

ART. XXXV. *Some Illustrations of Home Life in Lonsdale North of the Sands, in the 17th and 18th centuries.* By JOHN FELL, Dane Ghyll,
Read at Lancaster, Sept. 18th, 1890.

LONSDALE north of the Sands is a large district, belonging to the county Palatine of Lancaster, and entirely severed from the main body of the county by Morecambe Bay. Until the present century, the ordinary traveller crossed the treacherous sands of this great estuary to reach the northern hundred of Lancashire. With the estuary of the Duddon to the north, and the watershed boundaries between Cumberland and Westmorland, Lonsdale North of the Sands, or North Lonsdale as it is also called, may be described as an island, and its inhabitants, until the railway connected it with the main body of the country, as an insular people. Up to a comparatively recent date, it may be said that the same families had been settled in the district from time immemorial. A stranger was promptly detected, and without much courtesy made aware that he was regarded in the local phraseology as an "offcome".

From a very ancient period, North Lonsdale has had two great internal divisions in the districts, known as Furness and Cartmel. Furness became the property chiefly of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, founded in 1127 A.D. The small priory of Conishead had some possessions also, as well as the knightly families, said to have been five in number, who followed or were in possession of their lands at the Conquest. The Cartmel portion of North Lonsdale, by the gift of William Mareshall, became "with the manor and all the lands" the property of an Augustinian priory, which he founded. Of the five knightly families I am not aware that
more

more than two survive. The Penningtons, who were originally of Pennington near Ulverston, and who still hold the manor of Pennington, have been long settled at Mun-caster Castle in Cumberland. The Le Flemings, whose lands were reserved in the grant, of Stephen, of the Furness possessions of the Abbey of St. Mary, retain some of their North Lonsdale property. All the other descendants of these knightly families have passed away from local knowledge, although the ancient house of Kirkby of Kirkby had a representative within living memory. The overwhelming power of the great religious houses in Furness and Cartmel, had undoubtedly a marked effect upon the social life and development of these districts. Except the castles of Gleaston and Piel, there are no remains of important medieval strongholds prior to the dissolution, and the towers of Broughton and Wrays-holme alone represent anything of the nature of fortified mansions. With one or two exceptions the bulk of the older houses of the district, dating back beyond the 17th century, are such as the means of a substantial yeomanry could afford, living under the indulgent feudalism of the Abbots and Priors, who held the freehold of their lands. It is beyond the range of my research, to attempt any description of the homes of the working class at this period, or even in the 17th and 18th centuries. There are few cottages remaining unaltered of these dates, and such as may claim to be even one century old are small, and in their original condition would be deemed by the sanitary authorities of this day, unfit for habitation. It is within my own traditional knowledge that the principal street of the important and ancient market town, Ulverston, consisted mainly of houses of one story in height with thatched roofs. I have not found in the family accounts I have examined, any record of rent for labourers' dwellings, and looking to the low rates of wages, and the general dependency of the poor, it is possibly a correct

correct inference that no charge in the form of a rent in money, was made for the occupation of such dwellings as were provided for them, some return being made in labour. It was not until after the dissolution of the monasteries, that the changes gradually arose which gave wealth and importance to the present leading families of North Lonsdale. They had lived as the feudal tenants of the Abbots and Priors, and only after the dissolution obtained a more independent position, constituting the class known as yeomen or statesmen. I find in wills of the 17th century, that "yeoman" is the common description of testators, and that of "esquire" rare. Most of their holdings had probably been in their occupation from remote periods, and from these ancient occupiers many an honorable descent can be traced. Except the knightly families, whose lands had been gradually diminished or absorbed, there appear to have been few large landowners down to the 17th century, and until that date the home life of these districts would be in an exceedingly primitive and simple condition. It has proved by no means an easy task to penetrate its "arcana", owing to a reluctance, not unnatural, to open up family histories, to which these later and more ambitious days, present so great a contrast. To ask for the perusal of wills, settlements, or other documents of title, although avowedly for antiquarian research, and with no reference to any question of title, seems to create undue apprehension and objection. Letters unhappily have been so generally destroyed, that it is not an easy task to secure any facts illustrating the home life of our thrifty ancestors. They were principally employed in agriculture, the gentry occupying and cultivating considerable tracts of their estates, which purchase or matrimonial alliances had from time to time added to their "yeoman" inheritances. There were few roads and I should doubt if many of them were practicable for vehicles on wheels, even until the middle of the
18th

18th century. I have not found in any wills or in the inventories of personal estates, to which I have had access, any mention of carriages of any kind : items such as the following indicate the mode of travelling :—

	£	s.	d.
* Date 1679. Item : his purse apparell and Riding Geare.	05	00	00
† Date 1688. Imprimis his purse apparell and Riding Geare	08	10	00
‡ I give and bequeath unto William Chapman of Bouth, Gentleman, my brother-in-law, one saddle-housin of seale skin.			

The inventories of personal estates I am quoting, contain considerable details of farming, both of stock and appliances, but no allusion is made to anything of the nature of a cart.

	£	s.	d.
Date 1679. Item Beevse, sheepe and horses.	28	05	00
It. Bigge oats, peys, beans, straw, ffewell, manures and poultrie	15	02	00
Date 1688. Item Husbandry geare of all sorts, ffewell and manure	04	04	04
Item corne, hay, and straw, bease, horses and sheepe	53	10	00

If wheeled vehicles were in use in the 17th and early part of the 18th centuries they are seldom mentioned, and were of a primitive character, the wheels being solid and the axle fixed to them, and it is certain that in the two old inventories I have quoted, with entries affecting farming, there is no enumeration of a cart. The condition of the roads is described in the Hawkshead Parish Register, of 1679, recording the effects of a thunderstorm upon them.

The water did so furiously run downe the highways, and made such deep holes and ditches in them that att severall places neither *horses nor foote* coulde pass.

* Inventory of Personal estate of Andrew Fell, of Dalton Gate Ulverston.

† Inventory of Personal estate of John Fell, of Dalton Gate, Ulverston.

‡ Will of John Fell, of Dalton Gate, Ulverston, 1723.

If the roads of North Lonsdale and its means of transport were in so primitive a condition in the 17th century, how were its inhabitants provided for in their education, food, home comforts, investments, and other incidents of their lives. I apprehend that the thin population was more or less congregated at the principal centres, such as Ulverston, Dalton, Hawkshead, Cartmel, and other towns or hamlets. Some provision for education seems to have existed within a feasible range of each of these centres. I am not clear that the schools were available for the poorest class, and there were many persons even of a better class, who did not at all events learn to write, as is frequently in evidence by the cross made in preference to a signature to documents, but a large number of the middle class clearly received fair education, as is proved by their handwriting.* Of the date of 1598 A.D., there is an entry

A true and perfect Kalendar of all monies belonging to the Gramar Scole att Cartmell.

And in A.D. 1624, a room was purchased for a "Publicke School house", the school having been in the church prior to this date. It is not an uninteresting piece of evidence of the slow progress of the district that the "publike schoole house" of 1624, was the school house of the parish for 166 years. At Hawkshead Archbishop Sandys had made provision for the education of the neighbourhood from which he sprang, and in which his family had increased their possessions after the dissolution, but it seems clear that so important a town as Ulverston did not possess any endowed school, until after the death of Judge Fell, in 1658. In a record of the first meeting of the inhabitants of the "town and hamlet" of Ulverston, held for the purpose of appointing trustees to give effect

* Stockdale's Annals of Cartmel.

to Judge Fell's bequest, of the sixteen leading inhabitants whose names are appended to it, only eight sign their names.* The names are Andrew ffell, John Mount, John Ashburner, Will^m Dobsonn, John Corker, Luke Benson, Rob. (?) Strickland, George Mount, Will^m Kirkby, Ric. Collysone, Richard Atkinson, Will^m Woodburne, Thomas Cockin, Thomas Elithorne, Thos. Collinsonn, Will^m Addyson.

In the will of Curwen Rawlinson, of Cark near Cartmel, dated 1689, the following bequest affords evidence of some private tuition in leading families:—

Item I doe give unto Mr. James Ffenton and to Mr. Lodge, my sonnes schoolmaster the sume of ffive pounds apeace.

The cost of sending children to school seems to have been in proportion to the means of the age. The following entry has been extracted from the "Olde Church Booke of Cartmell.†

1664, June 20. It is ordered by the consent of the xxiiiitie and others of the parishes that Mr. Atkinson, Schoolmaister of Cartmel, shall have xxl. per Annum for teaching schoole and that every grammarian shall paye vid. per quarter, and every *pettie* (sic) iiiid. and if any parte thereof remayne from paying Mr. Akinson, the same shall remaine towards the ushers wages, and that noe poore people be charged towards the payment thereof.

How the usher fared from the balance surviving Mr. Atkinson's requirements is not on record. There can be little doubt that these local schools were mixed schools, boys and girls being educated together, and both "gentle and simple" attending the same school. Few even of the gentry possessed the means to send their children to

* Chronicles of the Town and Church of Ulverston, by Canon Bardsley p. 67.

† Mr. Stockdale's Annals of Cartmel.

distant

distant schools.* I find in an old account book of the 'Taylors' of Finsthwaite a curious story.

June 11th, 1712. Moneys disbursed of William Taylor's accompt.

			£	s.	d.
Imprs. for Boarding at School .....	.....	.....	01	10	00
Imprs. Mrs. Wages .....	.....	.....	00	05	00
Imprs. Boarding at School .....	.....	.....	01	01	06
Imprs. Mrs. Wages .....	.....	.....	00	05	00
Imprs. A hatt .....	.....	.....	00	02	00

In accounts in the possession of Miss Machell of Penny Bridge, of the date 1747, there is an entry "Pd. Mr. Stoop for son and Isaac learning £0 7s. 6d." In my "grandfathers pockett book", there is a note :—

N.B. Schooling. They tell me there are masters (some where near Borrowbridge, or Penrith), who will board, school, and clothe boys for £10 P.A.

And among papers at Graythwaite I found the following school prospectus :—

At Castley near Sedbergh notice of opening an academy, R. Willan, M.D., 1785, Youth boarded and educated in the manner described at fourteen pounds per annum. Entrance one guinea.†

Of the school life of girls I have gathered little information, and not much seems attainable from such documents or accounts as I have perused. Records of payments for instruction in the accomplishment of dancing occur, such as

* Accounts in possession of Mr. Pedder of Finsthwaite, the present representative of the Taylor family.

† I have found an amusing letter from a school boy, Robert Atkinson of Dalton, dated Feb. 11th, 1781, which implies much care and economy was exercised by parties in the clothing of their sons at school. "Honorad Mother, I sit down to inform you I like Lancaster veiry well and return you thanks for the shirt you sent me and I shall want nothing more at present, but my Green Coat is so run up that I cannot get it of and on myself".

Mr.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Sargean Dancing Master for 10 wks. dancing for Kitty	0	15	0
Pd. Dancing Master for my girls learning	0	12	0

But of the general instruction and home life of girls information is obscure.

In the wills I have examined, bequests of books seldom occur, and the literature of the inhabitants of North Lonsdale evidently had a very narrow range. Intellectual variety would be exceedingly limited. There were no newspapers, and the cost of posting letters was considerable, and their transit probably slow and irregular, so that the interchange of thought in social life, would bear much on the traditions of the past and on the local events occurring from day to day. In some old accounts I have examined the following are the principal illustrations of any expenditure upon books:—

	£	s.	d.
* Feb. 21, 1717. Have bought of Thomas Hall for Chappel Blackwell second hand in eight voloms for.....	0	2	0
† 1723. Blackmore's Poems for Ebenezer	0	2	0
‡ 1737. Pd. for Pope's Poems in 3 vols.	0	11	6
for Cyrus travels	0	3	0
1740. Pd. for Seneca's Morals	0	2	2
Pd. for works bought in the auction at Cartmell being part of the Library of the late Mr. Thomp- son vicar of the place	4	12	6

If education and literature were in a backward condition, that of the labouring poor was probably worse. Mr. Stockdale, in his Annals of Cartmel, states A.D. 1600, that "twopence would hire a labourer for a whole day". This was the case until the 18th century had well advanced. So far as the records of the office of the Clerk of

* Accounts of the Taylors' of Finsthwaite, in possession of Mr. Pedder.

† Broughton Tower Accounts.

‡ Accounts in possession of Miss Machell, of Penny Bridge,

the

the Peace for Lancashire have been examined, orders for regulating the wages in North Lonsdale emanating from Quarter Sessions have not been found, but "twopence per day" did not apply to artisans:—as an illustration:—

It is ordered and agreed that the free masons shall flagge the Church anewe and have for every daye xiid. apiece, and irod. a daye for Lawrence Cooper and Thos Hunter;

Again, 1641, A.D.,

Item for George Cowper for walling up a windowe in the steeple viiid.*

In an old account book of the Taylors' of Finsthwaite, commencing in 1712, I find many records of wages which seem to have ranged from 3d. to 6d. per day:—

	£	s.	d.
Item 5 days mowing .....	.....	0	2 6
Shering 3 days .....	.....	0	1 0
6 days salving .....	.....	0	1 6
1728. By weaving a flanel webb being 28 yds. at 2s. 2d.			
per yard* .....	.....	
1744. Hired my Husbandman for 1744 for † .....	.....	6	0 0
Hired Chs. Walker for a year for .....	.....	1	10 0

As additional illustrations of the low value of labour I may mention the following:—

	£	s.	d.
1738, March 28. Agreed with Jas. Pennington and Isaac Wilson for getting 500 carts of stones at one penny p ^r cart but I am to have one over for each score.			
Oct. 8, 1743. Pd. William Birkett for delving peats 103 carts at 3d. per score .....	.....	0	15 5½
To Wm. Holme for leading 166 carts at 3d. per cart .....	.....	2	2 6

But if labour had a low value provisions were in proportion, meat and poultry being very cheap at the period of which I am writing: *—

	£	s.	d.
† 1712. 5 Lams .....	.....	0	10 0
1722. Pd. William Cowherd 1 qr. of veall .....	.....	0	0 11

* Stockdale's Annals of Cartmel

† Accounts of Taylors' of Finsthwaite.

	Pd. William Walker $\frac{1}{2}$ a sheep	.....	.....	0	2	2
	Bout a side of Beef at Ull'ston	.....	.....	1	19	6
* 1723.	Two quarters of Lamb Hawkshead	.....	.....	0	1	8
	A quarter of Mutton, Ulverston	.....	.....	0	2	0
	A piece of beef 13 pounds	.....	.....	0	2	8
	Pd. Bride for 6 Chickens @ $3\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	0	1	9
	To Bride for 7 ducks @ $4\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	0	2	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	To Bride for 6 Geese @ 7 a peice	.....	.....	0	3	6
	To Bride for 4 ducks more	.....	.....	0	1	6
	Two loaves	.....	.....	0	0	3
	A loaf of Bread	.....	.....	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	Three rye loaves and white loaves	.....	.....	0	2	$4\frac{1}{2}$

The condition and remuneration of those employed in domestic service has many illustrations in the documents of North Lonsdale families. In the interesting book upon "Social Life in the reign of Queen Annie," Vol. I, p. 77, it is said of servants :—

As a rule they were treated like dogs by their masters, and were caned mercilessly for any trivial faults.

There may have been harsh masters and mistresses in North Lonsdale in the 17th and 18th centuries, but the bequests so common in wills of the period indicate a good and kind feeling to have existed in the households of leading families. In the will of Robert Curwen of Cark-in-Cartmel, dated 1649, he directs that

My household servants be kept at my house with meat and drink and wages for halfe one yeare after my decease for tyme to provide for themselves other services.

Robert Rawlinson of Cark, in 1665, leaves

Ten shillings to everie of my servants.

And makes the curious bequest :—

All the rest of my cloathes not being blacke to be divided amongst my men serv'ts.

* Broughton Tower Accounts.

John ffell of Dalton Gate, Ulverston, in his will dated 1687, directs :—

Alsoe I give to my three servants Edward Ffisher, Mary Long, and Margaret Elotson each ten shillings and unto my servant John Penny five shillings.

Elizabeth Rawlinson the wife of Curwen Rawlinson of Carke, in her will dated 1691, makes the following bequest :—

Item I give to ye two servant maides now at Carke Hall and Thomas Shackerley five pounds equally amongst them share and share alike.

Instances could be multiplied of this type of kindly thoughtfulness for domestic servants by those whom they had served. Their wages in the 17th century are not mentioned in any document to which I have had access. In a letter of Sir Thomas Lowther written to his steward at Holker Hall, dated March 3rd, 1726, he gives the instruction :—

See the maid servants weed the gardens and all be employed.

And in July 8, 1727, he writes :—

I hope Polly the chambermaid will take care to have the chambers very clean against we come down, and our own bed should be laid in by some body to air it.

In a letter from the steward, who had been remonstrated with as to the employment of the maids in weeding the garden, he replies :—

The maids have been taken up with spinning and making twelve pairs of coarse sheets for servants, which Madame Preston thought it proper to have done, so that they have not weeded much.

In another letter in 1726 Sir Thomas Lowther urges ;—

The maids in the house I hope weed the gardens as they have nothing else to do which will spare hiring of weeders, and I daresay you will take care to see that the other servants are not kept idle.

In

In 1744 I find the following entries in some accounts which afford evidence that female servants received but a modest remuneration :—

	£	s.	d.
Hired Jane children's maid for a year for	2	15	0
Hired servant Agnes the housemaid for a year for the sum of	2	5	0

It seems to have been customary to give an earnest at the hiring.

	£	s.	d.
1741. Given Servant girl Margt. Grey w ^h hired her as earnest and in part of her wages w ^h are to be forty-five shillings the year and if her vails do not make the same out Three Pounds I'm to make it so	0	1	0

How the master and maid compared notes as to the amount of her "vails" there is no record.

Before leaving the subject of the labouring poor or attempting any conjecture as to their condition in old age, it should not be forgotten that wills of the 17th and 18th centuries frequently contain bequests to the poor of the neighbourhood in which the testator lived. There was through the overseer some public relief, but this was much aided by charitable gifts. Mr Stockdale in the *Annals of Cartmel* has many illustrations of these gifts.

Jan. 12, 1711. The yearly interest of y^e legacies given to y^e use of y^e poore within y^e lower end of Holker Township.

Which in the account he cites had an income of £3 10s 4d.

Poor pensioners in anno 1723, Thomas Casson Overseer. Pensioners in Lower Holker at May-day 1746. Pensioners in Lower Holker May 28th, 1759.

The names of the recipients of charity follow these headings. Money was also left for the purpose of aiding poor apprentices,—the kind and charitable tendencies of those who were in good circumstances being frequently displayed

played in bequests. Will of William Penny Elder, dated 1640.

Item I give and bequeathe unto the poore of Coulton Baylewick and Egton and Newland the Sume of Tenne pounds to be reserved for ever for the said use and the yearly Interest and Benefitt of the same. That my sup'visors shall have full power to dispose of the said Tenne pounds and shall also distribute and divide the yearly profit of the said tenn pounds every Good Ffriday yearly at Coulton Church amongst the poore.

The will of Robert Rawlinson of Cark, dated 1665, possessing property as had in several townships, serves as an illustration of gifts to the poore.

Ffirst I give to the poore of the lower end of Holker township three pounds the upper end fferty shillings, to the poore of the lower end of Allithwaite twentie shillings, the poore about Hampsfell and Broughton fferty shillings, about Colton in Ffurness Fells fferty shillings, and about Crosby Ravensworth in Westm'eland fferty shillings.

In most wills however of the period, the legacy to the poor is entrusted to the overseers, or to the supervisors of the estate. John ffell, 1687, leaves a bequest

Also it is my minde and I give unto my supervisors hereafter nominated the sum of fferty shillings to be by them disposed of unto ye poore of ye Towne and Hamlet of Ulverstone as they think meet.

Having attempted to sketch the means of education, and the current condition of the working classes in the 17th and 18th centuries, it is not uninteresting now to turn to the home life of the gentry:—With few exceptions their houses have been much altered within the past 100 years that it is difficult to imagine the simplicity of their interiors and surroundings. The men when disengaged from their attention to the home farm, entered into the sporting, which moors, woods, open country, and rivers afforded. I find entries in accounts such as

Lead

			£	s.	d.
	Lead Shot 8 lbs	.....	.....	0	1 2
1738.	Two fishing rods	.....	.....	0	5 6
	For a pair of Shooting Shoes *	.....	.....	0	7 6

A limited number of the gentry were in the Commission of the Peace for the county, but there is little to indicate much demand for their frequent services. An old order not dated, as to the constitution of the "Fair and Market" of Broughton-in-Furness contains the following notice, which indicates that precautions for preserving the peace were necessary:—

Also that no manner of persons within this fair or market do bear Bill, Battleax or any prohibited weapons, but such as be appointed by the lord or lady or by their officers to keep the Fair or Market upon forfeiture of all such weapons and further imprisonment of their Bodies.

But as evidence that the justices of the peace were not likely to be called upon for regular sessions, and the consequent demand upon their time, I may quote the following copy of the constable's report of the large district of Colton, as to its criminal condition:—

March 20th, 1732, Lanch^{re}. In answer to y^r articles sent to us by y^r High Constable we whose names are subscribed do answer and present.†

First that no felonies have been committed in our Contablewick since your last assizes.

Item that no vagabonds have been apprehended.

Item watch when req^d duly kept.

Item no Popish recusants.

Item no decay of Houses, Tillage is well performed.

Item no unlicensed Maltsters.

Item no unlicensed Alehouses.

Item Alehouse keepers keep good order

Item no Engrossers Forestallors or Rogrators.

* Mrs. Sawrey-Cookson's papers. Broughton Tower.

† Papers of the Taylors of Finsthwaite.

Item our Highways in good repair.

Item our Poor well provided for

Item no common Drunkards or Swearers.

(Clement Taylor) C.T. } C. of C.
G.D. }

Hunting occupies a leading place in the sports of North Lonsdale.* There are frequent allusions to this sport in accounts and letters, such as—

	£	s.	d.
1745. Spent at Ulverston when fox hunting two nights	0	11	6
1746. Given hunters to drink	0	2	6
„ Spent at Ulverston Mayor Hunt	0	9	6

Among the papers of the Rawlinsons of Graythwaite I found the following letter on this subject, dated—

1763. I find by thine you have had fox hunts going forward as well as we. We've had three chases. At one of 'em w'ch was the finest to be sure all the gent^m had the Pleasure to get heartilly drunk and and many of them returned satisfied indeed with their diversion.

Cards and cockfighting helped also the weary hours. Many entries exist in accounts as to both. Such as—

	£	s.	d.
1740. 11th Nov. Won at cards at Newby Bridge	0	2	0
„ Nov. 14. Lost at cards	0	0	2½
„ „ 24. Won at cards at Cartmel Club	0	18	6
1746. Won at cards	0	14	0
„ Spent at Bouth cockfight	0	1	2
„ Pd Mr. Richardson for the cocks and feeding	0	10	0

In a district where there were no banks, no manufactures beyond the home weaving of cloth or household linen, and which during the 17th and a considerable part

* Before the days of Inclosures in High Furness, the hill country was quite open and feasible for a horseman who was acquainted with it. The coppice woods, the value of which was so much enhanced latterly by the demand for hoops, bobbins, and charcoal, were only partially fenced in the 18th century, and furnished a lair for many a hard and wily fox; while in Low Furness considerable tracts were practically in the condition of the "Downs" of southern England, and no doubt afforded excellent ground for hunters both on horseback and on foot in the pursuit of foxes and hares.

of

of the 18th century was destitute of trading activity and enterprise, it is difficult to understand how the cadets of the leading families found occupation. There were, doubtless, some professional men, such as clergymen, lawyers, and doctors, but they must have been much scattered and poorly paid—especially the clergy, whose stipends were augmented by farming and teaching schools, even till the close of the 18th century. The larger towns and hamlets possessed shops at which articles were sold, which were beyond the range of home production. In Ulverston there were many of these old shops,—quaint gabled buildings standing out towards the street on pillars, beneath which neighbours sheltered and gossiped; while on market days those projections were filled with such goods as would tempt the gentry and yeomanry to open their purse strings. In the will of Andrew ffell, of Daltongate, Ulverston, I find the following bequest:—

First I give unto my two sonnys John ffell and Thomas ffell my land both ffree and lease land whatsoever and all my housing barnes stables *shoppes* and all my mortgages whatsoever mosses or mosse now and unto them two and their heirs forever.

The persons who kept these shops were probably the only traders in North Lonsdale in the 17th and early part of the 18th century; and in instances where the younger sons of the gentry and yeomanry were compelled to seek employment, they had no local opportunity of entering trade except through the shops of the neighbouring towns. It is said (*King and Commonwealth* p. 265, of the 17th century)—

The ordinary country gentleman held land by Knights' service of some superior lord or the crown. He lived the life of a farmer, looking after his corn, pigs, and sheep. He seldom left his county, and a journey to London would be a leading event of his life. Besides cockfighting and bullbaiting, hunting was his chief amusement. His table was plentifully supplied, and he was generally hospitable to his poorer neighbours. In winter time, as sheep and cattle

cattle could not be fattened (owing to clover and turnips not being grown until the beginning of the 18th century), his fare consisted mainly of salted meat, fish, wild fowl, and rabbits. If he was justice of the peace, he had half the business of the parish on his hands. The eldest son inherited his father's land: the younger became merchants, lawyers, sailors, and clergymen.

In dress the ladies and gentlemen followed the fashions of the day as they spread northward from London. Family portraits, which are not numerous, imply the knowledge and use of the fashionable costumes of the period; but in ordinary daily life I apprehend that their garments were of the home manufactured linen and woollen cloths. Everything imported was expensive.

		£	s.	d.
1723.	For 3 yds. of Muslin for 4 neck-Cloth for Margy.			
	at 6s. per yd.	0	18	0
"	Pd. for 4 Diaper Night Caps and 2 velvet Stock			
	bought pr. M. Washington for Stranger	0	6	3
"	A pair of Stockings for Margary	0	3	0
"	Pd. Sister Bewley for 24½ of fine Cloth at 35s. per			
	per yard	3	13	6
"	Paid her more for 26 yards of Linnen at 2s. 6d. p.			
	yard*	3	5	0
1740.	A velvet Robe for my wife.....	0	18	6
"	5 yds. Linen Cloath @ 3s. 6d.	0	17	6
1741.	4 pr. of Stockings	1	2	0
1743.	For 23½ yds. Holland @ 3s. 9d.	4	8	1½
"	For Stockings 1 Pair	0	9	6
1748.	For a pr. of Stays for my Wife†	1	7	0

Bequests of clothing are often particularized in wills. In 1665 Robert Rawlinson of Carke bequeaths

To my sonne Curwen my best suite and Cloake of blacke my brother Hulton my vest of colored or mingled colored Cloth.

In the will of Mrs. Jennett ffell, of Dalton Gate, Ulverston, dated 1685, her bequests in clothing are detailed with some minuteness :—

* Broughton Tower Accounts.

† Miss Machell's Accounts.

Item I doe give unto Ellin my daughter-in-law and Jannett my grandchild two of my best Coates and to Jennet my best apron and Cappe.

Item I doe give unto Ann Chandlehouse my blew Coat and my bodice and my ould day apron and one half of my smockes.

Item I doe give unto Margaret Chandlehouse my other Coate and y^e remainder of my smockes and my Lin. apron and all my workt linning.

Item I doe give unto Margaret Highe widdow my gloves and my ould Wastcoate.

The following list is preserved of the clothes of Mr. James Maychelle:—

1726. Hats 2
 Coats 3
 Vests 3
 Breaches 3
 A Gown A great Coat.
 Stockings 3
 Shoes 3 1 old.
 Shirts 10 Stock in all 20
 Handkerchiefs 3 Wiggs 2

The gentlemen evidently followed the fashions of the day in the adoption of wigs—

		£	s.	d.
1723.	Pd. Lanc ^{re} Post for bringing a wigg*	.....	0	0 4
1739.	Mr. Crosfield in full for a wigg	.....	5	0 0
1741.	Pd. Rowland Lickborrow for his son's hair being for my son's wig†	.....	0	7 6

It is said of the wig of Mr. Rawlinson, of Cark Hall, that

Its powder was scented with ambergris musk and violet orris root rose, bergamot orange flowers and jessamine and it was of different colours.

At which conclusion we of these later days can express no surprise. A wig of this period is said to have contained

* Broughton Tower Accounts.

† Miss Machell's Accounts.

a pound of hair and two pounds of powder. Wigs ceased to be the fashion after the middle of the 18th century or earlier, and were followed by powdered hair and the pigtail, which remained in use among oldfashioned gentlemen until the 19th century had fairly opened. The later fashion seemed to involve even more trouble than the wig, as no one could dress his own hair or tie the pigtail.

Mixed with the details of old accounts, and in the inventories of personal estate, items concerning stock and agricultural produce are common :—

Ac^t of Sheep Taken of the farm at Plumgreen at the above 25th day of March 1724—17 Wedd^s 23 Ews 29 hogs and at Mich: 20 more hogs*

		£	s.	d.
1734.	Sold a Calf for 2s. 6d.			
"	Sold a Red Cow for	3	0	0
"	Rec ^d a Pair of Oxen price is	7	15	0
"	Sold 2 St of Wool at	0	4	6
1738.	Rec ^d for a pair of Oxen sold at Dalton	10	5	6
"	Sold a Beef Cow	3	3	0
"	Sold 21 Ewes	4	4	0
"	B ^t a horse for	4	10	0
1736.	Pd Mr. Singleton in full for my Mare had of him †	5	5	0

Family papers of Mr. Arthur Benson Dickson, of Abbots Reading, which are full of interesting facts connected with the 18th century, furnish some lists of the rise in prices, which became high in the latter part of the century. The following is a list, dated 1779 :—

Grain is about the prices as under in Liverpl^l—

Wheat 10s. for 70 lb.	Potatoes 3s. for 36 qts.
Barley 5s. 6d. for 60 lb.	Tick Beans 48s. to 50s. for 32 qts.
Irish Oats 4s. 6d. for 45 lb.	Hay 2s. 6d. per stone 20 lbs.
Oatmeal 34s. for 340 lb.	Straw about 1s. for 20 lb.
Beef 7d. per lb.	Salmon 10d. per lb.
Mutton 7d. yer lb.	Very little good Lamb.

* Papers of Taylors of Finsthwaite.

† Miss Machell's Accounts.

I should doubt if there was anyone in North Lonsdale in the 17th or 18th centuries in the possession of wealth. The habits of thrift were, however, so marked as compared with modern notions, that it is not improbable that our ancestors were with fewer luxuries leading lives of affluence and comfort. The position of the gentry class was well defined and carefully guarded, diminishing, I should hope, the competition in social life which distinguishes the present era.

The life of the ladies of each household is not easy to ascertain in the absence of family letters or records of it. The traditions of grandmothers and great grandmothers are all favourable to their virtues and resources as house-keepers. I cannot doubt that they excelled in the careful management of the plenteous living of the period. Ordinary food was cheap, but it has been written that the art of cooking was to see that—

It was well peppered and salted and swimming with butter.

In an old account book of the Taylors of Finsthwaite I find some interesting particulars of the cost of potted char—

Feb 9th 1731 act of money laid out for bro. William Taylor
as follows *

	£	s.	d.
Imprs. two Charr pots	0	1	3 0
D ^o 4 doz of Charrs at 5s per Doz	1	0	0 0
Seasoning for the same Mace 1 oz qr	0	1	10 2
Clovs 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	1 2
Sinom 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	1 2
Blackpeper	0	0	3 0
Carr ^o to Daventry at 2d per lb w. 29lb.	0	5	0 0
	<hr/>		
	1	10	7 2

Each item of household expenditure has been entered with great care in the accounts which have survived the

*Appendix IV.

ruthless destruction so common on the part of executors and trustees, but they are not generally in the handwriting of the lady of the house.

Daughters, though getting a share of what education there was, for all that often could barely read and write, but were brought up to be good house-wives—to manage a dairy, to bake, to brew, to distil water from flowers and plants. (*King and Commonwealth*, p. 266, 17th Century).

I am inclined to think that no large store of anything was kept as is indicated by such entries as follow :—

			£	s.	d.
1723.	Two loaves 3d. Cherries 4 pounds 6d	.....	0	2	9
„	To M. Washington for Sugar 3lbs to preserve	.....		
	Cherries	.....	0	2	0
„	For $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of Bohea Tea	.....	0	6	0
„	A pound of Sugar 5d yeast 2d*	.....		
1741.	One pound Green Tea	.....	0	10	0
„	One Do of Bohea	.....	0	6	6
	8 Tea Cups & Sawcers†	.....	0	7	4

Wine was ordered in small quantities, and probably only on the occasion of guests. I find the following entries in 1723 :—

			£	s.	d.
For white wine	.....	.....	0	4	5
For Rhenish wine	.....	.....	0	2	0
A Gallon of Wine more	.....	.....	0	7	0
For a Gall. of Brandy for Bitters	.....	.....	0	5	6
A Bottle of Sack‡	...	.....	0	2	6

For the evidence that there were no large cellars of wine there is the following entry :—

Two Bottles of White Wine when Marg^y had Small Pox....£0 3 0

In other accounts, dated 1743, the amount of wine purchased somewhat exceeds the preceding illustration:—

* Broughton Tower Papers.

† Miss Machell's Accounts.

‡ Broughton Tower Papers.

			£	s.	d.
June 16	14 galls 1 pint of White Wine @ 5s.	.....	3	13	7
Aug 6	14 galls red Port @ 6s. ....	...	4	7	0
Oct 8	14 galls of White @ 5s.* ....	...	3	14	

Good beer, probably, entered largely into the success of home hospitality. Small purchases of hops from time to time occur in household accounts, but I have found none of malt, which was no doubt grown on the demesne lands and malted in some local kiln. Oat cake, which was the staple bread of North Lonsdale, is rarely mentioned, possibly for the same reason—the oats being grown, not purchased, and ground into meal at some adjacent mill.

From the bequests in wills, and from the inventories of the period, the furniture of houses implied much simplicity. Every article practically is particularized, and the linen, bedding, and other furniture carefully bequeathed. Of the home attire of ladies, their meal hours, their hours of visiting, or the manner in which they made their visits, I have discovered little in the documents to which I have had access. Ladies, however, apart from the management and care of their households, occupied much of their time in useful work. The spinning wheel was a great resort for leisure hours, and there still remain in some families examples of linen woven from its products. Needlework, of elaborate and beautiful character, bears evidence of the home occupation of the ladies of the centuries under consideration. Of their married life I have gleaned little information; in fact, so few letters remain that the “opportunities” for the daughters of a family are extremely obscure. In a letter addressed by Mr. Robert Bickerstaff to his cousin, Miss Ellin Hind, of Holmbank, Urswick, the following comments are made:—

* Miss Machell's Accounts,

Dear

Dear Cousin,—I should be glad to heare of your welfare whether you are in the land of the living or you are launched into the Ocean of Matterimony if the latter I can very well excuse yuur silence—A Husband is such a pretty toy for a young ladie and takes up so much of their time their is but little houpes for indulgence for any relation else tho never so nigh but if you are at your own disposall I should be glad of your Company for a while this Summer.

There were no carriages until the 18th century was far advanced, as the roads were not available for them. Even in the later part of the 18th century Lord Frederick Cavendish could not, after crossing the sands, take his carriage over the road existing from the shore of Morecambe Bay at Kent's Bank to Holker. I find in an account of 1760 an entry—

For a Pillion £3 11s. 6d.

Travelling was so expensive, and so much involved in inconvenience and risk, that few persons went far from home except on matters of business. Traditional tales imply that ladies rarely went to London. An old lady, born Miss Irton, of Irton Hall, in Cumberland, told me she remembered travelling in the latter part of the 18th century to London, her father and mother taking their own carriage and horses, Miss Irton and her brother accompanying them on horseback—the lady on a pillion, the journey occupying upwards of a fortnight.

In addition to bequests of an ordinary nature, I encountered some of a peculiar character, showing the extreme simplicity of manners even in later part of the 17th century. In the will of William Rownson, of Haverthwaite, in Furness fells, dated 1697, he directs as follows:—

I give to my nephew John Rownson of Haverthwaite one heifer
with calf

I give to the rest of my brother John Rownson's children of Haverthwaite to every one of these Children on Beast a piece

I give to every child I am Godfather to a Sheep*

* Abbotts Reading Papers.

William

William Penny, of Penny Bridge, in his will dated 1640, has a singular gift—

Item I give & bequeathe unto every child I am God father untoe one shilling within half a year of my decease upon demand by any of them at the house I now live in.

In 1679 I find a record of a family arrangement made by Jennet ffell, of Daltongate, Ulverston, with her son John ffell, after the death of his father, for her widowhood. Under this arrangement she receives £30 in money, with an allowance of £15 a year from her son, who also agrees

To find the said Jennett ffell with meat drink & lodging suficient for a woman of her degree for and during the period of her naturall life.

Family notes of births and deaths are singularly exact in their details. As instances—

Thomas Rawlinson first born of Wm & Margay born at Graythwaite the 4th of 7th month Anno 1689 about or near 12 at night being as I think the 4th day of week.

John Rawlinson 4th son of William & Margay was born on the 11th of the 12th mo : It being the 5th day of the weeke & about daye going or the disapearing of light in our horizon.

Esther ffell daughter of John & Bridget ffell was born at Ulverstone Augt 27th 1742 at 2 o'clock in the morning & Baptized September the 25th following She died May 10th, 1744 at one oClock in the morning & was interr'd the 12th.

During the 17th, and some part of the 18th century, persons of distinction, and also many of the poor, appear to have been interred within the Parish Church. The interment of Thomas Fell—*

One of y^e Judges for North Wales Chauncellor of y^e Dutchy and Commissioner for the Seale of the County Palatine of Lancaster is recorded as follows :—

Thomas ffell departed this life abbout eleven a Clock on ffriday in y^e evening within this p'sent year one thousand six hundred fiftie

* This is George Fox's Judge Fell.—See these Transactions, vol. ix, pp. 398-9. and

and eight & was sepulchred under his Pewe in Ulverstone Church upon y^e next Lord's day at night followinge beinge the tenth day of October Anno p. dicto 1658.

Jennett ffell, widow of Andrew ffell, of Daltongate, Ulverston, in her will dated 1685, directs—

My body to be buried in our Parish Church at Ullverston as neare my husbands as possible can be at sight and disposition of my friends and relations.

Curwen Rawlinson, of Carke-in-Cartmel, in his will dated August 28th, 1689, makes a similar direction—

And my body to the ground to be decently buried at the parish Church of Cartmell as near my ffather and relations as possible.

Intramural interments have gradually and wisely ceased, and the large gatherings of friends and neighbours at funerals are somewhat modified. Within my recollection the custom prevailed of carrying the body even for long distances to the grave ; and as the concourse of mourners approached the church they all joined in singing a Psalm suitable to the occasion. I have in my possession many lists of persons invited to funerals in the 18th century, which have by some fortunate accident escaped the notice of trustees and executors, and been thus saved from destruction. After the general enumeration of those desired to attend the funeral of Miss Mary ffell, there follows a list with the heading "Bearers"—

Miss Atkinson Dalton
Miss Shaw Lindale
Miss Latham Duddon Bridge
Miss Peggy Satterthwaite
Miss Sarah Law
Miss Fell Pennington
Miss Branthwaite

And finally a separate note—

Persons as under desired to attend the funeral of Miss Mary ffell on
Saturday at 10 o'clock the 5th of June.

The

The Revd. Dr. Scales	{	These all dine excepting the town bearers.
Revd. Wm. Walker & Mrs. Walker		
Mr. and Mrs. Sunderland		
Revd. Dr. Carswell		
Mr. and Mrs. Postlethwaite Dalton		
Eliz ^h Salthouse	{	(to dine)
Mr. and Mrs. Petty Wellhouse		
Bryan Christoperson		
James Jackson near Broughton forgot		

Biscuits were given to all at the funeral.

The wills of the 17th and early part of the 18th century afford evidence of the reverential simplicity of the age. Their common form of commencement is as follows :—

In the name of God Amen I A B of—in the County of Lancaster (Esquire gentleman yeoman or other description) being weake in Bodie yet perfect in minde and memory praised be Almighty God doe make this my last Will and testament in manner & forme following : ffirst I commit my Soule unto the hands of Almighty God who gave it trustinge through the merritts of our Blessed Saviour to have ffree pardon & fforgiveness of my sinnes : my bodie I commit to y^e Earth to bee decently buried accordinge to y^e discession of my Executors hereafter nominated and as ffor my Temporall Estate it hath pleased Almighty God to bestow upon mee it is my minde & will and I bequeathe the same as followeth &c &c.

Except in some old inventories in my possession, I have found little to indicate how personal estate at the period was invested. No roads, no railways, no canals, and little trading enterprize, left few openings for investment of savings, and this narrow line is evident from the following :—

		£	s.	d.
1679.	It : Debts owing to the Deceased .....	...	46	13 0
„	It : Silver spoones and broken money .....	.....	02	08 0
„	It : In Money .....	.....	55	14 07
„	It : In Bills Bonds & Morgages* ...	.....	630	00 00

* Inventory attached to will of Andrew fell of Ulverston, also that of John fell's and Jennett fell's personal estate, and Edward Benson's inventory in Appendix.

It

It is impossible, however, within the limits of a paper, to attempt more than illustrations of the home life of the 17th and 18th centuries in so large a district as Lonsdale north of the Sands. If the subject could be probed deeper, there is undoubtedly material for much extended information and development of local history. If I have been so fortunate as to create new interest in any feature of the past, and to pave the way to a more free disclosure of the contents of old documents bearing on its history, I shall be fully repaid for the present effort.

APPENDIX I.

INVENTORY OF JOHN FFELLS PERSONAL ESTATE

January the second 1688.—A true & perfect Inventory of all the goods, cattells, chattels rights and creddits that did belonge and appertaine unto John ffell of Ulverstone deceased apprized the day above said by us whose names are hereunto subscribed: viz—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis his purse apparell & riddinge geare	.....	08	10 00
Item Brasse and Pewther ... ..	...	06	08 10
Item Goodes in y ^e Parlour & Kitchen loft ...	...	6	09 00
Item Linninge Boards & loose wool ... ..	.....	13	08 00
Item Goodes in the Buttry loft & house loft	.....	06	01 04
Item Goodes in y ^e Kitchin with a Cupboard and loose wood	.....	06	04 00
Item Meale Malt Butter cheese beefe & groats	.....	04	16 00
Item Goods in y ^e Bodiestead of y ^e house with sacks pokes & poultry	.....	03	18 06
Item Husbandry Geare of all sorts ffewell & Manure	.....	04	04 04
Item Corne hay & straw bease horses & sheepe	.....	53	10 00
Item in Gold money & plait	.....	18	08 06
Item in Sundrie goods	.....	71	14 06
Item in boards & a Chist	.....	01	10 00
Item Debt Booke	.....	70	00 00
			Item

Item in Bills bonds & mortgages	.....	.....	1046	12	00
Item in Bonds	.....	.....	.....	0017	00 00
<hr/>					
Total	.....	.....	1338	15	08
William Dawson	ffunerall Expenses	.....	0016	17	07
William Fell					
Henry Leathorne	Cleane goods	....	1321	18	01
Richard ffell					

APPENDIX II.

INVENTORY OF JENNETT FFELL'S STATE.

A true and perfect Inventorie of all the goods Chattells rights & Credditts that did belonge or appertaine unto Jennett ffell late of Dalton Gate in Ulverston widdow deceased apprizd the third day of February 1685 by us whose names are hereunder subscribed :

			£	s.	d.
Imprimis her purse & apparell	.....	.....	4	00	00
Item one pair of bed stocks & beddinge	.....	.....	3	15	00
Item (illegible)	.....	.....	0	3	00
Item one brasse pot	.....	.....	0	16	08
Item flax & yarne	.....	.....	0	6	00
Item one Chist & boxe	.....	.....	0	03	06
Item Money in Chiste	.....	.....	3	00	00
Item Money due upon Specialty	.....	.....	111	00	00
Item one silver cupp	.....	.....	00	3	10
Item Lent money	.....	.....	00	10	00

Sume total		.....	123	09	00
Apprizors names—	ffunerall Expenses	.....	12	15	00
William Dawson					
William Leathorne					
Henry Leathorne					

APPENDIX III.

EDWARD BENSON'S INVENTORY.

June the 6 1673 A true and p'fect Inventory of all the goods and Chattells of Edward Benson of Black-becke in ffurness ffell late deceased.

Imprimis

			£	s.	d.
Imprimis for Clos & Saddle	.....	.....	2	0	0
Item for bedding	.....	.....	00	14	0
Item for Chists	.....	.....	2	8	0
Item for bed Stocks & table	.....	.....	00	6	0
Item for a paire of bed stocks	.....	.....	00	7	0
Item for 2 paire of bedstocks	.....	.....	00	6	0
Item for bed stocks	.....	.....	00	3	0
Item for a Cubboard	.....	.....	1	0	0
Item for a flesh pott	.....	.....	00	5	0
Item for a Wooden Vessell	.....	.....	00	10	0
Item for Earthen pots	.....	.....	1	10	0
Item for panns & pots	.....	.....	1	10	0
Item for brasse fender	.....	.....	1	3	0
Item formes & Stooles	.....	.....	00	4	00
Item for a Wheele	.....	.....	00	1	0
Item for roopes	.....	.....	00	1	0
Item for Iron Waire	.....	.....	00	7	0
Item for . . . .	.....	.....	00	8	0
Item for lyinge bords	.....	.....	00	3	0
Item for plancks & od things	.....	.....	00	4	0
Item for a table	.....	.....	00	1	0
Item for 2 glasses	.....	.....	00	10	0
Item for Iron geare	.....	.....	00	10	0
Item for 3 hives of Bees	.....	.....	00	10	0
Item for plough &c	.....	.....	00	10	0
Item for a paire of Oxen	.....	.....	5	00	00
Item for a paire of Steards	.....	.....	3	10	00
Item for 4 kind	.....	.....	7	0	00
Item for 3 Stots	.....	.....	2	00	00
Item for a horse	.....	.....	3	10	00
Item for a meare	.....	.....	1	10	00
Item for a stagge	.....	.....	1	10	00
Item for saddles & hammes	.....	.....	00	2	00
Item for Corne in the Grounde	.....	.....	2	0	00
Item for plowing & harrowinge	.....	.....	00	15	00
Item for sheepe	.....	.....	2	15	00

Sume Totall 43 11 6

prissors John Walker, George Robinson, Richard Bernes, Will^m
Addison,

Account

Account of his Debts.

		£	s.	d.
	For funeral Expenses.....	1	01	0
Owing to	Edward Leese	4	1	10
	Christr. Geldert	1	0	0
	Elizabeth Robinson	1	0	0
	Leonard Warrine	1	0	0
	James Nally	9	10	0
	Will. Petty	0	6	8
	Will. Rownson	5	11	06
	Adam Rawlinson	0	5	0
		15	5	0

APPENDIX IV.

Potted char seems even in the 18th century to have been much prized, although I fear the seasonable condition of the fish was obscured by the seasoning of the cooks of the period. A curious letter from the Duke of Montagu has been preserved, dated the 27th of January, 1738.* Unless char have entirely abandoned their habits at the present date, such fish as the Duke begged for would be in the worst condition after spawning. The following is a copy of the Duke of Montagu's letter to Mr. Atkinson, of Dalton :—

Mr. Atkinson—

I received yours of the 1. of this month & also the Pott of Charr which you sent by that days Carrier, which was the best I ever eat, & I would have you send me some of the same sort by every Carryer, take care to Pick the hen fish and those that are of the Red Kind, and let them be potted & seasoned just as that Pot was for it cant be beter—

As I recon it is now the best season for Charr, I would have you send me some fresh ones, directed to my Lord Lovell who is Postmaster Generall as you did the year before last, which I think was by an express, but these came in a wooden box, which made it to great a weight for the Post to carry conveniently therefore these should be put into some sort of a ——— basket & the fish packed in it in moss or some sort of thing that will keep them from bruizing and not give them a taste — You let me know what day they will be in town that I may give Ld Lovell notice of it that they may not lye at the Post office —

* Papers in possession of Mr. Baldwin, of Dalton-in-Furness.

Let them you send me be well chosen fish and all of the Red sort.

When you have Particulars of the Bloom Smithy Rents you'l send them me

I am yours

Montagu

London Jan 27

1738

is there not a considerable number of freeholders in the Liberty of Furness who vote for members of Parliament? I should be glad if you could at your leisure send me a list of all the freeholders in general both great & small that are within the seven parishes in the liberty of Furness under the heads of the several villages or divisions where their freeholds are.
