

ART. XIX.—*Two Hudleston and Senhouse account books.*  
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THE two documents<sup>1</sup> with which we are here concerned are a Day Book, running from 2 February 1699/1700 to 27 June 1704 and recording the agricultural, domestic and other expenditures of Humphrey Senhouse (1669-1738), and a Cash Book, covering the period from 16 September 1700 to 5 August 1703, kept by Humphrey Senhouse for his aunt, Madam Bridget Hudleston (1643-1715) of Millom Castle. The Day Book consists of entries chronologically arranged, with no totals for any page or period: the Cash Book is set out in much the same way as the household accounts of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor, receipts being entered on one page and disbursements on the next, but Senhouse adds up the total on each page of the Cash Book and carries forward to the bottom of each consecutive receipts page the amount undisbursed from the previous one. Accounts kept in this form could make plain to Madam Bridget how her money had been spent and help her to determine at any time how much cash she ought to have in hand.

There are references in both documents to bills, receipts and other records which do not seem to have survived, and neither in the Day Book nor the Cash Book are some of the entries sufficiently detailed and precise to enable us to draw up with any great confidence a statement to show e.g. whether or how well Madam Bridget's or Senhouse's farming paid. The documents, nevertheless, throw an interesting light on the way of life in a household of

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on transcripts, made by Mr J. Hughes, of the originals which belong to Mr Roger Senhouse. I am indebted to Mr C. Roy Hudleston for a great deal of genealogical and other information about Madam Bridget Hudleston and Humphrey Senhouse.

country gentry in an age about half way between the Restoration and the accession of George III, as has recently been shown by the late Professor Edward Hughes, who made use of them for the second volume of his *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century*, and they are valuable as sources of information on commodity prices and wages in a rural area at the beginning of the 18th century. Our knowledge of the economic and social history of Cumberland and Westmorland would be both wider and more realistic if more sources of this kind were made available for study.

Madam Bridget Hudleston was the daughter of Andrew Hudleston of Hutton John. She married her distant relation,<sup>2</sup> Joseph Hudleston, who succeeded to the Millom Castle estate on the death of his brother, Ferdinando, in 1687. Upon her husband's death in September 1700 she became possessed of the estate during her widowhood and lived in Millom Castle until her own death in March 1715. Humphrey Senhouse, her nephew, was the fifth son of John Senhouse of Netherhall, near Maryport, and Mary Hudleston, his second wife. His elder brother, John, had no surviving son but left six daughters from whom their uncle Humphrey bought Netherhall and the manor of Alneburgh or Ellenborough. The family tradition is that, with one exception, both the Hudleston and Senhouse families were opposed to Madam Bridget's marriage. Her elder sister, Mary, remained her friend and in consequence, when Madam Bridget's only son died in 1682, she adopted Mary's son, then thirteen years of age, to fill his place. During the period covered by the Day Book and Cash Book he and his family were living under his aunt's roof, and it is thus likely that both affection and a sense of duty would incline him to take charge of her interests. The high regard in which he was held by both uncle and aunt

<sup>2</sup> They had a common ancestor in Sir John Hudleston of Millom. Joseph Hudleston was in the fifth generation from him and Madam Bridget, of the Hutton John branch of the family, in the fourth.

is evident from their wills.<sup>3</sup> Joseph Hudleston left £30 to him and £20 to Eleanor his wife. Bridget Hudleston's will, of which he was executor, left his children, besides various pieces of plate, £500.

The nine sons of Ferdinand Hudleston of Millom Castle fought for Charles I in the Civil War<sup>4</sup> and it is thus not likely that when his grandson, Joseph Hudleston, inherited the estate in 1687 he found it unencumbered. His brother, whom he succeeded, after selling part of the property, died in a debtor's prison in London<sup>5</sup> and Joseph himself was arrested and imprisoned for debt in 1687. It is not possible from the Cash Book to form any precise idea of what the estate was worth when Madam Bridget succeeded to it in 1700<sup>6</sup> but it is known that during his tenure her husband had done a great deal to free it. He paid his sister Joyce and her husband £800, thereby getting into his own hands the Castle which they had occupied because his sister's marriage portion had not been paid; he spent £300 in repairing the buildings; he paid off a debt due to John Asbridge, who held the woods on the estate as security; he discharged many debts owed by his father and brother besides supplying his uncle, Edward Hudleston, with £400 and paying a large debt of his own to George Wilson of Kendal. It is believed that he hoped, by means of a general fine levied on his tenants, due on change of lord in 1687, to recover the considerable sums paid out in these ways, but the resistance of the tenants, though ending in a verdict in his favour in 1691, cost him over £1,200 in legal expenses.<sup>7</sup>

The total population of the lordship when Joseph Hudleston died was perhaps about 2,000, of which possibly three-quarters lived in the region surrounding Millom and the remainder in or near Millom itself. The Castle was not, like those of Egremont, Cockermouth and Kendal, the

<sup>3</sup> W. Jackson, *Pedigrees and Papers, &c.*, ii 345-348.

<sup>4</sup> NB ii 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com., Le Fleming MSS.*, 406.

<sup>6</sup> In 1774 Sir James Lowther paid £22,500 for it (NB ii 13), but there may have been many changes during the previous three-quarters of a century.

<sup>7</sup> The information in this paragraph was supplied by Mr Roy Hudleston.

caput of a seignory containing a more or less urban commercial or industrial centre, for, though its lord had been granted a three-day fair in 1250 and there had once been a Wednesday market, neither attained any great importance. By 1777 the market had "been long discontinued"<sup>8</sup> and may even have been obsolete in 1700, for the Cash Book shows no revenue from market tolls. Though it could be said in 1777 that there was "neither port nor creek within all this lordship", Borwick Rails could accommodate ships of 100 tons burden. Nevertheless, though some iron was got at Hodbarrow and in Millom Park and there were forges in the parish, no very marked development of the iron industry occurred before the opening of the Duddon Bridge furnace in 1736 and even that could hardly lead to a concentration of population near the Castle. Madam Bridget's resources were therefore bound to consist almost entirely of rents of land, fines on succession and the crops and livestock raised on land in her own hands.

Besides the Park and other lands in the immediate vicinity the estate included properties in Millom Above, Millom Below, Whicham, Corney, Eskmeals, Bootle and, eleven miles or so from Millom, in Ulpha. Much further away Madam Bridget had tenants in Yorkshire<sup>9</sup> on such lands, including Thwaites Hall and a farm called Carnigill, as Ferdinando Hudleston had not sold to pay some of his debts. It would not be easy, in any case, to keep a constant eye on tenants at such a distance, who were not prompt payers of their rents<sup>10</sup> and were resisting the levying of

<sup>8</sup> NB ii 13.

<sup>9</sup> Her claim to the Yorkshire lands was based on settlements made by her husband on his succession in 1687 and in the year of his death, but her relatives argued that Joseph Hudleston had only a life interest and that consequently the settlements were not good in law. A lawsuit, still in progress in 1702, was carried as far as the House of Lords where Madam Bridget won her case.

<sup>10</sup> An entry dated 18 March 1702/3 reads: "Cash Recd. of the Tennts in Yorkshire for 3 halfe years rents the last being Due At St Andrew day last past [30 November 1702] the sum of £55. 8s. 11½d. yet unpaid £1. 15s. 9d. Cash Recd. from Severall of these Tennts in Fines found at a Court Held this Day £58. os. od. yet unpaid in two fines not yet recd. £4. 17s. 6d."

finances due on change of lord, action in which, according to Madam Bridget, they were encouraged by her relatives.

A complete account of the lands belonging to Madam Bridget cannot be given because some of the Cash Book entries specify the dates when rents were due without naming the tenants or indicating the location of the lands, but it is possible to form an approximate idea of her annual income from rents which in 1702 were nearly £320 a year. The main sources in that year may be tabulated as follows:

Steel Green .. .. .	£10. 10. 0
Fell Side .. .. .	12. 10. 0
Swinside .. .. .	15. 0. 0
Corney Hall .. .. .	18. 0. 0
Bootle .. .. .	4. 4. 10
Crosbythwaite .. .. .	12. 10. 0
Ulpha .. .. .	10. 12. 0½
Eskmeals .. .. .	3. 2. 6
Scogarbarr .. .. .	10. 0. 0
Corney Mill .. .. .	3. 0. 0
Bootle Mill .. .. .	11. 10. 0
Crosbythwaite Mill .. .. .	3. 5. 0
Ulpha Mill .. .. .	6. 10. 0
Martinmas Rents .. .. .	18. 5. 11
Whitsun Rents .. .. .	36. 8. 6½
Land Rents .. .. .	22. 9. 6
Yorkshire Tenants <sup>11</sup> .. .. .	118. 9. 4
Annaside fishing .. .. .	1. 0. 0
	<hr/>
	£317. 7. 8

To this total there is to be added an amount, fluctuating from year to year, on account of fines and heriots. In 1702 these came to £16. 2s. 8d., not counting £58. os. od. (an amount no doubt containing arrears) received from several Yorkshire tenants. In 1701 the amount was £35. 3s. 2d.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Computation from the entry quoted in footnote 10, above, would give a total of £36. 19s. 4d. In addition an entry of the same date reads: "Cash Recd. of Edward Simpson & John Hutchinson our Farmers in Yorkshire for one year's rent being due last Martinmas [11 November 1702] £81. 10s. od." The sum of these would be £118. 9s. 4d. In 1769 the four Yorkshire farms belonging to Madam Bridget brought in £90. [Edward Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ii 82.]

<sup>12</sup> Including £8. 12s. 6d. "for 2 Harricots", presumably *heriots*.

On the whole, therefore, it is possible that, taking one year with another, Madam Bridget's income from rents and fines<sup>13</sup> was in the region of £350 a year.

The collection of the rents was the business of a bailiff. John Askew acted in that capacity in Bootle and John Fox in Millom. It may well be that these servants had other duties as well, e.g. reporting on the need of repairs to buildings or on the condition of Madam Bridget's own livestock. Certainly Fox's office seems to have given him local distinction: in the parish register record of his daughter's marriage to one of the Castle servants in January 1711 he is called "bailife of Millom" and similarly in the record of his wife's burial in December 1723; but either his office was not very lucrative or he suffered misfortune for on 5 March 1724 there was buried "John Fox, Bayliffe, a poore man". Askew, in March 1702, was paid £2 for collecting the Bootle rents. The Ulpha rents were collected by Robert Casson, who is not called bailiff.

For the administration of so large and widespread an estate it might be expected that a steward, having oversight of the bailiffs and competent to hold manorial courts, would be found necessary. No official is mentioned by that title in the Cash Book, but the functions of a steward, or some of them, were discharged by the Mr Hodgshon<sup>14</sup> named in several entries. It is evident from entries dated 9 March and 25 April 1701 that he went on journeys to Yorkshire, on one occasion accompanied by Dent and Humphrey Senhouse and on another "to keep courts". He was perhaps the same as William Hodgshon, "my servant" to whom Joseph Hudleston bequeathed £20, though ordinarily "servant" would be an odd term to apply to a steward. In 1709 and 1710 the steward was John Muncaster.

<sup>13</sup> The fines were, in some instances at least, twenty times the rent. For instance, the rent of Little Meadow was one shilling and the fine one pound: some land at Ulpha, rented at 6s. 7d., paid a fine of £6. 11s. 8d.

<sup>14</sup> He is to be distinguished from another "Mr Hodgshon", who was an apothecary. A "young William Hodgshon" mentioned in May 1702 was evidently a lawyer or lawyer's clerk.

Though a table can be constructed to show the total of amounts definitely stated to have been received or disbursed, during the two complete years 1701 and 1702, on account of purchases or sales of corn, cattle, sheep and skins, it is, unfortunately, not possible to be sure that such a table would be complete. The reason is the frequency of items recording receipts of money in payment of bonds or notes with nothing to indicate in respect of what the bonds were drawn. Some may have been obligations to pay at a future date for corn, cattle, sheep or some other commodity bought of Madam Bridget and in that event the table would not represent the truth. Further, there is a doubt whether some items, referring e.g. to sheep, should be included. Some, being receipts from sales "last year" can be excluded but it is not clear whether others, referring to receipts "since the last account" or "formerly" should also be left out.<sup>15</sup> Finally, there is some obscurity about items dated 19 May 1701:

*Received.*

Cash Received of John Garside and Joseph Kitchin in full for (160) stone of wool at 8s. 6d. per stone pd. to Mrs Kirkby by our orders & Giney given in Earnest deducted	£66. 18. 0
Cash Received more of John Garside & Jos. Kitchin pd. to Mrs Kirkby — which they have ordrd me by their letter to pay John Dixon of Beckbank for their use	21. 16. 9

*Disbursed.*

Cash paid John Dixon of Beckbanke per order of John Garside & Joseph Kitchin being in full for what the lay out for us to Mrs Kirkby at York more than our wool came to	£21. 16. 9
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<sup>15</sup> The table, subject to errors in interpretation of uncertain items, would be as follows:

<i>In 1701</i>		<i>Sales.</i>	
		<i>In 1702</i>	
Oats .. ..	£10. 17. 6	£5. 16. 4	
Cattle .. ..	118. 2. 0	68. 5. 7	
Sheep .. ..	12. 17. 9	95. 19. 0	
Skins and hides	12. 9. 8	7. 1. 6	
Wool (including lambs')	67. 10. 9	18. 0 (lambs')	
		<i>Purchases</i>	
Wheat .. ..	2. 2. 8	Oats .. ..	5. 7. 8
Cattle .. ..	49. 9. 0	Rye .. ..	8. 0
Sheep .. ..	20. 3. 9		10. 0 (in an exchange)
Skins .. ..	4. 0		1. 4. 0
			- - -

What these entries mean, presumably, is that Garside and Kitchin had sold goods to Mrs Kirkby, Senhouse's mother in law, or bought goods for her to the value of £88. 14s. 9d. and that wool, worth £66. 18s. od., was used to offset part of the debt. The balance due to them, £21. 16s. 9d., was, on their instructions, paid to John Dixon of Beckbank.<sup>16</sup>

The table given above, if it could be accepted, would indicate that the scale of farming activity was less in 1702 than in 1701 and there are other considerations to suggest, if not to prove, the same conclusion. Of the amount shown in the table as received for sheep in 1702, more than 78% is accounted for by one transaction:

March 18th, 1701/2: "Cash Recd. of Wm. Hartley & John James in full of their Bond for Sheepe they bought of us at Swinside £75. os. od."

Hartley and James<sup>17</sup> were then tenants of Swinside and the entry may well indicate that they were increasing their flock while Madam Bridget was reducing hers. Late in 1701 or early in 1702 she was certainly disposing of livestock and furniture at a sale. That is evident from the wording of some entries<sup>18</sup> and perhaps other entries, too, related to payments for beasts or other goods bought on the same occasion.

With regard to Madam Bridget's advantages and profits from land which she did not let very little can be

<sup>16</sup> Probably the son of John Dixon of Beckbank whose children were baptized in 1658, 1662 and 1664. John Dixon junior was the father of children baptized in 1704 and 1708. He was buried in January 1713/14 and his widow in January 1721/22.

<sup>17</sup> William Heartley paid half a year's rent for Swinside on 29 November 1701. John James, according to the parish register, was at Windyslack in 1691, 1696 and 1698, but in August 1702 he is described as of Swincett, i.e. Swinside. On 14 June 1701 wages were paid to Thomas Myres, "herd of Swinside", whence it may perhaps be inferred that a part at least of Swinside was in Madam Bridget's own hand.

<sup>18</sup> 4 February: "Cash Recd. of John Nicholson in full for 10 Hogs all bought ith Sale £1. 15s. od."

"Cash Recd. of John Nicholson for some Bed Stocks and Wainescott bought in our Saile £0. 3s. 2d."

18 February: "Recd. of Francis Hunter in full of one note for a paire of Stears bought in our Sale £10. 2s. od."

Unless these payments were very much in arrear, this was not the first sale, for there is a reference dated 20 October 1700 to "Goods sould in my Aunts Sale".

said with certainty. She grew enough oats, probably, to supply her own large household and had some left for sale. In 1701 she certainly sold more than 54 bushels and in 1702 at least 34 bushels but it is to be noted that in the latter year she also bought 32 bushels. So far as can be gathered she did not send her crops to a regular market but disposed of them, in relatively small quantities, to people in the neighbourhood. Whether she grew any other kind of corn is not clear. In 1701 she bought 1 bushel 6 pecks of wheat, and in 1702 a bushel of rye, but these were perhaps intended for consumption and not for sowing. Beans, of which she bought 1 peck 5 hoops in 1701 and a bushel in 1702, may have been used for human or for equine consumption. In 1702 she bought  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of peas, perhaps for sowing. Whether the 6 pecks of potatoes bought in 1701 were to be cooked or set there is nothing to indicate. She also bought some described as seed potatoes, but whether they were intended to be grown as a garden or a field crop is unknown.<sup>19</sup>

Other than the growing of potatoes, if indeed they were cultivated as a field crop, there is no indication in the Cash Book of improved farming on the lands kept by Madam Bridget in her own hands. One operation, indeed, is to be noted, namely the clearing and burning of the bracken which covered part of Millom Park. This by itself would not make possible the extension of grazing land but it produced a marketable commodity in the ash. In 1701 160 bushels of it were sold to Myles Postlethwaite of Booth and in 1702  $77\frac{1}{2}$  bushels to Jonathan Fletcher of Walton, near Preston.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> It is noteworthy that the vegetable had reached South Cumberland by the beginning of the 18th century. The earliest reference so far known to potatoes in the neighbourhood is in the Swarthmoor accounts in October 1673 (N. Penny, ed. *Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*, p. 5). Ninety years later the farming accounts of John Dickinson, of Street Gate and Havercroft, show him selling potatoes to the value of more than £14. 10s. od., amounting to more than 16% of farm produce sold (MS. owned by Mr Ronald Dickinson of Red How, Lamplugh).

<sup>20</sup> In August 1702 Madam Bridget paid him 11s. od. for two bushels of it, for what purpose is not indicated.

At one time, no doubt, Millom Castle drew part of its supplies from a home farm, a demesne or domain, which has perhaps survived in the name *Mains*<sup>21</sup> in Millom. Whether food was supplied by that means in Madam Bridget's time is uncertain though not improbable. The livestock in July 1703 included ten pigs and the home farm would be the likeliest place in which to keep them. Poultry, too, if any were reared, would normally be kept there, but the indications are that there was no henwife in the family: otherwise it would hardly have been necessary to buy so many scores of chickens at 2d. a head or to have such very frequent recourse to "Old Gudy" of Haverigg for eggs. It is doubtful, too, whether the Castle had what is a not an uncommon adjunct to a Cumberland farm or mansion, namely an orchard, for on several occasions at least apples were bought and on one occasion bullaces; but these purchases were perhaps made necessary by a failure or a poor yield of the orchard at home. It is certain that the Castle had a garden, but whether kitchen garden, flower garden or both is not clear.

Almost the first service that Humphrey Senhouse had to perform for his aunt after her husband's death was to settle accounts for medical attention during his last illness and for what was then considered proper in connection with the obsequies of a gentleman. The total, including £82. os. od. "charges of the Funeral at Kendall and Lancaster and also the Apothecarys at Lancaster & Ulverston", came to more than £113.<sup>22</sup> The preacher of the funeral sermon got a guinea and women sitting up and watching the corpse 2s., 2s. 6d. or 5s. each. A guinea was paid to Mr Jackson of St. Bees, in February 1703, for composing the Latin inscription on Joseph Hudleston's monument. The poor in six parishes in the lordship of

<sup>21</sup> On this meaning of *Main* see *Place-Names of Cumberland*, p. 484.

<sup>22</sup> This was a modest sum in comparison with the £680 said to have been spent on the funeral of Sir Patricius Curwen in 1665 (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Le Fleming MSS.*, 37) but it was equal to more than 35% of Madam Bridget's income from rents.

Millom benefited to the extent of £10. 0s. 0d. That was a gift by Madam Bridget, not a bequest by her husband; but he left £100 for the maintenance of a school in Millom parish.<sup>23</sup>

Some bills and legacies might have been paid out of cash accumulated by Joseph Hudleston, for in September 1700 the Cash Book records:

Cash received out of the Chist ith New Closset in all	
three bags .. .. .	£95 0 0
Cash received out of the little Drawers in all ..	29 14 0

and there should perhaps be added another £100 recorded in August 1701 as "Recd. out of the Great Chist", which would bring the total to £224. 14s. 0d. This part of the accumulation, however, if indeed it was part, was not used in paying bills or legacies or in improving land or livestock but was lent at interest, as the entry indicates:

Cash more Recd. out of the Great Chist lent to	
Thomas Banks of Biggar in Walney the sum of ..	£100 0 0

An even larger loan, of £160. 0s. 0d., was made in July 1702 to Mr William Jackson of Roose Coate in Furness and in August of the same year £100 was lent to Mr Roger Woodburne of Ulverston. It is not possible, because some entries record repayment of capital and interest in one sum, to be sure how much money was lent at interest during the period covered by the Cash Book but it was probably at least about £458. The interest paid by Thomas Banks was 6% per annum but ordinarily, perhaps, the rate was 5%. In July 1703 e.g. Richard Hodgshon of Becksid and his son in law John Walls repaid a loan of £20. 0s. 0d. with £1. 0s. 0d. interest. There is no mention whatever in the Cash Book of investment in government or East India Company stock or in the mining or working of iron (unless the loans to Banks and Jackson were of that kind) or in coal-mining, and the probability is

<sup>23</sup> This was paid to the "12 men of the parish" in February 1703. According to Parson and White's *Directory*, the school's endowment had been lost many years before 1829.

that the loans were made on the security of land or other property.

The antiquity of his family, its connections by marriage with others of the same rank and his possessions in land gave Humphrey Senhouse a sure position among the gentry of Cumberland and the neighbouring counties. He was a justice of the peace, attending the sessions occasionally and when present sometimes spending half a crown at "a club amongst the Gentlemen" but the Day Book does not indicate that he was very active in the service of the State or the county. In 1714-15 he was sheriff of Cumberland, an office which his son was to hold in 1742-3, and in 1701 had been deputy lieutenant, which cost seven shillings in taking the oath and in clerk's fees and, later, another seven shillings for a red sword belt and scabbard, considered necessary, no doubt, to support his dignity at musters. His home was decorated with family portraits and "Coates of Armes of the matches of our Family" and his dining room brave with silver plate.<sup>24</sup> His furniture included a "Secreetore Chist of Drawers & Table made of Walnutree", but whether these were intended for his Whitehaven establishment or elsewhere is not clear. Some details in the Day Book help us a little to see Humphrey Senhouse "in his habit as he was". His stockings, like those of his wife and children, were of worsted, on one occasion knitted by a Yorkshirewoman "after the rate of 6d. an ounce for the worsted and knitting". Shoes, made by a Ravenglass man, cost 3s. 6d. a pair for himself, 2s. 6d. for his wife's and 1s. 6d. for those of his little son. His buttons<sup>25</sup> on one occasion were bought in Kirkby Lonsdale. For the finery suitable for a deputy lieutenant he sent to Kendal, whence he got two

<sup>24</sup> In June 1701 he paid £15. 7s. 6d. for articles, including two candlesticks, weighing 61½ ounces. The price, approximately 5s. an ounce indicates that they were of silver (A. Feavearyear, *The Pound Sterling*, 133, 141).

<sup>25</sup> An entry on the cover reads: "39 Round Buttons plate 33 Flatt plate Buttons for my Leather sute". Whether he was resplendent in all these at once or had prudently acquired spares is not clear.

yards of "Goold breadth" at 14d. a yard and a "Goold button" and half a yard of "Goold Twist" for 4d. His wife occasionally got "things" unspecified or "stuff" from London: a necklace, "ear bobs" and a thimble came from Lancaster, but "domothy" at 1s. 2d. a yard, stay tape and thread could be bought in Ulverston and "shalbourne" (i.e. shalloon?) in Broughton.

Nothing in the Day Book indicates that Senhouse was given to the gross intemperance which Macaulay thought characteristic of country gentlemen in the reign of James II or to the passion for gaming for which some members of his kindred had a bad reputation<sup>26</sup> but in several other respects he was typical of his class. It is probable e.g. that his manner of speech was that of South Cumberland: he commonly uses *ought* as the past tense of *owe* and in one place he writes of "money which I would not a Lent". One may conjecture that he read little for he mentions a book only twice: one book was "Winter Evening Conferance" (*sic*), probably devotional, lent by his wife to the Vicar: the other was "a little Booke by way of question and Answer gives an acct. of the whole Bible". To some extent he kept abreast of events by means of "mercurys" to which John Latus of Beck, the Vicar and he subscribed. His diversions were probably those of other country gentlemen: he was, for instance, careful to record the receipt of Colonel Kirkby's gun — "he had it in his owne hand ith Dineing Room at Millom and gave it me before Dent our Buttler" — and he did not disapprove of race meetings at Haverigg Hawes. There can be little doubt, however, that, as with Macaulay's squire, "his chief serious employment was the care of his property", on which the evidence of the Day Book may now be considered.

On 2 February 1700 Humphrey Senhouse contracted

<sup>26</sup> "as the country people will say The Senhouse Learn to play at cards in their mothers belly" (Edmund Sandford, *A Cursory Relation*, etc. (CW Tracts, iv 4, 22).

to take over Little Lanthwaite, the "estate" of George Parke,<sup>27</sup> at a cost of £96. os. od., that amount being mainly on account of a mortgage which the occupier had become liable to pay. This and other items were to be paid off by Senhouse, leaving only £17. os. od. for Parke, for which Senhouse gave him a "note", or promise to pay. Most of this, £16. os. od., was met on the following 8 July and the main mortgage was paid off on 29 January 1701. The owner of Little Lanthwaite was Robert Pennington of Seaton and the rent 17s. 6d. a year. It was evidently a customary rent for Senhouse became liable to a "general fine" which was settled by agreement with Pennington at £14. 14s. 6d., i.e. what would then be known as a 17d. fine, and it was to be paid half on 25 March and half on 25 July 1702.

Little Lanthwaite, when Senhouse acquired it, was probably in poor condition. At any rate he thought it necessary to carry out repairs to the house and buildings and to have a good deal of walling done. On 3 April 1700 he records:

Then agreed with Roger Midleton and Solomon Fox for the Building of a new Barne at Litle Lanthwaite . . . 12 yds long within the walls & the same breadth as the ould one 4 yds & a foot High . . . and to lie the wall in Clay and to lie on the Slate betwixt [gap in MS.] and the last of may next for the sum of £4. 12. 0.

The work was finished, or nearly finished, by 29 August 1700 when the Day Book records an expenditure of 5s. 6d. "Given amongst the worke men for Gloves at the rearing". The cost of the work, because of the imprecise nature of the Day Book entries,<sup>28</sup> cannot be calculated. It was perhaps over £35 and may have approached £50.

<sup>27</sup> The connection of the Parke family with the estate went back at least to November 1639 when George, son of Lawrence Parke de *Lang-thwet* was baptized. George, son of George Parke de *Little Langthwaite* was baptized in May 1677 and buried in May 1681.

<sup>28</sup> Items entered for work at Lanthwaite may refer to farm work, though some certainly refer to building. Numerous items for walling are not specifically noted as connected with Lanthwaite though some may well have been so.

Work on the land probably went on while building was in progress, for on 24 February 1700 George Cowle was said "for Plowghing all my Leigh at Lanthwaite and for Dressing my meadow", and on 28 May Senhouse records that William Preston was sold " $\frac{1}{2}$  a bushall of Big at 5s. for which he is obliged to Looke and weed all my Corne at Lanthwaite this year". Moreover on 29 July in the same year Senhouse sold his Lanthwaite wool at 8s. 6d. a stone. From the Spring of that year onwards, probably, he did not farm Lanthwaite, or all of it, himself, for on 8 February he signed a lease for seven years, with an option of renewing for another seven, to Thomas Tyson and Thomas Seal at a rent of £34. os. od. per annum. The tenure was to start on 15 April and with the land were rented 140 sheep.

It is not certain, however, what "Lanthwaite", in this and other entries, included, for in 1696 Senhouse had bought "Langthwait in Millam" for £550. os. od.<sup>29</sup> His purchase cannot have included the *Little* Lanthwaite acquired in 1700 and was therefore presumably *Great* Lanthwaite. It was almost certainly the property called simply *Langthwayt* in the parish register entry recording the burial in March 1680/1 of Mrs Frances Hudleston. Another entry records the baptism in December 1702 of daughter of Thomas Seele, "a farmer at Great Langthwayt". It is therefore likely that Humphrey Senhouse joined the two Lanthwaites and leased the combined properties to Tyson and Seal. Whatever the arrangement was, there are some indications that it did not turn out well. On 11 June 1703 Senhouse paid a man "for watching the Goods at Lanthwaite which was Disstrained". This suggests that one or both tenants had defaulted. Moreover on 29 June Thomas Seale, probably the man of that name who had become tenant in 1701, is referred to as "my herd at Lanthwaite" and on 25 April 1704 he was paid for threshing corn there. In the previous September Senhouse

<sup>29</sup> The evidence is in letters, found among the Levens MSS. by Mr Roy Hudleston, from Timothy Banks to Col. James Grahme.

paid ten hedgers, and in November fifteen sheep salvers, at Lanthwaite, whence we may probably infer that the land was then in his own hand and that Seal was a hired worker on land he had previously farmed.

Another property of Senhouse's was Foreslack, in Whicham parish, about seven miles from Lanthwaite. He had owned this farm for at least a year before Michaelmas 1700 for on 26 November he records the receipt of the rent due about two months earlier. On 21 December he sealed a lease to the sitting tenants, Hugh Kitchin and Widow Brockbank, at the rent they had previously paid, namely £6. 10s. 0d. In the same region he had a right to pasture sheep on Whicham Fell. He may at one time have hoped to extend his possessions in the neighbourhood in much the same way as he had done at Little Lanthwaite for in October 1702 he took a mortgage for five years on Thomas Dixon's tenement at Fell End. Another rent which he drew was from the vicar<sup>30</sup> of Millom, the Rev. Joseph Taylor, for a house at £1. 10s. 0d. a year and three small closes at £3. 0s. 0d. The house, in an entry on 5 October 1700, is called "the New House": it was perhaps the same as the "new house at Little Lanthwaite" mentioned in entries on 30 November and 2 December 1700.

The only property, outside this corner of South Cumberland, mentioned in the Day Book as belonging to Senhouse was in Whitehaven. In July 1700 he let a small "peece of inclosed ground" to a roper for two years at £1. 3s. 6d. On 10 June 1701 there is mention of a "new purchase in Whitehaven", possibly a house on land for which he paid Captain Senhouse a ground rent of 10s. a year. In addition to lands of his own he had others for which he paid a rent. One was Great Cove or Courve, rented from Ferdinando Hudleston at £4. 12s. 0d. a year. Another consisted of two little fields rented for a short period for grazing, from James Hunter and his wife at

<sup>30</sup> Senhouse agreed to compound for the tithes due from Great and Little Lanthwaite by a rent of £1. 6s. 8d. a year during the vicar's lifetime.

£1. 16s. od. An entry on 30 May 1701 names "John Dixon our Servant upon Irelith Marsh" but whether he was a servant of Madam Bridget's or Senhouse's or both is not clear. His work was perhaps to look after sheep grazing on the Lancashire side of the Duddon estuary.

Senhouse's main concerns as a farmer appear to have been with his sheep and cattle. The size of his flock seems to have varied little, being commonly about 150 or 160. On 12 April 1700, e.g., he sent 86 out to the Fell and on 13 May another 73, making 159 besides four left at home. In November of that year there were 155 salved at Lanthwaite. In June 1703 126 sheep were clipped at Lanthwaite and then, with 34 lambs, sent up to the Fell, 5 sheep and 3 lambs being kept at home, so that the total flock was then 168, a number which had fallen to 152 or thereabouts by November following. On the 9th of that month he agreed with William Myre of Kellbank to look after his sheep on the Fell for seven years at 13s. 4d. a year and the bell wether's fleece plus one penny a head for every sheep above 160. In March 1704 he sent 67 to the Fell, leaving 79 on lower ground, making a total of 146. Such numbers were more considerable than they would appear to be in an age better supplied with feeding stuffs, e.g. turnips. A hundred years earlier a fairly substantial farmer at Raby Cote on the north-west Cumberland coastal plain had about 50 sheep: in 1741 a Kentmere farmer rented with his holding 80 heaf-bred and heaf-going sheep:<sup>31</sup> thirty years later John Dickinson of Havercroft and Streetgate turned to the fell pasture 112.<sup>32</sup>

Because of a lack of specific references to the matter in 1702 and 1704 and the fewness of such references in 1701 and 1703 little can be said about his concern with cattle

<sup>31</sup> F. W. Grainger in CW2 ix 138: F. W. Garnett, *Westmorland Agriculture*, 163-164.

<sup>32</sup> Wethers, tups and other geld sheep, 49; hogs, 32; ewes and lambs, 27; more geld sheep, 4. (Farming accounts, MS. owned by Mr Ronald Dickinson.)

except that he was, occasionally at least, a buyer or seller on a moderately large scale at local fairs and markets. For instance, in 1700 at Dalton Fair he bought 7 steers for £24. 14s. 8d. and at Ravenglass Fair he sold a heifer and 4 steers for £18. 2s. 6d. His total purchases in that year amounted to £32. 9s. od. and his sales to £62. 3s. 5½d.

In regard to corn, too, the absence of entries, especially relating to purchases is noteworthy. It would appear from the Day Book that he bought corn, including 4 bushels of seed oats, in 1700 to the value of £10. 1s. 6d. and thereafter none, so that it may perhaps be concluded that he supplied his household needs and sold his surpluses to tenants, workmen and neighbours. What he sold consisted almost entirely of oats and bigg (barley) and there is no mention of potatoes, turnips, kail or clover, whence it may be concluded (subject to the dangers of the *argumentum e silentio*) that agricultural improvement in the 18th-century sense had not yet begun on his estate. It is possible, however, that he practised, and perhaps encouraged others to practise, one point of good husbandry in the use of lime, for in July 1700 he sold 17 boatloads of limestone.

The belief in the incompatibility of gentility and trade, common in some Victorian circles, had little counterpart among the gentry in the 17th and 18th centuries, who, though they might not regard small shopkeepers as gentlemen, did not deny that rank to wealthy merchants, bankers and other professional people. At any rate Humphrey Senhouse evidently did not think it derogatory to his status to do business in commodities other than crops and beasts, and, one may believe, when returning from a muster of the militia would forsake his sword for ledgers without a qualm. Two of Madam Bridget's nieces married respectively a physician and an apothecary, and some of their Hutton John relations were much concerned in colonial trade. Such activities were necessary, for younger sons especially, in order to maintain the level of

consumption they desired; and it may be noted that if the gentry had stood aloof from industry and commerce the economic development of Cumberland would have been retarded.

In August 1700 Senhouse acted as a coal importer, paying the master of the *Willing Minde*, for 45 quarters 4 bushels of coal, £13. 13s. od. and £4. 10s. od. duty. Whether the coal was for domestic use or for burning lime and whether for himself or for others as well we do not know. The Day Book is a little more informative about another deal: early in June 1704 Senhouse sold over 4 cwt. of sugar at 4½d. a pound, the total being £13. 19s. 7½d., to be paid in various sums by Sir William Pennington, Mr Edward Stanley, Aunt Latus, Aunt Hudleston and Mrs Wells. Senhouse was almost certainly acting as an agent in the distribution of West Indian sugar, and it is by no means impossible, though the Day Book does not name either the source or the consigner, that one or more of his relations had an interest in the matter. William Hudleston, son of Andrew of Hutton John, was certainly in Jamaica in 1708 and 1709, and Wilfrid Hudleston had been in Barbados at some date before 13 January 1702-3, as he mentions in a letter of that date to Lady Lawson at Isell, who had ventured three guineas with him.<sup>33</sup>

Another interest of Humphrey Senhouse's at one time was herring fishing, presumably off the Cumberland coast. Indeed it is possible that, in co-operation with Wilfrid Hudleston, he thought of engaging in the salting of herrings, either for sale or for domestic supply. In April 1701 Hudleston wrote to say that he had been making enquiries about the necessary quantities and the prices of salt; but, he added, "It's reported here that ther's a further duty to be lade on salt; if soe I am affraide it will frustrate all our plans". That may be why in June 1701,

<sup>33</sup> This and other information relating to Wilfrid Hudleston and his affairs I owe to extracts made by Mr Roy Hudleston from an unpublished Letter Book of Wilfrid Hudleston's now at Hutton John.

according to the Day Book, Senhouse disposed of his "heering netts" to John Newby, in return for 2,000 herring "when he gets them".

Though one cannot be sure, it would seem likely that Humphrey Senhouse did not take part, at least to any great extent, in the shipping and tobacco trades which at this time were contributing to the growth of Whitehaven. Some of his relations did. An entry dated 24 December 1702 records that Senhouse took charge of fifty guineas deposited with him by his brother Peter, "he being just agoeing to Virginia". Peter Senhouse was master of a ship called the *Katherin* engaged in the tobacco trade, in which Wilfrid Hudleston, as appears from his Letter Book, was much concerned. To what extent, if any, Humphrey Senhouse was financially interested the Day Book does not make clear; but he had an opportunity, which perhaps he did not take, to become so later, on the death in 1707 of Captain Senhouse (not the same as Peter Senhouse). As the Captain's heir he acquired a one-eighth share in the *Katherin*, which he sold to Wilfrid Hudleston, who was also willing to buy other shares in ships. In a letter to Humphrey Senhouse, dated 17 February 1707/8 he wrote: "if you hold your resolution to sell all . . . we are willing to give you £130 we paying the freight due to the *Katherin* & all other charges, you intiteling us to all the rest".

One point that stands out markedly in the Day Book and the Cash Book is the relative shortage of cash<sup>34</sup> in circulation at the beginning of the 18th century and the consequent necessity of credit in many transactions, a credit resting on trust in individuals for as yet in this part of the country there were no specialised banking institutions. Rich as Humphrey Senhouse might be in comparison with farmers and labourers in his neighbourhood, he might easily find himself without ready cash to meet obligations and on occasion borrowed from his own

<sup>34</sup> The scarcity was often severe in the North. On its effects see T. S. Ashton, *Economic History of England: the 18th Century*, 173.

servants. For instance on 29 February 1700 he notes: "Then Borrowed of Betty Biby our made for which I must pay her use [i.e. interest] £2. os. od.". The debt was discharged almost two years later with interest at 5% per annum. When, on the other hand, he had cash to spare he not infrequently made loans to others: in August 1700, e.g. he notes "Lent to John Dixon our Servant the sum of £2. 6s. 6d.". At times the loans were much larger in amount, rising occasionally to £5, £10, £20, £30 and once to £110, to his brother in law William Kirkby.

When it was not possible or convenient to get a written acknowledgement Senhouse sometimes noted the names of witnesses to a loan or repayment. For instance on 24 February 1700/1 he records: "This Day at wayside payd Robt. Blendall in full . . . John Fox Baylife & Vicar present"; and on 27 October 1702 "Paid Thomas Dixon of Fell End . . . John Parker smith Edward Troughton farmer of Scogar barr John Simpson of Woodhouse Richard Fox of Gutterbys and Mr Hodgshon being present at the payment of the money being the sum of £60. os. od.".

There were, however, ways of settling accounts without money or with less money than the amount of the obligation. One was payment in kind. Ralph Fox, e.g., to whom £1. 12s. 4d. was owing for work, was paid on 10 January 1701 partly in oats at 4s. 6d. a bushel and grass at 6s. 8d. and George Parke in the following month was paid "in full for seven Giesse . . . at 1s. per Giess . . . in all 7s. He ought me 4s. upon a note which I gave in and 3s. in money I pd. him". Similarly, workmen could sometimes discharge their debts in labour. From entries in February 1700 it is to be gathered that Senhouse had paid the local rates of several men, which amounts some of them were "to worke out at Lanthwaite" and in February 1702/3 he directed that "Tho. Hudleston is to Employ the People that owes me moneys in Kirksanton & Haverigg in leading stones . . . and that moneys they owe me is to be allowed" i.e. deducted from their payment.

Transactions involving the sale of live stock, if the number of beasts was more than one or two, meant the extension of credit to the buyer until an agreed date. On 16 November 1700, for instance, Senhouse sold to John Myre of Whitehall four beasts for £13. os. od. "to be paid 2th of February next"; and in October 1701 he sold Lawrence Wilde a pair of oxen for £10. 7s. 6d. "which he is to pay me the next May Faire.<sup>35</sup> I gave him again 2s. 6d."<sup>36</sup> Besides giving credit in this way it is noteworthy that on occasion Humphrey Senhouse performed some banking functions, i.e. accepted deposits and made advances. This is clear from entries in November 1703:

22th:	Received then from Mr Ashton which he desired me to lye by for him (23 Gineys) <sup>37</sup>	£24	14	6
23th:	Paid Mr Ashton in pt. againe in money	10	0	0
26th:	Paid Mr Ashton more in 5 Gineys	5	7	6
29th:	Borrowed of Mr Boadle at Whitehaven which I pd. to Mr Ashton 7 Gineys & ½.	8	1	3
30th:	Pad. Mr Ashton at South Feeld More which Ryley ordrd Mr Ashton to pay which I lent him to bury the Boy with	0	10	0
30th:	Lent Mr Ashton more at Haverigg to pay Nic. Herbert with for his horse	1	3	3
30th:	Lent Mr Ashton more two nights before he went away in his roome at Castle this makes him Debter to me in all £5 for which he has given me his note	4	2	6

Though some entries are not very informative the Cash Book as a whole does make it possible to picture, if not very fully or clearly, domestic life in Millom Castle, the

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps Cockermonth cattle fair held on the first Monday in May. Other local cattle fairs held in May were those of Lancaster (1st), Orton (2nd), Shap (4th), and Milnthorpe (12th).

<sup>36</sup> The return of part of the sum to the payer commonly occurred when payment was made, not when it was promised. Possibly this half crown is to be regarded as a sign that the parties had fully agreed. It is not to be compared with what is said to be a practice (of which some buyers and sellers disapprove) in auctions at present whereby the seller privately agrees to take less than the recorded sale price.

<sup>37</sup> In the Day Book and Cash Book the guinea is always valued at £1. 1s. 6d., its usual value for paying taxes and in business accounts in the early 18th century (T. S. Ashton, *op. cit.*, 168; A. Feavearyear, *The Pound Sterling*, 153, 154).

most important of the Hudleston residences (Salthouse, Thwaites and Longarth in Ulpha) in south-west Cumberland. Its inhabitants included, besides Madam Bridget, two of her nieces, Bridget, daughter of Andrew Hudleston of Hutton John, and Bridget daughter of John Hudleston of Hundhow, as well as Humphrey Senhouse and his family.<sup>38</sup> One of the nieces probably acted as housekeeper: at any rate there are entries in the Cash Book of ten shillings paid to "Cousin Bridget for house use".<sup>39</sup> It cannot be determined how many indoor servants were thought necessary to maintain a comfortable and dignified life in the Castle, erected in "the old manner of strong building"<sup>40</sup> rather than in a later fashion of more elegance and convenience. Senhouse's Day Book mentions a butler and the Cash Book refers several times to a male cook, Robert Simpson. An entry in February 1700/1 runs: "Cash paid All the Servants in full to this day for their waiges £17. 9s. 2d." and another in February 1702/3 "Cash pd. the Servants in full of their Waige being due last Candlemas (pd. formerly £1. 13s. 0d.) the sum £15. 2s. 0d.". If these amounts were the total due to the domestic staff for a year's service they perhaps included, besides the wages of Dent<sup>41</sup> the butler and Simpson the cook those of five or six maids.

For lighting rooms and passages in the Castle lamps were no doubt used but it is not known what oil was burned in them, unless it was fish oil, an article of which Madam

<sup>38</sup> Madam Bridget's nephew Andrew was there when he died in March 1688/9.

<sup>39</sup> There is no mention of a housekeeper in the Cash Book but there certainly was one later, Mrs Jane Royle who in August 1733 married the Rev. John Hunter, parson of Thwaites. She was, no doubt, of somewhat higher status than that (according to Macaulay's *History*, chapter 3) of many contemporary parsons' wives.

<sup>40</sup> R. S. Ferguson, ed., *An Account of the more considerable Estates*, 6c., 49

<sup>41</sup> It is possible that he had more offices than one or that he was a relative of the Dent several times mentioned in the Cash Book. The latter was certainly a liveried servant who accompanied Humphrey Senhouse on a journey to Yorkshire in March 1700/1. Another livery servant was Dixon, who, e.g. accompanied one of the younger Bridgetts to Kendal in April 1702 and in April 1703 bought in mutton, buttons, silk tape and thread at Dalton.

Bridget sold 125 gallons, at 1s. 7d. a gallon, to Judith Satterthwaite a Quaker, of Hawkside. Otherwise, no doubt, the household relied on tapers and candles, which, perhaps, were made at home, for candle sieves (i.e. rushes for wicks) and tallow were bought on several occasions. Coal could easily be brought by sea from Whitehaven or Workington to Borwick Rails and may have been used for domestic fires: it certainly was used, according to an entry in September 1701, in a smithy belonging to the Castle; but quantities of peat were used too, for payment was made in August 1703 for 60 cart loads graded at Whitmoss.

The household's requirements in bread and meat could, no doubt, be largely met from its own resources, but veal, and even mutton, were occasionally bought outside. Much of the protein consumed may well have come from the sea, in the form of herrings:<sup>42</sup> 1,300 of them were bought in November 1700 for ten shillings, and from the numbers of fish and the expenditure on salt in several Cash Book entries it may be conjectured that the herrings were not all eaten fresh. Salmon<sup>43</sup> was available in season: 28 pounds of it, e.g. were bought for 3s. 6d. in September 1701. Another sea food very often purchased was found near by, the cockles for which Millom long remained famous. A rarer delicacy, perhaps used by Robert Simpson to make a sauce, namely anchovies, was obtained in March 1703 from Lancaster. The kind of wine<sup>44</sup> the family drank is not named, from which it may perhaps be inferred that no member of it was a connoisseur. Beverages of a later fashion were the "chocolate" and coffee got from Preston in September 1702.

For clothing and furnishing some materials could be obtained at no great distance, in Dalton, Ulverston or Broughton in Furness. Clothes for Madam Bridget were on

<sup>42</sup> In August 1702 sixty were bought for 9d. and eighty for a shilling. In October of that year the price was 1s. 4d. a hundred.

<sup>43</sup> A 10-lb. salmon was bought for 1s. 4d. in July 1702 and a 16-lb. one for 2s., i.e. for a sum about equal to a farm labourer's earnings in a week.

<sup>44</sup> In March 1701 10½ gallons of wine were bought for £2. 13s. 0d. and 9½ pints of brandy for 11s. 6d.

one occasion got from as far away as Manchester. The opportunity was taken, when some member of the family or one of its servants travelled, to make purchases at a distance, e.g. in Penrith, and once, when a sister in law of Senhouse's was in London, clothes for Madam Bridget were bought there. It cost 4s. 9d. to bring a box full of them, with some letters, the 283 miles to Broughton and 6d. to carry them the 8 miles thence to Millom. Payment for the clothes was made in September 1701 by means of bills, obtained locally, drawn on men in the capital. Remote as the Millom Castle ladies were from London it was thus possible for them, at least now and then, to be fashionably dressed. In another respect also Madam Bridget followed the contemporary mode by being carried, perhaps to the astonishment of the natives, in a sedan chair, obtained from Dublin. A more primitive protection against the mire of lanes and farmyards was the pair of clogs got for her in Whitehaven, in February 1703, at a cost of 1s. 4d.

The wives and daughters of country gentlemen in the reign of James II, according to Macaulay, "stitched and spun, brewed gooseberry wine, cured marigolds, and made the crust for the venison pasty". That Madam Bridget and her nieces, as well as Mrs Senhouse, were often busy stitching is likely enough and some of them may have done some spinning. The purchase of a pair of wool cards in April 1702 indicates that somebody undertook the preparatory process and Mrs Senhouse certainly had a spinning wheel, costing eight shillings, in October 1703 though whether it was mostly used by the mistress or the maids is not evident. There can be little doubt, however, that the bulk of the spinning was done by employees, such e.g. as Irish Jane, who in December 1703 was paid 1½d. a day and earned 3s. 9d. in five weeks.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> By the end of the century the rate was higher. Eden (ii 75-76) mentions a woman, aged 61, who was paid 1s. 1½d. a week for spinning lint and earned £2. 1s. 7½d. in 37 weeks. In most parts of Cumberland, he says (ii 84), "the wages of spinners are, however, very inconsiderable: a woman must labour hard at her wheel, 10 or 11 hours in the day, to earn 4d."

The Cash Book throws a little light on the leisure occupations of these ladies. Expenditure on books is very rarely mentioned and with no detail, so that reading was probably not an important diversion. A shilling was given to "Gordons the Pipers" in February 1701 and 6d. to an unnamed piper on Christmas Eve. It is possible that the family participated in whatever fun there was to be had at Millom Fair in 1703. Madam Bridget evidently played at cards occasionally but perhaps did not risk great losses: on 5 February 1702/3 Humphrey Senhouse provided her with two shillings, in sixpences, to hazard. The main variation from domestic existence at Millom Castle consisted, no doubt, especially for the younger members of the household, in visits to relatives' christening parties, in attending sales and in journeys, by no means unadventurous as the roads then were, to houses of the gentry e.g. in Ashlack, Holker, Conishead, Muncaster, Lowther and Penrith.

Neither from such details nor the Cash Book in general do we get much help to see and assess Madam Bridget as a personality. She was not without charity: that is to say she would give sixpence to "ould Thomas Bibby", a shilling to "a poor man out of Corney" or half a crown to the poor at church; but although her total outlay in such ways was not very great it may well be that she made gifts in kind which would not be recorded in the Cash Book. Pride in her position as head of the lordship, as well no doubt as prudence, moved her to hold manorial courts,<sup>46</sup> which, in Bootle and Ulpha, meant expenditure of a few shillings and, in Yorkshire, a journey by her agent for the purpose; but sometimes the manor court did not meet, as an entry on 11 December 1701 indicates: "Cash laid out for meat drink and bread for the Tennts when we should A had a Court £1. os. od.". Like an earlier grande dame, Lady Anne Clifford, she had a good deal of trouble

<sup>46</sup> This was a matter of importance later to a lady of higher degree. See Mrs O. R. Bagot, "The Letters of Catherine, Countess of Suffolk and Berkshire", CW2 xlvi 22, 36.

with her tenants, involving her, between January and September 1701, in an expense of more than £75 in legal fees and charges in connection with witnesses. It cannot be said of her, as it can of Lady Anne Clifford's mother,<sup>47</sup> that she was moved by the kind of charity "that seeketh not her own" but it is to be remembered that she was faced with opponents who, too, insistently pursued their own advantage.

<sup>47</sup> Her will, in 1616, makes compassionate provision for the remission of a third of the fine due from each of her tenants upon her death (G. C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 39).