45	22	49
1581-1590	35	15	43
1591-1600	54	15	28
1601-1603	12	4	33

Thirteen of the wills mentioning farm goods and animals are of women, which is 13% of the total 102.

In this rural farming area the commonest category of such goods bequeathed is the general one of 'husbandry gear', which is mentioned in 44 of the 102 wills, i.e. 43%. This term does not get used until the 1540s. Such gear is generally left to the eldest son who is inheriting the main tenement. Frequently the term is stand-alone, as in J. Browne 1553 'I will that Robert my son shall have all my husbandrie gear...'. H. Cockett 1591 leaves his husbandry gear to his eldest son in satisfaction of his children's portion of his goods. J. Braishey 1597, in a long will of a clearly well-to-do yeoman, wills that his eldest son, already bequeathed other items, shall have all his husbandry gear 'paying for it as it shall be priced'.

12 wills describe farm gear in greater detail. H. Lawson 1577 requested that his 'wain and wain gear, carts and cart gear, ropes and rope gear, plough and plough gear' and his harrow remain at his tenement after his wife's decease. R. Wildeman 1575 mentions his 'iron teams and all other iron gear that pertain to husbandry'. There are other named items: A. Wharfe 1574 bequeaths to his eldest son 'one cornwain one pair of wheels and one head yoke'. In 1548 R. Browne leaves a cowpe (cart) a pair of cowpe raithes (removable boards for heightening it), a plough, a culter (coulter for plough), a head yoke, and one knoppe (a kind of tub) inter alia. R. Crake 1594 leaves 'all husbandry gear whatsoever as well gavelockes

(crowbars) and axes, and for one hacke (mattock) and one new spade do belong to the Church...'. R. Carr 1597 leaves a gavelock and hack to be 'heirlooms at the house'. J. Houghton (1588) mentions a great grindstone.

The greatest number of animals bequeathed are, predictably in this area, sheep, which feature in 41% of the 102 wills. There are many specialist terms for these and differing types are left for various purposes. T. Somerscale 1573, a wealthy man with a long and complex will, leaves ewes, lambs and 'gimber (gimmer) sheppe' in quantities of two to ten to more than ten people including his servant. Grandchildren and godchildren are very commonly bequeathed lambs or ewe lambs, an investment for the future. Sometimes gimmer lambs are promised 'to be delivered at midsomer next' - T. Brannde 1590, making a December will. J. Watkynson 1552 bequeathed lambs, and a ewe, but also left 2 wedders (wethers) along with other eatables to feed those who accompanied her body to the church burial. R. Altham 1572 gives to two female relatives each 'a wedder if they live, or else their skins'. W. Twisleton 1568 leaves his son 10 ewes to be kept at his house for the next six years 'to be kept as the dwellers there do keep their own'. M. Haull 1550 leaves a 'shepe hog'. One half of a tup is bequeathed by W. Armestead 1602; presumably he had a half share in one.

Oxen and other cattle are big items of value to be bequeathed with care. There are 7 references to oxen and 22 to other cattle in the wills studied. Oxen were draught animals and T. Brashey 1589 leaves his son a pair of oxen, or £3 6s 8d to buy a yoke of oxen, an indication of their high value. J. Franklande 1574 leaves a black ox calf to his son, and one 'brande oxe' is left by J. Mone 1538, priest, to his brother. In one of the earliest wills C. Altham 1461, chaplain, bequeathes five oxen and calves to his brother and brother's sons.

Other cattle are referred to under various names. In the earliest will Robert de Staynford 1390 leaves to his daughters 'all my animals namely bulls, cows, heifers, bullocks ...' (translated from Latin). A. Banke 1567 leaves 'two kyne of the price of three pounds six shillings and eightpence'. In 1574 A. Wharffe bestows to his widowed daughter 'one good cow or else 26 shillings eight pence'. T. Brashey 1589 prices a cow at 33s 4d. T. E. Carre 1582 leaves 'one branded cow being the younger of my branded kine'. J. Houghton 1588 leaves 'one black why (heifer) which was under Marigold' - an indication of how individual animals might be identified. Whys and a why stirk are alluded to by K. Catarall 1525. Colour identification is also used by H. Jackeson 1576 who leaves to some children the 'whiteheaded cow', and R. Fawtteroppe 1561 leaves his niece a black white-headed stot. W. Twisleton 1568 leaves his daughter 'one good milk cow'.

Horses feature in 14 wills, by varied terms. M. Wildman 1553 leaves a bay horse and white mare, R. Altham 1583 a 'stagge (colt 1 - 3 years old) or coulte'. In 1597 R. Somerscales bequeathes to a young relative his 'little black stoned hobbie (pony)'. J. Mone 1538 refers to a sorrel nag, and W. Yveson 1544 a horse and a filly. Other animals are rare. Swine are only mentioned once, by R. Carr 1597, who also bequeaths one old stock and one young swarm of bees to female recipients. J. Crake 1597 leaves to her daughter money and gold to buy 'myne oxen and my fishe' - had she a fishpond enterprise?

There is no mention of goats or other animals (e.g. poultry or rabbits). B. Browne and W. Twisleton both in 1576 mention milk cows and H. Foster milk from ewes. There is only one note about cheese by Joan Watkynson (1552) as part of her funerary bequests.

17 of the 102 wills mention bequests of stocks of grain, malt, hay, straw or wool. Oats and bigge (barley) are frequently left, in bushels, pecks (4 pecks = 1 bushel; 1 standard bushel contains 8 gallons) or stones (1 stone = 14 lbs) depending on the commodity. M. Palay 1569 leaves his eldest son 15 bushels of oats and five bushels of bigge. W. Carre 1587 leaves 14 bushels of oats and half a quarter (8 bushels = 1 quarter) of barley. Stores of oatmeal, bigge and malt are bequeathed by J. Houghton 1588 and corn and hay by C. Cooke 1589. T. Armistead 1571 leaves his son enough grain to sow his farmhold. Can one guess at the location on arable land of testators who leave grain stocks? A stone of wool is left by R. Altham 1583 and a fleece of wool is left by T. Watkinson 1558. Growing crops are also mentioned - T. Carre 1601 bequeaths the first two years' crops at his tenement to his wife towards payment of his debts, and E. Stackhouse 1602 gives 'all the crop, corn and hay growing or hath grown upon my third part of this tenement...this present year...'.

Timber lying in a barn is bequeathed to his wife and son by W. Browne 1576, and tenterwood (with his tenters) by W. Foster 1597. 'Mylne timber' is to remain at his walk mill, according to M. Wildman 1553.

One other unique bequest is of 'limestones' by T. Bullocke 1571 of Tosside. This area is out of the limestone country and perhaps they might have been brought here for agricultural purposes.

1.10 Rooms in the house

The earliest reference comes in 1553 from R. Somerscales; 'Thomas shall occupy the fierhowse', meaning the main house with a fireplace. '...my brother Sir Richard the chamber of the back side of my fire house with a sufficient bed and bed clothes'. Sir Richard was a priest (will of 1557). In 1572 R. Foster asks that 'Agnes Foster my sister shall have a bedroom in my house'. J. Frankland (1574) says similarly that 'my brother shall have a bed room at my house'.

W. Foster in 1577 says that 'Dorothy my daughter shall have a bedroom with Christopher Foster and Thomas Foster my sons.' R. Carre (1579) requires that 'Agnes my sister in law shall have a bedroom at the house ... she being unmarried and in such convenient place as my executors think most meet for her'. In 1585 J. Edlestone's sister Margaret can have a bedroom in the house. C. Browne (1585): 'My daughter shall have that chamber in the north side of my now dwelling house to lie in at her pleasure as long as she shall keep her unmarried'. J. Houghton wishes that 'my wife Agnes ... shall have one chamber in the nether end of the firehouse and the loft over it. One long chest standing in the loft. My son to have one bedroom with (...) to the same in the mid-chamber upon the backside until such time as he can be better provided for'. In 1589 R. Kydde says 'my daughters shall have a sufficient and honest bed room in the little chamber beneath the house to come and go unto so long as they be unmarried.'

There are eleven more examples from 1590 to 1600 as follows.

T. Foster 1590 'great Ambrie standinge in the Paller...'

- R. Crake 1594. '... the great malt arke and the little malt arke in the barn, the meal arke in the chamber, the great salting tub and the almory and the two chests in the buttery, two chests in my chamber and my cupboard in my study, all shelves or boards and all bedstocks in and about the houses as they stand and all the tables, chairs and stools in the houses'. Crake notes money due for his writings so the study was perhaps his work-place.
- J. Braishey 1597 'one almory in the cellar...'
- J. Brown 1597 'my brother in law shall have a bedroom in my house and free access ..as he had during his single life'.
- R. Carr 1597 'one high table in the firehouse one joined bed stocks and one pair of bedstocks in the fire house'.
- W. Craven 1597 'one great arke standing in the seller'.
- T. Hall 1597 ' ... my firehouse there..'
- M. Sigsweeke 1598 'Anne my daughter to have ... the chamber called the Shoppe wherein to sett her bed and her chest...'.
- J. Lupton 1599 'Unto Ellin my wife ... one chamber in the northern end of my fire house in Langeliffe'.
- J. Gregson 1599 'an arke standing in his barn...'.
- C. Sailbanke 1600 'brother Richard .. shall have a bedroom in some convenient place of my now dwelling house'.

It must have been very difficult for many people, whether single adults such as widows or older children, to find their own accommodation and so they had to rely on provision in other households. It sounds as though one had to be lucky to have more than a small space in a corner or even a cellar to sleep in.

1.11 The further education of children

Children were generally catered for in wills by inheritance of property or sums of money and if they were under age the mother usually was resourced accordingly. The widow might be bequested the whole of a tenement for example rather than a third or a half if children needed support. Another member of the family or supervisors might be appointed to look after the interests of children, taking over the tenement to produce income.

In the 231 wills there is mention of a school master, children's school education, apprenticeship or university training in only 17 cases. In many instances the cost of this education was a major factor in the sharing of the goods of the deceased; typically the educated child did not receive his child's portion, otherwise equally shared out amongst his siblings. Only boys are involved; there are no cases of Inns of Court attendance but this

usually followed university. Giggleswick School offered scholarships to Christ's College, Cambridge and the Alumni lists show that many local boys went to university.

The Giggleswick School Register (H.L.Mullins, 1913) lists only five pupils in the period 1500 to 1600 (four Carrs and Nathanial Shute, eldest son of Christopher Shute the vicar) but the wills suggest perhaps ten more. Robert Carre, third son of Adam of Grainhouse, matriculated at Christ's in 1578, gained BA 1581 and MA 1585. James the fourth son, matriculated 1579/80, BD St Catherine's 1582/3, MA 1586. He became vicar of Alnwick 1590-3 and died in 1593 (Alumni Cantabrigiensis). There might have been a third son Alan who went to the school. Christopher Shute is noted as going to Pembroke in 1561 and a Lionel Foster entered Trinity from Giggleswick School in 1578. (More names have been found by T.I.Roberts - work in progress).

Education was obviously highly valued by some, but continuation of farming on the tenement was extremely important.

The following extracts are from wills with the earliest one in 1567.

Richard Priston 1567

Thomas my son be kept at the school as long as my supervisors shall think good, and if he be aminded to continue at learning then I will that William my son have the mill, thackwhate and smith, and he to keep Thomas at the school...

Adam Carre of Grainhouse 1568

... unto Addame Carre my son toward his maintenance at the school

And where also I have borne at great charges unto Robert and James Carre my sons in keeping them at school ((and so have no further claim on the goods)

Adam Somerscales 1569

... my two children which are at London...

Thomas Foster senior 1571

I will that Agnes my wife and Richard Foster my son keep or cause to be kept at the school George Foster my son until he be twenty years of age.

Thomas Somerscale of Stockdale 1572/3

... to my executors ... to the only use and profit of my children... be it learning marriage or otherwise...

And further whereas I have been at great charges with my son William in binding him apprentice at London whereby I meant he should go forward in learning (and so does not receive his child's portion)

In witness whereof I have caused this my will to be written by my friend Robert Greake and have thereunto subscribed my name in the Schoolhouse at Giggleswick... (Craike or Crayke in Parish Register)

Thomas Heddleston 1575

master Christopher Shute schoolmaster (as witness)

Robert Iveson 1575

Christopher Shute Scolemaster at Gegleswicke

Roger Carre of Settle 1579

... my sons shall be kept at school until they be twelve years of age and longer as my executors think most meet. And if any of my sons be apt to learning my will is that their child's portion shall be bestowed upon them at the discretion of my executors.

Henry Foster 1589

... if Richard Kay will be apprentice with Anthony my son for ten years and serve him truly that then Anthony shall give him sufficient wages to clothe himself withal and at the ten years and shall pay to him 40 shillings as of my gift. Item it is my will that if Thomas Bentham will serve with his apprenticeship with my son Anthony that he shall have 30 shillings at his year's end over and besides his wages.

Thomas Foster 1590

Henry Foster my son shall have in recompense and satisfaction of his child's portion part of my goods such charges as I have made and bestowed upon him in keeping him at the school and other ways. And I pray he be content with it.

William Preston 1590

... my younger sons be kept at school until they be able to serve apprenticeships.

John Browne 1591

... to Thomas Browne his son twenty nobles at the end of his apprenticeship as his full portion.

Thomas Payley 1592

... whereas I have been at great charges keeping Christopher my eldest son at Cambridge the which was my intent.... which in truth has been unto me in double charge of that which I am now able to give unto the rest of my sons ... (so no claim on goods or house title).

William Foster 1597 Stainforth

... my wife shall have the occupation of my whole tenement for the term and space of ten years now next ensuing the date hereof for the better education of my children...

Renold Wilson 1597

.... to George Lawson his uncle the tuition of Christopher Wilson during the nonage of the said Christopher...

John Paley 1597

.... Myles Nicholson Scholer...

Hugh Paley 1598

I bequeath the tenant right of my tenement to Anne Paley my wife to educate and bring up my children.

James Houghton 1599

My mother-in-law Agnes Knowles shall have the tuition of my children (and has one third of the tenement).

1.12 Money

The interest in money concerns the amounts noted in the wills, to what causes money is bequeathed and with what coins. Three main areas can be discerned, involving the church, arrangements for inheritance of land, and gifts to relatives, friends, children and godchildren.

The donations to the Church are by way of forgotten tithes, mortuary payments to the priest and scholars, money for masses to be said, church building and repairs, gifts for installing bells, donations to the poor and good community causes such as highway repairs.

The payment of a fine (gressum) when leasehold land passed from the deceased to the inheriting son (usually) was the usual practice, amounting to several years' rent. The matter of continuing to pay rent or receiving rent from land leased to others often received attention in wills. A gift to the landlord to maintain his favour was not unusual.

Small token gifts to godchildren, such as 1d, 2d or 4d were commonly made. Larger amounts were bequeathed to children, especially those other than the eldest inheriting son. Arrangements were sometimes made to compensate the non-inheriting siblings.

There were no banks so money was held in cash or put out on loan to others - relatives or friends. Henry Foster (1589) says that 'much of my goods be in creditors handes and I know not how they be gotten up...' Loans would sometimes be forgiven as a bequest. The coins available were varied and minted in different periods. Some of the following coins are noted in the wills.

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Gold: pound 1592 - 1600 (20s)
sovereign 1489 - 1526 and 1544 - 1553 (20s)
half sovereign 1509-1547 (10s)
ryal gold coin first issued in 1465 & worth 10 shillings,
then 15 shillings under Mary & Elizabeth 1.
noble 6s 8d (half a mark) 1344 - 1464
angel 6s 8d from 1464
half noble 3s 4d 1509-1547
half angel (angelet) 3s 4d 1464 -
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Silver: testoon (12d) 1485 - 1547 shilling 1548 - 1966 sixpence 1551 - 1967 groat (4d) 1279 - 1305, 1351 - 1662 threepence 1551 - 1944 half groat (2d) penny 780 - 1797 Reference is also made to the mark, worth 13s 4d (two nobles), from the earliest will in this collection, 1390, to the last in 1602. The mark was a measure of weight of gold or silver and a monetary unit originally representing the mark weight of pure silver, worth 13s 4d in English and Scottish currency. There was a Scottish coin of this value and various foreign coins. There is no mention of 3d in any of the wills and only one to 1/2 d by Brashey in 1597 for his rent of 15s 10 1/2d.

Nobles (6s 8d) are mentioned from 1543 to 1599 but the amount 6s 8d is given in wills from 1516. The wills of the 15th century prefer the mark (13s 4d) as a unit and this gives way to thinking in terms of units of 6s 8d and 3s 4d as well as pounds, shillings and pence. The shillings commonly come in sets of 5, 10, 20 and 40. It appears that people thought in terms of two sets of currency - of units and sub-units of the mark of 13s 4d, and secondly in pounds, shillings and pence.

Analysis of wills

Over the period 1390 to 1603 money is mentioned in more than half the wills in each decade, even reaching 100%. Up to the time of the Reformation, 1536, virtually all references to money concern the church. The 14th and 15th century wills are those of clergy apart from Robert de Staynford, Lord of the Manor of Stainforth, who was wealthy, bequeathing about £285. 20 marks were given by him to the building of Giggleswick Church. The three clergy wills, of Stalmyn (1412), Wodhouse (1438) and Altham (1461), show surprisingly large amounts of money of about £10 to £20. These wills predominantly mention marks, shillings, pounds and amounts of 13s 4d.

Many wills up to 1557 request 4d (occasionally 6d) to every priest saying mass on burial day. In addition there is often an extra amount to the high altar or for forgotten tithes, ranging from 2d to 3s 4d, which was an insurance against time spent in purgatory. In three cases 1d is given to every scholar (for singing?) and for other cases varying large amounts for other priests for saying mass for an extended period. These bequests ceased at the end of the reign of Henry VIII but re-appeared when Catholic Mary reigned, 1553 -1558. It appears that when Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 all these practices came to a halt.

In the seven wills of 1500 to 1536 the mark is not mentioned but amounts of 3s 4d and 6s 8d are frequently noted, together with pounds, shillings, 12d, 4d, 6d, 2d, 1d. Total amounts are a few pounds only.

The period of 1536 to 1558 (Elizabeth gained the throne in 1558) shows an initially strong then declining emphasis on donations to the church or religious houses. The money given to the church is often however in relatively small amounts of 4d, 6d, 12d and 3s 4d. There are exceptions of men giving £33 -6s - 8d (Sir John Malton, priest in 1538) to support a priest, £3 and £4 - 6s - 8d (Sir John Mone, priest in 1538), 10s by Newhouse in 1541 and 20s by Yveson in 1544, but thereafter donations are very small or given to the poor, or to mending of the highway (Newhouse, 1541; Somerscales, 1553). Money to buy a bell was gifted by Palay (1556), Gregson (1557), Knolles (1557), Somerscales (1557), and Watkinson (1558). The total amounts in this period are £2 to £10 with the exception of John Malton.

After 1558 we see no more specific donations to the church. Nevertheless, from earliest times testators were legally due to pay their mortuary fees so some money continued to go the vicar. After this time most references to money concern land matters and gifts to people.

In several cases the amount of money gifted is termed 'in penny or pennyworth' (Kidde, 1543; Howson, 1550; Foster, 1567; Twisleton, 1568; Paleye, 1569; Paley, 1571; Banks, 1577) and in 'money or moneyworth' (by Armistead, 1589; Sigsweek, 1598) suggesting payment in coin or in goods to that value. Cash was held in the house by Mr Brannde (1590) - at least 20s; Proctor (1597) mentions 'money already in the house'; Lawson (1574) mentions ready money. This might have been a large fraction of a year's wages for many. Several speak of money and gold (Twisleton, 1568; Crake, 1597) as if the gold were not in current coinage. Twisleton mentions £17 15s of gold in his wife's keeping and £6 in gold or money in the keeping of his son. These are very large sums of money.

Priston (1564) says 'my sone shall have the thirde bushell when he dothe marrye and to paye the thirde penny', a phrase which is not understood.

Hedleston (1572) notes 'I have taken a gode peny of the said hugh as acknowledge thereof...', referring to a promised lease. Crake (1594) charges 3s 4d 'for writings making' and 6s 8d for 'for writings making for the marriage'.

Richard Wildeman (1575) buys property 'with gold that the queens majesty gave me'. He also mentions a riall of gold.

Thomas Carre (1601) leaves money for a bridewayne of £10 to his three unmarried daughters. Alan Clarke (1598) leaves a bridewaine for his daughter to be worth ten pounds and wedding apparel meet for her degree and calling. A bridewain was a carriage loaded with household furniture and utensils, which travelled from the house of the bride's father to the bridegroom's house.

1.13 Trades and Professions

Before 1500 there are wills for two vicars (Stalmyn and Wodhouse), one chaplain (Altham), and one draper (Chewe, 1473). There are a further three priests up to 1540 (Carr, Malton, Mone). In 1548 Lawrence Yveson has the office of the keeping of Langeliffe mill.

It is only after 1553 that people identify themselves more frequently according to status or trade. Robert Somerscales of Settle in 1553 is a fuller and Miles Wildman of Settle also in 1553 has a walk mill and is a clothmaker. A walk mill is for fulling cloth, taking the name from the German word 'Walker' for fuller. Richard Somerscall in 1557 is a priest (the last one found up to 1603). There are 25 wills in this decade of 1551-1560.

The next decade 1561-1570 with 22 wills has

Priston 1564 clothmaker (tenters, shears)

Iveson 1565 husbandman (cousin Wm. Iveson is the miller in Langcliffe)

Foster 1567 clothmaker (shears, tenters)

Priston 1567 walk mill, smithy

Howson 1568 smithy

Cookhed 1570 clothmaker (tenters, shears)

Watson 1570 cart gear

The word smithy may indicate a worker in metal and perhaps other materials and not necessarily a blacksmith.

The decade 1571 - 1580 with 45 wills has

Foster 1571 clothmaker (tenters, walker shears) Frankland 1574 smithy husbandman Lawson 1574 Preston 1575 cart gear Brown 1576 husbandman Browne 1576 lime pit house husbandman, weaver (looms) Banks 1577 Houghton 1577 husbandman Lawson 1577 cart gear Carre tools and looms as belong to the smith's occupation 1579

For 1581-1590 we have 35 wills:

Brayshay 1582 husbandman Husband 1582 husbandman Watkinson husbandman 1582 Cookeson 1585 labourer Carre 1586 yeoman Lawson 1586 yeoman Houghton husbandman 1587 Houghton 1588 husbandman Houghton 1588 husbandman 1589 Armitstead Langeliffe mill Foster 1590 clothmaker (tenters, shears)

The first mention of yeoman, the next status above husbandman, is in 1586.

For 1591-1603 there are 66 wills:

Lynsaie 1595 husbandman Carr 1597 yeoman Sommerscales 1597 mercer Browne 1598 husbandman Clarke 1598 yeoman Sigsweeke 1598 shop Armitstead 1599 yeoman Houghton 1599 tanner Browne 1600 husbandman Sailbank 1600 yeoman Carr 1601 yeoman

Foster 1601 butcher Paley 1601 husbandman

Bearing in mind that the abbeys and the Cliffords controlled the activities of tenants to a large degree before the Dissolution in 1536, it is only in the 1550s that tenants under the Darcy family as absentee landlords might have had more freedom to diversify with local trades in wool, leather and meat processing and support industries in making and repairing farm gear. The mill would have continued operation under various landlords or tenants. After the sale of the manors of Stainforth and Langcliffe in the 1590s the freeholders would have been able to take on more responsibility for their own enterprises and upkeep.

2.1 The Giggleswick Wills Project: Part 2 1603 to 1702

Part 2 of this project concerns transcriptions of wills and inventories in the period 1603 to 1702.

The work of photocopying and transcription of 409 wills (some with inventories attached and microfilmed) and 57 separate inventories has been carried out mainly by Sheila Gordon, with help from Mary and Michael Slater, Roy Price and Jenny Dodd, mainly during 2008 and 2009. Most of the wills seen are the probate copies lodged at York and not the originals.

The administrations (admons) have not been transcribed except for those few with inventories.

The documents in this collection comprise 350 male wills and 59 women's, total 409; there are 61 inventories attached to some of these wills and in addition 57 inventories unattached to wills, total 118 inventories. Many early inventories associated with wills were destroyed in the 1950s due to shortage of archive space; the Commonwealth period when wills had to be registered in London might have deterred some testators, so there is imbalance in the distribution over time of what is available for study. Some documents are memoranda or nuncupative wills or in one case a transfer of executorship from deceased son to his mother.

The wills are distributed as in the table below.

Date	Male wills	Female wills	Total No. of	No. of	No. of
range			wills and	inventories	separate
			wills with	attached to	inventories
			invs.	will	
1603-1609	39	2	41		
1610-1619	34	5	39		
1620-1629	53	11	64		
1630-1639	31	11	42		
1640-1649	32	3	35		
1650-1659	24	1	25		
1660-1669	29	12	41		
1670-1679	25	3	28	1	

TOTALS	350	59	409	61	57
1700-1702	8	2	9	9*	4
1690-1699	48	3	52	41	51
1680-1689	27	6	33	10	2

^{*} The will for Paley 1701 is missing

2.2 Introduction 1603 to 1702

The period is one of religious and parliamentary turbulence. The reigns are:

1603 to 1625 James I

1625 to 1649 Charles I

1649 to 1660 Oliver Cromwell and Richard Cromwell (The Commonwealth)

1660 to 1685 Charles II

1685 to 1688 James II

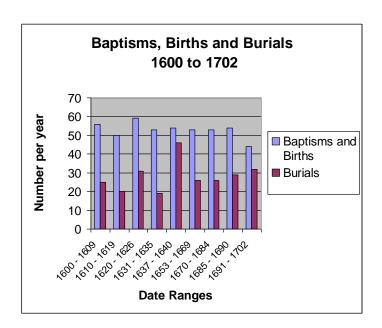
1689 to 1702 William III and Mary II

Background information on births, baptisms and burials taken from the parish registers is helpful in analysing wills. However, due to disturbances at various times and incomplete parish register data the information has to be treated with care since the coverage for all years is not complete.

Baptisms and Burials 1600 to 1702

Modern years

Date range	Baptisms	Burials	Bp/year	Bur/year
1600 - 1609	560	251	56	25
1610 - 1619	503	195	50	20
1620 - 1626	355	220	59	31
1631 - 1635	211	76	53	19
1637 - 1640	215	183	54	46
1653 - 1669	816	448	53	26
1670 - 1684	795	389	53	26
1685 - 1690	326	173	54	29
1691 - 1702	523	381	44	32



The data suggest a growing population since the baptism rate far exceeds the burial rate. The burial rate of 20 to 26 in the 16th century as seen in the Table below is continued through most of the 17th century. There is a slight indication that higher burial rates expected of a larger population are increasing towards the end of the 17th century consistent with a growing population. It would be expected that the burial rate should roughly equate to the baptism rate when a population is stable. It should be noted that some data for mid-century are missing and that average death rates for 1631 to 1635 and 1637 to 1640 are subject to large variation because of the relatively short time span in each case and an average over ten years 1631 to 1640 is probably more representative. Using an estimate of 25 burials per thousand of population the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick would have about 1000 persons. This is based on an assumed average life-span of 40 years.

Table of Burials from Giggleswick Parish Registers

Date range	Men	Widows	Wife	Other women	Total women	Female wills (% of burials)	Male wills (% of burials)	Burials/ year
1558- 1570	116	32	23	61	116	3 (3%)	23 (20%)	20
1571- 1579	116	39	42	17	98	2 (2%)	42 (36%)	24
1580- 1589	112	25	70	50	145	4 (3%)	30 (27%)	26
1590- 1599	122	39	61	30	130	6 (5%)	49 (40%)	25
1600- 1602	26	6	19	4	29	2 (7%)	9 (35%)	18
1603- 1609	99	33	52	12	97	2 (2%)	39 (39%)	28
1610- 1619	105	17	42	31	90	5 (6%)	34 (32%)	20

1620- 1626	121	31	60	8	99	8 (8%)	41 (34%)	31
1631- 1634/ 5	36	17	17	6	40	6 (2%)	16 (44%)	19
1653- 1669	218	114	115	1	230	13 (6%)	50 (23%)	26
1670- 1684	168	3	132	86	221	6 (3%)	36 (21%)	26
1685- 1690	88	10	52	23	85	4 (5%)	23 (26%)	29
1691- 1702	184	74	91	32	197	4(2%)	85(46%)	32

TOTAL MEN BURIALS 1511 TOTAL MALE WILLS 477 (32% of burials)

TOTAL WOMEN BURIALS 1577
TOTAL WOMEN WILLS 59 (4.2% of burials)
(45 stated to be widow; 9 spinsters; 5 unstated)

Ratio women/men = 1.044

WIDOWS in Parish Register 440 (28% of total burials)

WIVES in Parish Register 776 (49% of total burials)

UNKNOWN WOMEN STATUS 361

Status of women who made wills

Date range	Widows	Spinster	Other
1603-1609	2	_	
1610-1619	4		1 unknown
1620-1629	7	3	1 unknown
1630-1639	10	1	
1640-1649		2	1 wife
1650-1659	1		
1660-1669	10	2	
1670-1679	3		
1680-1689	5		1 unknown
1690-1699	1	1	1 unknown
1700-1702	2		

N.B. Some of these data are supported using Parish Register data.

Notes:

If most women listed in the burials are assumed to have been married then about half will die before their husbands and be listed as wives and the other half will become widows. So the 361 women whose status is unknown might be expected to be mainly widows to make the fractions nearer half and half. Of course some younger women will have died before marriage. The data might suggest that men lived longer than women, perhaps due to deaths due to childbirth since the fraction of widows seems probably smaller than that of wives allowing for a number of those listed as unknown status to have been unmarried.

Terms of endearment are very few, with mentions of my loving wife we have typically 'my dear and loving wife Elizabeth'. Thomas Dockray (1603) mentions his 'daughter whom I as dearly love as the rest'. Christopher Brown (1676) said in his will that 'if I had a thousand pounds my wife should have it every penny ...'

2.3 Religion

Events in this century were seriously affected by religious arguments and the tensions between the crown and parliament.

James I reigned 1603 to 1625, in an atmosphere of religious intolerance. He was followed by Charles I to 1649 when he was executed because of his attitude to parliament and arguments about his divine right to rule. Oliver Cromwell took over government and in 1653 was made Lord Protector. Oliver Cromwell died in 1658 and his ineffective son ruled until 1659 when General Monk took over. Charles II was made king in 1660 and he ruled until 1685; he was followed by James II until 1688 when he was deposed because of his Catholic beliefs, then Protestant William and Mary took the crown until 1702.

The religious pre-amble to wills was probably written by the vicar or clerk and may or may not have accurately indicated the religious feelings of the majority of testators. A model will for lawyers to use was proposed in 1590 by William West of Rotherham:

'I do most joyfully commit my soul into the hands of Almighty God my creator, whom I most humbly beseech to accept the same, and to forgive me all my sins, through his mercy, and by, and for the passion, death and merits of our Lord and only saviour Jesus Christ, who in his infinite mercy and love hath redeemed me from the bondage of death and everlasting damnation, that made full satisfaction to my heavenly father for all my sins'.

Nothing approaching this flowery style is found in the Giggleswick wills in the 17th century. Gregory Lawson in 1615 comes nearest with

'first I comend my soul into the mercifull hands of almighty god trustinge and assuredly psuadding my self that through the merritts and precious blood shedinge of my sweete saviour and redeemer Christ Jesus I shall have full remission of all my sinnes and be made ptaker of life everlasting and for my bodie I comitt the same to the earth from whence it came to be buried within the pish Church of Gigleswicke in or for now as conveniently may be unto the place where I doe use to kneele and sitt on the sundaies and holidayes. Item I desire Mr Shute to preach at my buriall and for that his pains I give him five shillings'.

Of the 409 wills examined 310 (76% overall, about 66% before 1630 but 70 to 93% after 1630) express the wish to commend or bequeath the soul to both Almighty God and Jesus Christ in a simple manner. Typically,

'First I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty god my maker and redeemer trusting through the most precious blood shedding of Jesus Christ my Saviour to be saved ...'

Of the remainder there is a group (16%) which expresses commending or bequeathing the soul to Almighty God with no reference to Jesus Christ, typically,

'First I commend my soul into the hands of almighty god my maker and redeemer....'

There is also a group (4%) mentioning Jesus Christ only, e.g.

'First I bequeath my soul to Jesus Christ my maker and only saviour '

Some few wills seem to express more true devotion than the more or less standard statements, including those of the clergymen Christopher Shute (1626), Anthony Lister (1685) and non-conformist Richard Frankland (1698). There are about 18 such wills (4%). Apart from the few nuncupative wills or memoranda which have no religious pre-amble there are three other wills which have no religious statement (in 1603, 1608 and in 1701).

Overall there seems to be a conformity to a non-fervent standard expression to a greater extent than in the late 16th century.

James Carr (1654) was the last feoffee involved in the purchase of Langeliffe manor from Nicholas Darcy in 1591 and in his will be expresses belief

'.... in the pretious bloud of his dearelie beloved sonne Jesus Christ our onely Saviour and Redeemer, he will receive my Soule into his glory and place it in the company of the heavenlie Angells and blessed Saints'

which might indicate that he was Catholic at heart. The will of Thomas Tindall in 1699 might also possibly indicate Catholic belief;

'She paying unto my eldest son Thomas Tindall the yearly sume of eight pounds yearly to be paid him at the Feasts of ye Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary & St. Laurence by even & equall porcons.'

There are only seven mentions of a mortuary payment (in 1603 (Banks and Bradley), 1612 (Armitstead), 1613 (Kay), 1613 (Cookson),1614 (Bradley), and 1633 (Banks)) and no gifts to the church, apart from small payments for a sermon from a specified preacher in a very few wills. As the century wears on there is a greater fraction of wills conforming to a standard type. Tithe ownership is mentioned in 1608, 1622, 1623, 1647, 1653, 1664, and 1702.

2.4 Charity

Over the period of 100 years there are 25 wills giving money to charity, out of a total of 409 wills, i.e. 6% on average. In each decade from 1603 to 1669 between 5% and 11% of the wills gave to charity but for 1670 to 1702 gifts are virtually absent. For the period up to 1603 a greater proportion of about 14% of wills made gifts to charity, perhaps a sign of pre-Reformation religious attitudes to charity.

In most cases bequests are of only a few shillings in the early part of the century and gifts of a few pounds become more frequent in later decades. In the last half of the century more emphasis is on 1d, 2d or 3d for each poor person who comes to the dole at the time of the funeral.

Henry Tennant (1604) was very generous to Giggleswick School but also to local people. 'Also I give to the four several parts or footes of the parish of Giggleswick that is to say to the foote of Giggleswick, to the foote of Settle, to the foote of the two Stainforths, Feizor, Winskill and Stackhouse and to the foot of Rathmell and Langcliffe and to every of the said four footes or four parts one bull and one stoned horse to be kept and maintained by good order to and for the common use, benefit and good of all the inhabitants of the said four several footes or four parts. And I desire the inhabitants of the same several parts that they will continue the same order still amongst them in remembrance of this my free gift.

Also I give towards the building up of the battlement of Settle bridge on both sides for this end and purpose that it may be builded so high on both sides so as children may not look over the same and withal so bound with iron for the sure workmanship thereof, that if any person or persons lean thereupon that both the same persons and the work be out of danger'.

Christopher Shute, vicar at Giggleswick, (died 1626) gave £6-13-4 and Katherine Shute (1628) his wife left £3.

Richard Clarke of Rathmell (1628) bequeathed 20 marks (£ 13-6-8) to mortgage land to raise an income of 11 shillings yearly for ever 'for the poor of Rathmell and other lame people coming into Rathmell'. William Wharfe (1648) left £7 to support 'Margrett Preston being both deaf and dumb'.

Margaret Ducard (1659) left £10 for poor children to become apprentices, £6 to the poor of Rathmell and £100 for three orphans.

'Item whereas Christopher Boococke of Barnoldswick and his wife are both late deceased and hath three small children namely Edward Boococke, John Boococke and Alice Boococke unprovided for Albeit I am fully persuaded that God according to his promise will be a father unto them and if they live in his fear he will not see them lack, yet since the law of God and my near relation require that I should have a personable care of them I give as a token of love and affection I bear to them one hundreth pounds which I will that the same be bestowed by my Executors discretion for much of the same sum as will take again or purchase their fathers Tenement in Barnoldsweeke now out of Lease for the use and behoof of Edward Boococke the eldest brother of the same can or may be provided and obtained'.

John Johnson (1666) gave £5 to the poor of Austwick, £5 to the poor of Coniston, and £2 to the poor of Littondale.

Richard Frankland of Rathmell M.A. (1698) left £10 to the overseers of the poor.

Not least is Christopher Brown (1676) who said in his will that 'if I had a thousand pounds my wife should have it every penny ...' Not exactly charitable giving but surely he would have given some money to charity if he had any.

2.5 The Women's role

Women's Wills

Of the four hundred and nine wills looked at, fifty-nine (14%) were made by women which is an increase of 4 % on a similar survey done relating to wills of the previous century. Of these fifty-nine women's wills, forty five were widows, nine were spinsters and five were of unknown status. Forty seven women left varying sums of money, eleven left parcels of land, and four of them had sufficient income to employ one or more servants. Of the latter group, a good example is Alice Procter, who in her will of 1611 gave 'to the servants that shall be my household servants at the time of my decease the sum of £40', a not inconsiderable sum of money in the seventeenth century; also a little further on in the will 'to Richard Claphamson servant to William Lawson three shillings fourpence. Also my will is that every of my said servants shall have their whole years wages paid them how much so ever the year be unexpired at the time of my decease'. Although not in the same league Jane Paley in her will of 1622 leaves 'to Jennett (Bayne?) my brother maid servant 10s' whilst Jane Cooke of Stainforth leaves 'to James Stackhouse my servant seven pounds' and also 'to Thomas Coate late my servant two shillings' and then a little further on in the will her servant James is mentioned again - 'and to my servant James Stackhouse forty shillings'.

Widows, as expected, leave money for the maintenance of any underage children. In the case of Anne Armitstead, her will of 1620 provides for her five children to be brought up in her tenement during their nonage (under twenty one) by the two executors of her will, until the eldest child reaches twenty one years of age. Jane Tayler's will of 1664 is quite puzzling in that she leaves land (in trust perhaps, to avoid transfer of ownership to an unscrupulous husband-to-be) to Thomas Carr of Stackhouse and George Atkinson of Lyth Bancke with the assurance that they will 'keep and maintain my daughter Elizabeth Tayler with meals drink and apparel soe long as it shall please God she may live, keepeing her each of them their yeare about'. Further provision for her daughter is made e.g. 'one bedd of Clothes of the best with a paire of bedstocks of and my best chist'. The rest of all her household items to be divided equally between her two daughters Elizabeth and Margaret and also both daughters receive a cow. Its not quite clear whether either of the daughters is to remain in the tenement or not, or why Elizabeth is to be 'farmed out' between the two executors. We can only assume that Anne Swainson has no children, as none are mentioned, but she leaves the means of providing for the children of her friend Ellen Armetstead, who is living with her at the time of her death - 'all my arks, measures and stalls which I use in Settle market for measuring corn with, towards the better relieving of her children.'

With regard to a woman's tenement and lands, twenty-three cases were found of women being in a position to bequeath part or all of their estate and of these twenty-three cases seven did so

in accordance with the terms of their husband's will. The whole of the estate was left to one person in 74% of cases whilst the remaining 26% split their estate into two or more portions. As was found in the previous survey, mentioned above, the continuity of the farmhold within the family was still of paramount importance with sons being the beneficiary in 13 cases either in whole or part. The remaining ten beneficiaries comprised one daughter, three grandchildren, three brothers / sisters, one niece, one individual person and 'several persons' (relationships unknown). Of the ten testators who bequeathed their estates to persons other than sons, two were spinsters and seven were widows. The tenth testator, Ellen Dawson, was not a widow but a married lady apparently with no children. She stipulated in her will of 1647 that on the death of her husband her estate would go to 'Ellin Lupton daughter of Roger Lupton of feazor All my lands, leases or goods which I bought of John Cooke Citticen of London and all Houses and appurtenances belonging to this my Tenment now in the tenour and occupation of my Husband'. This is an unusual situation, almost a role reversal, and its interesting to speculate as to why her estate did not pass automatically to her husband upon marriage as was the norm for that period. The property may have been placed in trust to stop the husband claiming ownership. Normally the husband would have been in a position to bequeath all the estate to whoever he deemed suitable.

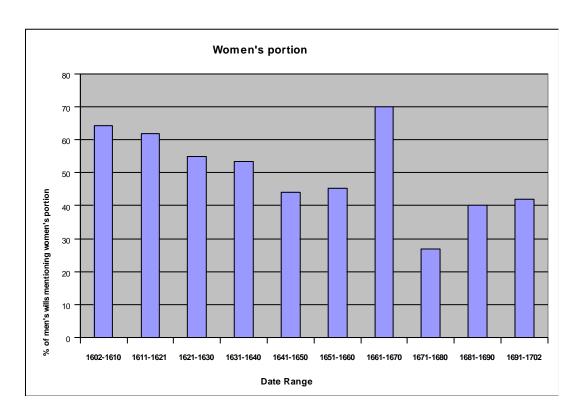
Conditional bequests are quite common but more often than not are found in men's wills, however Jane Paley's will of 1622 proves an exception. As a spinster she has no son to leave the estate to, but the continuity of the family and ownership of the farm is still very important, so she bequeathes all to her sister-in-law with conditions - 'Item I give them to the said Elizabeth Paley my sister-in-law and to her said son William Paley provided that if she the said Elizabeth shall be married again hereafter then she to have no benefit at all by this my will or any legacy herein contained but the same to redound wholly to the said William Paley'.

Finally, an interesting disclaimer from Elizabeth Lawson who in 1701 inherited the right and title to her son's estate, but rejected it for whatever reason, allowing it to pass to her brother-in-law Peter Lawson. As no will was actually made by Jeremy Lawson her son, she inherited by virtue of being next of kin. '... Do renounce the Administracon of the Goods Cattalls & personall Estate of the sd Deced And to consent that Administracon thereof may be Granted and committed unto the said Peter Lawson'

Men's Wills

The term 'title and tenant right' was used frequently in the first half of the previous century when bequeathing an estate. However the use of this term drops dramatically in the latter half of that century and had become almost obsolete by 1580. In this current survey of wills from the seventeenth century only three references were found, so perhaps this terminology had become outdated as wills became more specific.

Of the three hundred and fifty men's wills in our survey, approximately 50% bequeath their estate in part or in whole to women. As can be seen from the graph below, the proportion of men doing this fluctuates with a sharp increase between 1661 and 1670 followed by a dramatic decrease in the following ten years before levelling out again. However, this is probably of no statistical significance since the average over the period 1661-1680 fits the trend more sensibly.



Widowright

The wills of this period can be quite ambiguous in relation to the women's portion, as was found in a survey of the previous centuries' wills; however during the latter part of the seventeenth century the picture becomes a lot clearer. The women's portion or 'widowright' fluctuates between one third / a half / or even the whole of the estate. Often though in the latter case, this is only until such time as the eldest child becomes of age, at which point the women's portion reverts to one third in many instances. It was important to ensure that the farmhold continued and that the estate was passed down from father to son and so on down the family line. Provision would be made for any other siblings but usually the eldest would inherit the title and lease of the farm and land. Often a deed would have been drawn up some time earlier, signing over the tenement and lands to the eldest child – usually the son – to ensure continuity of the family line.

The widow was usually given one third of the goods in the house, as was the custom, and also rooms for her own use, e.g. in the will of William Preston he stipulates that 'immediately after my decease my nephew Richard Preston shall give unto Isabell my now wife meat drink lodging washing and bedding in my now dwellinghouse at Mearbeck if the said Isabell my said wife and the said Richard can agree', the alternative being 'four pounds of English money yearly'. Lawrence Coulton gave 'the use and occupation of my house in Stainforth and one garth and one close called foregroome only during her widowhood'.

It is not always clear whether the proportion mentioned relates to the whole estate or just to the goods of the deceased. In some cases the woman inherits one third of the goods and one half of the property but in many other instances the phrase 'her customary right of one third' is

used, which is rather ambiguous. For the purposes of the table below, the proportion left to a woman is taken to include the tenement, although this may or may not be the case.

Date range	Whole estate	One Half	One Third
1602 / 1610	16%	23%	61%
1611 /1620	0%	43%	57%
1621 / 1630	21%	25%	54%
1631 / 1640	6%	37%	57%
1641 / 1650	47%	33%	20%
1651 / 1660	50%	20%	30%
1661 / 1670	24%	28%	48%
1671 / 1680	0%	28%	72%
1681 / 1690	17%	33%	50%
1691 / 1702	50%	0%	50%

The table above shows that in the first forty years of the century the majority of women received one third of the estate, followed by a twenty year period where more women inherited the whole of the estate. The next thirty years reverted back to 'thirds' being the norm before the figures equalled out at the end of the century. Taken as a whole, over the one hundred year period, 50.5% of women received one third of the estate, 27.0% received half whilst 22.5% received all the estate.

Several wills were quite specific as to what the woman was to receive, as in Richard Preston's will of 1657 where we get a detailed account - 'To Margerie my wife one third part of all movable goods and she to enjoy all that part of my house from the range wall eastward, and the east side of my garden from the east corner of my chamber window to the great thorn in the north side of the said garden; and one third part of my grounds under the Scarr for life; she also to have and enjoy all my grounds at Stangrams and Brackenbarr close for life – she is to maintain my three youngest children Margaret, Mary and Joseph Preston till they are 21'. Thomas Brayshaw is equally specific bequeathing his wife five pounds per year, specific items of furniture and also 'to Mary my wife one cow-gate on the new fields, the East end part of my dwellinghouse called ye upper or higher Parlour and the chamber over it the third part of the garden belonging to ye said house, and convenient Roome for wintering a cow and laying hay and straw for the same in my Lath or Barn', however there is a proviso at the end of the will that if his wife or daughter 'shall Sue for or demand any parte of my Goods or Chattells', the will to be null and void, and all shall go to his son. Elizabeth Lister was

obviously married to a wealthy man, as apart from other items he also leaves her 'one Silver cann Six Silver Spoones one Silver porringer and one Silver Cupp and all my household linnen'. Finally Thomas Clapham in his will of 1702 leaves his wife Elizabeth ten pounds a year in lieu of her 'Thirds' and a lump sum of one hundred pounds provided she accepts the ten pound a year in lieu of her widowright, plus 'she shall have the New-end of my dwellinghouse to live in and room in the Turfe house to lay Turfe. Item I give her my Gray mare and best Cow and one halfe of my household goods. Item I will that my son Willm to keep or maintain the sd. Mare wth sufficient grass in the summer and hay in the Wintertime, for wch he shall have liberty to work her'.

Frequently there were conditions attached to a woman's inheritance – the most common being that she remain unmarried or else her portion was reduced or in one case, declared null and void. Roger Carr in his will of 1689 leaves his wife Mary one half of the estate 'if shee keep unmarryed but if she happen to marry again after my Decease then my Will & minde is that shee shall have onely A third parte of all my Messuages Lands & tenements during her naturall life'. We can only assume that William Hind was a strict teetotaller, as having bequeathed all his estate to his wife Elizabeth, he makes one tiny stipulation – 'it is my will and mind that my said wife shall not sell ale or beer at any time or times hereafter during her life within my said dwellinghouse'. In 22% of the wills for this period, there are stipulations regarding the woman's inheritance, which is an increase of 8% on the survey done of the previous century.

Several instances were found whereby the tuition or upbringing up of the children was taken away from the widow if she remarried, as was the case in Richard Clarke's will of 1614 – 'if my wife marry she shall deliver up my said tenement with leases and all the children's portions and all that belongs them and all such writings as she has in keeping touching or concerning my said tenement or any other thing which appertain to good of my children'. On a brighter note Robert Windser gave his wife Isabell one third of his houses and lands plus one third of his goods, but also one half of the other 'third' commonly called the 'dead' part, 'because she has been painful (has taken pains) loving and kind unto me and unto all my children'.

2.6 Clothes

Of the 409 wills considered (this number excludes inventories without wills attached), 49 have references to apparel left to relatives, friends or others. Clothes are passed on as items of value which would be of use to the recipient, in a few cases as a keepsake, or in recompense for pains taken or favours done. Occasionally money is left specifically for the provision of apparel. Of the 409 wills, 59 are of women. Of these, 21 (or 36%) mention apparel bequests. This compares with 28 mentions by men in their 350 wills (or 8%). So it is clear that then, as today, women were more interested in, and set more store by, clothes than men.

	Total no. wills	Total no. wills mentioning clothes	% Wills with clothes	Total men's wills	Men's will with clothes	% Men's wills with clothes	Total women's wills	Women's wills with clothes	% Women's wills with clothes
1603-1609	41	9	22	39	7	18	2	2	100
1610-1619	39	4	10	34	2	6	5	2	40
1620-1629	64	9	14	53	4	8	11	5	45
1630-1639	42	11	26	31	6	19	11	5	45
1640-1649	35	4	11	32	2	6	3	2	67
1650-1659	25	3	12	24	3	13	1	0	0
1660-1669	41	3	7	29	0	0	12	3	25
1670-1679	28	2	7	25	2	8	3	0	0
1680-1689	33	2	7	27	1	4	6	1	17
1690-1702	61	2	3	56	1	2	5	1	20
TOTALS	409	49	12	350	28	8	59	21	36

During the last two decades, many wills were accompanied by inventories, and many inventories now exist only without wills. Inventories may list apparel and its value, but the wills show bequests. The above table shows that in the latter part of the century the percentage of wills which bequeathe clothes falls sharply, perhaps because clothes were more plentiful and old clothes would be less valued as legacies.

What are the clothes that are bequeathed? It is useful to have to hand a book such as Cunnington, C.W. and Cunnington, P.: Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century, for descriptions of the various articles of apparel mentioned, remembering that fashions may have reached this area rather later than in London. For men, doublets, jerkins and jackets, breeches, cloaks, coats, gowns, hats, stockings, shoes, boots and clogs all feature. Often the testator says 'best doublet and jerkin' (Bankes 1603), 'second doublet and second breeches' (Dockwray 1603) or even 'worst winter coat' (Bankes 1606), 'worst' meaning least good, rather than most awful. Colour is often used to define the article; 'blue stockings' (Bankes 1606), 'gray jacket' (Falthropp 1605), 'green britches' (Settle 1632), and gives an idea of how colourful men's clothes were and the various dyes being used. Fabrics were varied and are also used as a description - 'white woollen doublet' (Jacques 1617), 'new leather doublet' (Falthropp 1605), 'fustian breeches' (Bankes 1606). 'Shapen' or tailored clothes were left (Houghton 1657), and 'workday clothes' and 'wedding apparel' (Helles 1607). Toward the end of the century all the clothes together were more likely to be left as a bequest - 'all my wearing clothes except one coat and one hat' (Lawkland 1690), perhaps showing that by then individual clothing items were of less importance to legatees. One trunk and all the clothes in it is left to a grand-daughter (Berry 1675). A riding coat and boots are left to a brother (Hudson 1688), but no other clothing bequests are made. A red petticoat and cloak that were his wife's were left to a friend (Harrison 1675), clearly for a keepsake as well as use.

All apparel except hat and shoes is left to a brother-in-law 'in recompense of the pains taken with me now in the time of my sickness' (Craven 1625), and a cloak is left to a father, his executor (Lupton 1632). A pair of 'clean' britches is bequeathed (Carr 1638). Money is left specifically to buy apparel (Carr 1654), and '20 nobles for clothes' to a son for his apprenticeship (Preston 1657).

Here are two examples of men's wills notable for their mention of apparel bequests:

'And likewise I give unto my said son John Bankes my gown.... Item I give unto Hughe Stackhouse my best cloak Item I give unto Thomas Bentham my sister's son my fustian breeches and worst fustian doublet. Item I give to hughe Kidd my worst winter coat. Item I give to Nicholas Nicholson my worse doublet and my worst pair of blue stockings Item I give all the rest of my apparel whatsoever to Thomas Paley my son in law and to Thomas Paley his son'. (Bankes 1606).

'...to John Settle his best Jerkin dublit, britches, stockinges and shooes; and to Richard Batman his greene Jerkin and his greene britches. And to Christopher Wilkinson his worst Jerkin, doublett britches, stockings and his Cloggs. And to Augustine Wrae the elder a payre of stockings a payre of shooes and a dublitt and to John Cooke a shirt and two bands and to his mother his best hat and a payre of gloves'. (Settle 1632, [nuncupative or dictated]).

Now to women's wills. These include mention of items including coats, cloaks, petticoats, shifts, kirtles, linen clothes, woollen clothes, waistcoats, bodies (bodices, sometimes called 'a pair of bodies'), sleeves, safeguards (protective overskirts), gowns, rails (light capes), bands, belts, aprons, neckcloths, shapen (tailored) clothes, a ring. Again, a reference work such as Cunnington referred to above describes these terms and how fashions in them changed through the century.

Colours again are used to define the particular garment referred to. One red coat and two grey coats are bequeathed (Carr 1607). A red petticoat with green upper body (Swainson 1608), yellow coat (Swainson 1624), a little blue coat (Paley 1632), and brown safeguard (Preston 1637) are left. Fabrics or condition are defining features: camblet coat (Paley 1681), best petticoat (Renoldson 1691), better cloak (Paley 1632), worst hat (Swainson 1624), 'best gown out at a side' (Jackes 1614). As the century goes on, mention of specific items gets less. 'All clothes, linen and woollen, except her best red petticoat but one' (Houghton 1662), '...all my shapen clothes' (Somerscales 1648), '...my apparel shall be divided amongst my friends according as I have given directions to my brother John Carr' (Howson 1639) are examples.

Some items are so described that we know they were something special - 'My petticoat with tufted taffeta overbody' (Swainson 1624), 'My blue mella (mixed colours) gown' (Swainson 1608).

As in the case of men, money was sometimes bequeathed to provide clothing. '8s in money to be bestowed in wool to make her apparel with', (Swainson 1608).

Three examples of women's bequests give a flavour of the times:

'Also I give to Elizabeth Foster my daughter my best gown, and worst hat and one linen sheet. And to Isabell Foster her daughter my petticoat with tufted taffeta over body. And to

my daughter in law Alice Swainson my other petticoat and one which I bought. And to Jane and Alice Foster either of them my worst coat. Also I give to Ann Swainson my little yellow coat. And Elizabeth Swainson my band which I bought at Otterburn. And to Isabel Foster another Ruffed band. And to my daughter Elizabeth my double band which was her sister's. Also I give to Alice Swainson my daughter in law one brown safeguard and one piece of new linen cloth Also I give to Agnes Foster widow one coat nether body. And to Isabel Cockett one other little coat. Also I give to Jane and Alice Foster either of them a plain band'. (Swainson 1624).

'Item I give & bequeath to Isabell Preston my aunt a broune savegard wch was my mothers beste a paire of bodies a red waist cote two coils [?cauls, ?coifs, headdresses] wch is wrought wth silke a silke belt an appron & my best neck cloth Item I give & bequeath to my brother Richards wife, Anne Preston my best red petticote wch was my mothers alsoe my best robe(?) and two linne smoks Item I give and bequeath to Elisabeth Preston my sister two of my best waist cotes, a broune savegard a red petticote & my best hatt'. (Preston 1637).

'It[em] I doe give unto My sister Allice Jackes my best Wastcote and best pettycoote..... It I give unto Mary Renoldson one pinbackcoote my best under wastcote and one payer of bodyes It all the rest of my wolling clothes I doe give unto my sister Allice Jackes and my sister Elizabeth Rawnson equally to be devided betwixt them It I doe give unto Allice Jackes my sister one doning [outfit] of my lining clothes which shee likes best and for all the rest I give them to be devided betwixt my sister Allice Jackes and my sister Ellizabeth Rawnson'. (Renoldson 1691).

2.7 Household and Husbandry

Of the 409 wills studied (including wills with inventories, but excluding inventories on their own) 79 (or 19%) contain bequests of specific household or husbandry items. Of the 79, 21 (or 27%) are wills of women. As can be seen from the table below, the percentage of wills mentioning household and husbandry items is reasonably consistent throughout the century. However, the table below shows that generally a much higher percentage of women with wills bequeath such items, in total 36% compared with men's 17%.

Wills containing household & husbandry items by (approximate) decades

	Total wills	Total wills with H & H	% Total wills with H & H	Total men's wills	Men's wills with H & H	% Men's wills with H & H	Total women's wills	Women's wills with H & H	% Women's wills with H &
1603-1609	41	7	17	39	5	13	2	2	100
1610-1619	39	5	13	34	4	12	5	1	20
1620-1629	64	12	19	53	6	11	11	6	55
1630-1639	42	12	29	31	9	29	11	3	27
1640-1649	35	7	20	32	6	19	3	1	33
1650-1659	25	5	20	24	5	21	1	0	0

TOTALS	409	79	19	350	58	17	59	21	36
1690-1702	61	14	23	56	12	22	5	2	40
1680-1689	33	7	21	27	5	19	6	2	33
1670-1679	28	3	11	25	2	8	3	1	33
1660-1669	41	7	17	29	4	14	12	3	25

What types of items are bequeathed? These can be divided into the following categories: husbandry gear and animals, large household furniture, smaller furniture, small household items, household textiles, other miscellaneous items. Large furniture can be taken to mean bedstocks, large tables, chests, arks, almeries (small cupboards). Small furniture would be chairs, stools, boards. Small household items might include tubs, pewter ware, plates. Household textiles cover bedding, cushions etc. Miscellaneous items include weapons for example. Some items are specifically mentioned to be kept as heirlooms.

From the table below it can be seen that large furniture is the biggest category to be bequeathed, followed by small household items. This latter includes much of value however, such as silver, brass and pewter tableware. Household textiles is also a big category, as bedding such as feather beds and better quality sheets were of value. It can be seen that nearly a quarter of the wills mention items to be kept as heirlooms.

Number of mentions by category in the 79 wills

	Hus- bandry gear &	Large furniture	Small furniture	Small household items	House- hold textiles	Misc.	Heirlooms
	animals						
1603-1609	2	6	3	4	2	5	3
1610-1619	2	3	4	1	1	1	1
1620-1629	6	9	1	4	2	1	2
1630-1639	3	7	3	4	5	2	3
1640-1649	1	5	1	3	2	0	3
1650-1659	0	3	0	3	1	1	1
1660-1669	4	7	2	2	2	1	0
1670-1679	1	1	0	0	3	0	0
1680-1689	0	7	1	3	3	0	2
1690-1702	5	10	1	8	7	4	3
TOTALS	24 (30%)	58 (73%)	16 (20%)	32 (41%)	28 (35%)	15 (19%)	18 (23%)

Husbandry gear is frequently bequeathed all together. 'I give unto my son ... all my husbandry gear...' (Armitstead 1620). Half his husbandry gear goes to his son (Tailier 1642). Occasional references are made to special items of gear, such as carts, wheels and wheeltimber (Chapman 1611), or a gavelock (crowbar) (Husbande 1610), or animals - 'I give to William Hall my brother Thomas his son my gray horse. Item I give and bequeath to Ellen my sister the one half of all my sheep ...I give the two ox steers to Thomas Hall' ((Hall 1608).

Arks, chests and cupboards are very commonly bequeathed, together with large tables, and these valuable items often are given as heirlooms. 'Itm I give unto my said sonne Francis one greate arke with one awemerie in and one longe table which standeth in the fyer house and one table or Counter which standeth in the parlour...' (Bankes 1603). 'I doe allow and my will is that my Grandson Willm Dawson of Haltongill shall duringe his life occupy one long table in his parlour and another in ye Bodysteade two great Arks in the Chamber over it, one cupboard in the parlor and after his decease to them of his posterity as shall enjoy the estate' (Dawson 1682). 'Item I give unto the said William and Thomas my bed and cupboard with the table and my chest all standing in the parlour of the said William and my desire is the same may remain there and be accounted as heirlooms at the house to them and their posterity' (Paley 1622). Some items of furniture clearly had special significance, for example a chest of drawers 'bought by me at Leeds' (Lawson 1699), 'my new chair which came from London' and a 'close stool (chamber pot in stool)' (Banks 1606).

Smaller furniture items such as boards and shelves frequently feature, e.g. a cradle and '...certain little shelf boards...' (Howson 1639). Other small household items are very varied. Salting tubs and other household utensils such as tableware and ironwork around the fireplace are often bequeathed. A reckontree, guilefats, gimlins and knopps are left (Chapman 1611), '...my great pan, my pot four pewter doublers a gridiron a bakestone a brandreth a pair of tongs and a serving pan' (Swainson 1608). Towards the end of the century is seen '..all my Brass and pewther whatsoever..' (Foster 1701). People probably had more material possessions by now so individual items were less prized except in cases of real value, for instance, silver. Silver spoons are left by Bankes 1603, Paley 1632, Swainson 1632, and others. Lister 1685 leaves a number of silver articles – see below.

Household textiles are largely bedding. 'One feather bed which my father and mother lyeth upon' (Bankes 1603), in contrast to a chaff bed (Balderstone1639) who also leaves a coverlet, a pair of sheets and a blanket. Sheets came in differing qualities — 'I give unto my Grandchilde Elizabeth abovesaid three payre of sheetes that is to say one paire of Lining sheetes one payre of Teare [best quality] of hempe one payre of Canvis sheetes...' (Berry 1675), '...one new Coverlet which was Last made one blankett on (sic) payre of sheets the one of them Linen and ye other camnes (? canvas) one boulster of the midle sort...' (Harrison 1675). For the table a 'bordcloth' is mentioned (Maud 1637) who also mentions 'wishins' (cushions).

There is a great variety of miscellaneous items. Shooting gear, bows, arrows, quiver (Dockwray 1603), sword, dagger, riding gear (Helles 1607), a stone of wool (Procter 1611), windles, combs, spinning wheel, bible (Howson 1639), a clock and case (Brayshaw 1695), bushels of barley (Hall 1608), measures and stall used in Settle market (Swainson 1608), five books to his wife out of his library (Frankland 1698) should give an idea of such items.

Heirlooms have been discussed above, but a final mention may be made with this evidence that heirlooms were being passed down - '..and also all such heirlooms as were left in his [brother's] said house at the time of his decease shall wholly remain and come unto the only use and behoof of the said William Hall my eldest son and to his heirs and assigns...' (Hall 1625). The brother's will is Hall 1608, and the same items may be traced through both wills.

Finally some extracts to give a flavour of the variety of the bequests from different levels of the social scale:-

Firstly a woman's will – she knows exactly the numbers of everything!

'And also I give to the said John Howson my grandchild two iron chimneys, three pair of bed stocks, certain little shelf boards, one cheese press, two chests, one bible, one cradle, one ark, one great stone trough, three other stone troughs, one rack and one manger and six boards all which I would have to remain for him as heirlooms. And also I give to the said John Howson one other chest, one featherbed and bolster, three little short codds, one pair of blankets, two coverlets, two pair of sheets, five set cushions, one frying pan and a creshett, one pair of yarn windles, one little pan, one chair, two stools, one pair of combs, one barrel, one spinning wheel, one other chest and one silver spoon. Item I give to Willm Howson my grandchild one chest, one chaff bed and two bolsters two coverlets two pair of canvisse sheets and one silver spoon'. (Howson 1639).

Then a husbandman's will:

'Item I give to my son Robert Chapman one great ark, one long table and a form standing and being in the parlour. Item I give to the said Robert my eldest son one table in my house standing above the fire, one reckontree two of the best chairs in my house, all the bedstocks in my house, all joists and baulks in my house which are laid up, one lote(?) above my fire in the body stead of my house and fleaks which are laid up in my houses and in every of them. Item I give to the said Robert Chapman my eldest son all my carts and wheels and all my wheel timber. Item I give and bequeath to the said Robert Chapman my son all my bedding and insight (household goods) all chests arks pots pans knops guilefatts stands gallons doublers gymlings bowls dishes all oak and other wood all boards within and about my houses all meal and malt in my house, all beef bacon and salt all hustlement [household goods] within and about my houses...'. (Chapman 1611).

Lastly, two wills nearer the end of the century by men described as a Clerk and a Master of Arts respectively:

'Itm I give & bequeath unto Elizabeth Lister my wife one Silver cann Six Silver Spoones one Silver porringer and one Silver Cupp and all my house-hold linnen all the rest & Remainder of my goods in the house my will & minde is that they be divided betwixt Elizabeth Lister my Said wife & John Lister my Said Son Equally & that Such house-hould goods as great Tables Arkes Salting tubbs and bedsteads as Shall befall to my wife Elizabeth Listers Share by allottment or division shall after the decease of ye said Elizabeth Lister stand and be given to John Lister my Said Son'. (Lister 1685).

'Item I give to my dear and loving wife Elizabeth my watch a gold ring now on my hand one good bedstead with bedding suitable thereto and convenient furniture for one room and five such books as shall choose out of my whole library'. (Frankland 1698).

2.8 Animals

Fifty wills in the collection of about 400 contain references to animals (12%) usually without any indication of value. In addition there are 73 inventories, in the period 1679 to 1702, which list many types of animal and their values for appraisal purposes. In this 23 year time period there were about 700 burials according to the parish register, so at least about 10% of the population kept animals - maybe equivalent to 30 to 50% of families, dependent on what family size is assumed.

Many of the wills and inventories mention mares or horses, saddles and bridles, presumably used for transport. The giving of a lamb and sometimes older sheep to grandchildren is occasionally found. In the wills there are mentions of 12 horses, 30 cattle and 83 sheep in total. There are many more valued in the inventories.

Animal nomenclature as given below may be helpful.

Horses

stallion - uncastrated male horse, a stoned horse

(the word stallion is not found in these documents but the word stoned is used)
gelding (stagg) - castrated male horse
mare - female horse
twinter - two year old animal
stagg - an unbroken horse or colt, 1 to 3 years old
colt - a young male horse
filly - a young female horse
foal - a male or female horse under one year old

paceing horse - both legs on one side are lifted together hackney - horse of medium size and quality for riding gray - colour bay - reddish brown with black mane and tail sorrel - light reddish brown or chestnut

Cattle

bull - uncastrated male
ox or stagg - castrated male
cow - domesticated female ox
kine - milking cow
twinter - two year old animal
steer (bullock) - young castrated male
heifer, why, quye - young female cow, having had no more than one calf
stirk or stott - bullock or heifer 1 to 2 years old
calf - young animal under one year old

brand - brindled, tawny with spots or streaks

Sheep

ram or tup - male wether - castrated ram

ewe - female gimmer - a female between first and second shearing hogg (yearling) - young sheep up to first shearing lamb - sheep under one year old

There are two references to the village bull. The first is from the will of Henry Tennant in 1604 and is worth quoting in full: 'Also I give to the four several parts or footes of the parish of Giggleswick that is to say to the foote of Giggleswick, to the foote of Settle, to the foote of the two Stainforths, Feizor, Winskill and Stackhouse and to the foot of Rathmell and Langcliffe and to every of the said four footes or four parts one bull and one stoned horse (stallion) to be kept and maintained by good order to and for the common use, benefit and good of all the inhabitants of the said four several footes or four parts. And I desire the inhabitants of the same several parts that they will continue the same order still amongst them in remembrance of this my free gift'. As if to confirm this, Lawrence Coulton in his will twenty-two years later in 1626 leaves three shillings and fourpence towards the maintenance of the said bull. Only two more bulls are noted in inventories for appraisal.

Robert Swainson (1698) has many animals including two Galloways. Henry Hurtley (1691) has 12 oxen at home and 24 beasts in the south, perhaps sent to market there as part of the droving trade. Thomas Hurtley, a school teacher in Malham, was possibly of the same family and in 1786 wrote about cattle droving from Scotland (North Craven Heritage Trust J., 2008). The cattle are sometimes described as coloured - red, black and red, red and black, black and white-faced, brand and black, white, black, grey, bay, sorrel.

Although in the wills the largest number of sheep is ten there are references to sheepgates of 14 (Roger Armitstead, 1657/8) on Giggleswick Scar and 46 (Robert Browne, 1665) on Winskill Stones.

In the inventories the numbers of sheep vary substantially and there are many with large numbers as follows:

William Armitstead (1690) Cordwainer 12 old sheep and 20 young sheep,

John Cookeson (1690) Yeoman with 52 old sheep, 3 hoggs and 12 lambs,

Hugh Lawson (1690) with 50 sheep,

William Redgey (1690) 25 sheep,

Thomas Carr (1691) 35 sheep,

John Knowles (1691) 6 wethers, 13 ewes, 5 gimmers, 9 hoggs, 1 ram,

John Hall (1692) Cordwainer 20 sheep,

William Bankes (1693) Yeoman 24 sheep, 12 lambs,

James Carr (1693) 20 sheep, 7 lambs,

William Armitstead (1694) Yeoman 37 sheep,

Francis Duckett (1694) 25 sheep,

Thomas Brayshaw (1695) Yeoman 20 sheep, 8 ewes, 1 hogg,

Richard Preston (1695) 19 ewes, 1 ram,

Robert Windsor (1697) Blacksmith 13 sheep,

Robert Foster (1698) Clothier 19 ewes, 1 ram,

Robert Swainson (1698) Husbandman 20 old sheep, 7 hoggs,

Rowland Carr (1699) 20 wethers, 20 ewes, 14 hoggs,

Thomas Carr (1699) 6 wethers, 9 hoggs, 17 ewes, 1 tup, William Geldard (1699) 9 old sheep, 25 hoggs, Roger Craven (1701) *Yeoman* 10 ewes and lambs, 10 gimmers, Roger Armitstead (1702) *Yeoman* 27 ewes, 7 ewe lambs, 12 hoggs, Thomas Clapham (1702) *Yeoman* 6 wethers, 11 ewes, 1 hogg, 4 lambs.

There are many major animal owners in terms of values above about £20 who presumably were farmers, some with other businesses, but most seem to be people with a few cows and sheep to support the family. Several just have an old cow. Thomas Stackhouse (1679) has only one cock and three hens appraised at one shilling. No goats are mentioned but there are a few swine owners - Miles Thistlethwaite in Settle (1637) with 'my sow and pig', Robert Parkinson (1690) and Christopher Redgey (1690), John Knowles (1691), Francis Duckett (1694), William Moone (1696), Robert Swainson (1698) each with one swine, Robert Windsor (1697) with one pig, Thomas Kidd (1691) and Agnes Sorry (1691) each with three young swine, and Robert Cookson (1702) with 'A Boare'.

The values of the various animals can be found in the inventories of 1679 to 1702 when they are quoted individually. In some cases the valuations of sheep are rather odd amounts of money and one wonders what the basis of valuation was. The value presumably depends on age and quality. In most cases several animals of different types are unhelpfully lumped together for valuation.

Cattle

calves - 5 to 14s heifers - £1-0-0 to £2-10-0 stirks - £1-5-0 to £2 steers - £1-10-0 to £2-16-8 kine - £1-10-0 to £3-10-0 cows - 16s 8d for an old cow, to £4, with an average near £2-10-0 bulls - £1-10-0 to £3 -13 - 4 oxen - £3 to £4 but in one case £6-8-0 for a red and black ox

Sheep

lambs - 1s 6d to 4s hoggs - 3s 7d to £1-0-0 wethers - 6s 4d to 7s sheep - 2s to 7s 10d ram - 10s

Horses

foal - £1 filly - £1 to £2 colt - £2-10-0 to £4 mare or horse - 10s for an old horse, to £5, with an average near £2-6-0

Swine

swine - 5s to 13s - 4d boar - £2

2.9 Literacy

The wills sometimes have the testator saying that he or she is validating the will with a mark or signature, just prior to the list of witnesses, and apprisers of inventories are named and sign or make a mark when these became common later in the 17th century. If the will is a copy made at York the names are copied out and are sometimes accompanied with a note that a mark rather than a signature is made, but leaving some uncertainty about the matter. In cases where an original will is seen it is certain whether a signature or mark is made. It is therefore somewhat difficult to assess the proportion of the population making wills or inventories who were able to sign their name.

Testators

Prior to 1603 we have a collection of all Giggleswick wills from 1390. Apart from William Twisleton in 1568 all these probate copies of wills up to 1589 simply record the witnesses with no reference to a signature or mark of the testator. However, from 1590 a small number of wills introduce the expression near the end of the document 'In witness whereof I have set my my hand and seal' or some similar statement mentioning a mark or seal, with the testator's name, followed by the names of witnesses to the mark or signature.

William Twisleton, 1568 'I the said William have set my mark...'
William Preston, 1590 'Witness hereof my own hand hereunto subscribed...'
Robert Crake, 1594 'Witness hereof my own hand by me Robert Crake'
Elizabeth Knowles, 1595 '... subscribed my sign and my said mark..'
William Armistead, 1595 'In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand mark or sign...'
Thomas Carr, 1597 '... hand and seal...'
Robert Proctor, 1597 'I hereunto set my hand..'
Robert Browne, 1598 'In witness ... hand and seal...'
Elizabeth Stackhouse, 1602 '.. I have subscribed my hand..'

In total there are 68 wills in the period 1590 to 1603 and only these 9 wills listed above refer to making a mark or signature (it is not known which from the probate copies at York) of the testator to validate the will. This might suggest that 13% or fewer of testators could sign their names. One might presume up to this time that it was not expected that testators were able to sign their own wills and that the witnesses were sufficient to validate the will.

A count has also been made for 1603 to 1702 of wills of male and female testators who have made a mark, whether or not any statement is made about subscribing a mark or signature. For the same period a count has been made of the numbers of wills which have the statement about 'my hand and seal' or similar, and then of these, a count has been made of those with a mark rather than a signature, or a statement about whether a mark was made.

Date range	Male marks	Female marks	Male wills and (% with mark)	Female wills and (% with mark)	% of wills making a statement about 'my hand and seal'	% of these with a mark
1603- 1609	1	0	39 (3%)	2 (0%)	13	38
1610- 1619	0	0	34 (0%)	2 (0%)	5	0
1620- 1629	1	0	53 (2%)	11 (0%)	8	20
1630- 1639	5	4	31 (16%)	11 (36%)	24	90
1640- 1649	12	2	32 (38%)	3 (67%)	60	67
1650- 1659	12	1	24 (50%)	1 (100%)	92	57
1660- 1669	8	9	29 (28%)	12 (75%)	79	52
1670- 1679	4	1	25 (16%)	3 (33%)	85	21
1680- 1689	13	4	27 (15%)	6 (67%)	97	53
1690- 1699	15	2	48 (31%)	4 (50%)	100	33
1700- 1702	1	2	7 (14%)	2 (100%)		

From the table, looking at all wills, it appears that after 1630 an average of about 30% of the male testators could not write their names, and about 60% of the females could not write their names. From 1602 to 1629 the differences with later years are so marked that it is possible that the copyist did not note whether a signature or mark was made.

The fraction of wills which include a statement about 'my hand and seal' increases markedly over the century, to nearly 100%. As the century wore on, it seems that there was an increasing expectation by will scribes that testators might be able to sign their wills, and/or perhaps it was legally preferable for such attestation to be made, rather than relying on witnesses alone.

Of these wills with a statement about 'my hand and seal' high proportions carry a mark not a signature with a possible trend downwards after 1630. Robert Swaineson (1642), yeoman, witnesses his mark 'with a lyon in his seale upon hard black wax'.

In early years more of the literate might have made wills and gradually poorer illiterate people may have made wills. There are too many imponderables to be sure about the extent of literacy using these testamentary data alone.

Witnesses

The number of witnesses to a will varies from one to five with an average of 3; there are 102 witnesses making their mark in 409 wills so perhaps about 8% of witnesses are non-literate on this basis. It might have been preferred to have literate witnesses if available so some bias is possible.

Apprisers

Of the apprisers of inventories made later in the century 25 men make a mark in 66 inventories which have 261 names appended. There were four apprisers except in two cases. 10% of the men involved as appraisers were therefore non-literate but again, literate apprisers might have been preferred. Some of these must have been chosen because they could read and write.

Conclusions

There are many uncertainties about using the data from wills and inventories for determining extents of the ability to write a signature. The copyist of these documents may not always have indicated whether a mark or signature was made and the choice of witnesses and inventory apprisers may be subject to bias towards those with some education. Nevertheless an estimate of the fraction of males unable to sign their name of the order of 10 to 30% seems likely.

2.10 Education, Apprenticeship, Wardship and Guardianship

There is evidence of concern to educate children at school and university or to provide and support apprenticeship throughout the 17th century. In a few cases guardians are appointed and they receive money to compensate them. The word tuition is often used but this may simply mean bringing up, not going to school, since girls are also the subject of tuition. The Crown had rights of wardship of inheriting minors so that the Crown could take the income from an estate in return for being the ward, or sell the rights back to the family, as happens in the case of wealthy Henry Somerscales in 1609. Although the wife may be required to pay for schooling, this was only the case

if she remained unmarried.

Tuition, Guardianship and Tutorship

Several testators request the wife to have the tuition of the children and the governing of their portions, or similar (John Cockman 1603, John Tailier 1642, John Bancks 1643).

Robert Banks (1645) had a problem with his tutor.

'Robert Banks the son did choose for his Tutor George Mankenfeild gent, who have the Tuition granted in Court, did sett and lett the said Two pts of the said houses and grounds and received the rents for the same, but hath suffered the houses to fall into great ruyne and delapidacion and hath withholden and neglected or refused to pay the said yearly dower of pts. And hath quite neglected and unfittingly used the said Robert Banks both for educacion

and apparel, in soe much as he was necessitated to leave his said Tutor; And now beinge more sensible of his wrongs and losses sustained he hath made choice of a very honest and discreat man & his neare kinsman one John Paley to be his Tutor, who, we doe presume will be very carefull of his Educacion and manageinge of his estate, and therefore we doe much desire that the former Tuition granted to the said Mankenfield may be recald and made voyde, and that the same may be granted to the said John Paley'.

Appointment of guardians and tutors and money for upkeep is exemplified by:

Richard Braishey 1646

'if Thomas Braishey my eldest sonne abovenamed or his heires pay to my said younger children or to such of them as shall bee alive or to their Tutor or Tutors for their behoofe'

Thomas Lawson 1649

'I make choise of Gregory Twisleton and Robert Twistleton to bee as gardians and tutors together with Thomas Lawson of Langcliffe, but my mind is that Gregory Twistleton and Robert Twistleton shall enter to, and stand charged for Two pts of my goods, for the Tuission of my sonn John Lawson And (Thomas Lawson of) Langcliffe to enter to and receive the other Third pte; for the tuission of my sonn John Lawson'

William Johnson 1669

'First I will yt my wife Ellin have the tuition of my daughter Jennett till she accomplish ye Age of twenty one years if ye said Jennett and ye said Ellin my wife can Agree to live together, butt if they cannott Agree then my said Jennett to chuse her gardian when she shall accomplish ye Age of ffourtene years And ye gardian to have all ye pfitts yt ffalls to my said daughter ffor ye maintenance of her till shee shall Accomplish ye Age of twenty one years'

Schooling

Many parents saw fit to provide an education for at least some of their children or grandchildren and were willing and able to afford it. The wife, executors or some other person were requested to educate children, boys and girls, during their minorities and nonages. (Dockray 1603, Bordley 1610, Turner 1612, Banks 1613, Carr 1615, Armitstead 1620, Craven 1625, Hall 1625, Chapman 1628, Armetstead 1632, Paley 1652, Carr 1671, Clapham 1674, Brown 1689, Taylor 1690, Tennant 1692, Geldard 1697, Armitstead 1702).

Other wills specifically use the word 'school' (Taylor 1603, Brown 1618) or propose an age limit to education (15 years old, Howson 1604; 21 years or marry, Carr 1689), or restraint on re-marriage (Brown 1604).

Grandchildren are catered for by Carr (1638) up to 21 years, and Clapham (1674) keeping a grandson at school.

The financing of education is set out in several wills:

Alice Procter 1611

'Also I give and bequeath to the governors of the free Grammar School of Giggleswick aforesaid £10 to be employed by them at their discretion for the use of the said school and scholars'.

Margaret Ducard 1659

'three children namely Edward John and Alice until they be of full age of one and twenty years and they to be brought up and ordered by him at his discretion with all things necessary and fitting for their education without any consideration or allowance for his keeping of them

during their minority'

Henry Knowles 1692

'I give to ye two sonnes of my Late sonne John Knowles deceased Henry & John which hee had by his former wife five pounds to be disposed of at ye discretion of my sonne Lawrence and Henry towards there education'

William Procter 1695

'unto Thomas Preston my God son five pounds, also I give unto Dorothy Serjeantson my God daughter the sume of Five pounds to be paid to either of them when they shall accomplish the age of one and Twenty years and during their nonage I will that my Executors shall pay them 12d per pound per annum towards their edication'

Charles Nowell 1702

'Item I give to my Cozen Robert Nowell son of my Bro. Hen: Nowell fifty pounds to be bestowed on him in learning and education'

Tithe money is mentioned in two more wills:

William Hall 1647

'my wife shall have the Benefitt of the said ty.... Corne for the Education of the yonger Children till my sonn Hugh accomplish the full Age of xxv yeares'

William Armitstead 1664

'my wife Elizabeth shall have the proffittes of all my houses and groundes and tythes untill my sonne William shall attayne the age of one and twenty yeares For the Education and keeping of all my Children'

The University

Henry Tennant (1604) was a generous benefactor to Giggleswick School.

'Also I give to master Christopher Shute, John Catterall and to the rest of the governors and their successors governors of the free grammar school of Giggleswick all my lands and hereditaments in Settle and Settle fields and of the ancient yearly rent of 5s be it more or less, with all commons, commodities, profits and appurtenances thereto belonging together with all my receipts, evidences and writings concerning the same which I purchased and bought of master Richard Chewe, Thomas Ellison and Barnard Browne to have and to hold to them and their successors governors of the said school and to their assigns for ever, the said lands, hereditaments, commons, appurtenances and writings towards the procuring and obtaining of an exhibition for a poor scholar or sizar in some one College of the university of Cambridge until by order of standing there he shall or may be bachelor of Arts. And so successively from one to another forever. The same poor scholar to be born within the parish of Giggleswick and brought up at the school there at learning and to be elected and nominated from time to time, for that place by the master and governors of the said school and their successors governors or most part of

And whereas heretofore I have given one hundred pounds to the said Christopher Shute, John Catterell and other the now governors of the said school and their successors governors towards the purchasing or procuring of lands or a certain rent charge forever for the maintaining of a scholar or scholars in the university of Cambridge as more at large appeareth by my said act and deed in writing to the said governors, signed sealed and delivered, my will is and I do hereby ratify and confirm the said deed so made ... '

The cost of university education was substantial, students being allowed £5 a year in one case and £15 in another as noted below.

Lawrence Lawson 1617

'.... my wife and her assigns shall out of the profits of my said tenement pay and allow unto the said George my eldest son yearly and every year five pounds for four years now next coming for and towards his better exhibition and maintenance at the university to be paid unto him quarterly by equal portions. And the rest of all the profits that shall arise thereof during the nonnage of my said son Thomas to go to my said wife and her assigns for the better relief and education of my said wife and children'.

William Paley 1629

'.... my sonne William shall hereafter live abrode either as scholer in the universitie or in other service and that hee shalbe minded at any time to come over and visit his freinds here in these partes That then my said son Thomas shall make him welcome and grant him the best entertaynement hee cann both for man and horse dureing his abode here with such Love and respect as may become one brother to showe to another in Like kind'.

Thomas Paley 1668

'And alsoe paying and Allowing yearly For two whole yeares next after my decease unto my sayd sonne Thomas whoe is now A Student or Scholar in Christs Colledge in Cambridge For his education there the Annuall sume of (Fifteen) pounds if it please God that he Continues soe long in the sayd Colledge'

Wardship

Henry Somerscales 1609

'If it may please the kings maiestie and the right honorable lord treasurer to grannt his wardship being but of a small messuage of the ancient rent of xxiiii (sh) unto his mother upon some reasonable composicon which I most humblie pray and beseach at theire gracious hands then my hartie desire is to have him brought upp in learning and if he be found capable of good literature and that his mynd be to goe to the universitie and to make learning his best preferment my desire is to have him mainteyned therein so farr as that I shall presentlie leave him shall extend and if that will not be sufficient I hope my wife together with my executors shall supplie his wants therein so long as need shall require and if so be that my Wife in some reasonable parte compass the wardshippe and government of her sonne then I comend her under god to the education of his governing (?) humblie beseaching them to see him vertiouslie brought up in the feare of god to extend theire favourable kindnes towards him Furthermore if it please god my Wiffe gett the wardshipp as aforesaid and that my said sonne goe not forward in learning according to my harts desire then my mynd is to have him trained upp either in the lawes of this land or in some comendable trade of life at the discrecon of my freinds hereunder named And for his maintenance in any of these courses I leave unto him by this my last will one full third pte of all my messuage and lands at Stockdale And also whereas I have a rent charge of xxiij s iiij d out of the messuage and tennement now in thoccupation of Hugh Iveson I give and bequeath the same unto my said sonne together with the benefitt of all such covenants as on the behalf of the said Hugh or to be pformed according to an Indenture of bargaine and lease made unto him of the said messuage and tennement with thappurtenances by me the said Henrie as by the same may appeare'.

Apprenticeships Hugh Taylor 1603

'And if my sonne Robert coulde be gotten to some trade with some mercer or such a like trade

it were better for him then to staye at home, and have my tenement'

Thomas Browne 1621

'unto my god sonne and cosen Symon Armitstead three pounds to be paid when his apprentishipp shall be ended or ells att the marriage of my wife againe whether as shall sooner happen (if she marry)'

William Browne 1621

'my said wife to pay to my sonne Thomas five poundes in pte of his porcon within one yeare next after his yeares of apprenticeshippe shalbe enden'

Richard Altham 1626

'And he shall pay the one five pounds of it unto them within one whole year next after that my son Thomas Altham be loose out of his apprenticeship and the other five pounds he shall pay unto them within one whole year next after the decease of my wife'

Isabell Howsonne 1639

'And over and besides that I give and bequeath to the said John Howson ten pounds towards binding him apprentice'.

Thomas Barrow 1646

'my Sar(v)ante Richard Hattkill shall have the Remainder of his Prentishipp to make his best use of, and his Indentures given in'

Richard Preston 1657

'To my son Michael 20 nobles towards finding him with clothes during his apprenticeship'.

Margaret Ducard 1659

'Item I give ten pounds to be employed for the placing of poor children apprentices born within Boulton parish at the discretion of the minister Churchwardens and overseers for the poor of the said parish for the time being with the approbation of two Justices of the peace And I give six pounds to the like use and Employment to be paid by my Executors to the Overseers for the poor within the Township of Rathmell for the placing of poor children of that town apprentices as aforesaid'.

Thomas Lawson 1668

'Item I doe give unto Thomas Bride my Nephew the sume of Five pound with this proviso, that itt shall not be paid unto him till hee have served out his apprenticeship'.

Thomas Geldard 1687

'Item I give unto my said son the sum of £16 £10 whereof to be paid within one month after he be loose from his apprenticeship and the other six within three years after'.

William Armitstead 1690

'my son Richard do serve his Brother Wm. in ye trade and art(?) he now professeth till he attaine ye twenty first year of his age'.

William Paley 1694

'Sums of money as I payd towards putting them to Apprentices and what other money any of them has had and recd towards theyr preferment since they or any of them have beene out of theyr apprenticeship and traded for themselves'

Leonard Carr 1696

'to Agnes Cort my parish Apprentice Three poundes'.

Richard Lawson 1699

'unto my son Nathaniell the sum of fifteen pounds to be paid him when the said Nathaniell shall have fully attained the full age of twenty three years or at the end of three Months next following the determination of his apprentishipp whether soever shall happen'.

2.11 Money

Relative money values can be estimated (www.moneyworth.com) as

1602 to 2008: 160 times retail price index and 2000 times average earnings

1702 to 2008: 150 times RPI and 1600 times average earnings.

The wills therefore concern paupers to 'millionaires'.

Nearly all wills mention money, mainly in pounds, shillings and pence. However, the noble (6s 8d) and mark (13s 4d) are also used occasionally, often mixed up with money amounts expressed in £-s-d.

- 1603 5 marks
- 1604 4 marks
- 1608 20 nobles and 2 guineas
- 1608 5 marks
- 1609 100 marks
- 1610 5 marks
- 1611 5 marks
- 1612 20 marks
- 1615 20 nobles
- 1622 20 marks and 20 nobles
- 1623 20 marks and 20 nobles
- 1626 40 marks
- 1642 5 marks of lawful English money
- 1647 20 nobles
- 1657 20 nobles, 5 marks
- 1659 20 marks, 20 nobles
- 1662 20 nobles
- 1681 20 nobles
- 1688 5 marks

It is also to be noted that multiples of 6s 8d and 13s 4d are common throughout the century.

The range of money amounts quoted is very large, from pennies given to the poor, to hundreds of pounds to relatives. The larger sums of money are often associated with land purchase or redemption of a lease by the Earl of Cumberland for example. Loans of tens of pounds are in terms of bills, specialties and bonds with interest rates usually 5% (12d in the pound) and in one case 6.6% (10 marks per £100). Roger Preston in 1609 uses the phrase 'diverse debts owing to me as specified by bills, bonds, promises and otherwise'. Ancient rents are quoted which remained unchanged by custom, although renewal by payment of a gressum on transfer of a lease of land or a mill from father to son for example was normal and this increased over the years. These rents range from a few pence to several shillings per annum. Thomas Brayshaw paid 3s 4d as rent of a walk mill in 1606. The terms three score and four score are used commonly instead of sixty or eighty.

Money was often given to godchildren at a rate of 12d each but sometimes much more. Servants also were remembered being given typically five to ten shillings but sometimes several pounds (Alice Procter gave £40 in 1611).

Robert Kellett in 1605 mentions a sum of money in penny or pennyworth. William Hall (1608) states '8s for one stone of wool and one piece of gold of the value of 40s'. William Carr paid 3s 4d for writing his will in 1624. Thomas Brayshaw (1626) says 'and no other man to meddle with a penny worth of them'.

Education was funded in several bequests. Alice Procter (1611) bequeathed 'to the governors of the free Grammar School of Giggleswick aforesaid £10 to be employed by them at their discretion for the use of the said school and scholars'. Lawrence Lawson (1617) left for 'George my eldest son yearly and every year five pounds for four years now next coming for and towards his better exhibition and maintenance at the university to be paid unto him quarterly by equal portions'.

In 1604 Henry Tennant was generous to Giggleswick School:

'I give to master Christopher Shute, John Catterall and to the rest of the governors and their successors governors of the free grammar school of Giggleswick all my lands and hereditaments in Settle and Settle fields and of the ancient yearly rent of 5s be it more or less, with all commons, commodities, profits and appurtenances thereto belonging together with all my receipts, evidences and writings concerning the same which I purchased and bought of master Richard Chewe, Thomas Ellison and Barnard Browne to have and to hold to them and their successors governors of the said school and to their assigns for ever, the said lands, hereditaments, commons, appurtenances and writings towards the procuring and obtaining of an exhibition for a poor scholar or sizar in some one College of the university of Cambridge until by order of standing there he shall or may be bachelor of Arts. And so successively from one to another forever. The same poor scholar to be born within the parish of Giggleswick and brought up at the school there at learning and to be elected and nominated from time to time, for that place by the master and governors of the said school and their successors governors or the most part of them.

And whereas heretofore I have given one hundred pounds to the said Christopher Shute, John Catterell and other the now governors of the said school and their successors governors towards the purchasing or procuring of lands or a certain rent charge forever for the maintaining of a scholar or scholars in the university of Cambridge as more at large appeareth by my said act and deed in writing to the said governors, signed sealed and delivered, my will is and I do hereby ratify and confirm the said deed so made to all intents and purposes as are contained in the same without interruption of me or any claiming by from or under me for ever and howsoever'.

Money for burial (£4), funeral dinners (£4), donations to the vicar for a sermon (10s), for bellringers (5s or 6s 8d), and donations to the poor as a dole (1d, 2d or 3d each) occur occasionally.

2.12 Trade and Status

Of 409 wills in the period 1603 - 1702, 257 (or 63%) had trade or status defined after the testator's name. Note: Inventories without wills are excluded.

They were as follows:-

3		% of	total wills
Yeoman	109		27
Husbandman	53		13
Gentleman	16		4
Singleman/bachelor	13		3
Clothier/Clothworker/maker	11		3
Cordwainer/Shoemaker	6		1
Carpenter	5		1
Tailor	4		1
Blacksmith	3)	
Clerk	3)	
Draper/Linen draper	3)	
Labourer	3)	
Schoolmaster/MA	3)	
Chapman (pedlar)	2)	
Grocer	2)	
Linen webster/weaver	2)	
Miller	2)	
Apothecary	1)	
Bagger (badger, huckster)	1)	
Baxter (baker)	1)	
Butcher	1)	
Chandler (candlemaker/seller)	1)	Insignificant
Currier (leather or horses?)	1)	
Esquire	1)	
Fellmonger (dealer in skins/hides)	1)	
Mason	1)	
Mercer (dealer in more costly textiles)	1)	
Merchant	1)	
Minister (of religion)	1)	
Saddler	1)	
Skinner	1)	
Tanner	1)	
Tiler	1)	
Waller	1)	

These can be defined in 6 groups in descending order of degree or standing.

An esquire is defined as belonging to a higher order of gentry – landed, a country squire. A gentleman is of good birth but not a nobleman, and he did not necessarily need to follow a trade or profession. Clerks, clergy,schoolmasters and others who had had a university education would be roughly equivalent. Then came the yeomen (freeholders or countrymen of reputable standing, cultivating their own land). They would frequently also engage in trades such as cloth making, or have a shop, in additon to their farm work. Then came tradespeople, at roughly the same level. Husbandmen (tillers of the ground) and labourers followed. The status of another group, singlemen or bachelors, is not defined.

The following table shows the number of wills by (approximate)10 year periods and by status. Where no status is given the testators are often women (widows, spinsters or undefined females). The number of women is included in that overall figure and is given in brackets.

	Total wills	Esquire	Gentlemen	Clerks/Ministers/ MAs/Schoolm'rs	Yeomen	Tradesmen	Husbandmen & Labourers	Bachelors & Singlemen	No status given	% wills no status given
1603-1609	41		3		10	7	11	1	9 (2)	22
1610-1619	39		1		12	4	8	1	13 (5)	33
1620-1629	64	1	1	1	15	8	16	2	20 (11)	31
1630-1639	42		1		16	3	2	2	18 (11)	43
1640-1649	35		1	3	8	1	6	1	15 (3)	43
1650-1659	25		1		4	3	1	1	15 (1)	60
1660-1669	41		2		7	3	4		25 (12)	61
1670-1679	28		1		5	7	1	2	12 (3)	43
1680-1689	33		1	2	13	2	3		12 (6)	36
1690-1702	61		4	1	19	17	4	3	13 (5)	21
TOTALS	409	1	16	7	109	55	56	13	152	37

It is no surprise that in this rural area the highest number of testators are yeomen. The high number of clothiers and clothworkers reflects the sheep-raising here. One clothmaker (Jackes 1626) has a fulling mill. Shoemakers would have used the locally tanned animal skins (there are also a fellmonger, skinner, tanner and saddler). The term cordwainer suggests a higher class of shoemaking, the term having originated in the soft Spanish leather from Cordoba. Other trades reflect what might be seen in any community.

It might be worth examining why the number of wills where no status is given for the testator rises to a peak in the middle of the century. The number of defined tradesmen rises at the end of the period (28% of the wills for 1690-1712 compared with 17% in the first decade) which may indicate an increased specialisation in work. The number of husbandmen conversely drops from 27% at the start to 7% at the end of the period. However, considering the high number of wills here where no status is defined, a much larger sample over a larger area would be needed to draw any definite conclusions.

2.13 The Earls of Cumberland and Burlington

There are twenty one references to the Earl of Cumberland amongst the wills studied, which give us an insight into the tenancy agreements during this period for the ancient parish of Giggleswick. In the previous century Henry Clifford had the honour of 1st Earl of Cumberland bestowed on him by Henry VIII. Henry Clifford was married three times and his third wife Margaret Percy brought great treasure to him in the form of the Craven lands. Looking through the wills for the seventeenth century we note that some of the tenancy agreements for

Giggleswick property and lands refer to George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, descendant of Henry. When George died in 1605 the whole of his estate reverted to his brother Francis and subsequently, when he died, to his son Henry. Even though George 3rd Earl of Cumberland died at the beginning of the century, we still find a reference to him in a will of 1666, in relation to a house, stables, garden and shop in Settle. Our first reference to Francis Earl of Cumberland is in 1626 and the last reference for our period of study is in 1681 when both Francis and Henry his son are referred to 'for the residue of that terme of 3,000 years for which I hold the same by grant from the late Honorable Francis Earl of Cumberland and Henry Lord Clifford his son'.

William Foster (1687) and Miles Coate (1672) mention the Earl of Burlington. Sir Richard Boyle, 2nd Earl of Cork and 1st Earl of Burlington (created in 1664), was born in 1612 and he married Lady Elizabeth Clifford who was the daughter of Henry Clifford, 5th Earl of Cumberland. He died in 1697/8.

(www.boyle.family.btinternet.co.uk/16121020.html)

2.14 Shops, Inns and Houses

Shops and Inns

There are many references to shops but they may not be shops in the modern sense but work or storage places. In most cases the testator does not indicate his profession.

From wills

Thomas Dockray 1603: yeoman: my shop in Settle

Francis Hirdson 1605: brother Bryan as servant to aid Francis' wife in selling wares in the shop

Robert Kellett 1605: fulling mill

Thomas Brayshaw 1606: yeoman: walk mill

John Howson 1612: blacksmith: my house in Settle called the smithie

William Hind 1625: yeoman: my wife shall not sell ale or beer in my dwelling house

Robert Kellett 1644: clothworker with a fulling mill in Giggleswick

Richard Kidd 1649: husbandman: my walker house, hemplands and kiln.

Richard Preston 1657: malthouses

John Foster 1664: draper

John Carr 1666: grocer with a shop which is rented out

John Wildman 1669: shop adjoining a house at Kirkegate yett

William Carr 1674: Langeliffe mill and a new house and shop in Settle called Reeby(?) house

James Armitstead 1678: fulling or walk mills

Robert Windsor 1697: blacksmith

John Robinson 1699: grandson to learn the trade of an Apothecary with his father Joseph

Robinson

Thomas Tindall 1699: mill at Rathmell

James Jacques 1701: Linen weaver and refers to John Cau(te) of Settle as Innkeeper

From Inventories

Robert Parkinson 1690: all the goods in the shop £85-19-8

Thomas Kidd 1691: cutler: all goods in the shop £25-9-0

Richard Wilson 1695: for goods in his shop £3-0-0

Richard Paley 1699: grocer: goods in the shop £75-15-3

goods in the chamber over the shop 11s

one house and several shops standing

and being at the east end of the toll booth in Settle £66-0-0

John Sidgswicke 1696: in the shop

one parcell of white and coloured stockings £10-0-0

four dozen of sheep leather £1-16-0

goods in the workhouse

nineteen dozen of sheep leather £8-0-0

twelve horse skins £1-0-0

ten stone fine wool at 20s per stone £10-0-0 eight stone ordinary wool at 14s per stone £5-12-0 two stone coarse wool at 10s per stone £1-0-0

John Cookeson 1690: yeoman: three barrels and one cooler, nine pair of sheets,

eleven pans, eighteen flagons and cans, etc. all suggesting

an inn

Robert Cookson 1702: yeoman: brewhouse, five pewter chamber pots and

items in the out chamber over the shop. Probably the

son of John (1690).

William Preston 1691: all the goods in the shop £210-0-0

William Moone 1696: appears to be a draper value of shop and household goods £181-0-0 money owing as per shop book £28-0-0

Houses

In two wills there is reference to a property called Thorne tree.

Richard Hall 1636:

'And whereas I have by my deed in writing under my hand and seal bearing date the thirtieth day of May in the ninth year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Charles by the grace of god of England Scotland and France and Ireland defender of the faith etc. granted, assigned and set over unto my son John Hall his executors, administrators and assigns all my house at the Thorne Tree in Gigleswicke aforesaid, one stable and lath and three parts of my garden thereto belonging (excepting so much of them as are granted to Anthony Kellett to hold the same'

Anthony Lister 1685:

'I give & bequeath by this my will my house called the Thorne tree wth the Appurtances & members thereunto belonging unto John Lister my Son'

This house is now known as Ivy Fold immediately next to the church. William Craven paid a rent of 3s 1d in the 1579 Clifford Survey, as did his son Thomas in 1604 (NYCRO Deed in Lord collection). The initials over the door are of Anthony Lister. (Information courtesy A.D.Stephens).

There is also a reference by Richard Preston (1657) to 'the great thorn...' which may concern the same property:

'... she to enjoy all that part of my house from the range wall eastward, and the east side of my garden from the east corner of my chamber window to the great thorn in the north side of the said garden'

James David (1683) bequeathed 'one Mansion or dwellinghouse situate at Langcliffe with one pars(nep?) bed in one garth or garden lying on the backside of the said Mansion or dwelling belonging to one Robert Tully'.

George Swainson (1631) refers to a house extension:

'Also it is my will and mind that if John Bolland my brother in law does build up one house end and one outshott for a buttery that then my executors shall help him to lead slate to cover the same from Stainforth to Giggleswick if he buy the slate there. Also I will that when the said house and outshott is built my executors shall give unto the said John Bolland 20s towards his charges in building the same'.

2.15 Field Names 1603 to 1702

There were two hundred and forty six references found relating to fields, pastures and closes amongst the four hundred and nine wills in our survey, which were spread across the five townships comprising the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick.

Fields referred to in wills

TOWNSHIP	Nos.
Giggleswick	83
Settle	65
Rathmell	29
Stainforth	47
Langcliffe	22
Total	246

Because it had the greater number of field names Giggleswick was the township chosen for closer scrutiny. Despite a near two-hundred year gap between the dates of the wills and the date of the Giggleswick Tithe map and apportionment of 1843, over half of the fields can be accounted for. Of particular interest are the townfields which are mentioned, albeit rather briefly. The position of Settle townfields are well known, but Giggleswick fields are an unknown quantity. What we appear to have are three separate groups of townfields although there may be more.

In the first group are three named fields between the River Ribble and Gildersleets Road, one of which is called Stripes, a popular field name used with the strip field systems. There are two more townfields between this road and Brackenber Lane, namely Stangrams and Brackenber fields. These two are mentioned in Richard Preston's will of 1657, as being next to one another. However on the Tithe map of 1843 they are separated by two other fields, one of which, number 192 on the map is known as Townfield.

The second group of three fields is mentioned in the will of Hugh Stackhouse and dated 1618; 'my three closes or end of ground called the Riddinges within townfields of Giggleswick'. There are three fields of that name, due south of the hamlet of Stackhouse, on the west side of Stackhouse Lane, whilst just north-west of Stackhouse is a series of fields on the east side of the road and running down to the River Ribble. Amongst these are two larger fields Nos. 326 and 327 called Townfields. It is quite possible that here we have another group of common fields belonging to the parish of Giggleswick.

Finally, due south of Swarbeck, on the far side of Settle by-pass, are six more fields named in the will of Robert Coates and dated 1647. These fields known as Under Cockit, Kelds and four all with the same name of Tofts, can also be found on the Tithe map. This appears to be yet another group of townfields associated with Giggleswick. However this group is only separated by four fields from our first group lying beside Brackenber Lane, and so they may conceivably have been co-joined.

The named fields found in the wills are only part of the picture, as the townfields would formerly have covered a much larger area. However as yet there is no evidence to suggest which fields they were.

Amongst the Stainforth named fields there is a reference to an actual enclosure, which is quite uncommon. Robert Foster in his will of 1698 describes certain fields 'now marked and sett outt by me and my Executor and to be fenced outt of the meane profits'. As there is very limited evidence for early enclosure in our area, this snippet from a will is particularly useful.

2.16 Inventories 1603 to 1702

Inventories are an invaluable resource, giving us an insight into everyday life in a way that wills can never do. They flesh out the bones as it were, and often they give us a list of everyday paraphernalia; the furniture in the parlour or the minutiae of the kitchen, from cooking utensils to brewing and cheese-making equipment. On the farmsteads all the livestock are often listed usually followed by the husbandry gear. We discover peoples' trades and in the more affluent families the individual rooms are named.

Sadly here in Yorkshire we are rather impoverished in relation to inventories as there are none held at the Borthwick Institute in York before 1679. At some unknown date, due to lack of space, inventories were separated from their accompanying wills and destroyed. This also happened in other areas across the country. However all were not lost and one hundred and eighteen were found at York dating from 1679 up to 1702, the end of our survey. The period most commonly best represented elsewhere is from 1660-1730 whilst in most dioceses inventories die out during the eighteenth century.

Inventories were drawn up after a death by the executor, or administrator if no will was made. It has been stated that it was deemed unnecessary to raise an inventory if the total value was below £5 but of the one hundred and eighteen studied, sixteen were below that figure. The apprisers, as they were known – or some of the people who drew up the list - were men of letters, sometimes local clergymen. We have an insight into how they went about their task from a diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden (1733 -1734) in a book published by Chipping Local History Group. In the book the Rev. states 'P.S. Today Bryan Parker asked me to come tomorrow to read ye deed of Gift, and Bills of ye Late Richd. Parker his Bother (Brother); which I promised him to do'. As there was no horse available he went on foot. He goes on to say 'and I read ye deed of Gift, and found yt it put bryan Parker in power of all yt ever was ye right of ye Late Richd Parker, and ordered him to sell all, and place out ye moneys in a Good hands as he could for ye use and intrest of Ellen his wife'. Obviously a will had been made making Bryan Parker executor.

The Rev. Walkden goes on to list all the money owing to the deceased, followed by the names of the four appraisers, who then commenced an inventory of 'ye goods in ye Shippon Barn and house'. It is interesting to note that 'haveing taken a particular Survey of all but one furnished bed for ye widow: ye having but one pair of bedstocks we summd up all' so the furnished bed and bedstocks were to be excluded from the inventory. This shows up one of the problems in interpretation of these documents because, as we can see from the above, the list is not always a true indication of all the items in the house.

It is important to copy up everything when transcribing, and also to check the back of the document. Once I found written on the back of a will at the Borthwick Institute the following:-

'He and his wife dyed of the plague, and the clensers of the house had his goods for the clensing of his house' so no inventory there then!

Household Goods

Out of one hundred and eighteen inventories only twenty carried no mention of household goods and most of these can be explained by the fact that sometimes we get everything grouped together as 'hustlement of household' instead of individual items. These hustlements are often valued at a few shillings and we can only assume that their houses contained a few very basic necessities for cooking, eating and sleeping.

The reckon or reckon crook is one of the most frequently mentioned pieces of kitchen equipment. A good drawing of one can be found in Marie Hartley's book 'Life & Tradition in the Yorkshire Dales'. The reckon was an iron bar drilled with holes to take hooks for hanging pots over the fire. It was attached to a bauk (a beam across the chimney), whilst the crook was the hook. Also often mentioned is a backstone which was a piece of iron used for baking oat cakes on – very common in the Dales in this period. The bread flake or fleak was the wooden frame suspended from the ceiling for drying the oat cakes on. Oats and probably spelt were grown in the North Craven area as opposed to wheat, because of the poor climate.

There are 16 instances of spinning wheels being mentioned, the total values of the inventories which included them ranging from below £5 to one valued at £1,482.12s.07d. (This was Richard Preston of Settle, a gentleman of some substance in the community who had two spinning wheels). Looms were also found in the survey in eight households in which the total values of these specific inventories ranged from below £5 to only £64. So spinning wheels appear to be owned by all sections of society whereas looms perhaps appear to be owned by cottagers. This goes against the evidence found in a Yorkshire Archaeological Society Series book 'Yorkshire Probate Inventories. 1542-1689' where Peter Brears in his introduction found that 'Cottagers and minor yeomen spun the yarn while the more prosperous yeomen and gentlemen wove and finished it'. However the inventories looked at by Brears were spread across the whole of Yorkshire and none were looked at for the ancient parish of Giggleswick. Local differences obviously need to be taken into account and also our survey was relatively small, with no inventories looked at before 1679.

Beer was supposedly brewed in almost every household during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the only exception being the cottagers who could not afford the required fuel and materials. Reading through the list it is sometimes difficult to tell which is brewing equipment. Tubs and barrels are often mentioned but they could have been used for other purposes. However hogsheads, gilsfatts and mashfatts are good indicators of the brewing process as all are a type of cask used for that purpose. Kiln hare, which is a coarse open fabric made from horse hair is another good indicator as this was a fabric used for drying the malt over a kiln. Evidence of brewing equipment was found in thirty two cases and these were among people whose goods were valued at between £8 and our most wealthy example, Mr. Preston at over £1,482. However none of the sixteen inventories of people whose goods

are valued at below £5 had any reference to brewing equipment, which bears out the theory that the cottagers could not afford such luxuries.

Silver plate was of course a measure of wealth, along with any mention of glass. These were usually Yeomen and Gentlemen and only three references were found to either silver, glass or both.

Wm. Paley's inventory of 1694 listed '4 silver spoons one two(eared?) silver cup, one silver taster & one Bowl'. He was a yeoman with goods valued at £458. Thos. Tindall 1699 with goods valued at £157 had:-

'6 Silver spoons £2. 10s .0d.
One glass case £2. 6s. 0d.'

and further down

'Two glass cases, inc. with other items'.

Our old friend Richard Preston of the Folly in Settle (1695) had listed: *'Silver plaite spoons 2 tumblers and other plate* £1. 10s. 0d'.

By the sixteenth century, at all levels of society, beds were found in every room. Sleeping arrangements must have been very flexible, with many large families in houses with limited space. However in our survey only seventy-six inventories mention beds in one form or another out of the one hundred and eighteen checked. What happened to the other 43? Well many inventories simply listed their goods as 'household stuff' or as 'hustlements' whilst others lumped everything together as 'goods in the parlour'.

One mystery is the inventory for Henry Knowles which starts with the usual

'His purse & apparel £1 15 00 Item one chist one sheet one coverlet 10 00 Item in money 25 00 00'

But no bed! Did he sleep on the floor? Who knows?

Bedstocks are mentioned in eighty-six instances - a bedstock being the front and back part of a bed. However the Derbyshire Dictionary describes in detail a bedstock as:-

'The part of a bed which supported the mattress and clothes. The sides and ends of the frame were perforated with holes, through which strong cords were drawn to form a tight net, on which was placed a woven rush mat, other mattresses and feather beds'.

Apart from bedstocks fifty-five chaffe beds were listed. This is a mattress stuffed with corn. I am reliably informed that the corn can be cut up very finely and makes a lovely soft mattress. Thirty-four feather beds were found out of the total number of one hundred and eighty-seven beds listed. Also mentioned were eight trundle or trunkle beds i.e. a low bed running on truckles or small wheels which could be pushed under a high or standing bed when not in use – a bit like some of the 'put up beds' of today. Possibly the 'little bed' mentioned in one inventory was one of these. Also included were testered beds, one of which was painted. A

tester is the ceiling of a bed, made of wood, often carved, or of various kinds of fabric. Also mentioned was a postard bed which one assumes was a four poster one.

The largest number of beds in one household was recorded for Robert Cookeson of Settle with thirty beds, whilst close on his heels was John Cookeson his son with twenty-eight. Presumably this was an inn; the other contents in the inventory support this contention. This is probably the same household as there are many similarities. Our Mr. Preston the wealthiest man in our survey ran a poor third with only twelve beds.

Husbandry Gear

Farming equipment, to give it its more modern term, is frequently grouped together under the title 'husbandry gear', but other inventories list these items separately as for example, ploughs, harrows, saddles, winnowing cloths etc. all worthy of more detailed research.

However here we take a brief look at any references to carts. Farm transport during the eighteenth century was little different to that in the medieval period with the ox being the major draught animal, although here in the Dales the pack pony was also used. It was thought that here in our hilly area, sledges were the norm. Originally no evidence of sledges was found, but carts and coups were mentioned in forty-three inventories. In all cases the wheels for these were listed separately. One suggestion has been that wheels would be taken off during the winter months when the cart was not needed, hence their inclusion separately. However our findings do not bear this out as many inventories were drawn up in the spring and summer months when the carts would be in constant use. Maybe they had separate sets of wheels? Iron-bound wheels were valuable.

Carts were two wheeled vehicles as opposed to wains which had four wheels and only one instance of a wain was found. The reason for this maybe was the fact that wains were not suitable for hilly areas. Amongst the ordinary carts were found three hay carts, five turf carts and two stone carts. Coups also appear frequently. A coup was a cart (i.e. wheeled) with closed sides and ends for the carting of dung, lime etc. However in Marie Hartley's book, based on the Yorkshire Dales, she defines a coup as a small cart either on wheels or runners, in other words here was the sledge mentioned previously. There is significant pictorial evidence of sledges being used in the upper dales for haymaking and no reason to suppose that they were not used also here in the Giggleswick area. Apart from ordinary coups, two 'ox coups' and one 'horse coup' were also listed. The difference between the two is in the way the animal was attached to the coup. Already we are building up a picture of the type of vehicle used in the area.

Summary

Finally a brief mention needs to be made of the pitfalls in drawing conclusions from inventories. English and Welsh probate inventories only deal with goods, chattels and leasehold interests in land. They do not deal with property, therefore they are not a reliable guide to the total wealth of an individual. Having said that, we have one instance of a house being included. Some items may not be included in an inventory because they have already been given to the beneficiaries beforehand.

Hoskins in 'The Leicestershire Farmer in 17thC' says that 'it was often clear from a yeoman's will, if not from his inventory, that he had handed over his farm, with all live and dead stock to his eldest son and retained only 'his parlour' in the old farmstead. There surrounded by his

few treasured bits of furniture and with a cow or two and a bit of land to keep him quietly happy outdoors, he ended his days. Most of the small yeomen estates can be explained in this way'. An example from our own area is the inventory of John Carr, 1684, clerk, which lists:-

'one parcel of old books 00 10s 00 The equity of redemption of some lease lands In the Tship of Settle 20 00 00'

and yet he owned several messuages and tenements. Fortunately for us his will survives to tell us that he bequeathed all his property to William Paley by an Indenture previously drawn up. We can see from this how easy it would have been to get a false impression of his wealth from looking at his inventory alone.

Looking at the number of rooms mentioned in a inventory can give us a wonderful insight into the layout of a property. However we cannot assume that the absence of named rooms means we are dealing with a one-roomed building. Even with an inventory with many named rooms, we cannot assume that there were not other rooms. They may not be listed because they were empty at the time and so nothing to list in them, or it may be that a room was left to the widow for her own use, or as in the case of the Leicestershire farmer above, the parlour was set aside for his own use by means of an Indenture set up before his death. Even with the pitfalls inventories are an incredible resource and with some careful analysis they can give us an insight into everyday life in a particular period.

Glossary of terms in Giggleswick Wills 1390 to 1702

ALLIANCE - kinsman

AMERCE – recompense

AMBRY / ALMORY / ALMERYE / ALMER / AUMBRY / AWMRY – cupboard used for storage of dishes and food

ARKE – wooden chest

AXLETREE - fixed bar on which wheels of a vehicle are attached

BACKBANDS – strap or chain supporting the shafts of a vehicle see ref. to one on back of Bill Mitchell pic. F112a,b &c.

BAKEN FLICKE – a side of bacon

BACKSTONE – a metal plate or thin stone slab placed over a fireplace separate from the main one

BAIZE – coarse woollen cloth with long nap

BARKHAM – collar for draught horse

BASSON – basin

BAXTER - Baker

BEDSTOCKS – bedstead or its front and back parts/ part of a bed which supported the mattress and clothes. The sides and ends of the frame were perforated with holes, through which strong cords were drawn to form a tight net, on which was placed a woven rush mat, other mattresses and feather beds

BEHOOF – benefit, advantage

BELLIES - bellows

BERE – pillow case

BIGG - barley

BOARDS – flat wooden surface such as a table top which was also used as a bed for visitors BOARD CLOTH – table cloth

BODY – (16th.c) sleeveless bodice/part of dress down to waist; also BODIES or pair of BODIES

BOULSTER – underpillow for a bed

BRANDED - brindled

BRAZEN – something made of brass, often refers to a pot or pan

BRETHERY / BREDREY / BRETHERON - brother, brethren

BRIDEWAIN – carriage loaded with household furniture and utensils, which travelled from the house of the bride's father to the bridegrooms house. The wains were drawn by oxen, whose horns and heads were decorated with ribbons

BRIGGS - wooden frame to support a strainer, used in dairy and brewing/ iron crane to hang pots on over the fire, often in pairs

BUCKRAM – coarse linen or cloth stiffened with gum or paste

BUFFETT - stool

BUTT – small two bedroomed dwelling

CADDOW – rough woollen cover

CALLIMANCO / CALAMANCO - glossy worsted material, plain, striped or checked

CAMLET/ CAMBLET – light cloth or garment of the same

CANBISSE / CANVIS / CANVAS- fine unbleached cloth made from flax or hemp

CHAFEING DISH – dish containing food to be placed on a chafer

CHAFER – small dish with lid used for holding hot ashes or charcoal to keep food warm

CHAFFE BED – mattress filled with chaff

CHIST – chest

CHUSION - cushion

CLEA – an eighth part of the tithe corn

CLOGG BOARDS – block of wood attached to a beast to impede motion/ any piece of wood fastened to a string for various husbandry purposes

CLOSE-clothes

COCKLE – fire chamber of a hop or malt kiln

CODD – pillow or cushion

COFFER – box for storing valuables / money box

COIL – form of headdress?/ possibly a collar

COLT – young male horse

COOLER – oval tub

COOPE/COUPE – cart with closed sides on runners or wheels

CORDINER / CORDWAINER - shoemaker

COUNTER – table or desk used for counting.

CRABBS – Press for making crab apple juice

CREAISEY – (crazy), infirm, ailing, sickly

CREDDLE - cradle

CREEL – an ozier basket (or wicker)

CRESSETT – oil lamp(small vessel made of iron to hold grease or oil, mounted on a pole or suspended from roof)

CULTER /COULTER- iron blade fixed in front of a plough share-it makes vertical cuts in the soil

CURON – (curation), guardianship of boys 14 and girls 12 until 21 yrs.old. The children have a say in the matter.

CURRIER – horse groom, one who treats tanned leather

DIPER / DIAPER - type of textile with small diamond pattern

DISHBOARD – dresser for displaying dishes and plates

DISH CRATH – (CRADLE?) - wooden rack for drying dishes

DOOLE/DOOALMEATS – funeral provisions

DOW(SYBELL) - dow possibly short for dowager. A term used in late medieval period to differentiate between son's mother (dowager) as opposed to wife's mother (mother-in-law)

DRAB – undyed cloth of neutral colour

DRIPPING PAN – pan placed below the meat on a revolving spit to catch the drips

DUBLER – large sized plate or dish of wood or pewter

ELDIN - Fuel. Dialect. See Carr, W., Dialect of Craven

FALL - rod, pole or perch length

FATT - /VAT - large tub or vessel

FELLOWS - the sections of the rim of a wheel supported by the spokes

FERRITT / FERRET - stout cotton or silk tape

FILY / FILLY – young female horse

FIREHOUSE - place with a fire

FLAKE/FLEAK/FLEEAK/FLEIGH/FLEG – a shelf or number of cords stretched between two pieces of wood upon which to hang oakcake or clothes

FLANNE – Flann = shallow, flannen = flannel

FLASKETT – oval washing tub, flask or bottle

FLAUGHT - sod

FLAW SPADE – turf spade

FLICKE / FLITCH- a side of bacon

FOWLING (PIECE) – light gun for shooting wildfowl

FREELAGE – freedom or a priviledge

FRENNETT – female clothing?

FRIEZE – coarse woollen cloth with a nap, usually one side only

FRISE – jerkin

FULLING - fulling of cloth

FUSTIAN – thick twilled short napped cotton coth

GAGES(of hay) - jag, a measure of hay

GALLON – dry measure for corn, flour, bread, fruit etc.

GALLOON – narrow ornamental fabric trim

GAVELOCK-crowbar

GELDING – a gelded male animal esp. a horse

GILSFATT /GYLEKIER/GELKER – guile-fat, the tub in which ale or beer is worked before it is tunned or put in barrels (W.Yorks.dialect)

GIMLIN – wooden salting tub

GIMMER – first year lamb

GIMP – silk, worsted or cotton twist with a cord or wire running through it

GREAT GOODS - cattle and horses.

GRESSUM – entry fines paid to the lord

GREATES/greets/groates – hulled, or hulled and crushed grain

GULLEYVAT/GILFAT / GUILEFAT – vat for brewing ale

GYEST – see Jist

HACKE – tool used in the kitchen / mattock/rack to hold fodder

HACKNEY SADDLE – saddle for use in ordinary riding

HAIR CLOTH - Coarse fabric made from horse hair for drying malt over a kiln

HAMES/ HEAMES / HAIMS – two curved pieces of wood forming part of a draught horse's collar, with hooks to which the traces were fixed

HAPPING – a rug or coverlet for a bed

HARDEN / HURDEN / HORDEN – coarse linen cloth.

HARNES/HARNESS – generally any kind of equipment or fittings for animals

HATCHETT – a small axe

HEALD – cords or wires in loom

HECKLE – implement for combing flax or hemp

HEIFER – female calf or young cow which has had no more than one calf

HOGG – sheep of either sex, from six months old until first shearing

HOGSHEAD – large cask for ale, beer, cider or wine

HOLLAND – smooth hard- wearing linen fabric

HUGGABACK/HUCKABACK – Linen fabric with a rough surface, used mainly for towels HULLYNG – coverlet.

HUSBANDRY GEAR – farming equipment

HUSTLEMENTS – small objects with no specific individual value

IBIM / IBIDEM – the same place

IMPRIMIS – first

IN SIGHT – refers to household goods

JACK – leather beer flask or small cask

JACKE – jacket

JIST - joist

JURAT – Latin for 'he has sworn'

KENTISH / KENTING – fine linen cloth originally made in Kent

KILN HARE /HEYR /HAIRCLOTH – coarse open fabric made from horse hair and used for drying malt over a kiln

KINE – cow, usually the milking cows in a herd

KIRTLE – skirt like garment

KIST – chest (often made of wood for storing meal- Yorks. dialect)

KNOPP / KNOPE – a large tub or washing tub

KNUTTER – jumper.

LAGGIN / LAGS – staves for a barrel or tub

LANIER – Thong of leather

LANTHORNE – transparent case enclosing and protecting a light

LASTS – wooden mould of a foot for shoemaking

LAYNE /LANES – iron ring at the end of a plough to which horses were yoked

LEA (of Yarn) – Measure of yarn (seventh part of a lank of worsted, 80 threads, wound as a reel, 1 yd. in circumference. W.Carr, Dialect of Craven)

LIN / LINE - flax

LINING - – items of underwear worn one on each leg./also linen cloth

LINING WEBSTER – linen weaver

LINSEY-WOOLSEY – A mixed fabric of wool and linen or wool and flax

LOOMES – machinery for weaving cloth. Though referred to as a pair, this probably means one only (see Wright. Dialect Dic. of England) usually identifiable by the presence of gears or tools of the trade. ALSO vessel of any kind

MARK – 13s.4d.

MEER / MAIRE – mare

MESSUAGE - house

MOEITY / MOIETY - half

MOULD BOARD – wooden part of medieval plough which turns the sod

MULCTURE – a tax of corn

NAIL FAST GEAR – anything fixed (nailed fast)

NIGGARD – fire brick or false bottom for a grate to reduce fuel consumption

NOBLE – 6s.8d. or half a mark

NONAGE – under 21 years of age

NUNCUPATIVE – delivered orally

OBLATION – offering

OMBERY – cupboard used for storage of dishes for food

OUTLAWS / OUTLERS /OUTLARS - cattle not housed but in fields at night or in winter

PADUA – heavy rich fabric, silk

PANE /PAN – cooking vessel of metal, usually broad & shallow

P(AR)AGON – variety of camlet (q.v.)

PECK – a vessel for measuring two gallons of dry goods or ¼ bushel

PEETES – stack of peat

PEK OF BIG – ¼ bushel of barley

PEWDER / PEWTHER - pewter

PESHER/PESSELL - pestle used for pounding food in a mortar

PIGGIN – lading can/small bucket (Yorks.dialect B.Mitchell) / milking pail

PIGGON – small wooden vessel or pail with one stave longer than the rest to serve as a handle

PILLION - a light saddle esp. for additional rider

PILLIVAR - pillow

PILLOW BEAR/BEER – pillow case

PILSH / PILCH — Thick shawl, something protective hung in front of thighs when cutting peats or coarse saddle rug

POAKES/POKE/PWOAK – sack cloth or a sack

 $PORRINGER (poddinger) - small \ basin \ for \ eating \ soup-often \ used \ by \ children/bowls \ of \ silver \ , \ pewter \ or \ earthenware \ for \ soup \ or \ porridge$

POSIT – drink of milk curdled with ale or wine (posset)

POULTRON - a foal

PRESSER / PRESOR – large cupboard with shelves

PRUNELLA – strong silk or worsted fabric

PUDER / PUTHER – pewter

QUEY STIRK – heifer (female calf 1-2 yrs. old)

QUIE / QUYES / WHYE – female calf (heifer)

QUICK GOODS - moveable or live goods

QUISHIONE /QUISHIN / QUISHON / CHUSION – cushion

RACKS/REAKES - pair of iron racks for storing spits/ iron bar or set of bars to hold a spit

RAIL – neckerchief or headcover

RANGE – fireplace or simple apparatus for cooking

RATHES – rail on a cart

REAVE – see ROVE

RECKON / RACON / RACKIN – steel bar in chimney or its hook (crook) for hanging a pot over the fire

REED – divides warp threads

RIALLE / RYAL – ten shillings (Edward IV & Henry VII) & fifteen shillings (Mary & Elizabeth I)

RIBING / RIBBINGE - ribbon

ROVE/REAVE – to twist yarn into ropy form before spinning

SACK – measure, particularly of hops, varying according to locality / when listed indoors, especially in bedchambers or parlour, probably a sack used for window covering as glass was the wealthy man's luxury

SALLET – helmet in a suit of armour

SALT PYCHE - salt box

SAUE - saw

SAVEGARD – outer skirt or petticoat worn by women to protect their dress when riding

SAY – fine cloth like serge

SCUMMER – Long-handled spoon-like utensil with perforations

SCUTTLES – large shallow open basket or wickerwork bowl used for carrying corn, earth, vegetables etc.

SHACKLE – chain, rope or twisted band of straw used for securing cows

SHAGG – long napped rough cloth

SHALLOON – twilled worsted material for linings

SHARE - iron blade in a plough

SINKER – circular board which presses the curds down into the cheese vat under the press

SKEP – straw beehive / basket for grain or coals

SLEE – A rake

SOCAGE – Tenure of land by certain fixed services, often in fact paid rent

SORRELL - Red roan horse with red, white and yellow hairs

SPECIALTY – special contract under seal

SPIGATT/SPIGOT – A vent peg for a cask or barrel

SPITTLE – little wooden spade, eg. baker's shovel

STAGGE – male cow, sheep, pig or young horse particularily an unbroken one.

STANDARD – tall candlestick

STANDES(standers) – stands for barrels, kitts etc.

STANDISH /stadysche/standige – Stand containing ink, pens and other writing materials & accessories; an ink stand, inkpot

STEE - a ladder

STIDDY / STITHY - anvil

STIRKS – animals between 1-2yrs. old

STOTT – young ox

SWANSKIN – a fine thick flannel

SWINGLETREES – cross bar on a plough

TAMMY – fine worsted cloth, often glazed

TEAMS – iron chains

TEARCE – firkin or runlet containing nine gallons

TEARE / TEAR / TEER – best quality, esp. hemp or flax

TEMS/TEMSE/TEMSER – Small fine meshed sieve used particularly for flour

TENEMENT – holding consisting of house and land.

TENTE TACKS – tenement rents

TENTER – frame for stretching cloth whilst drying

TENTER WOOD – wood for tenter pegs

TESTER / TEASTER – the ceiling of a bed made of wood or of various fabrics

TIPPETT - a short cape or stole, around neck

TOW – short coarse fibres of flax or hemp

TRACES – pair of ropes, chains or leather straps connecting the collar of a draught animal to a swingletree

TRANTREE – lantree or swingletree

TRAPPINGS – coverings for harness or saddle of horse

TRENCHER – flat plate of wood on which food was served

TRUCKLE/TRINDLE/TRUNDLE – low bed, usually on wheels, often kept out of use beneath a standing bed

TRUNCKE - trunk

TRUNTLEMENT – trifling things of little value

TUNNEL - funnel

TWINTER BEASTS – young animals which have lived two winters

TUITION – guardianship.

VALLANS – vallance, esp. drapery border round canopy of bed

VOYDER – Basket or tray for cleaning dishes & broken food

WALKE MYLNE – fulling mill

WANDED – chair with woven rush seat and/or back

WANTOES/WANTEY – a broad webbing belt with ropes and hooks at both ends

WARKE COVERLET – ?

WAYE GAITE -

WAYNE - cart.

WETHER - male sheep

WEB – piece of cloth in process of being woven, or after coming off the loom

WETHERSTOCK - neckerchief

WEYES – balance or scales

WHISKE - woman's collar

WHITHE RAICHE – white streak on horse's head (rache = O.E.D.)

WHYE / QUIE – female calf (heifer)

WIDOWHEAD - widowhood

WIDOWRIGHT – wife's portion of her husband's estate

WIMBLE / WOMBLE - hay trusser's tool

WINDLES – spindles / appliances for winding thread

WINDOWCLOTH – cloth used instead of glass for filling a window (see also sack)

YAWE – ewe (sheep)

ABBREVIATIONS

Rrs – Regni Regis – in the reign of king

Rrs & R – Regni Regis & Regine – in the reign of king & queen