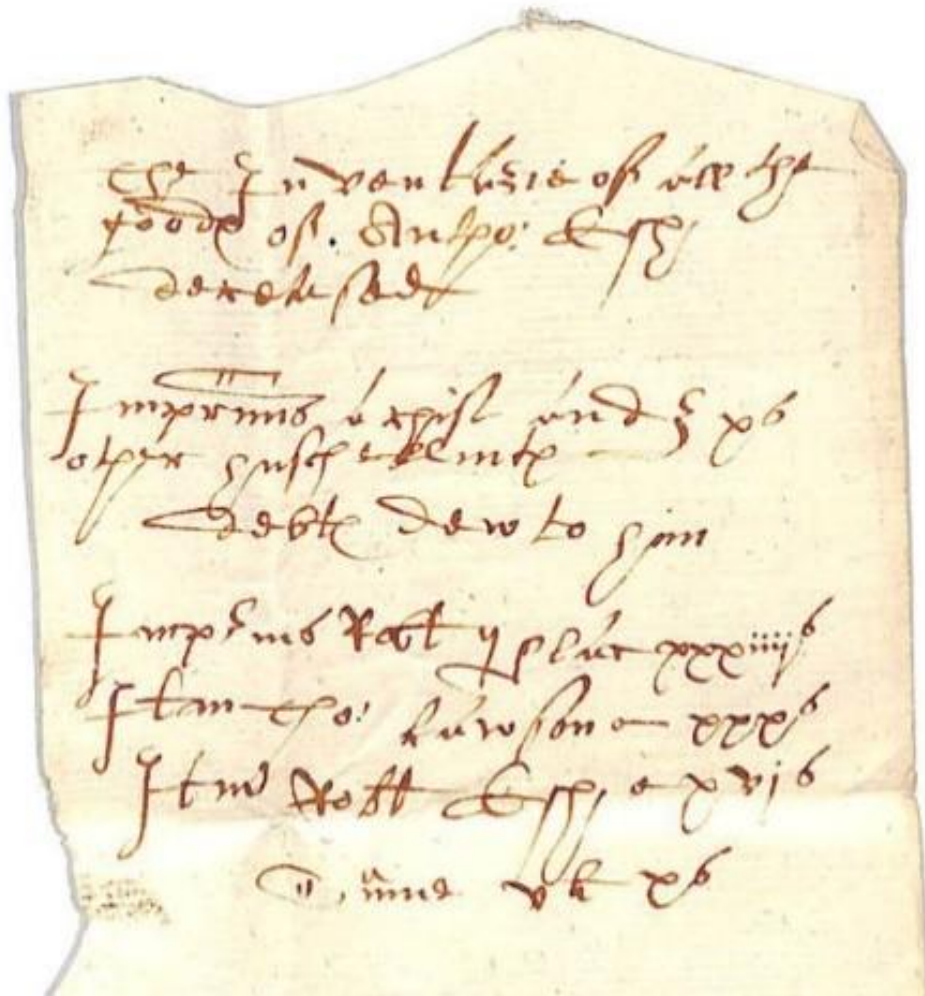


Clapham Parish
Wills and Inventories
1541 – 1603



A Clapham Village History Project
2016 - 2018

*The further backward you can look, the further forward you can see
(W.S.Churchill)*

INTRODUCTION

This project was funded by Stories in Stone, a scheme of conservation and community projects concentrated on the Ingleborough area. The scheme was developed by the Ingleborough Dales Landscape Partnership, led by Yorkshire Dales Millennium Trust, and supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund.

A group of volunteers, brought together in 2016 by Ken Pearce, Sheila Gordon, Mary Slater and Michael Slater, made digital images of wills and inventories for the ancient parish of Clapham, North Yorkshire, for transcription and analysis. This parish comprised Austwick, Clapham, Feizor, Lawkland, Newby and Newby Cote. Clapham ancient parish was chosen as collections of wills and inventories for neighbouring ancient parishes Giggleswick, Horton-in-Ribblesdale and Ingleton have already been made. An eventual comparative study of all of these records will be of value; this report considers the wills and inventories separately to make valid comparisons with other parishes easier.

The documents relevant to this work are held at the Lancashire Record Office (LRO) in Preston, Lancashire. The LRO staff have been most obliging and helpful. Corrections have been made to the LRO catalogue where names of testators were incorrectly recorded. Some of the documents were in such a delicate, fragmented and unreadable state that they were not photographed. The digitising of the documents was carried out with equipment provided by Capturing the Past - a Stories in Stone project training volunteers to catalogue and digitise local archives. This equipment allowed photography of the documents without physical contact or causing damage.

Front cover image: Inventory of Anthony Ashe 1598, LRO R540B/7 © Reproduced with permission of the Lancashire Record Office



To limit the scope of the project a cut-off point at the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 was decided. A total of 162 persons are listed on the LRO catalogue up to this date. About 260 documents - wills, inventories, bonds and letters were eventually transcribed. The wills and inventories are written in English but bonds are in Latin: virtually all records are dated in the reign of Elizabeth I, i.e. 17 November 1558 to 24 March 1603. Administration documents are of little value for the present purpose so were not considered.

Handwriting is of a poor standard. There was the usual difficulty in deciphering the letters a/o, e/i and t/c. We have transcribed the letter p at the end of a word as 'es'. The ampersand & is written as such, not 'and'. Where there are holes in the paper square brackets are used [] and where letters or words are indistinguishable we have used () but if we can reasonably infer text we have put words in (xxx). Obvious errors are marked (*sic*). At the end of many wills in the list of witnesses we see the word 'mo' or 'moo' which is taken to mean 'more men' or 'other men'.

The protocol for transcription was to try to give a reasonably accurate rendering of spelling with contracted forms of words written in full where the meaning is beyond doubt since the use of parentheses to indicate missing letters makes reading more difficult without making the meaning any more clear. The transcription of 'ye' and 'yt' is written 'the' or 'that' as appropriate, where y stands for the old letter thorn, þ. 'yt' and 'yf' are rendered 'it' and 'if' as required. The short form 'pyshe' is written 'paryshe' since the letter 'p' with an underline stands for 'par' or 'per'. The forms 'xpofer' and 'xp' have usually been left as they are (standing for Greek letters chi and rho) and meanings sometimes added in parenthesis as 'Christopher' or 'Christ'. Superscripts 'o' or 'or' or 'th' on dates are usually left on the line ('o' or 'or' being the last letter(s) of some Roman numbers such as septimo or quattuor). Since so many different people were involved in transcription the style remains slightly inconsistent but hopefully not misleading. The dates are those as written in the will or inventory, with some dates hard to read with certainty. In some cases there is conflict between dates of the will and inventory but one cannot discount the scribe not being sure of the year date. One has to remember that the old calendar year running from April to March was used at this time. The names are those as read in the will or inventory and in cases where they differ slightly in spelling the most acceptable version has been adopted based on knowledge of local names. The Banks, Jacksons, Johnsons and Procters show most variety in spellings.

The volunteers were Elga Balmford, Kathy Hall, Nigel Harrison, Chrissie Bell (*aka* Harte), Susan Manson, Isobel Palmer, and Brenda Pearce.

The transcriptions of all documents are to be found at www.dalescommunityarchives.org.uk together with this report, a Glossary of terms found in these documents and further Appendices.

Appendix 1, as an example, shows the will and inventory of Alice Ashe, 1587, with the transcription. The photographs remain copyright of the Lancashire Record Office.

A Relevant Time Line

- 1536 Dissolution of the Monasteries by King Henry VIII
- 1547 Accession of Edward VI
- 1553 Accession of Mary Tudor ('Bloody Mary')
- 1555 Burning of Protestant 'Oxford Martyrs'
- 1558 Accession of Elizabeth
- 1564 Birth of William Shakespeare
- 1568 Mary Queen of Scots flees to England
- 1571 Statute enjoining church wardens to enforce wearing of woollen caps on Sundays.
- 1577 Francis Drake starts his voyage around the world
- 1587 Execution of Mary Queen of Scots
- 1588 Spanish Armada
- 1599 Globe theatre built in London
- 1603 Accession of James I

Clapham parish villages and manors

The ancient parish of Clapham comprised the villages of Austwick and Clapham and the hamlets of Feizor, Lawkland, Newby and Newby Cote in the Deanery of Lonsdale with various manorial lords. In 1879 the parish was divided to create the parish of Austwick.

Clapham village is believed to be of Anglo-Saxon foundation and lynchets or cultivation terraces which may well date from that period can still be seen on the hillsides close to the village. The local names 'Clapham' and 'Newby' have Anglo-Saxon roots while 'Austwick' is a later Norse name.

At the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066 Clapham manor belonged to a Danish overlord called Thorffinr. It was one of 12 manors which he owned and was part of an area called Amounderness.

c.1100-1135 Henry II granted Clapham Manor to Roger de Mowbray

1170 Mowbray granted Clapham Manor to William de Clapham

Manor House = Clapdale fortified farm house

1201 King John granted Walter de Clapham a market charter

1522 Loan Book shows Clapham contained 66 households

1541 Clapham Manor sold by Robert Clapham to William Clapham of Beamsley

1572/73 Clapham Manor sold by William Clapham to John Ingleby. Clapham contained 24 messuages, 24 cottages, fulling mill and watermill.

A messuage was a dwelling-house plus garden and outbuildings, bigger than a cottage. At least 10 of the cottages stood between the market area, in front of the market cross, and the beck. They were demolished in the early 19th century. Many of the messuages are very probably buried beneath today's Main Street, Riverside, the lower part of Church Avenue and the top ends of Station Road and The Green.

We do not know where the mills were. The much older Newby Mill by Mill Field was a corn mill, demolished by the Farrers in the mid-19th century. There was another mill at Kettlesbeck (flour) and one at the old Temperance Hall (former cotton mill then bobbin mill, then school) near Clapham Wood Hall. It seems likely that there was also a mill near the site of the present sawmill, former corn mill, then cotton mill, then bobbin mill, in Clapham village.

1627 Ingleby raised £500 by allowing tenants to enclose, a punishment for his recusancy; his wife later recanted to recover land.

1658 Arthur Ingleby mortgaged Clapham Manor to Christopher Clapham of Stamford though Inglebys continued to live at Clapdale up to c.1800. Is this when Clapham Hall, later Old Manor House, later Reading Room was built, by Christopher?

1698 Ingleby sold Clapham to Josias Morley of Hornby and Wennington.

1701 The Old Manor House has a massive inglenook fireplace with joggled voussoirs and a decorated keystone inscribed 1701. Two-storey porch added to Clapham Hall/Old Manor House, later Reading Room by William and Isabel Clapham.

1718 William Clapham of Old/Clapham Hall died. The family moved to Slaidburn though they retained ownership of Clapham Hall and its farm.

1735 documents identify 'Old Hall in Clapham' as Clapham Hall, later Old Manor House/Reading Room.

1742 Old Hall sold by William Clapham to Heaton Family.

1782 Oliver Farrer married and bought back capital messuage of Clapham Hall, later known as The Old Manor House, later Reading Room. (Oliver was using his fortune to buy more and more property in and around Clapham as the basis for a sporting estate and country seat for his nephews though he did not own the title of Lord of the Manor).

1806 Oliver added a codicil to his will promising to build some additions onto an old house on his father's estate to create a country seat for his nephews. He called this building Clapham Lodge, later to be enlarged yet again to become Ingleborough Hall, eventually the Manor house.

1838 Heaton's sold Clapham Hall and farm to Farrers.

1856 Morley sold Clapham to J.W and O.Farrer. J.W.Farrer became Lord of the Manor and Ingleborough Hall formally became the Manor House. Clapham Hall became 'Old Manor House' ?

1925 J.A.Farrer, then Lord of the Manor, died and his son Sidney took over as Lord of the Manor, living at Newby Cote which thereby became the Manor House until his death in 1946.

1946 Sidney died and his place was taken by M.R.Farrer who lived at Deighton Cottage which was vacated under pressure for his use; Deighton Cottage then became known as the Manor House.

1952 M.R.Farrer, 'Roland', died and John Anson Farrer arrived from Australia to become squire and Lord of the Manor. He lived in Hall Garth which therefore became the Manor House though rarely referred to as such.

2014 John Anson Farrer died and in 2018 his place is to be taken informally by Philip Farrer who will also live in Hall Garth. It has recently been announced that Philip will be Custodian in Residence.

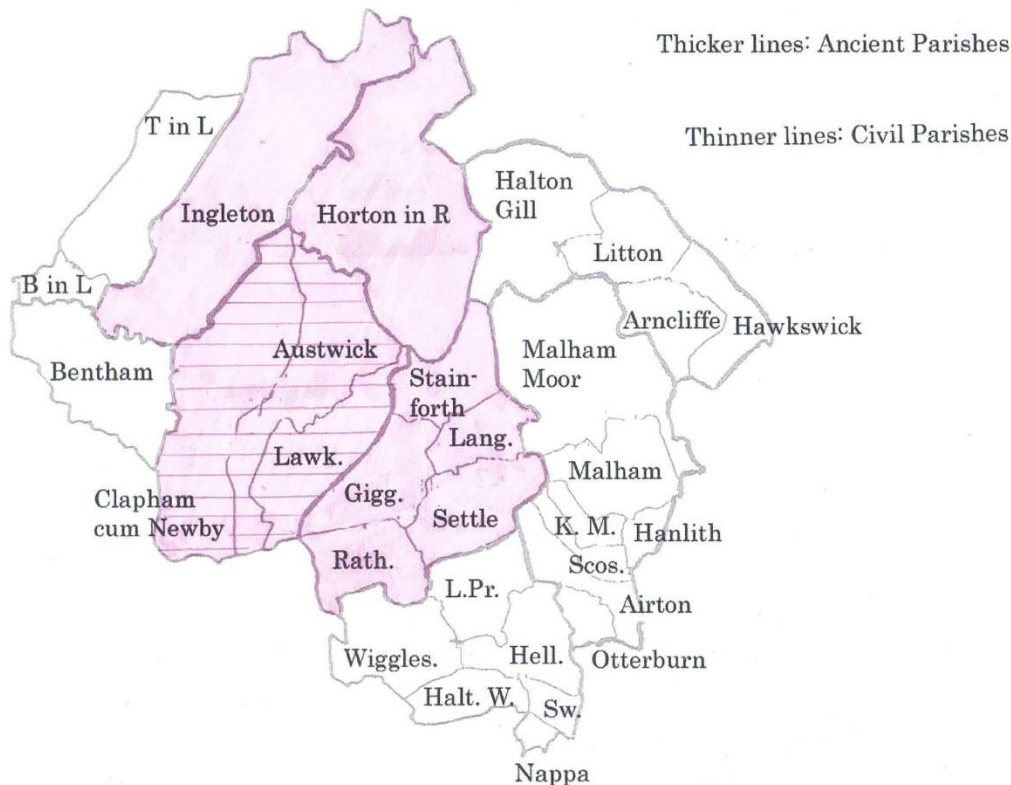
This summary does not account for the fact that The Old Manor House in The Green, below the school, is also known as a Manor House.

Newby has an entirely different history, with a much bigger manor divided into a Lower Division and a Higher Division, and a different set of Manorial Lords. The information given by Pevsner (*Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buildings of England; The North Riding*) about Newby Hall is incorrect. It identifies the Newby in question as '1ml.WNW of Clapham' but goes on to talk about a Newby Hall which has a gate lodge south of Skelton on the Boroughbridge road. This Newby Hall is the one near the A1 SSW of Thirsk.

In 1782 Farrers became Lord of the Manor of Austwick, then in 1810 Lord of the Manor of Newby and in 1856 Lord of the Manor of Clapham as well. By this time the family owned virtually every farm in the area and all but one of the houses in Clapham.

Manorial court rolls for Austwick, Lawkland cum Feizor and Newby exist and are gradually being translated and transcribed (www.dalescommunityarchives.org.uk). There are many names of tenants in these rolls for whom wills might be identified. The manor of Lawkland cum Feizor was held by the Catholic Ingleby family.

This information on the early history of the village is due to the work of Ken Pearce and the late Jim Hall developed over many years.



Civil Parishes of North Craven

The thinner line for Clapham denotes the modern Civil Parish and is almost co-terminous with the modern Ecclesiastical Parish.

The documents

In total 162 individuals are listed with wills, inventories, bonds or other catalogue items. There are 103 wills held at the LRO and one (for 1541) at West Yorkshire Archive Service. There are 130 inventories, 23 bonds and 3 other items (letter/note/wrapper). There are 93 cases of people with both a will and inventory which allows a useful comparison of contents, and 16 items too fragile to inspect and copy.

The number of inventories for this period in North Craven is remarkable since only for Ingleton is there a comparable set extant. It is known that inventories for other local parishes were long ago destroyed for want of storage space at the Record Offices. The item for 1541 on the LRO catalogue (Thomas Knype) is missing (wrapper only) but the will was found in the West Yorkshire Archives because the Probate Office in 1541 was in York and changed to Chester in that same year. The will of Jackson (1567) is duplicated; perhaps a copy was made by a notary. There are three other items – a wrapper, letter and a note. The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Index of wills in the York Registry) have been checked for pre-1541 wills in the York Register and none are listed. (Copies of such wills are kept by the Borthwick Institute for Archives in York University). There are four wills in the later Interregnum period. The Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society volumes similarly have no early wills listed.

Decennial distribution of documents

The LRO items are decennially distributed as in the table below.

	Wills	Inventories	Bonds
1550-1559	8	5	
1560-1569	8	9	
1570-1579	9	11	
1580-1589	35	50	3
1590-1599	23	33	14
1600-1603	21	22	6
Totals	104	130	23

The regnal periods of interest here are

Mary 1554-1557: 7 people 7 wills 3 inventories

Elizabeth I 1558-1603: 155 people 97 wills 127 inventories

Since there are few wills in Mary's time drawing any conclusions about changing religious sentiments must be done with care: Mary was Catholic and Elizabeth was Protestant.

Places

The main locations of testators where mentioned are

Austwick 44

Clapham 53

Eldroth 2

Feizor 2

Keasden 6

Lawkland 11

Newby/NewbyCote 12

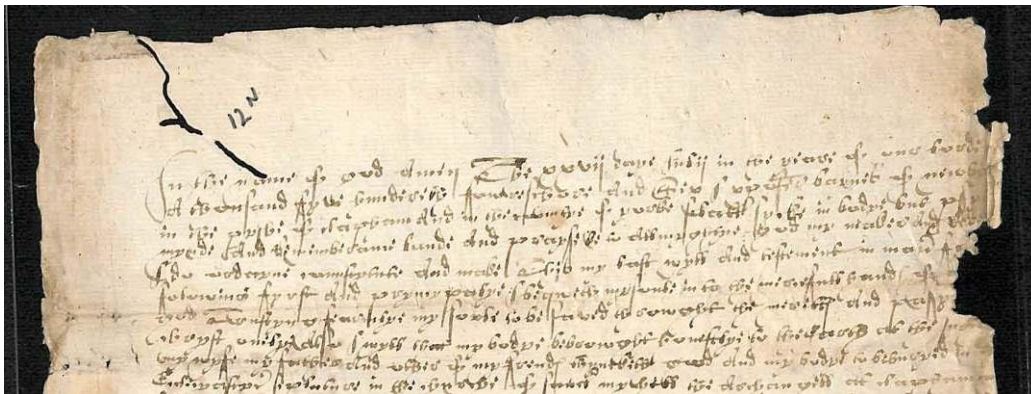
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Locations mentioned in Clapham Wills 1554-1603

with National Grid reference number

Austwick Hall	SD769688	Dubgarth	SD729666
Blayk Bank (Bleak Bank?)	SD724712	Crummack	SD773714
Blayk Bank (Black Bank?)	SD765644	Hammonhead	SD712672
(West) Borrrothead	SD707666	Thinoakes now Oaklands	SD707684
Lanstalle, Eldroth	??	Watergap	SD743690
Newby Cote hamlet	SD732706	Keasden hamlet	SD723666
Kettlesbeck hamlet	SD750660	Keasden (Head)	SD717640
Kettlesbeck	SD746636	Lanshaw	SD753662
Wenning Hipping	SD733675	Goat Gap	SD714703
Tenterbank (Newby)	SD730700	Sowerthwaite	SD775698
Greenclose field/hamlet	SD721692	Crina Bottom (Clapham)	SD742681
High Grain	SD744630	Low Hardacre	SD716680
Woodeyeate	??	High Hardacre	SD725685
Yowberhouse	??	Tadpott	??

Analysis of wills and inventories



Christopher Baines (1587) © Reproduced with permission of the Lancashire Record Office
LRO R543A/12

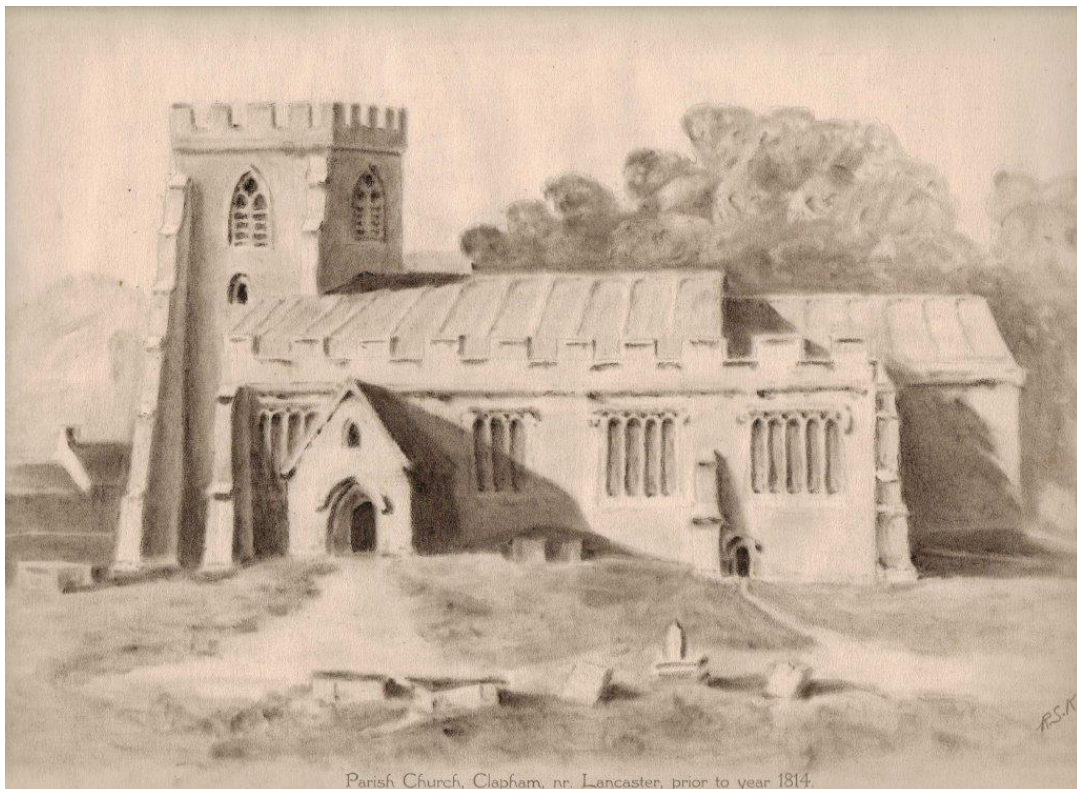
The document 'My last will and testament' commonly known to us simply as a Will concerns both the transfer of property and personal effects; the testator *wills* that the property is dealt with as the law allowed, whereas the *testament* concerns distribution of particular personal effects. A typical will starts with the sentence 'In the name of god amen ... I ... make this my last will and testament'. The word 'will' is Anglo-Saxon in origin whereas the word 'testament' is Latin in origin. The testator may well have given some of his/her possessions and money away before he/she

died so the Will may not accurately reveal the wealth of any individual. A brief comparison has been made of wills and inventories where both exist for one testator (93 examples) to assess this matter.

After the Act of 1529 restricting exorbitant probate fees claimed by the church, an inventory and valuation of goods had to be shown with the will. The testator's possessions were listed and valued by usually four appraisers - friends and local people. This is the Inventory. Probate Fees of 6d were due for valuations under £5 and 3s 6d for valuations between £5 and £40, then 5s for over £40. The probate scribe was paid 2s 6d out of this 5s but if he declined then the pay rate was set at 1d for every ten lines, each line to be 10 inches long.

The analysis of the Clapham parish Wills and Inventories is therefore separated into two parts - the first part being an assessment of the content of the Will and the second part being an analysis of any Inventory which can reveal much more about an individual, his possessions and their value and money (in hand, borrowed and owed) and possibly his occupation.

PART 1 ASSESSMENT OF WILLS



Clapham Parish Church dedicated to St Michael the Archangel, pre-1812

Courtesy of the PCC . Now in the Vicar's vestry.

THE CHURCH AND VICARS

In 1541 Clapham parish was transferred from the Diocese of York to the new Diocese of Chester. From 1546 the bishops of Chester became patrons of the living. Hence copies of wills and inventories for the area are now found in the Lancashire Record Office in Preston.

The church was dedicated to St Michael the Archangel in the late middle ages but is now dedicated to St James the Apostle. The vicar of Clapham from 1520 to 1559, Thomas Yedon, was closely involved with the rebels during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. Christopher Proctor states clearly in his will of 1589 that he is vicar of Clapham and it seems likely that he became vicar in 1559 following Thomas Yedon. From 1589 to 1627 Thomas Procter was vicar.

Christopher Holden held unknown office in Clapham in 1554 and resigned in 1574. Perhaps he was a Perpetual vicar appointed by Lord Monteagle as was Anthony Battersby who followed him. A Perpetual curate or vicar was a class of resident parish priest or incumbent curate; perpetual curacies were supported by a cash stipend, and had no ancient right to income from tithe or glebe. The Clergy Database (CCEd) states that Rev. Anthony Battersby became perpetual vicar for Clapham, 1574-1589 appointed by Lord Monteagle.

The only church wardens known in the relevant period are John Proctor and William Clapham.

North Yorkshire County Record Office hold original Clapham Parish Registers 1595-1956 (burials) as well as transcripts and typed lists. The Parish Register of Clapham, County York is published by the Yorkshire Parish Register Society (1921) but runs only from 1595 to 1683 (old calendar April to March). The information is partial in that only the years 1596 to 1600 have complete lists of burials. Most of the names are sons and daughters and women who for the most part are not expected to have made wills. In 1596 we have the wills of Isabell Battersbie, Thomas Remington and Agnes Wharffe and all three are listed in the Parish Register. In 1597 we have wills for Anthony Howson and James Jackson but also inventories and bonds and one fragile document for Christopher Ashe, Robert Bentham, William Leych and James Remington and five of these six are listed (Robert Bentham is not listed - we have only a bond). In 1598 we have three wills for Christofer Clapham, Richard Leming and William Mydleton and an inventory for Anthony Ashe. Only Christofer Clapham and Richard Leming appear in the Parish Register. In 1599 perhaps four males were buried that year. In 1600 we have five people with documents (only two wills) and one listed - Robert Battersbie of Hardaker. It may be concluded that for these years 1596-1599 virtually all those for whom we have documents are named in the Parish Register but for 1600 four of the five with documents do not appear in the Register.

VICARS and SCRIBES

The wills and inventories transcribed in the current project cover about 60 years (1541 – 1603), a period of great change and upheaval in the religious life of the country, as described elsewhere. The Clapham church board lists the vicars who would have been involved at a parishioner's end-of-life recording - at this period Thomas Yedon (from 1520), Christopher Proctor (from 1559), Christopher Holden, Anthony Battersby (from 1574) and Thomas Procter (from 1589) - but details of more clerics can be seen on the Clergy of the Church of England database (CCEd) which has accumulated available information from a variety of historical sources. In this, quoted from a 1554 Call Book, there is mention (positions unspecified) of Will(el)mus Banke, and also Christoferus Procter and Christoferus Holden, the latter being Rector of Nunnington 1552 – 1576. Christopher Proctor died in 1589 – we have his will. Antonius Battersbye (of a Hardacre family) followed in 1574; he was ordained deacon in 1562, priest in 1563, was vicar of Hooton Pagnell 1569 - 1592, and perpetual vicar of Clapham 1574 – 1589, his lay patron being Lord Mounteagle, local landowner in Hornby castle. (He was noted in a visitation of 1578 as not having fulfilled his obligation of delivering a minimum number of sermons in Clapham, so is unlikely to have been undertaking other day-to-day tasks there). Samuel Saunders, who had been ordained deacon and priest at York in 1575, was curate at Clapham by 1578. Thomas Procter BA was appointed vicar in 1589, and he continued throughout the rest of our project period. He did not die until 1627, outliving two sons, Alexander (buried 12 Aug 1610) and Stephen (buried 28 May 1626) both lying in Clapham churchyard.

The names of clerics appear in many of the documents as witnesses or supervisors; for instance Christopher Proctor witnessed John Harlinge's will, 1587, and Thomas Procter those of Anthony Howson and James Jackson, 1597. Sometimes Thomas Procter styled himself vicar, or sometimes clerk. Stephen Procter, clerk (no doubt Thomas's son) witnessed Isobel Battersbie's will, 1596, and he and Thomas Procter acted as assessors of the inventory, but we still cannot be sure of the identities of the scribes of such documents. The name Robert Procter clerk (another son?) appears as witness under the will of James Carr 1590 and the same hand has written the inventory. Another complication is that the name Procter was common, spelling varied and all references to, say, Thomas, may not refer to the vicar. There may have been other curates passing through – 'Richard our curate' is mentioned in a covering note to Charles Byggyes' will 1573.

It might be thought that a look at the handwriting, which is distinctive in some cases, would give us an idea of how many documents were actually written by the vicars themselves. This has not proved to be easy for an amateur!

The will of John Batson (1560) has 'per me Christ proctr Curat de Clapham' written at its foot, apparently in the same hand as thirteen out of the fourteen documents from the start of our period. However, it does not appear to be the handwriting seen

later, during 1582-1588 when Christopher Proctor was vicar. During the 1570s there appears to be a variety of hands. William Banks surfaces again in a letter in his hand concerning Charles Byggynes (1573) – there was a will written in a similar hand in 1569. Samuel Saunders in two documents unusually calls himself the scribe (Thomas Procter, 1578 and Robert Wildman, 1580), and the same hand is identifiable in around half the documents between 1578 and 1582. The most distinctive hand of the whole period makes its first appearance in inventories of 1582 and in very nearly all the sixty or so documents (wills and inventories) up to 1588 when it abruptly stops. Presumably this must be the hand of Christopher Proctor? A variety of hands follows for the rest of the period during which Thomas Procter was vicar. We have an example of his own hand with the inventory of Richard Coates 1602; there is a covering note, signed in a different hand (presumably Procter's) 'Yours to command Thomas Procter vicar of Clapham', and from that we can estimate that around forty-five documents (wills and inventories) were written by him, out of just over one hundred in the period 1589 to 1603.

Clapham Parish Registers only survive from 1595 and so unfortunately do not give us confirmatory background information for most of our period, but a look at the original entries from those eight years might show the same handwriting seen in our wills and inventories.

Mary Slater

RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS

'I bequeth my soule to allmyghtye god and to the Intercession of our blessed ladye sanct marye & all the hole Companye of hewene ...' (Alice Banke, 1557).

'I beqweth my sowlle in to the mercefull handes of Allmyghtye god trusting my soule to be saved throught the merettes And passyon of Jesus chryst onelye'. (Thomas Ash, 1587).

These two examples typify the religious statement changing from a Catholic to a Protestant nature. Clearly Catholic sentiments were expressed by Knype (1541), Procter (1554), Carr (1555), Home (1556), Place (1557), Banke (1557), Jacsone (1558), Batson (1560), Jackson (1564), Procter (1567), Tatham (1569). After 1558 Elizabeth tolerated Catholics to some degree but it is clear that some did not change their religious views in this transitional period.

Over the 60 years in question nearly all the wills were written expressing some religious content. Could this be the style of writing used by the scribe and in full knowledge of the testator's specific views or a simple expression of which allegiance he/she believed? During the early part of the period and the reign of Queen Mary people were persecuted, even burned, for not showing Catholic allegiance. For most

of the period, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, people could be more relaxed about their religious beliefs and more free to express themselves, although still to be aware of the dangers of not seeming loyal to the Crown.

Few wills mention bequests to charity. Wills were made by people with established households, making their wishes known and ensuring as far as possible they could be carried out. The study leaves many questions yet to be answered. Wills seemed to be made only late in life and when the testator was 'perfect in mind'.

Only a few are signed by the testator, suggesting that most are the copies deposited at the Probate Court, not the original which presumably was returned to the executors required to carry out bequests.

Elga Balmford

WOMEN'S ISSUES

Of the wills studied only 66 mention women and of these just 11 were female wills - 8 being widows and 3 being spinsters. Before 1882 a married woman could only make a will with her husband's consent but widows and spinsters could make a will in their own right.

In the 55 men's wills the term 'Title and Tenant Right' is used just 14 times. This relates to the title and ownership of the messuage or farmhouse which frequently went to the eldest son, with provision being made for the wife within the property during her lifetime. The Clapham wills bear this out with 'Title and Tenant Right' given to sons eight times, to wives three times, to wives and sons jointly twice and to a daughter once. Often conditions were attached to a bequest, as in the case of James Jackson (1597) who gave the tenement to his son William but stipulated that 'he be an obedient child to his mother..... but if he be an obstinat and undutifull child' the Title and Tenant Right would go to William's brother Thomas.

The term 'Tenant Right' can be misleading and it would be unfair to assume that the wife often received nothing but 'bed and board'. According to the custom of the Lordship she was entitled to her 'Widowright' which varied between one third and one half of the messuage and goods in the house. If we take this into account we see that in all but two of the 55 wills the wife was bequeathed her widowright. Of the exceptions Elizabeth Coates is unusual in that she refused administration of her husband's will (1602), requesting that it be granted to her son Lawrence who would presumably take care of her. In the other instance no widowright was mentioned in the will of Thomas Wilkinson of Lawkland (1572). He did appear though to give his wife authority at home when he specified that 'she be the best at the house' and continued by leaving his son John the tenement only providing 'he pleases his mother'.

Conditions were also attached to a woman's inheritance, the most common one being that she remain a widow. In the case of Richard Howghton (1583), there appeared to be no son to inherit so he stipulated that if his wife re-married his house and farmhold was to revert to his nephew Martin Carr. In another instance William Place (1587) leaves his wife the house, garth and title as long as she remains his wife but also additionally 'not hurtting my mother as longe as she liveth'. If children were involved the wife was often given the whole tenement until the eldest child reached the age of between 21 and 24 years of age. At this point her portion would revert to the widowright of one half or one third. This ensured the education and upbringing of the children and the continuity of the farmhold as the eldest child took over the running of the farm.

It was not uncommon for women to take on board the management of the farm, either solely or in conjunction with her children. This is indicated in 10 of the wills, where husbandry gear was found bequeathed to the wife and children. Of the 11 wills made by women, four contain references to stock or crops, indicating that the widow or spinster was farming to some degree. An example of this was Alice Knypeman who, in her will of 1577, bequeathes 10 wedders, 2 lambs, 6 sheep, 1 cow and 2 fleeces to various friends and family.

Provision for a dowry was only mentioned in 6 of the wills, the most generous being those bequeathed by James Griffiths in 1580 to his two daughters Anne and Margaret who were promised 10 li and 20 marks respectively when they married. This percentage could be deceptive though, because if a daughter had already married by the time of her father's death, her dowry is less likely to be mentioned in the will.

In the majority of cases women are the chief executors of their husband's wills, as you would expect; in the Clapham wills the figure was 45 and comprised women individually or jointly with their son or daughter. In only 7 cases was she passed over as executor in favour of sons or daughters or, in two cases, of brothers-in-law.

To summarize, the study shows that during this period the women whose husbands left a will received financial support and a place in the farmhold, as long as they remained unmarried. Their role was to bring up the children and in some instances to run the family farm too. When he reached maturity the eldest son inherited the property and was expected to take care of his mother and siblings so long as they were dependent.

Sheila Gordon

CLOTHING

Examination of the Clapham wills demonstrates how important and valued individual items of clothing were to their owners. Bequests are made not only of special items (my wydding jacked, my best gown) etc. but also the old and everyday (my workedaye jacked). John Johenson of Austwick (1583) leaves, amongst other items 'my hatte one olde Fuss (fustian) doubleth ... unto Jacketh wyffe my best shoes ...'

Specific items of clothing and/or footwear are mentioned in only 19 of the wills. These belong to 16 men and only 3 women (who make up only a small percentage of the total testators). Not surprisingly male garments figure most prominently amongst the noted items. These are 10 doublets, 3 pairs of shoes, two of boots, 12 pairs of hose, 14 jackets, 10 gowns, 4 cloaks/capes, 3 jerkins, 6 shirts, 2 coats, 1 waistcoat, 1 petticoat, 2 pairs of sleeves, 3 hats and a pair of breeches.

The breeches were left by Robert Grainger in 1595. No other mention is given to breeches anywhere and it is most likely that male nether garments are included in the term 'hose' which are among the more numerous items listed. Hose could also refer to the covering of the upper leg and body (attaching to the doublet) as well as stockings covering the lower leg and foot. Robert Grainger's apparel was worth thirteen shillings and four pence in total and it is unlikely that these were the looser knee-length wear becoming high fashion around this time.

Jackets are amongst the most frequently bequeathed items. Perhaps they were the most useful or survived well and could sometimes be useful to either sex since a black jacket is left to Janet Wildman by John Proctor in 1544.

There is not a lot of colour mentioned in this collection of largely male clothing. There is a black jacket and another is described as tan. Two cloaks are grey and two of the doublets are white. One man, Richard Howghton, in 1583 leaves to 'Nicholas Carr ... and his wife one cow and my wydding jacket'. But there is no further description of what may have been quite a colourful or decorative item made from a richer fabric.

Isabell Thorneton who died in 1585 leaves four gowns in all to her daughters, daughter-in-law and one other. Her best gown, and second and third gown are noted as such and presumably were identifiable according to their condition or the rarity and quality of the fabric. No indication of colour or textile is however given. The gowns would have been expensive items taking substantial amounts of fabric. Isabell does introduce a note of colour however when she leaves a pair of red chamlett sleeves to Elizabeth Armitstead. One other red item appears in the wills when Agnes Spolton dies in 1592 and leaves to 'Umphrey Clark wyffe one red pettiecote'. Perhaps women were keener on a bit of colour though this is not borne out by the portraits of this era depicting people of fashion. Certainly the natural colouring of the woven fabric without the expense of dyes must have been the most common.

Disappointingly we hear nothing of petticoats or sleeves from Agnes Procter (1568) who simply leaves to her daughter-in-law 'my Rayment And my clothing to hir and hir poore childering'.

The recipients of these gifts are often noted with the family relationship; clothes are left to sons, brothers, nephews, wives, in-laws and grandchildren, but also frequently to those we must assume are friends and neighbours. Thomas Foster of Newby left, in 1592 'To Henry Loblely a doublet ... to Robert Procter a Jacket ... I give to James Beans and Alice Beans my best cloak ... more to the said Alice one hat'.

Would the hat left to Alice have been of a style worn by both men and women? Fashionable wear at the time does not suggest this and it seems more likely to have been primarily a serviceable and practical item.

Two of the doublets are noted as fustian (fussing and fuss). This is a hard-wearing everyday fabric. Shirts are noted as linen and where linen clothes are mentioned one can generally assume shirts or the female equivalent. James Jackson, in 1603, leaves his great Ark to his son and 'all the Lying clothes within to my daughter-in-law Elizabeth Jackson'.

Wool was important in the national and domestic economy at this time but no single item is noted as woollen. It is likely that this fabric was used for much of the clothing. Evidence of this is in the will of Richard Proctor of Kettlesbeck (1603) who, looking to the future, writes 'all my wool which my sheep shall grow this year shall be made in cloth and every child that I am grandfather unto have a coat thereof.' A good note to end on.

Kathy Hall

HOUSEHOLD GOODS

The topic of household goods is mentioned in 26 of the Clapham wills transcribed. This appears to be a low number at first glance, but this figure does not include inventories, in which many of the deceased listed their belongings in more detail.

What is immediately clear when reading the wills is that the priority is not one's interior decor and style, or how many designer names adorn the home, but who inherits the tenement, receives which farm animal and what monies, if any remain.

Thereafter thoughts turn to household accoutrements and clothing. There is a clear exception. Three wills made by women - Isabell Thornton in 1585, Jenett Battersbie in 1601 and Alice Place in 1603 - go into great detail of who was to receive which pot, pan or chest. It is heart-warming to discover that no matter how humble the item, granny and grandad still prize certain belongings enough to select them for mention in their will. Or was that really all they had? To put it in modern parlance, it would seem they simply did not have much 'stuff' in those days, and certainly nothing that did not have a use is mentioned in any of the wills.

Many wills use the term household goods as a catch-all phrase for a bequest, and there is also mention of 'huschellmentes' or small household items in the will of Thomas Foster in 1592.

On to specifics. The most mentioned item is an Arke and they are usually a 'great Arke' - 10 in total. Nine chests are bequeathed and 14 pans, but only to 8 people. There are three lots of silver spoons, bequeathed in a trio and two lots of four. Then there are three brass pots, two pots and a great basin. There is only one girdle (griddle) mentioned, and two brandreths. Five tables are left to four people, one

chair, yes, only one, and then three lots of boards which were used both for tables and beds. There are four bedstockes/bed bequeathed, and their coverings seem a popular item - ten people left either a coverlet, sheets or both, plus three blankets left to two people. There are three Aumbries with various spellings, two salting tubs, one hack (kitchen tool), one dubler (a large plate) and a cresseth (oil lamp) also listed.

Is a 'stone of wool' a household good? Well, only if it is to be knitted into a tea cosy I suppose. Then there is the four yards of white cloth left to the wife of Robert Bradley (1587) for a gown - too late for a wedding dress, sadly, so may be a more practical use in the household was the norm for the material?

Finally, ponder on the lot of Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Woods, 1589. She is left a great brandreth pan, because he owes her 6 shillings. But if she refuses it, his wife Alice should have the pan giving Elizabeth six shillings. We can only guess which option she chose.

Isobel Palmer

FARM GOODS AND ANIMALS

In the 41 wills mentioning animals the numbers of individual animals, plus wool, mentioned are:

104	wethers/sheep
66	gimmer/lambs/crop
6	oxen
14	stott/stirk/bullocks
52	cows/kine/cattle
12	filly/mares/horses
7	wool

Number of wills mentioning husbandry gear and crops (other than lambs)

10	husbandry gear
1	cart and wheel
1	harrow
1	coulter
1	yoke
3	oats
2	malt/barley
3	corn

Husbandry gear is assumed to apply to arable farming

Judging by the number of items mentioned on individual farms it appears that 4 were arable, 14 were mixed farms and 23 were stock farms. The evidence indicates the importance of farming in the area.

Brenda Pearce

INDICATIONS OF DISPUTE

Fourteen wills were identified as containing evidence or implication of dispute. In the main, those wills displayed fear for the future on the part of the testator in so far as well-being and harmonious relations among surviving relatives were concerned. In one or two of the wills there were indications of other areas of dispute such as debt or simple estrangement.

Fear of dissatisfaction and/or disagreement among beneficiaries was apparent in the following wills: Brian Stawman (1567), Thomas Guy (1579), Robert Wildman (1580), Thomas Ash, (1587), Christopher Midelton (1590), Robert Gregson (1595) and Ann Wilkinson (1603).

The following wills revealed apparent mistrust of relatives as to future conduct towards surviving spouses or other relatives: Christopher Lupton (1586), James Place (1587), Robert Place (1587), William Place (1587), Robert Gregson (1595) and James Jackson (1597). Christopher Lupton (1586) says 'provyded that wyllam lupton shall not trowble my wyffe'.

In the will of Brian Stawman (1567) there was some indication of fear for the future of the holding, while in that of John Johnson (1573) there was evidence of the estrangement of the testator from a beneficiary. Debt was revealed in the wills of John Johenson (1583) and Robert Place (1587).

Nigel Harrison

MONEY MATTERS

The wills only, not inventories, are discussed here. Of the 104 wills 60 mention sums of money. The money amounts in the inventories may show that the money left as legacies in wills does not accord with the value of the inventory so conclusions about wealth must be treated with caution.

Money is expressed in terms of an amount written in English (five, ten, 'fivetenth', twenty, forty), or in pounds, shillings and pence, or in li (libra - £), s (solidus) and d (denarius), or in marks or nobles (only John Johnson, 1583; James Giffurth, 1580; Christopher Baines, 1586). The £ sign derives from the Latin word libra with a line through the abbreviated letters li. Roman numerals are most common; Arabic numbers are rarely used. It is usual to find xx s (twenty shillings) written instead of one pound or £1. Similarly xl s (forty shillings) rather than £2. Mixtures occur such as 'six poundes xiiij s iiii d' (Thomas Procter, 1578). The smallest amount is 2 pence (2d) and the largest amounts are £55 ('lv poundes to my sonne', Richard Prockter, 1584) and 'Fower score poundes' (Lawrence Procter, 1600). Some people were evidently very poor, some few very rich. It is very difficult to compare with modern values but a multiplier of several hundred or thousands might be appropriate. A typical annual income for a priest might have been £5 a year. Roughly 25% of the wills note money totals in the range £0 to £1, 50% are in the £1 to £10 range and 25% more than £10.

The mark was not a coin but an amount worth 13s 4d (xiiij s iijij d); a noble coin was half a mark worth 6s 8d (viij s viijij d). These quantities were uppermost in people's minds as basic units. One can subdivide into commonly expressed amounts such as 3s 4d (40d, ten groats), 20d (5 groats), 12d (one shilling or 3 groats), 4d (one groat) and 2d. There is however no mention of the word groat in these wills. Threepence was perhaps never used or expressed. In one case 34s 4d is written as xxxiiij s iijij d, rather than j li xiiij s iijij d, as if shillings were better appreciated than pounds (Edmonde Clapham, 1577). Thomas Procter (1578) writes xxvj s viijij d (26s 8d).

Money is commonly left to wives, children, grandchildren (James Remington, 1603 leaves xij d to each one), godchildren, other relatives, and friends. Money left to the eldest son might come with the proviso that he had to support his mother and brethren, particularly sisters when they married – their dowry - or when brothers and sisters reached ages of 21 or 24. James Giffurth (Griffiths) (1580) says that when his son gets married 'fivetenth poundes of lawfull English money' is to be paid to his wife by his son then she to pay Thomas' daughter Margaret 'twentie markes' and daughter Anne 'ten poundes towards their preferment in marriage'. Christopher Clapham (1598) gives his daughter xxx li 'when she com to marriage'.

Since there were no banks money was lent to other parties and legacies might depend on getting money back from others – 'vj s of money in the handes of Thomas Foster', 'xxxiiij s iijij d in the handes of Wylliam Procter', or from others 'faithfully covenanted to pay', 'in my onnkle John Mountt hande' (Jenett Battersbie, 1601). Money lent to a person might be gifted to him by the testator - 'iijij li which is in his owne handes' (Jenett Battersbie, 1601). Money sometimes had to be paid within a specified period of time ('xiiij s iijij d two years after my decease', Lawrennce Tatham, 1569) since it may have been difficult to call in the money at short notice.

It is notable that small sums are charitable gifts 'to the poreman boxe of the paryshe' by six people. Oliver Carr (1583) leaves money to be distributed to the poor by the vicar. Money was due to the church for burial but is not usually mentioned; John Johnson (1575) leaves 'Fyve shillinges towards my burial'. Christopher Procter (1589) says 'to everye poore scholer at my buriall to everye one i d and thos that singe pricksonge to everye one ii d'. Ann Wilkinson (1603) says 'if any be not content with there legaces my mynd is that the same shalbe gyven to the poore'.

Hughe Lupton (1587) leaves 'any pennyworth of goodes'. Thomas Milnar (1603) 'dyed very poor his goods not amounting to viij li debts more beside v li owed': he was servant to Thomas Ingilby who showed compassion. A servant is also mentioned by Richard Prockter (1584), leaving him vj s viijij d (and 'lv pounds to my sonne', so he could easily afford it).

Overall testators have thought carefully about leaving their money and specifying conditions on its distribution to make sure the family are as well looked after as possible. The 60 wills mentioning money represent perhaps only 10% or so of the population of Clapham parish so one has to wonder if the rest were too poor to consider it wise to make a will with its associated expense of getting probate.

Michael Slater

FAMILY AND INHERITANCE IN TUDOR CLAPHAM

The 104 wills analysed here are detailed in Appendix 3 on the website version of this report and are drawn from a total of 146 wills, inventories and bonds of administration written by or for people living in the ecclesiastical parish of Clapham during the years 1554-1603. At that time the parish included the townships of Clapham, Austwick, Newby, Eldroth, Feizor, and Lawkland as well as the hamlets of Greenclose, Newby Cote, Wharfe and Kettlesbeck and the scattered farms of Keasden. Other names in the 'place' column on the spreadsheet identify such scattered farms. The farms occupied by many of the testators are named – Borranhead, Blayk Bank (now Black Bank or Bleak Bank), Lanstalle, Wenning Hipping, Tenterbanke, High Grain, Yowberhouse, Claphamwoodyeate (Clapham Wood Gate), Thinoakes (now Oaklands), Water Gap, Hawks Heath, Lanshaw, Goat Gap, Sowerthwaite, Crina Bottom, Hardacre, Tadpott and Dubgarth as well as Austwick Hall. Usefully included in the wills are the names of land and farms other than those of testators – Hammonhead, Causyd, Lansalle, the Borwa, Nether Hardacre, Bownaber, Waterclose, Turnerford, Dubgarth, Crummack, Calterber, Wickforth and several others. Many of these old names are recognizable today, the farmhouses still occupied. Robert Wilcoke, in 1595, bequeathed 'my little house situate and lying and being at the church stile together with one garden adjoining upon one garden of John Swyer'. This location is perhaps identifiable as what was later known as Church Heck and is now no.2 Church View, opposite the lower gate to the churchyard.

Appendix 3 (website version) also includes details of 42 additional testators whose surviving testamentary records do not include wills but only inventories or bonds of administration. The information used in outlining patterns of inheritance has been taken from the wills only.

Modern spellings are used throughout except for family names, which are more subject to corruption over time and are not subject to the normal conventions.

The testators

The dates given are the dates when the wills were written. The occupations of testators are given in most cases from 1580 onwards. In the previous 30 years a note of the occupation was clearly not regarded as necessary at a time when virtually everyone was a farmer, a humble husbandman (37 wills give this as the testator's occupation) or a wealthier yeoman (7). The inventories which accompany many of the wills make it abundantly clear that the great majority of Clapham's menfolk were husbandmen at that time, far more than are identified as such by their wills. There are nine craftsmen or tradesmen among the occupations given, two wallers, four carpenters, a webster or weaver, a 'lether dyghter' (a leather dresser) and a servant as well as the vicar of Clapham. One of the craftsmen gives his occupation as 'wright'. Wrights worked on carts, wagons (wains), mills, ships or other wooden structures. In this instance the wright is likely to have worked on carts and waggons for local farmers. Family status of widow (10), singleman (4) and spinster (1) are shown in the same column. These were considered worthy of special attention. A single man towards the end of his life was an unusual

phenomenon, a spinster perhaps even more so because a single woman would have been more vulnerable in some respects, while a widow was in the special position of being a woman who could own and bequeath property in her own right, unlike most married women. This study includes 17 women, for 12 of whom we have wills, and 129 men, for 92 of whom wills have survived.

In an isolated 1568 instance Agnes Procter instructed that she was to be buried in her own clothes and that her neighbours were 'to have bread and ale and such other thing as can be provided for the day' in a memorial reminiscent of the modern wake. This is an unusual and interesting detail.

The beneficiaries

The pattern of bequests shows something of family size and family networks at this time. The nuclear families whose make-up is shown in these wills ranged in size from 1 to 10 in total, with 1 family of 10 including parents, 1 of 9, 3 of 8, 7 of 7, 16 of 6, 18 of 5, 11 of 4, 23 one-child families of 3, 15 couples living without children and 5 individuals apparently living alone. All the families are assumed for this exercise to have included both parents and all children in the family are assumed to have been mentioned in a will. This last point is not entirely valid since any adult son would be considered capable of supporting himself and would not warrant a significant inheritance. Nevertheless these sons are generally mentioned. There are a number of cases where the eldest son was required to support his mother until and unless she re-married. Similarly the eldest son was sometimes required to support a young sibling or to provide for them throughout schooling. The expectation was that older daughters would marry and be supported by their husbands so any inheritance was to be a short-term support or possibly an heirloom. In a few instances the widow was bequeathed items of a nature and value similar to those she originally brought to the marriage.

We have the wills left by 92 men, 3 of whom were single. 68 of the 89 married men recorded bequests to their wives, leaving 21 who left no such record. Collectively the 92 men appear also to have remembered 2 fathers, 2 mothers, 137 sons and 94 daughters in their wills, as well as 20 brothers and more than 10 sisters, over 18 nephews and 15 nieces, 37 in-laws and 20 grandchildren as well as 4 or more godchildren and 193 'other' friends and relations. The 193 figure includes a few family members whose relationship is not shown in the relevant will and other uncertainties are due to vague terms in some wills. The total number of beneficiaries listed is 620, with numbers ranging from zero to 22, 23, 25 and 37 for individual wills.

This pattern of bequests seems to show the greater importance of male inheritance at a time when women were expected to be financially dependent on their menfolk. It also shows the tight-knit support provided by family networks in Tudor Clapham. It is noticeable that single or widowed testators left bequests to numerous beneficiaries, many of them outside the family – up to 17, 18 or even 26 bequests in the case of one testator.

In three instances, in the 1550s and '60s, six priests were requested to pray for the souls of the testators, becoming beneficiaries in return and in two cases 'the church'

was cited as an impersonal beneficiary, presumably the local church of St Michael the Archangel (unless the Diocese or bishop took some or all of any bequest). In four instances 'the (Clapham) poor' were similarly cited without further detail.

The other roles

Other testamentary roles mentioned in the wills are executor, supervisor, witness and scribe. 84 of the 104 testators specified one or more executors to oversee the execution of their wishes, 124 executors in all, ranging from 1 to 7 in number. 29 testators required between them a total of 76 supervisors numbering from 1 to 4 per will, some in addition to and some in place of executors. The role of the supervisor as opposed to that of the executor is not clear and there seems to be a great deal of overlap and duplication. 93 testators appointed witnesses to countersign their wills. These people were presumably trusted friends, relatives, neighbours or local dignitaries, 307 individuals in total, numbering from 2 to 7 for each of the wills. In 10 cases a self-declared scribe undertook the writing of the will, some adding their signatures at the foot of the document. It is assumed that Henry Brabyn, 'registrar and notary public' fulfilled this task too, for Thomas Remington in 1596 and for William Mydelton in 1598. William's will was 'nuncupative' i.e. given verbally, but was subsequently written down and was signed off by John Williamson, vicar of Kirby Lonsdale, who had been deputed by Robert Parkinson, commissary for the examination (and verification?) of the will. The will of Thomas Milnar of Lawkland, dated 1603, casts a light on social attitudes in early 17th century Craven. He was a long-time servant to Thomas Ingilby who wrote that Milnar '...died very poor, goods not amounting to £8 & debts much more.' Ingilby asked for the remission of Milnar's debts, while vicar Thomas Proctor promised Henry Brabyn at Kirkby Lonsdale an inventory of Milnar's goods by '...next Court', presumably the local ecclesiastical court.

Members of the local clergy were often pressed into service to witness or write wills in their own parish. Thomas Procter, vicar of Clapham 1589-1628 was one such. On some occasions a bequest was made with a note that cash bequeathed was currently in the hands of a third party, a money-holder who presumably held the cash for safe-keeping or had perhaps borrowed it. This must have been an important role in the days before banks existed. 'The Justice and the Mare's Ale' by Alan Macfarlane (Blackwell, 1981) provides a very detailed account of the risk and practice of house burglary in 17th century Clapham and Craven.

Ken Pearce

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

An unusual term is that of 'tackes of grounde' or 'my whole tacke of years in Clapham tyethes', 'not loose until certayne tackes and termes of yeares be endede' as seen in the wills of Christopher Jackson (1564), Johenson (1583) and Johnson (1594). The Oxford English Dictionary confirms that the word tack, probably from old Norse, is associated with tenure and tenancy of land, especially of a farm, or a period of time, or an agreement.

References to crops and land are made, one being 'passenebbede in my gardyng' which might be parsnips (Jacsonne, 1558). Downham mentions 'the one half mowing ground and the other half arable ground' in 1580, presumably to give feed for animals and crops to feed the family. Tythe corn (Baines, 1586 and Bancke, 1587) and 'my whole tacked of years in Clapham tyethes' (Johnson, 1594) show that tithes were payable to the church but are seldom mentioned in the wills. What does Johnson mean?

There are references to the Lord of the Manor. 'Awstweke Lordesheppe' (Johnson, 1585), 'custome of the Lordshepe of Newbye', (Knype, 1583), 'Custome of Newbye lordshipe' (Midleton, 1590), 'lordshippe of Nuby' (Proctor, 1569), and 'lordship of Clapham' (Proctor, 1589) but no mention of Lawkland.

Freeholders and tenants-at-will were subject to the Court Baron and Court Leet of the Lord. There was a steward or bailiff associated with the courts – Alice Knypeman (1557) refers to 'James Proctor the bealeffe of Awstweke'. She also mentions Sir Christopher Proctor who became the vicar in 1559 – the title Sir was used as a mark of respect to the clergy. Thomas Proctor is named Vicar of Clapham by Thomas Milnar in 1603. Thomas Tatham (1583) asked to be 'buryd ... upon the sunnesyde of the crosse' in the church. Robert Wilcoke (1595) noted 'my litle house sytuat and lying and being at the church stiell'. Perhaps like Robert Wildman (1580) he despaired of 'the Lamentable maze of this worlde'.

'my lord Montegle' (Monteagle) is mentioned by Christopher Jackson (1564). He was a local landowner at Hornby Castle.

James Giffurth (1580) refers to a book or psalter (book of common prayer) which is significant in that such books in English (e.g. the Book of Common Prayer introduced by Cranmer in 1552 and later in 1583, Foxe's Book of Martyrs) were made to be put in churches by Elizabeth to achieve her Protestant aim of making church services understood by the congregation, in contrast to the Catholic church attitude to this matter.

Christian names are quite restricted and only two are unusual, 'Gelous' and 'Gershome' (in the wills of Edmonde Clapham, 1577 and Richard Foster, 1594) – maybe Gresham. Agnes is often spelt Angnes which might indicate the pronunciation, although it has to be admitted that the quality of spelling is generally not very good.

In the early 1500s the practice of giving the best beast to the vicar was common as part of the mortuary payment but there is no mention of this in this set of wills. However, John Proctor in 1554 says 'I geve to Sir Chrystopher procter the best shepe att my house'. Christopher Procter was not vicar until 1559. Another ancient practice is echoed in the words of Agnes Procter who asks that 'neyghtboures to have bread and Ale and suche other thinges as can be provyded for the day (of my burial)'. Christopher Procter in 1589 mentions 'prickesonge' – music sung from notes written or pricked, as opposed to music sung from memory or by ear.

Michael Slater

PART 2 ASSESSMENT OF INVENTORIES



Up to 1859 probate of a will required that a detailed inventory of the 'goods, chattels and cattles' of the deceased be produced (Statute 21 Henry VIII, c.5, 1529, *An Act concerning Fines and Sums of Money to be taken by the Ministers of Bishops and other Ordinaries of Holy Church for the Probate of Testaments*). The Act can be viewed at familyrecords.dur.ac.uk. Cattells are the property or capital assets and chattells are moveable property. The inventories were appraised by reputable neighbours who were considered to be competent and qualified to assess the value of goods. Historians consider that the assessors were often barely literate and in most cases undervalued the property quite recklessly.

HOUSEHOLD GOODS, FURNITURE AND BEDDING

From the inventories examined, it would appear that the inhabitants of Clapham led mundane lives, plain and simple. But quality of life is not measured in material goods alone, thank goodness, for there are fewer than a dozen people over the period with any sizeable inventory.

People appear to fall into three main groups: the wealthy, the comfortable and the downright wretched. How would you feel at the end of a hard life to leave only one pan, a girdle and a chair (Brian Stawman, 1567)? Contrast him with the Procter family, who I think of now as a dynasty, such was their comparative wealth and lengthy lists of belongings.

Of particular note is Christopher Proctor (1589), vicar of Clapham, and one of 13 Proctors/Proctors who leave substantial household goods. Rev Christopher has the feather bed, mattress, numerous coverlets and bolster cushions typical of the wealthy, but also owned a sophisticated array of crockery including the first mention of ale cups, glasses, a tin bottle and a mortar and pestle.

So the well-off in Clapham parish appear to have luxuriated in more types of pots and pans, bedding and furniture than their poorer counterparts. They dined with silver spoons and ate meat cured in their salting tubs. Alexander Bankes (1592) is typical with his chafing dishes, tablecloths and candlesticks added to the average 'pewder'. Instead of just arks and chests, he also had chairs, stools, forms and a table.

Thomas Milner (1603) enjoyed a substantial amount of bedding - including 2 best coverlets and 5 worst coverlets. He also left brass and pewter candlesticks, saucers and pans. This is an example of later inventories showing more iron and brassware.

I wonder if Isabelle Thornton (1585) took in laundry or operated an inn or just had a passion for bedding because she had 12 coverlets in her inventory. There are only 10 inventories from women but they do not seem to have owned more kitchen-type goods.

Those with the least generally ended their lives with bedding, pewter and chests or arks (Adam Carr 1603), plus maybe a pot and the catch-all phrase 'hussellments'. Anthony Ashe (1598) left only a chest and hussellments; Janet Battersbie (1601) just a fire vessel, wood vessel, pewter and bedding.

The majority of inventories fall into the middle sector with around a dozen named items, including arks, chests, pans, pots, brandreths, girdles, tubs, stools, boards, bedding, pewter, iron gear, rackencrokes and other fireside gear.

There is nothing decorative or superfluous to basic living needs. If you wanted to pay a visit to someone in Clapham, best to stay with the vicar, in my humble opinion.

Isobell Palmer

ANIMALS IN CLAPHAM INVENTORIES

Cattle

There are 174 references to types of cattle which are separately valued in the inventories plus other references which refer to a mixture of different animals which cannot be separately valued. The many types of cattle with their spread of values, average values and total numbers are tabulated. The values are commonly expressed in multiples of 3 shillings and 4 pence (3s 4d or 1/6th of a pound) which is half the value of the Noble coin, 6s 8d. The few valuations that are expressed in other amounts are approximated. Valuations must vary according to age and condition of the cattle and are subject to the opinion of the valuers.

Values in Multiples of 3s 4d

<i>Specific name</i>	<i>Range of values</i>	<i>Average value</i>	<i>Total number</i>	<i>Age</i>
Calves	1 to 5	2.4	15	one year old and younger
Bull calf	3	3	1	
Stirk	1½ to 8	3.5	19	1 to 2 years
Young beasts	1½ to 6	4	7	
Stott	1 to 11	5	9	
Cattle	3 to 9	5.5	5	
Beasts	6	6	1	
Heifer	5 to 8	6.5	4	about 1 year old
Bull	7	7	1	
Cow	1½ to 12	7.6	75	
Ox	5 to 19	16.5	33	
Yoke of oxen	22 to 24	23	4	

The names are spelled in many different ways.

Bullock - stott, stotes, stoot - castrated male animal

Calf - calffe

Cow - cove, kay, kye, kyne, kine, keye, keyen, kuyne, quye, quie, qwyes, whie, whye

Heifer - heffer, hefer - female calf

Ox - oxe, ouxe, oxon - castrated bull used as draft animal

Steer - steare, steyre - young castrated ox

Stirk - styrke, stirke, sterk, stocke, streike, steyrke, strycke - young bullock or heifer 1 to 2 years old

Obviously values increase with age. The single reference to a bull owned by William Ashe of Feizor in 1582 suggests that it would be 'rented out' in the parish. The yoke of oxen appears to mean two oxen used for ploughing according to these values: this is in contrast to the suggestion that teams of six or eight oxen were used in more southerly regions with large fields. It is also clear that a large fraction of the inventories (118 out of 130 = 91%) mention cattle so milk and cheese must have been major sources of sustenance. There are very few references to beef for eating,

or, curiously, cheesemaking equipment. The local name Keasden is said to mean 'cheese town'.

Michael Slater

Sheep

Of the 130 inventories 82 mention sheep (63%) whereas 91% mention cattle. The relative areas of the arable and pasture ground in the parish may account for this striking difference.

Many of the inventories involved simply mention sheep without a number but the valuations suggest that several people own large flocks of 70 to 200 (Ashe, 1582; Carr, 1603; Chapman, 1595; Clapham, 1598; Foster, 1594; Granger, 1595).

Most valuations are simply for sheep but the terms lambs, hogs (6 months to first shearing) and ewes (yowes) are recorded. In a few cases a distinction is made between older and younger sheep. The average value of all types is about 30d; lambs typically are valued at 20d (1s 8d or half of 3s 4d) and hogs are valued at an average of about 40d (3s 4d). A few extreme valuations of 4s to 6s are perhaps for ewes carrying lambs.

There is no specific mention of tups (rams) but the terms wethers, twinters and gimmers occur.

Michael Slater

Other animals

Horses, mares, fillies, nags, swine, poultry, cocks, pullen, geese and fowl are mentioned in the 130 inventories. There is curiously no mention of goats. It is impossible to calculate values, either overall or individually, because in many cases no numbers are given, merely the words horses, mares etc.

Horses are mentioned in 85 inventories, 65%, variously named as horses, owlde, ould, old and olde horses, horsses, nagges, foals, foles, fowlls, foalls, yong horses, staggs, stages and stagges. Presumably most of these were used for transport.

Mares are mentioned separately as mares, meares, mayres, maiers, marse, mairs, filies, fylles, fyllys, olde mare, ould meare or in one case old litle mare.

Swine appear in 27 inventories, 21% of the total. They are mentioned as swyne, swine, sow, pygge and pige.

Poultry are in 56 inventories, 43% of the total. They are hennes, henes, hens, cockes, cokes, kockes, pullen, pullan, pulling, pulleng, chekens, gysse, geesse, gyse, geise, goosse, gysslyng, ghosses and gese.

Brenda Pearce

FARMERS and FARM GEAR

The wills were studied together with associated inventories to assess the extent of farming activity. 70 of the testators gave their occupations or marital status. 36 were styled as 'husbandman', a farm worker engaged in the cultivation of his own land or that of another landowner. Many husbandmen were small-holders, tenants who held their land by copyhold or leasehold tenure. In addition there were 8 testators who were styled as 'yeomen', wealthier owners or tenants of larger farms and part of the newly-emerging middle class. There were also 13 widows and a spinster as well as 4 referred to as 'singlemen'. Those not identified as farmers included 3 wallers, 2 carpenters one of whom was alternatively stated to be a 'wright', a webster or weaver, a sheareman (a cloth cutter and also a sheep-shearer) and a vicar. There is no indication as to the precise trade followed by the wright but it seems likely that he was a cartwright or a wainwright rather than a millwright, shipwright etc. Although these tradespeople were not identified as farmers their inventories all included some items of farming equipment and they appear to have been part-time small-holders.

There are 130 inventories. All indicated that the testator was engaged in farming in one way or another.

109 of the inventories mention farm gear, farm implements or items of farming equipment. The most numerous category (59 mentions) was 'husbandrye gear', 'working gear' or 'toyles' (tools). This catch-all category could indicate any one or combination of a wide variety of implements or accessories.

The specific items most frequently mentioned (65) are 'sakes' and 'seckes'. It has been suggested from the study of numerous inventories in other local parishes that 'sakes' or 'sackes' (38) were used as a measure and container for grain or other produce or that they were fastened over window openings in place of the far more expensive glass. Here they would allow some visibility while keeping out the worst of the weather. By contrast 'secks' or 'seckes' are believed to have been sacks used for the storage and transport of hemp or flax yarn. The term 'lyne' is used frequently in the inventories and it is tempting to interpret this as a variant spelling of the modern word 'line' meaning thread or yarn. Alternatively the term may signify an early spelling of the word 'linen'.

The item next most numerous mentioned (34 mentions) is 'wyndowecloth', 'winowcloth' or 'windingcloth'. It is far from clear how these spellings should be interpreted. Are they differing attempts to spell the same word at a time when spelling was not regularised or do they represent different items? 'Windowecloth' could well be the name given to sacking fastened across window openings in place of glass, while 'winowcloth' might be the large linen sheet used in winnowing grain to separate grain from chaff and 'windingcloth' is the word applied to the length of cloth in which a corpse was wrapped for burial.

Another item recorded in the inventories in similar numbers is 'poakes', 'pookes' or 'poacks', of which there are 32 listed. Today this term is rendered 'poke', a bag or pouch. One can imagine that there could be a myriad of uses for such an item, in this farming context probably including the storage and transport of seed, grain,

peas, beans etc. The inventories do not specify the use or contents of any of the bags, nor the material from which any one is made though some of the lists do specify weights or volumes of seed, corn etc. which would normally be stored or transported in bags.

The only other numerous item which could be classed as 'farm gear', farm equipment, was 'cartes' or 'carttes', smaller, two-wheeled vehicles pulled by horse or oxen. The inventories make reference to 15 such vehicles, which seem to have been the every-day transport used by Clapham's farmers. One inventory lists a cart understandably kept for one particular purpose, a 'moyk car', a muck-cart for taking animal dung from byre to field. The dung, known as 'worthing', was a valuable commodity listed in a couple of inventories. There is mention of only one 'wayne', the larger, four-wheeled wagon which was pulled by a team of horses or a yoke of oxen when moving large or heavy goods. This one was owned by Richard Procter of Thinoaks, seemingly a wealthy yeoman farmer whose inventory included eight items in the category of 'farm gear', the second highest number of such items held on one farm. Carts and wagons need wheels of course, listed variously as 'wheles', 'whelles', 'whiles' or even 'queles', though this last spelling may refer to spinning wheels. 20 inventories list cart wheels, wain wheels or 'tyMBER' for their making. Many of the timbers in a cart or cartwheel, even more so in a wagon, were made from wood of a specially selected species with subtly curved grain to provide greater strength and such timbers and curved boughs were especially valued and were put into store for years until the need for them arose. There is one mention of a 'whelebracke' which may be the name then given to a scotch, a wedge-shaped block of wood used to hold a cart or wagon on a steeper slope.

Although Clapham seems to have been a parish where livestock was an important source of income there seems also to have been a good deal of husbandry, arable farming, too. Nine of the inventories list 'plows' (ploughs) or 'plowgeare' while five list an 'arowe' (harrow) or 'yrone arrow', an implement pulled across a ploughed field by horse or ox to break down the larger clods of earth. One inventory also lists a 'dragg', a heavier version of the same implement and particularly useful on heavy, wet or clay ground. Five inventories also list 'iron geare' and four list 'teams' or 'yron teammes'. 'Teams' were the chains used to connect a plough or harrow to horse-harness or ox-yoke and 'iron geare' may well be the same. The 'cowlter' mentioned in one inventory is presumably a coulter, the vertical iron blade fixed in front of the ploughshare and has here been included among 'plowgeare'.

Although the inventories give all this evidence of cultivation there is relatively little mention of harvesting, only seven scythes and one sickle. There are however eight sieves listed variously as 'sives', 'sves', 'syffes' or 'siffes', as well as five 'reddelles' or riddles. One can imagine that these would be essential for sorting grain from any remaining chaff, for instance.

Cows would be milked out in the field or a field-barn in 16th century Clapham. A couple of the inventories list 'lethers' or 'cove llethes', leather straps used for hobbling livestock to make such tasks easier.

The seven inventories which list 'sherres' or 'sheyes' must relate to sheep shearing or to close-cropping the nap on newly-woven fabrics, possibly both. Other smaller hand tools thought sufficiently valuable to be mentioned in the inventories include two axes, two 'gatoctes' (similar to a mattock?), two 'gavelockes' or 'galockes' (crowbars), four 'hackes' (two-pronged mattocks), eight 'spaides', a 'hamer' and a 'brake' (a toothed implement used to crush flax stems to ease the release of fibres). Surprisingly only one inventory lists a 'stee', a ladder, and only two list 'ives' or 'hyves', beehives. We know that bees were an important source of sweetening agent at the time and that they were sufficiently important to be tithed so we would expect to see more than two hives or skeps listed, while a ladder is such an all-round useful item (to move swarming bees from tree to hive for instance) that one is tempted to assume that there were far more of them in the community.

Last among the farm gear listed here are 'seedcorn' and 'hemp seed'. Two inventories mention seedcorn, the grain selected as the source of the following year's crop, which suggests that the Dales climate was warmer and drier in the 16th century. Two inventories list hemp, which was normally grown on rich alluvial soils in small crofts next to the farmhouse, where it provided a useful additional income. The stems were retted to release the fibres, which were then woven into cloth or twisted into cord and rope while surplus seed was often fed to poultry.

Of the 36 categories of farm gear mentioned above some were listed in far more inventories than others, up to a maximum of 9 types of item in one inventory. Two inventories list nine types, three list eight types, three list seven and twenty-two list just a single type from this highly selected range of items from the inventories. The highest numbers of types found are roughly grouped in the years 1582-1602, which may be due to changing patterns of agriculture or to changes in recording traditions.

Ken Pearce

CROPS and FOODSTUFFS

In the late 16th century people needed to be self-sufficient. The staple diet for man and beast was cereal-based, and waterwheels, where possible, provided the power for grinding.

Crops are mentioned in 110 of the inventories, the most common reference being to corn (corne) with 70 references. This is thought not to relate to maize or Indian corn; rather it would appear to be a generic term for the most commonly grown cereals in the area. From other specific references these would seem to be barley (bigg, bygge) and oats (otes, ottes, oytes). There are 25 references specifying one or other of those crops.

The next most common reference is to hay (haye, hey) which is mentioned 53 times. There are also two other references to grass as a crop for example as 'grass of the ground' or 'meddoe'. Hemp is then the next most commonplace crop with 25 references.

There are 18 references to 'the crop' without further specification. Distinctions are drawn to denote stages of cultivation/ harvest, for example, 'in the ground', 'sown', 'thresht'. There is apparent reference to beans and peas in the inventory of William Richardson (1602) but these do not appear to have been widespread crops in the area.

Values attributed to crops vary from pennies to over £17-00-00. There seems to have been a concentration of higher value of crops at Newby Cote and Newby (Christopher Foster of Newby Cote (1587) £13-16-0; Thomas Guy of Newby Cote (1579) £17-10-8 and Robert Gregson of Newby (1595) £13-14-2) but the highest values were not confined to that area. See, for instance, Christofer Clapham of Austwick (1598) - £13-6-4 and William Mydleton of Green Close (1598) £13-6-8. At the lower end, crops consisted of hay valued in pennies, for example, Isabell Rogerson of Austwick (1577) (16d) and William Walker of Austwick (1568) (12d). Between the two extremes can be found examples with a value of a few shillings upwards through those measured in pounds.

Foodstuffs are mentioned in 52 of the inventories. The most common references are to meal and malt which are both variously spelled. They are often but not always mentioned together. There are 28 references to meal and 23 to malt.

As far as meat is concerned, there are 19 references to beef, 12 to bacon and 8 to the generic 'flesh'.

There are 10 reference to grotes, that is, grain with the outer casing removed (shucked) and there are individual references to lard (Alexander Banckes of Austwick, 1592) and cheese (John Atkinson, 1603). Beans and peas are mentioned in two of the inventories (William Richardson, 1602 and John Wyldman of Newby Cote, 1601).

Values attributed to foodstuffs vary from a few shillings to over £10. The highest value food was left by William Richardson (1602) with a total value of £12-2-4. Again, some of the higher values were at Newby Cote: Richard Wyldeman of Newby Cote (1602) £5-3-4 and John Wyldeman of Newby Cote (1601) £7-11-8. Lower values include Richard Wharff of Wharfe (1592) who left beef and bacon valued at 2s and James Care of Lanshaye (1590) who left grotes valued at 5s.

Nigel Harrison

MONEY ASPECTS OF THE INVENTORIES

There are 130 inventories of which 127 could be assessed for money matters. However, in many cases the valuations of the appraisers were difficult to read, missing or difficult to interpret. The amounts involved have therefore to be treated with some caution. Nevertheless, reasonable conclusions can be drawn concerning the values of goods in the house and tenement, the amounts owed in debt, the amounts due to the testator and the net valuation.

A striking feature is the variation in expression of values in pounds, shillings and pence and in one case one item valued in marks. Virtually all amounts are written using Latin numerals, but in one case mixed with an arabic number. Furthermore, the Latin numerals involving l (letter ell) for 50 may not be written according to classical Latin, e.g. *xlxiv* (40+14) for 54 rather than *liv*. Then care has to be taken to read l for 50 not li for pounds.

Sums such as *xx d* (20 d) for 1s 8d, *xij d* for 1s, *xlxij s iij d* (40s + 12s + 4d) are used instead of simple £, s, d.

With these cautionary notes in mind the total valuations of primary interest are summarized as follows.

16 (13%) had net worth of between	£0 and £5
19 (16%)	£6 and £10
19 (16%)	£11 and £15
8 (7%)	£16 and £20
9 (8%)	£21 and £25
10 (9%)	£26 and £30
11 (9%)	£31 and £35
8 (7%)	£36 and £40
3 (3%)	£41 and £45
2 (2%)	£46 and £50
3 (3%)	£51 and £55
3 (3%)	£56 and £60

Another 10 (8%) persons had net worth of between £60 and £120, one more had £236 (William Ashe of Feizor, 1582) and one (Alexander Banckes of Austwick, 1592) £308.

There are four persons with net worth slightly negative, up to minus £7. They may have been rather poor but they had tenements and were not obviously destitute, as their wills help to show.

On average the value of goods was about £28, debts about £3 to £4, £5 due to them from others, net £29. Nearly 60% had debts and 30% had money lent to others. In some cases these two amounts are more or less in balance. The system of credit and debit was usual in the absence of banks and the final settlement was at death. We have little evidence of 'writings' about these matters and trust may have played a large part. There is no mention of interest being charged.

There are rather few mentions of money held in the house. In Giggleswick parish and Ingleton parish inventories the first item listed in the inventory is frequently apparel and money in his/her purse, but not so in the Clapham parish inventories. William Ashe (1582) of Feizor has 'money and goulde' worth £6-18-4; Christopher Batersbye (1587) has £12 'in redie Monney'; James Giffurth (1580) has 'his purse girdle and money in the same 10s'; Alice Remyngton has 'money in her purse 6s-8d'; Lawrence Lupton (1577) lists 'his purse and apparel 36s-8d'. Peter Rawsone (1588) has 'item in money 36s-8d'. One would have thought that most would have had some coins in the house but a wife or children may well have taken them over before any appraisal of goods in the house.

The distribution of wealth is very wide suggesting that not much has changed over the centuries.

Michael Slater

TEXTILES



Textiles and associated equipment were mentioned in 73 of the 130 Clapham inventories studied, i.e. 55%. Fabrics listed include white, blanket and woollen cloths, linen, sacking, canvas, harden and carsey. Wool was the most frequent, being listed 36 times whilst hemp was second with 26 references. Hemp is a plant which yields a coarse fabric but whether the hemp listed was the raw material before it had been retted and spun, or the actual fabric itself, is not clear. Hemp seed was found in two of the inventories indicating that this was grown in the area (Christopher Proctor, 1589, Robert Granger, 1595). Flax is a plant similar to hemp and used to produce very fine linen. The raw material was imported in large quantities from Europe. Whether it was grown in the Clapham area is unknown as no evidence of flax seed has yet been found.

Harden was a coarse linen cloth made from the refuse of flax and hemp once it had been combed. Carsey, or kersey as it was often known, was another coarse cloth woven from long wool. Webs of cloth are mentioned twice – a web being cloth either still being woven or after it has come off the loom. Richard Coates was assessed in

1602 with having 5 yards of canvas web and 41 yards of sack web, a not inconsiderable amount and so possibly not just for home consumption. Sack web was frequently used to wrap webs of fabric before being transported by packhorse to market.

Equipment found: 4 looms, 15 spinning wheels including two for spinning flax or linen, 8 pairs of combs including a heckle (a comb used for dressing flax or hemp), 6 cards (another tool for combing wool or flax before spinning) and various other small items, e.g. scissors, shears, tongues and a tub for yarn. Only four looms were listed, however it is possible that William Ashe of Feizor also had one. He certainly appears to be a weaver, although no loom was mentioned, as his assessors found 18 yards of harden, 16 yards of blanket cloth and 15 yards of white kersey valued at £1-19s - 8d apart from spinning wheels for both flax and wool. It was not uncommon for looms to be rented if the weaver was working on a more commercial basis supplying a clothier with his finished webs. Looms were nearly always listed in pairs; a studdle is one of two upright posts forming a loom, hence the term a pair of studdles or looms. Of the 15 spinning wheels listed only two were for flax.

The inventories reveal the community to be chiefly agricultural but many farmers needed to supplement their income by spinning and weaving which during this period was simply a cottage industry. It was not until the late 18th C that this was all to change with the coming of industrialisation.

There are two unusual words clearly written and listed in the inventory of John Batson (1560). The word 'shermasheres' probably means shearman's shears and 'stonters' is something associated with castration perhaps.

Elga Balmford and Sheila Gordon

CLOTHING

Relatively few people made bequests of garments (19 in all) but almost all of the inventories include a valuation of the deceased's clothing, usually listed as apparel or raiment. Only two inventories make no reference to these.

As one might expect, the values noted fall mainly within a broad band of between five shillings and two pounds. 13 are valued under five shillings. 32 are between five and ten shillings, 26 are from ten shillings to one pound and 46 are from one to two pounds. Only 5 valuations are in excess of this, although one of those, at nine pounds includes coverlets, bedding and other household textiles.

There appears to be little correlation between the value of the clothing and that of the total estate. The richest of the testators had clothing in the mid-range. They were not those with high value clothing.

Isabell Thorneton, who died in 1585, is the most interesting of those assessed at a higher value. Her apparel is valued at £5. This is thirty shillings more than the next most expensive wardrobe. We know something of what her wardrobe comprised since her will makes a number of bequests. She leaves four gowns in all, each of which would have been an expensive item in view of the amount of fabric involved and the work that goes into making a major garment. This is borne out by the inventory of Christopher Proctor.

Vicar Christopher Proctor who died in 1589 is unique in this Clapham group in that his inventory lists items of clothing, valuing each type of garment rather than putting everything together under the heading of apparel. Because of this we have an idea of the range and quantities of clothing that one gentleman might own.

He has a best gown made of an imported dyed woollen cloth. This is his star possession being valued at 30 shillings out of a total (for his clothes) of 3 pounds ten shillings and eight pence. He has three more gowns and a cloak which between them are 20 shillings - so clearly condition and textile used are very important. He has three jackets, two doublets, a waistcoat, three pair of hose, three shirts and two little bands. I am not sure what the bands are but they are noted and valued together with the shirts so presumably are linen and belong with them. He also has a cloth cloak, a hat, and caps, shoes and slippers and a tippet. The value of Christopher Proctor's clothes in total is amongst the highest, and way above the usual range. Interestingly he is not amongst the most wealthy with an estate of £15-6s-8d.

Two other valuations of individual items come from James Care of Lanshay who in 1590 left 'a pair of boutes' to his son Christopher. Amongst the debts he owed is one of 2 shillings and 8 pence to Lawrence Place for a pair of boots. Thomas Milnar of Lawkland also owed for clothing at the time of his death. In his case for 'a felt hatte' for which he owed 2s xijd (*sic*). The remainder of his clothes came to no more than four shillings plus the hat now worth a little less than the debt at 2 shillings.

We are reminded of the value placed on each item of clothing by considering also the inventories and wills which list quantities of yarn (hemp, linen or wool) and of lengths of cloth. We forget today the amount of labour that it took to produce all garments. It was a lot of labour from the spinning and the weaving to produce the necessary fabric to the construction of the clothing itself. All of course hand-sewn. Today we not only have the advantage of sewing machines but other things we take for granted such as zips and elastic. Without these there was a lot more piecing and stitching necessary even for the more basic garments. When Richard Proctor of Kettlesbeck left all the wool from his sheep in that year to be made into cloth to make coats for all of his grandchildren someone must have viewed that as an awful lot of labour to come!

Kathy Hall

TURF as FUEL

It is notable that 37 inventories out of the 130 make a valuation of turf. The quantity is never given so it cannot be specifically valued. The amount held may also vary according to time of the year. Values range from 12d to 26s-4d and commonly several shillings worth. The spelling is commonly 'torffes' or 'tures' with slight variations. Tenants probably also used wood collected locally from the Lord's wood for which they were fined 2d every 6 months in the manorial court - at least in Giggleswick. This was rather a tax on doing this rather than a fine for a misdemeanour since all tenants seemed to be involved.

COMPARISON OF WILLS WITH INVENTORIES

There are 93 instances of people with both a will and inventory. It is difficult to generalize but there is much variation in wills and no obvious correlation of what is in a will and in the inventory as far as status or wealth is concerned. Wills can be very simple whether the testator has an inventory worth £3 (Proctor, 1578) or £33 (Wharff, 1592) or £57 (Lupton, 1587) or £85 (Granger, 1590). The more complex wills tended to be associated with high value inventory, e.g. (Proctor, 1600 £38), Johenson, 1583 £22), Richardson, 1602 £71). Nevertheless, several are bequeathing money as well as other things when their inventory is of low value (Jackson, 1603 £2; Foster, 1583 £3; Spalton, 1601 £6; Spolton, 1575 £3; Woode, 1589 37 shillings).

In the wills testators are bequeathing money, cattle and sheep, their farmhold, rented land, clothes, furniture and household goods whereas the inventories are showing mainly animals, crops, husbandry gear, debts owed and owing so the overlap is rather limited. The wills also are concerned with arrangements for the widow and children which of course are of no concern in the inventory. For a clear picture of the testator both will and inventory are needed to make a reasonable judgement of wealth and status.

WILLS and THE PARISH REGISTER

A check has been made on how many persons listed in the burial section in the Parish Register have made wills.

One source is The Yorkshire Parish Register Society 1921 (John Charlesworth) available on Ancestry.co.uk and the other is the CD made by the Wharfedale Family History Group which also incorporates the work of John Foster (1888). (Christopher Clapham 1598 is wrongly transcribed on the CD). It is assumed that in the Parish Register all those called *filius* or *filia* are children who cannot make a will.

Within our date range the Clapham Parish Register has full burial lists only for the years (modern calendar, January to December) 1596 to 1599. The wills have slightly different dates and are listed in this report according to the old calendar (March to February). It has been attempted to determine how many people in the list

made wills and according to whether made by an adult male or female. It has been found that not every testator is recorded in the Parish Register.

Modern calendar year	No. of burials	Men	Women	Children
1596	41	6	18	17
1597	78	15	21	42
1598	41	4	6	30
1599	33	4	12	17

Infant mortality is notably very high.

The available wills are as follows:

Modern calendar year	Testator	In Parish Register
1596	Chapman Hercules	January
	Battersbie Isabell	June
	Ashe Christopher	June
	Remington Thomas	December
	Wharffe Agnes	December
1597	Remington James	July
	Bentham Robert	-
	Howson Anthony	October
	Jackson James	October
	Leych William	October
1598	Mydelton William	September
	Clapham Christofer	December
	Leming William	-
1599	no wills	

From these data we find that 29 men are noted in the Parish Register but we have only 11 wills. Thus about one third of men made wills, or more if some wills have been lost.

Two women made wills out of 57 who were buried (generally only widows and spinsters made wills).

LIST of APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Will and Inventory of Alice Ashe of Wharfe 1587

Appendix 2 List of Testators

Further Appendices concerning family relationships, occupations, farm gear and animals and a list of archaic and uncommon words (with spelling variants) found in these documents are to be seen in the web version of this report at www.dalescommunityarchives.org under the heading of North Craven Wills.

APPENDIX 1 Will and Inventory of Alice Ashe of Wharfe 1587

LRO Ref. R540B/6

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In the name of god amen. the vijth day of November anno dñi 1587
I Alice Ashe of wharfe in the shire of wapswayke in the County of York
widowed sitte in body but witt of mynde & Remembrance sounde & prayse
be to almighty god my maker & redemer. I do make & declare constitute
make this my last will & testament in maner & forme followinge first
& principally I bequeath & my soule into the mercifull hande of almighty
god trustinge fully my soule to be saved through the merittes and
passion of ihesu christe onely. And I will that my body be brought
honestly to the earth at the place of my churche & after of my friend
be buried in the church of St. Andrew in the towne of Wharfe with all
the charges thereto due. I also give & bequeath all my goodde moveable & unmoveable my debte & funeralle exp
paynt unto John my sonne whom I make my whole executor of this
my last will & testament to see it fulfilled to the best of his power
god and the health of my soule. I have written this will
Roger Drayson of Cotthorpe & James Remington witnesses

The Jurors of the good and
 Lawfull indurable & unrevocable of
 Alice Ashe of wharf of the parish
 of Clapham in the County of
 York widow praye by four
 worthy men that is to say Thomas
 Remington James Remington John
 Jackson and William Richardson
 the vijth day of April 1587

Inpinnis her apparill 2 ———— 20^s
 Item half a score 2 ———— 20^s
 Item out of half 2 ———— 20^s
 Item five vessells 2 ———— 20^s
 Item her beddinge 2 ———— 20^s
 Item out of half 2 ———— 20^s

The whole sum is 200^s

In the name of god amen, the xij th day of November anno domini 1586 I Alice Ashe of wharf in the parishe of Clapham & in the County of york wydowe sicke in body but perfitt of mynde & Remembrance lawde & prayse be to almighty god my maker & redemer I do make ordayne constitute & make this my last will & testament in maner & forme followinge, First & principally I bequeathe my soule into the mercifull handes of almighty god trustinge firmly my Soule to be saved throughe the merittes and passion of Jesus Christ onely And I will that my bodye be brought honestly to the

Earthe at the (*word missing*) of my Children & other of my frendes and be buried in the Eccleristic(?) sepulture in the Church of Sanct Michael tharchangell at Clapham whereof I am a parishioner also I give & bequeathe all my goodes moveable & unmoveable my debtes & funerall expenses payde unto John my sonne whome I make my whole executor of this my last will & Testament to see it fulfilled to their pleasing (*almighty*) god and the healthe of my Soule Thees wittnesses hereof Roger Swaynson of Staynforthe & James Remyngton with other moo

The Inventory of the goodes and Cattalles moveable & unmoveable of Alice Ashe of wharf of the parishe of Clapham in the County of yorke wydowe prysed by foure

sworne men that is to say Thomas Remyngton James Remyngton John Jackson and William Richardson the xij th day of Aprill 1587

Inprimis her apparill	x s
Item half a Cowe	xij s
Item one Calf	vj s viij d
Item Fyre vessell	vj s viij d
Item hir Beddinge	v s
Item one Arke	vj s viij d

The whole Somme is xlvij s

Modern spelling: Wharfe

APPENDIX 2 LIST of TESTATORS in Date Order

Clapham Wills to 1603 ex LRO Date Order w=will, i=inventory, b=bond

Be aware that some names in the catalogue are not the same as in the will.

LRO Ref. The pdfs show the correct name.

W/RW/LJ	Surname	Forename	Date	Place	
R578A/42	KNYPE	Thomas	1541	Clapham	wrapper
WYAS RD/RP5 folio 196	KNYPE	Thomas	1541	Clapham	w
R589B/60	PROCTER	John	1554	Clapham	w,i
R553A/15	CARR	Adam	1555	Keasden	w
R570C/75	HOME	Richard	1556	Clapham	w,i
R543A/39	BANKE	Alice	1557	Clapham	w
R578A/44	KNYPEMAN	Alys	1557	Clapham	w,i
R589A/72	PLACE	Jenett	1557	Clapham	w

R576B/32	JACSONNE	Robert	1558	Clapham	w,i
R570B/11	HAYGARTH	Robert	1559	Clapham	i
R543B/3	BATSON	John	1560	Hardacre	w,i
R576A/26	JACKESON	Christopher	1564	Clapham	w,i
R589C/10	PROCTER	Thomas	1566	Austwick Hall	i
R576B/10	JACKSON	JohnAust	1567	Austwick	w,i
R576B/13	JACKSON (Copy)	JohnClap	1567	Clapham	w
R596C/12	STAWMAN	Brian	1567	Austwick	w,i
R563C/37	FOSTER	James	1568	Borron Head	w,i
R589B/39	PROCTER	Agnes	1568	Blayk Banke	w
R606A/72	WALKER	Richard	1568	Austwick	i
R589C/5	PROCTER	Richard	1569	Newby	w,i
R600A/18	TATHAM	Lawrennce	1569	Eldroth	w,i
R582C/9	MOORE	Edward	1570	Mydleton	i
R587B/16	NEWHOUS	Robert	1571	Mewith	i
R606A/62	WALKER	James	1572	Austwick	w
R606B/37	WILKYNSON	Thomas	1572	Lawkland	w,i
R543D/68	BYGGYNES	Charles	1573	Clapham	Letter re w
R576C/28A	JOHNSON	John	1573	Austwick	w,i
R589B/17	PROCKETER	Robert	1575	Clapham	fragile
R596B/93	SPLTON	John	1575	Austwick	w,i
R553A/39	CLAPHAM	Edmonde	1577	Clapham	w,i
R579B/56	LUPTON	Lawrence	1577	Newby Cote	w,i
R592C/58	ROGERSON	Isabell	1577	Austwick	w,i
R589B/31	PROCTER	Thomas	1578	Kettlesbeck	w,i
R589C/43	PROCTER	Thomas	1578	Lawkland	w,i
R566B/54	GUY	Thomas	1579	Newby	w,i
R606B/25	WILDCOCKE	William	1579	Clapham	fragile
R553A/33	CHAPMAN	Robert	1580	Keasden	w
R560C/35	DOWNHAM	Robert	1580	Austwick	w,i
R566B/37	GIFFURTH	James	1580	Wenning Hippins	w,i
R566B/4	GRAINGER	Robert	1580	Austwick	fragile
R576C/2	JACSON	Thomas	1580	Clapham	i
R592A/48	REMYNGTON	Alice	1580	Tenter Bank	i
R606B/31	WILDMAN	Robert	1580	Green Close	w,i,b
R614/115	YEADONN	Anthone	1580	Clapham	fragile
R540A/21	ANTHAM	Robert	1581	Clapham	i
R553A/18	CARR	James	1581	Highswayne	w,i
R576D/25	JOHNSONN	Robert	1581	Clapham	i

R540B/10	ASHE	William	1582	Feizor	i
R553A/41	CLAPHAM	John	1582	Austwick	i
R576D/29	JOHNSON	Thomas	1582	Austwick	i
R596B/82	SPALTON	Margaret	1582	Austwick	fragile
R600A/27	TATHAM	Thomas	1582	Powberhouse	w,i
R543C/67	BRADLAYE	Wyllam	1583	Clapham	w,i
R553A/22	CARR	Oliver	1583	Clapham	w,i
R553A/42	CLAPHAM	John	1583	Austwick	w,i
R563C/50	FOSTER	Thomas	1583	Woodipecke	w,i
R570C/77	HOWGHTON	Richard	1583	Clapham	w,i
R576C/15	JOHENSON	John	1583	Austwick	w,i
R578A/43	KNYPE	Wyllam	1583		w,i
R560C/35	DOWNHAM	Margaret	1584	Clapham	w,b
R579A/49	LICHE	Thomas	1584	Austwick	w,i
R589B/25	PROCTER	Richard	1584	Clapham	w,i
R589B/34	PROCTER	Anthony	1584	Lawkland	w,i
R589C/35	PROCTOR	Jefferey	1584	Austwick	fragile
R576D/11	JOHNSONE	Thomas	1585	Austwick	w,i
R579A/31	LAWSON	John	1585	Austwick	i
R582C/1	MITTON	Roger	1585	Austwick	i
R600B/30	THORNETON	Isabell	1585	Clapham	w, i
R543A/12	BAINES	Christopher	1586	Newby	w,i
R576C/10	JOHENSON	Richard	1586	Clapham	i
R579B/57	LUPTON	Christopher	1586	Lawkland	w
R540B/4	ASH	Thomas	1587	Allianoth	w,i
R540B/6	ASHE	Alice	1587	Wharfe	w,i
R543A/21	BANCKE	John	1587	Clapham	w,i
R543A/58	BATERSBYE	Christopher	1587	Clapham	i
R543C/70	BRADLEY	Robert	1587	Newby	w,i
R563C/35	FOSTER	Christopher	1587	Newby	i
R563C/44	FOSTER	John	1587	Watters Water	i
R570A/33	HARLINGE	John	1587	Clapham	w,i
R579B/58	LUPTON	Hughe	1587	Feizor	w,i
R589A/71	PLACE	James	1587	Clapham	w,i
R589A/78	PLACE	Robert	1587	Eldroth	w,i
R589A/80	PLACE	Wyllam	1587	Clapham	w,i
R596C/5	STALMAN	Agnes	1587	Austwick	i
R596C/7	STALMAN	Lawrance	1587	Austwick	i
R576C/11	JOHENSON	William	1588	Austwick	i

R576D/27	JONNISON	James	1588	Austwick	w,i
R579A/32	LAWSON	Rychard	1588	Austwick	i,b
R592A/12	RAWSON	Peter	1588	Clapham	w,i
R600A/33	TAYLE	Agnis	1588	Austwick	i
R606B/35	WILKINSON	Robert	1588	Austwick	fragile
R576C/2A	JACSONNE	William	1589	Austwick	w,i
R589B/20	PROCTER	John	1589	Blaybanke	i
R589C/27	PROCTOR	Christopher	1589	Clapham	w,i,b
R606B/83	WOODE	Henry	1589	Keasden	w
R540A/45	ARMISTEAD	John	1590	Lawkland	i
R553A/19	CARR	James	1590	Lonnshaye	w,i,b
R560C/25	DOWBEKYN	Christofer	1590	Clapham	fragile
R566B/9	GRANGER	James	1590	Austwick	w,i,b
R582B/53	MIDELTON	Christopher	1590	Goat Gap	w,i
R596B/92	SPOLTON	Christopher	1590	Sowerthwaite	w,i,b
R576D/15	JONNISON	Thomas	1591	Wharfe	i,b
R589C/29	PROCTOR	Ellin	1591	Austwick	i
R540B/16	ATKINSON	Anthony	1592	Clapham	b
R543A/24	BANCKES	Alexander	1592	Austwick	i,b
R563C/51	FOSTER	Thomas	1592	Newby	w
R566B/17	GREGSON	Henry	1592	Wharfe	w,i
R589C/48	PROCTOR	Robert	1592	Clapham	i
R596B/91	SPOLTON	Agnes	1592	Austwick	w,i
R606B/1	WHARFF	Richard	1592	Wharfe	w,i
R587B/2	NESFEILD	William	1593	Austwick	fragile
R592C/73	RYMINGTON	Thomas	1593	Lawkland	fragile
R553C/1A	CRAGG	Allan	1594	Clapham	w,i
R563C/46	FOSTER	Richard	1594	Clapham	w,i
R570C/65	HOLME	Thomas	1594	Austwick	i,b
R589C/56	PROCTOR	Thomas	1594	Newby	w,i
R592A/71	REMGINGTON	Robert	1594	Clapham	i,b
R553A/30	CHAPMAN	Hercules	1595	Keasden	w,i
R566B/11	GRANGER	Robert	1595	Austwick	w,i
R566B/30	GREGSON	Robert	1595	Newby	w,i
R566B/44	GUY	Alexander	1595	Newby	b
R596C/6	STALMAN	Bryan	1595	Austwick	w,i
R606B/22	WILCOKE	Robert	1595	Clapham	w,i
R606B/3	WHARFFE	Lawrence	1595	Wharfe	i
R543B/5	BATTERSBIE	Isabell	1596	Clapham	w,i

R592A/64	REMINGTON	Thomas	1596	Wharfe	w,i
R606B/2	WHARFFE	Agnes	1596	Austwick	fragile
R540B/8	ASHE	Christopher	1597	Clapham	i,b
R543C/16	BENTHAM	Robert	1597	Clapham	b
R570C/78	HOWSON	Anthony	1597	Tadpott	w,i
R576B/3	JACKSON	James	1597	Austwick	w,i
R579A/54	LEYCH	William	1597	Clapham	i
R592A/54	REMINGTON	James	1597	Wharfe	fragile
R540B/7	ASHE	Anthony	1598	Clapham	i,b
R553A/38	CLAPHAM	Christofer	1598	Austwick	w,i,b
R579A/54	LEMING	Richard	1598	Dubgarth	w,i,b
R582C/58	MYDLETON	William	1598	Green Close	w,i
R543A/55	BARTON	Henry	1600	Keasden	b
R543B/7	BATTERSBY	Robert	1600	Clapham	w,i,b
R589B/63	PROCTER	Lawrence	1600	Crummack	w,i,b
R600A/26	TATHAM	Thomas	1600	Lawkland	fragile
R606B/36	WILKINSON	Robert	1600	Lawkland	fragile
R543A/22	BANCKE	Thomas	1601	Austwick	w,i
R543A/23	BANCKE	William	1601	Austwick	w
R543B/6	BATTERSBIE	Jenett	1601	Greenclose	w,i
R553A/31	CHAPMAN	John	1601	Lawkland	w
R596B/83	SPALTON	Thomas	1601	Austwick	w,i
R607C/62	WILDMAN	John	1601	Newby Cote	w,i,b
R553A/13	CARR	Rowland	1602	Clapham	w,i
R553B/4	COATES	Richard	1602	Clapham	note,i
R592B/17	RICHARDSON	William	1602	Clapham	w,i,b
R607B/43	WILDMAN	Richard	1602	Newby Cote	w,i
R540C/3	ATKINSON	John	1603	Clapham	w,i
R553A/16	CARR	Adam	1603	Clapham	w,i,b
R553A/21	CARR	Isabell	1603	Clapham	i
R566B/3	GRAINGER	John	1603	Austwick	w,i
R576B/4	JACKSON	James	1603	Clapham	w,i
R579A/55	LEMING	Robert	1603	Austwick	w,i
R582B/58	MILNAR	Thomas	1603	Lawkland	w,i
R589A/68	PLACE	Alice	1603	Austwick	w, i
R589C/4	PROCTER	Richard	1603	Kettlesbeck	w,i
R592A/53	REMINGTON	James	1603	Clapham	w,i
R607B/23	WHARFFE	Lawrence	1603	Clapham	i
R607B/68	WILKINSON	Ann	1603	Lawkland	w,i

