

## **A Kendal Mercer's Inventory of 1632**

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The painstakingly detailed inventories of the domestic possessions and stock-in-trade of Myles Birkhead, an early seventeenth-century Kendal mercer, illuminate contemporary life and trade in the town. The contents of his home and over two hundred items in his shop and warehouses are listed and identified.

**I**N 1632 Kendal was a chartered borough with a thriving textile trade, 'a place', said William Camden in 1607, 'excellent for clothing and for industry so surpassing that in regard thereof it carrieth a great name'. Its freemen were entitled to carry on their trades or professions and organised themselves into gilds. Myles Birkhead, with whose affairs we are concerned here, gained his freedom as a mercer on 5 October 1629,<sup>1</sup> after being apprenticed to Miles Dawson in 1621.<sup>2</sup> Less than three years after becoming a freeman he was dead, his inventory being taken on 8-9 May 1632,<sup>3</sup> so he had only been in business on his own account for a relatively short time, but time enough to establish what looks like a prosperous undertaking. Sadly, his death took place in the period from which there are no surviving parish registers for the town, but he was presumably buried in or outside the parish church. No will has survived and indeed he may not have made one, especially if he died unexpectedly, perhaps as the result of some accident or sudden illness. There is no probate document. We know that he was married, as in 1633 his widow Agnes took Thomas, son of George Hinde, as her apprentice,<sup>4</sup> but nothing more is known of either of them.

Myles Birkhead's house was probably in the Market Place itself. It was well appointed, but of the traditional kind, where the cooking was done over the hall fire, in cauldrons or pans hanging from the rackencrook, though some utensils were kept in the kitchen, a room used for the preparation, rather than the cooking, of food. The only other named rooms in the house are the back chamber and the tavern or cellar. No specific mention is made of an upper floor. Beds appear in the hall itself and in the back chamber, but it looks as though not all the rooms were named. In particular the malt and oats were almost certainly stored on the first floor, it being common practice to keep such goods in an upper room, especially the one through which the chimney passed, which would be warm and dry. The best bed was apparently the feather bed with its covers, pillows, and curtains.

The shop would have been at the front of the house, opening onto the street, and there would have been a yard at the rear, reached through a gateway wide enough for carts to pass through. Extra goods were stored in 'Mr Parkes loft',<sup>5</sup> the 'loft on the Backsyde', the 'Shopp on the Backside', and the tavern or cellar on 'Richard Castley Backside'.<sup>6</sup>

Myles Birkhead was well clad. He had no fewer than five sets of doublet and breeches, as well as another pair of breeches, four shirts, and eleven pairs of stockings. He had

three cloaks and spurs for his boots when he rode either of his two horses. The cow would provide milk for the household and would have lived in the yard or was perhaps let out to pasture. There may have been a garden. Myles certainly sold seeds in the shop and had a manure heap valued at 26s. 8d.

His stock-in-trade was extensive and various. Mercery, which we would now call haberdashery, formed a great part, assorted lengths of material, thread of every conceivable kind and for many purposes, large quantities of points, the tagged laces or ribbons which fastened the components of costume together, lace and tapes, hooks and eyes, and large amounts of flax, hemp, and tow. The provenance of much of this latter sort of material argues close contacts with the cloth and wool dealers of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Dyestuffs were also important. Myles Birkhead stocked redwood and logwood, copperas, red arsenic, indigo, turnsole, brasill, and madder. He also kept alum, rosin, teasels, chalk, the oil used in wool-combing, and soap for washing cloth.

There is a surprising amount of food in the inventory. Myles sold a great variety of spices, together with sugar, both loaf and powdered, figs, raisins, isinglass, dried fish, brandy, and hops for brewing beer. Notable too are the spectacles, paper, parchment, pens and inkhorns, pipes and tobacco, playing cards, candle wax and wicks, bowstrings and brushes. There were a few ready-made items – garters, coifs, and sword-belts.

Two separate groups of men valued the house and its contents and the stock-in-trade. For the house we have Myles Bateman<sup>7</sup> and Arthur Barrow who was the town's chamberlain in 1631 and became alderman after the new charter of 1637 established that office.<sup>8</sup> In 1629 he held burgages in Stricklandgate and Highgate with Bryan Edmondson.<sup>9</sup> With them were Thomas Towson, chamberlain in 1635, a clothier who took apprentices in 1633 and 1640,<sup>10</sup> and Isaac Shawe, who became freeman in 1624 as a wright and appeared in the list of armourers in 1628 as freeman and hardwareman. He took an apprentice in 1632.<sup>11</sup>

The four men who valued the merchandise were all mercers. Richard Prisoe gained his freedom in 1624, was chamberlain in 1630, alderman in 1641, and mayor in 1645. He took an apprentice in 1640.<sup>12</sup> Bryan Edmondson was freeman in 1607, though he was named as a currier in 1629 when he took his own son Joseph as his apprentice.<sup>13</sup> John Gibson became a freeman in 1624.<sup>14</sup> Richard Washington was made freeman as a mercer in 1629 and again in 1642 as armourer or hardwareman. In 1643 he leased a burgage house in the Market Place called The Bull from Henry Bellingham of Levens,<sup>15</sup> so he may have been a close neighbour as well as a fellow mercer. All eight men concerned with the valuation of Myles Birkhead's goods were therefore not unimportant members of the commercial community of Kendal, a fact which argues that, young as he apparently was, he had some standing in the town.

Their task was a formidable one, occupying two whole days, 8 and 9 May, for the stock, and one, 8 May, for the house. One may justifiably imagine that the spirits of those valuing the stock might have sunk as they opened yet another box of thread or

bundle of tape, all to be weighed or measured. On the whole everything seems to have been methodically stored (although some lengths of black damask and three pairs of bodices turned up among the spices) in boxes or chests in the shop and storehouses.

Each group of *Items* was carefully valued, but the sums of money do not always add up correctly. It would seem unduly critical to point out the mistakes in the calculation of so many yards of material at, for example, tenpence a yard, but I come to a slightly smaller figure than the appraisers did. The final totals, however, do add up. The total value of goods and money owing was £396 4s. 11d. Debts of £190 15s. 3d. were set against this, of which £85 4s. 8d. had been paid, and some of the stock would be sold to pay the remainder. Agnes Birkhead would have inherited an estate worth £120 and felt confident enough to take an apprentice the year after her husband's death. One can only hope that she prospered.

### Notes and references

- <sup>1</sup>. R. S. Ferguson (ed), *The Boke off Record of Kirkbie Kendall*, CWAAS Extra Series, VII, 1892, 60. The reprint of 2001 has an illuminating introduction on the town's government by C. B. Phillips. On the organisation of the gilds, see R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (London, 1905), 165-76. For a discussion of the town and its trade in this period, see C. B. Phillips, 'Town and Country: Economic Change in Kendal c.1550-1700', in P. Clark (ed), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800* (London, 1984)
- <sup>2</sup>. Miles Dawson gained his freedom as mercer in 1607 (Ferguson, *Boke off Record*, 59), but had already been chamberlain for a year (*ibid.*, 35). He took apprentices in the period 1611-34 (*ibid.*, 267-8)
- <sup>3</sup>. Lancashire Record Office, WRWK, probate records, Kendal deanery
- <sup>4</sup>. Ferguson, *Boke off Record*, 268
- <sup>5</sup>. This is probably Lawrence Parke, mercer; freeman 1613 (Ferguson, *Boke off Record*, 59), chamberlain 1622 (*ibid.*, 37), alderman 1628 (*ibid.*, 24), mayor 1641-2 (*ibid.*, 24, 167). He acted as supervisor for the will of Edward Jennings of Market Place in 1643 with Richard Castley (see n.6 below): W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendal*, J. F. Curwen (ed), CWAAS Record Series, IV, i, 1923, 112. The only other candidate is Henry Parke, but he was dead by 1631: Ferguson, *Boke off Record*, 236
- <sup>6</sup>. Richard Castley was listed as 'wright' in 1630: Ferguson, *Boke off Record*, 77
- <sup>7</sup>. There is no sign of Miles Bateman in Kendal, but he may have been from Underbarrow: Farrer, *Records*, 366, 368, 370
- <sup>8</sup>. Ferguson, *Boke off Record*, 18, 38
- <sup>9</sup>. Farrer, *Records*, 198
- <sup>10</sup>. Ferguson, *Boke off Record*, 38, 269, 271
- <sup>11</sup>. *ibid.*, 73, 77, 270
- <sup>12</sup>. *ibid.*, 18, 24, 38, 60, 271
- <sup>13</sup>. *ibid.*, 59, 270
- <sup>14</sup>. *ibid.*, 60
- <sup>15</sup>. *ibid.*, 60, 72; Farrer, *Records*, 112

*Finsthwaite, LA12 8Bġ*

**The Inventorie** of All The Goods and Chattells which were Myles Birkheads late of Kirbie Kendall deceased Taken and Prized The Nynth Day of May Anno Domini 1632 By Myles Bateman Arthur Barrowe Thomas Towson and Isaack Shawe

|                 |  |        |
|-----------------|--|--------|
| <i>Imprimis</i> | In the hall Five Chayres                           | vjs    |
| <i>Item</i>     | vij Buffet Stooles and A Buffet forme <sup>i</sup> | ixs    |
| <i>Item</i>     | Two Tables   | vs vjd |
| <i>Item</i>     | Sixteene Cushons                                   | vijs   |

|             |  |                |
|-------------|--|----------------|
| <i>Item</i> | Two Pillivers <sup>ii</sup> A Chaffe bed and A Blankett  | vs             |
| <i>Item</i> | In Pewther   | xliiis         |
| <i>Item</i> | A Silver Bowle & 2 silver spoones  | xls            |
| <i>Item</i> | a Brass Morter & pestle A Smoothing iron & A Brush   | vs             |
| <i>Item</i> | In wood vessel & A Te----- <sup>iii</sup>  | iiijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | A Flesh Tubb   | iijs vjd       |
| <i>Item</i> | Two Grayters Two painted dishes & a Jugg   | xijd           |
| <i>Item</i> | A Cauldron & A Brasspott   | xxiiijs        |
| <i>Item</i> | In Bookes  | xviijs         |
| <i>Item</i> | An Iron Backstone <sup>iv</sup>  | xxs            |
| <i>Item</i> | A Rackencrooke <sup>v</sup> A payre of Tongs & a payre of Bellowes   | xviijd         |
| <i>Item</i> | A Cauldron & Panns in the kitchen  | xlvijs         |
| <i>Item</i> | A Girdle, frying Pan, Two pair of Racks & A Spitt  | viijs vid      |
| <i>Item</i> | Wood vessel in the kitchen   | xijs           |
| <i>Item</i> | Wood vessel in the Tauern <sup>vi</sup>  | vjs            |
| <i>Item</i> | In the Backchamber A Table & Buffett forme   | vs             |
| <i>Item</i> | A Fetherbed, a Cadowe <sup>vii</sup> , A Cou[er]cloth, a payre of<br>Sheets & 2 Boulsters                  | xxxvs          |
| <i>Item</i> | A payre of Curtaines & Vallance & A Table Clothe   | viijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 Pillivers  | iiijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | A fether bed, Two Couerclothes & Bedstocks, a payre of<br>Sheets & 2 Boulsters                             | xxxvijs        |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 Chaffbeds two Cou[er]cloths & A Boulster   | xs             |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 Chists & A Boxe  | vjs            |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 Chists & A Coffe   | vijs           |
| <i>Item</i> | Two Chaires  | xviijd         |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 payre of Sheets  | xs             |
| <i>Item</i> | 4 Pillivers & 2 Tableclothes   | vs             |
| <i>Item</i> | A Gowne <sup>viii</sup>  | xxs            |
| <i>Item</i> | 4 Shirts & 3 Bands   | xijs           |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 p[ai]r of Boots & 1 p[ai]r of Spurrs   | vs             |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 payre of Shoos   | iijs           |
| <i>Item</i> | 8 payre of Stockins & A payre of Mittons   | xs             |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 Wastcoats  | ijs            |
| <i>Item</i> | Girdles, Garters & Gloues  | vs             |
| <i>Item</i> | Bands & other Linnin   | iiijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | A Dublett, A Jerkin, And A payre of Breeches   | xxvjs          |
| <i>Item</i> | A Stuffe Dublett <sup>ix</sup> , and a payre of Breeches   | xiijs iiijd    |
| <i>Item</i> | A Dublett & a p[ai]r of Breeches   | ijs vid        |
| <i>Item</i> | A payre of drayors <sup>x</sup> & 2 hatts  | vs             |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 Cloaks   | xliiis         |
| <i>Item</i> | a payre of Breeches & Dublett  | xs             |
| <i>Item</i> | A payre of Stuffe Breeches   | vs             |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 payre of stockins & other od things  | iiijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | A Couercloth   | iijs           |
| <i>Item</i> | four Stone of feathers   | xiijs iiijd    |
| <i>Item</i> | 22 Bushels of Bland Malt <sup>xi</sup>   | iiij <i>li</i> |
| <i>Item</i> | 13 Bushels of Oats   | xxxijs         |
| <i>Item</i> | Two shuttles & A Ridle <sup>xii</sup>  | vjd            |
| <i>Item</i> | In Wood  | xviijd         |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 payre of Hotts, A Carr two Sadles & Strangs <sup>xiii</sup> , a forke<br>A Barrow, an axe & other things | xjs            |

|             |               |                             |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Item</i> | Two Hogs      | xijs                        |
| <i>Item</i> | A Cow         | lvs                         |
| <i>Item</i> | A White Horse | xls                         |
| <i>Item</i> | A Black Horse | xxxs                        |
| <i>Item</i> | In Manure     | xxvjs viijd                 |
|             | Summa Bonorum | xliiij <i>li</i> iijs iiijd |

**An Inventorie** of All the Goods Wares & Merchandize which was Myles Birkheads late of The Towne & parishe of Kirkbie Kendall deceased now Remayning in his Shopp & other Warehouses in Kirkby Kendall aforesaid Taken & prized the viij day of May Anno Domini 1632 By Richard Prisoe Bryan Edmondson John Gibson and Richard Washington

|                 |  |             |
|-----------------|--|-------------|
| <i>Imprimis</i> | vij pound of Coloured Ends <sup>xiv</sup> at 3s a pound                  | xxjs        |
| <i>Item</i>     | Eleven pound & a halfe of Black Ends at 2s 6d a pound                    | xxvijs vjd  |
| <i>Item</i>     | Two pound of White Threed at 8s a pound                                  | xvjs        |
| <i>Item</i>     | more two pound of White Threed at 5s 4d a pound                          | xs viijd    |
| <i>Item</i>     | one pound of White Threed  | iijs ijd    |
| <i>Item</i>     | one pound & halfe of White Threed at vijs a pound                        | xs vjd      |
| <i>Item</i>     | one pound & a halfe of White Threed at 6s a pound                        | ixs         |
| <i>Item</i>     | one pound of White Threed  | iijs iiijd  |
| <i>Item</i>     | one pound of White Threed  | iijs ijd    |
| <i>Item</i>     | Two pound & a halfe of White Threed at 3s 10d a pound                    | ixs vijd    |
| <i>Item</i>     | Two pound more of White Threed at 3s 10d a pound                         | vijs viijd  |
| <i>Item</i>     | One pound of White Threed  | iijs xd     |
| <i>Item</i>     | one pound & a halfe of white Threed at 9s a pound                        | xiijs vid   |
| <i>Item</i>     | half a pound of White threed & somewhat more                             | vs          |
| <i>Item</i>     | halfe a pound of White Threed  | iijs viijd  |
| <i>Item</i>     | halfe a pound of White Threed  | ijs vd      |
| <i>Item</i>     | in broken Threed & Sisters Threed <sup>xv</sup>                          | xxixs xjd   |
| <i>Item</i>     | Two pounds & ten Ounces of Whited Threed                                 | vjs viijd   |
| <i>Item</i>     | xij pound & 3 quarters of Blacke Threed at 15d a pound                   | xvs xjd     |
| <i>Item</i>     | vj pound & a halfe of Blacke Threed at xxjd a pound                      | xjs iiijd   |
| <i>Item</i>     | in Glouers Threed & Taylors Threed                                       | xixs vjd    |
| <i>Item</i>     | four pound & a quarter of Coloured Threed                                | vijs        |
| <i>Item</i>     | xiiij Ounces of black bass <sup>xvi</sup> Threed                         | xiiijd      |
| <i>Item</i>     | 2 pound of Pack Threed at 5d   | xd          |
| <i>Item</i>     | halfe a pound of saylecloth Threed                                       | iiijd       |
| <i>Item</i>     | halfe a pound of Glouers Coloured Threed                                 | xviijd      |
| <i>Item</i>     | xj ounces & a halfe of Glouers fringe at 19d an ounce                    | xvijs ijd   |
| <i>Item</i>     | a pound and a halfe of course black Threed                               | xxd         |
| <i>Item</i>     | one pound and 13 Ounces of Coloured Silke <sup>xvii</sup> at 18d a ounce | xliijs vjd  |
| <i>Item</i>     | vij Ounces of Black Spanish Silke at 16d a ounce                         | ixs iiijd   |
| <i>Item</i>     | halfe a pound of Black Naples Silke at 20d a ounce                       | xiijs iiijd |
| <i>Item</i>     | 3 grosse & a halfe of Threed Points <sup>xviii</sup> at 16d the groze    | iijs viijd  |
| <i>Item</i>     | 4 groze of Threed points at 12d  | iijs        |
| <i>Item</i>     | 5 groze of Threed points at 13d  | vs vd       |
| <i>Item</i>     | 2 groze of broad Threed points at 15d the groze                          | ijs vjd     |
| <i>Item</i>     | 2 groze of Threed laces at 14d   | ijs ivd     |
| <i>Item</i>     | in broad silke Points & round points                                     | xvijs iiijd |
| <i>Item</i>     | xx y[ar]ds & a halfe of Loom work <sup>xix</sup> at 4s 4d a dozen        | vjs ixd     |
| <i>Item</i>     | Two dozen & 2 y[ar]ds of course loome worke at 2s 4d a dozen             | vs          |
| <i>Item</i>     | one dozen y[ar]ds of Course loome woork att                              | iijs        |

|             |   |                                 |
|-------------|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>Item</i> | halfe a dozen y[ar]ds of Course loome work att                          | xviiij <i>d</i>                 |
| <i>Item</i> | v pieces of Coloured Manchester bynding <sup>xx</sup> at xiiij <i>d</i> | vs <i>xd</i>                    |
| <i>Item</i> | in white fillating <sup>xxi</sup> & Coloured bynding                    | ijs                             |
| <i>Item</i> | 15 pieces of London White Inkle <sup>xxii</sup> at 9 <i>s</i> a dozen   | ix <i>s</i> ix <i>d</i>         |
| <i>Item</i> | in broken Inkle   | xiiij <i>d</i>                  |
| <i>Item</i> | in bookes of all sorts  | xviijs iij <i>d</i>             |
| <i>Item</i> | A dozen of Spectacles   | xx <i>d</i>                     |
| <i>Item</i> | viiij payres of Christall Spectacles <sup>xxiii</sup>                   | xx <i>d</i>                     |
| <i>Item</i> | All the Cruells Garters <sup>xxiv</sup>                                 | lvj viij <i>d</i>               |
| <i>Item</i> | 5 guilded Brushes at 9 <i>d</i> a peece                                 | iijs ix <i>d</i>                |
| <i>Item</i> | one pound of Copper lace  | xvs                             |
| <i>Item</i> | one peece of Booult Clothe <sup>xxv</sup>                               | vs vj <i>d</i>                  |
| <i>Item</i> | one peece of fine Beauper <sup>xxvi</sup>                               | viijs xj <i>d</i>               |
| <i>Item</i> | one peece of Beauper  | vjs vj <i>d</i>                 |
| <i>Item</i> | one quill of Copper <sup>xxvii</sup>                                    | vjs vj <i>d</i>                 |
| <i>Item</i> | All the playing Cards   | iiij <i>li</i> vs viij <i>d</i> |
| <i>Item</i> | in Pinns of all sorts   | viij <i>li</i> xix <i>s</i>     |
| <i>Item</i> | 4 Grosse of Pommert lace <sup>xxviii</sup> at 7 <i>s</i> a groze        | xxviijs                         |
| <i>Item</i> | 12 ounces & a halfe of black worsted at 3 <i>d</i> a ounce              | iijs <i>id</i>                  |
| <i>Item</i> | one groze of Pommert lace   | vjs                             |
| <i>Item</i> | ix dozen of Cruells Gallowne <sup>xxix</sup>                            | iijs ix <i>d</i>                |
| <i>Item</i> | one groze & a halfe of Cotton lace at 5 <i>s</i> the groze              | viijs vj <i>d</i>               |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 groze & 2 dozen of New Cordeing <sup>xxx</sup>                        | vs                              |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 pounds & a halfe of soft Read waxe                                    | xv <i>d</i>                     |
| <i>Item</i> | halfe a pound of hard Read waxe   | xviiij <i>d</i>                 |
| <i>Item</i> | 13 Thousand of daysie nailes <sup>xxxi</sup> at 8 <i>d</i> a thousand   | viijs viij <i>d</i>             |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 dozen of Buckles & Studds   | viij <i>d</i>                   |
| <i>Item</i> | In hookes & Eyes  | vs                              |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 groze of Box combes & 3 dozen at                                      | xjs                             |
| <i>Item</i> | 7 Barber combes   | xij <i>s</i>                    |
| <i>Item</i> | 9 Reames of White Paper at 3 <i>s</i> 8 <i>d</i> a Reame                | xxxiijs                         |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 soyled Reame of White Paper   | vjs xiiij <i>d</i>              |
| <i>Item</i> | A Reame & xv quire of Coppy paper                                       | vs                              |
| <i>Item</i> | one dozen payre of Penners <sup>xxxii</sup> & Inkhornes                 | ijs                             |
| <i>Item</i> | ix dozen & a halfe of Thimbles  | iijs ix <i>d</i>                |
| <i>Item</i> | one dozen & a halfe of Parchment  | vjs                             |
| <i>Item</i> | in lether points  | xxii <i>d</i>                   |
| <i>Item</i> | Five Sword Belts  | vs                              |
| <i>Item</i> | in girdles besides  | xjs                             |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 Ends of White Tuft <sup>xxxiii</sup> at 9 <i>s</i> 6 <i>d</i>         | xxviijs vj <i>d</i>             |
| <i>Item</i> | 32 yards of Boulton fustion <sup>xxxiv</sup> at <i>xd</i> the yarde     | xxviijs viij <i>d</i>           |
| <i>Item</i> | 8 y[ar]ds of Manchester Tuft at 7 <i>d</i> the yarde                    | iijs viij <i>d</i>              |
| <i>Item</i> | 4 yards a halfe of Mixt Sayn <sup>xxxv</sup>                            | iiijs                           |
| <i>Item</i> | 13 spangled Coyfes <sup>xxxvi</sup>                                     | iijs iiiij <i>d</i>             |
| <i>Item</i> | 4 Copper saddle heads   | iiijs                           |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 dozen of Manchester Coyfes at 2 <i>s</i> 6 <i>d</i>                   | viijs vj <i>d</i>               |
| <i>Item</i> | 23 Course Coyfes  | ijs iiiij <i>d</i>              |
| <i>Item</i> | 13 black & colourd Coyfes   | vs                              |
| <i>Item</i> | 35 pound of Steele <sup>xxxvii</sup> at 4 <i>d</i>                      | xjs viiiij <i>d</i>             |
| <i>Item</i> | 9 Read Basills <sup>xxxviii</sup> at                                    | iijs ix <i>d</i>                |
| <i>Item</i> | v Russett <sup>xxxix</sup> at 2 <i>s</i>                                | <i>xd</i>                       |
| <i>Item</i> | vij old bookes  | xviiij <i>d</i>                 |

|             |  |               |
|-------------|--|---------------|
| <i>Item</i> | Barbers Balls <sup>xi</sup>  | iijs xd       |
| <i>Item</i> | 4 pound of Arsenick & Roseagar <sup>xli</sup>                                | ijs iiijd     |
| <i>Item</i> | In Shirtbands in A Boxe  | xijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | xij dozen pound of Wakefield hemp at 5s 6d a dozen pound                     | iiijli vjs    |
| <i>Item</i> | more on dozen pound & a halfe of hemp  | viijs         |
| <i>Item</i> | xvi pound of good line <sup>xlii</sup> at 12d a pound                        | xvjs          |
| <i>Item</i> | more 3 pound of line   | iijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 dozen pound of Hemp at 5s a dozen  | xvs           |
| <i>Item</i> | x pound of Steele hemp <sup>xliii</sup> at 8d a pound                        | vjs viijd     |
| <i>Item</i> | xv Sheets of double plate <sup>xliiv</sup> at                                | vjs           |
| <i>Item</i> | xi pound & a halfe of yeallow Lattin <sup>xliiv</sup> at                     | xijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | 13 Neasts of Boxes   | xiijs         |
| <i>Item</i> | v pound of black Ends at 2s 6d a pound                                       | xijs vjd      |
| <i>Item</i> | 45 pound of Candle Weakes <sup>xlivi</sup> at 8d a pound                     | xxxxs         |
| <i>Item</i> | 6 pound of Match <sup>xliivii</sup> at 3d a pound                            | xviijs        |
| <i>Item</i> | In Tobaco pipes  | xxd           |
| <i>Item</i> | In Bowstrings  | vjs           |
| <i>Item</i> | Brushes  | xijd          |
| <i>Item</i> | in White Starche   | xviijd        |
| <i>Item</i> | ten pound of Annas seeds <sup>xlviii</sup> at 6d a pound                     | vs            |
| <i>Item</i> | 13 pound of Ginger at xd a pound   | xs xd         |
| <i>Item</i> | v pound & a halfe of Bee waxe at 10d a pound                                 | iiijs ijd     |
| <i>Item</i> | In Treackle & ginger in the Shopp  | iiijs vijd    |
| <i>Item</i> | Vinager & Aquavite there   | iiijs vijd    |
| <i>Item</i> | a pound & a halfe of Christopher Tobaco <sup>xlix</sup>                      | iiijs vjd     |
| <i>Item</i> | in Hopps in the Chist  | ixs           |
| <i>Item</i> | in the next Chist 24 pound of Sugar at xviijd a pound                        | xxxijs        |
| <i>Item</i> | x y[ar]ds & 3 quarters of Black damaske Ellis <sup>l</sup> at 20s the y[ar]d | lviijs jd     |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 pound of Nutmeggs at 5s li   | xvs           |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 p[air]s of Bodices <sup>li</sup> at 18d                                    | iiijs viiijd  |
| <i>Item</i> | one pound of Nutmeggs  | vs            |
| <i>Item</i> | halfe a pound of Turmerack   | ixd           |
| <i>Item</i> | 4 pound of Cynamon at 4s 8d li   | xviijs viiijd |
| <i>Item</i> | 6 pound of Rice <sup>lii</sup> at 3d   | xviijd        |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 quarters of a pound of White Candy <sup>liii</sup>                         | xxijd         |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 pound of Long pepper <sup>liv</sup>  | iijs viiijd   |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 pound 4 ounces of Izeinglas <sup>lv</sup>                                  | xxd           |
| <i>Item</i> | x ounces of Sanders <sup>lvi</sup>   | xvjd          |
| <i>Item</i> | halfe a pound of Turnsoale <sup>lvii</sup>                                   | ixd           |
| <i>Item</i> | one pound of Cloves  | xd            |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 ounces of Mase at 10d  | ijs vjd       |
| <i>Item</i> | 8 pound of Indico <sup>lviii</sup> at 5s a pound                             | xlli          |
| <i>Item</i> | v pound of Course Indico at 3s 4d a pound                                    | xvjs viiijd   |
| <i>Item</i> | one pound & a halfe of Indico at   | vijs          |
| <i>Item</i> | 9 pound of Licoras Powther   | ijs iiijd     |
| <i>Item</i> | 3 stone of Malligo Raysins <sup>lix</sup> at                                 | vijs          |

**Wares** prized the 9th day of May Anno d[omi]ni 1632 By the same Men

|             |   |              |
|-------------|---|--------------|
| <i>Item</i> | In Black & Colour'd Ribband                           | xs           |
| <i>Item</i> | in od Garters   | iiijs viiijd |
| <i>Item</i> | 5 pound of vart grasse <sup>lx</sup> at 2s 2d a pound | xs xd        |
| <i>Item</i> | in od Garden Seedes                                   | vs           |



|             |   |                           |
|-------------|---|---------------------------|
| <i>Item</i> | in Allom <sup>lxi</sup>   | xs                        |
| <i>Item</i> | Rosin & Copperas <sup>lxii</sup>  | iiij <sup>s</sup>         |
| <i>Item</i> | Readwood, logwood & Galls <sup>lxiii</sup>  | vs                        |
| <i>Item</i> | In horne & Treakle  | xxs                       |
| <i>Item</i> | In Sope, Oyle <sup>lxiv</sup> & the Measures  | xxxs                      |
| <i>Item</i> | one Peece of Pauldaines <sup>lxv</sup>  | xxvs                      |
| <i>Item</i> | In Tallow in the shop   | iiij <sup>li</sup>        |
| <i>Item</i> | In Threed Buttons & hare Buttans  | xxiijs vjd                |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 Boxes of Bone-lace <sup>lxvi</sup> in the Shopp                                       | xs                        |
| <i>Item</i> | In quicksilver Saunders & Izeinglasse   | ixs iiij <sup>d</sup>     |
| <i>Item</i> | In od things in the draw Boxes in the Shopp   | xxijs viij <sup>d</sup>   |
| <i>Item</i> | 33 pound of Brasill in the Shopp at 9 <sup>d</sup> a pound                              | xxiijs ix <sup>d</sup>    |
| <i>Item</i> | in the Shopp one hundredth & Six pound of Sugar in<br>Loaves at 18 <sup>d</sup> a pound | xiiij <sup>li</sup> xvijs |
| <i>Item</i> | powthered Sugar in A Boxe there being 23 pound at 14 <sup>d</sup> a li                  | xxvjs x <sup>d</sup>      |
| <i>Item</i> | in lead weights vij stone & 5 li  | xvs                       |
| <i>Item</i> | Brasse weights  | vjs viij <sup>d</sup>     |
| <i>Item</i> | Gould Waights   | ijs iiij <sup>d</sup>     |
| <i>Item</i> | A payre of Great Skales   | vjs                       |
| <i>Item</i> | Boxes in the Shopp  | xijs vjd                  |
| <i>Item</i> | in Measures   | iijs iiij <sup>d</sup>    |
| <i>Item</i> | Two Chists  | xijs                      |
| <i>Item</i> | Candlesticks & measures   | xviij <sup>d</sup>        |

**Wares** in Mr Parkes loft

|             |  |   |
|-------------|--|---|
| <i>Item</i> | 6 hundreth & vij pound of Rosin at 12 <sup>s</sup> a hundredth                           | iiij <sup>li</sup> 12s ix <sup>d</sup>  |
| <i>Item</i> | one hundredth & a quarterne of Flax at 36 <sup>s</sup> a hundredth                       | xlvs                                    |
| <i>Item</i> | A Quarteran of dutch Flax  | xvjs                                    |
| <i>Item</i> | A Quarteran & 7 pound of Towe <sup>lxvii</sup>   | vjs                                     |
| <i>Item</i> | Fifty pound of Copperas  | iijs iiij <sup>d</sup>                  |
| <i>Item</i> | halfe a hundredth & 26 pound of Steele 36 <sup>s</sup> a hundredth                       | xxvjs iiij <sup>d</sup>                 |
| <i>Item</i> | halfe a hundredth & 19 pound of Mather <sup>lxviii</sup> at 56 <sup>s</sup> a hundredth  | xxxvs vjd                               |
| <i>Item</i> | 24 pound of Jeanes Treackle <sup>lxix</sup>  | xs vjd                                  |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 hundreth & 3 quarterans of Currans at 34 <sup>s</sup> a hundredth                      | iiij <sup>li</sup> 12s                  |
| <i>Item</i> | halfe a hundredth & v pound of Case pepper <sup>lxx</sup> at 6 <sup>li</sup> a hundredth | iiij <sup>li</sup> vs iiij <sup>d</sup> |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 dozen of Smooth pepper <sup>lxxi</sup> at xvjs a dozen                                 | xxxijs                                  |
| <i>Item</i> | 36 pound of Gunpowder at 11 <sup>d</sup> a pound   | xxxiijs                                 |
| <i>Item</i> | A Ferkin <sup>lxxii</sup> of Newcastle Aquauite  | xxs                                     |
| <i>Item</i> | French Aquauite  | xxxs                                    |
| <i>Item</i> | Corke, Tallow & Tarches <sup>lxxiii</sup>  | xs                                      |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 hundreth of Allom in A Barrell at  | xiijs                                   |
| <i>Item</i> | in Hopps there   | xvjs                                    |

**Wares** in the loft in the Backsyde<sup>lxxiv</sup>

|             |   |         |
|-------------|---|---------|
| <i>Item</i> | 3 Firkins and A halfe of the best Second Sope at    | xlvijs  |
| <i>Item</i> | a Barrell of Second Sope                            | xlvijs  |
| <i>Item</i> | one hundredth of Raysins of the Sun <sup>lxxv</sup> | xxxiijs |
| <i>Item</i> | halfe A hundredth of Copperas                       | iijs    |
| <i>Item</i> | A Pound of large Mace                               | xijs    |



|             |  |                    |
|-------------|--|--------------------|
| <i>Item</i> | 2 dozen of Heckle line <sup>lxxvi</sup> at xijs                            | xxiiijs            |
| <i>Item</i> | a halfe a dozen pound of Browne Threed                                     | ixs                |
| <i>Item</i> | 24 pound of Hopps  | xvs                |
| <i>Item</i> | 6 hundreth of Mather at 56s a hundredth                                    | xvjli xvjs         |
| <i>Item</i> | 14 stone of Brasill at 4li 12s a hundredth                                 | viiijli xijs       |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 hundreth one quarterne & vij pound of English Hopps at                   | xli vjs viijd      |
| <i>Item</i> | one hundredth & 40 pound of Case pepper at                                 | viiijli vijs viijd |
| <i>Item</i> | xviiij pound of Castle Sope & Oliues                                       | xiijs iiijd        |
| <i>Item</i> | one hundredth pound of Prunes  | xiiijs             |
| <i>Item</i> | one hundredth of Licoras Powther   | xxvjs              |
| <i>Item</i> | 47 pound of Dutch Flax & Towe att  | xijs               |
| <i>Item</i> | 5 dozen, a pound & A halfe of Hemp at 7s a dozen                           | xxxvs xd           |
| <i>Item</i> | Tobaco pipes & greene Ginger   | xvs                |
| <i>Item</i> | Three hundredth waight of Paunlyn <sup>lxxvii</sup> at 5li 10s a hundredth | xvli xs            |
| <i>Item</i> | 14 stone of Rosin  | viijs              |
| <i>Item</i> | Flemish Licoras at   | iiijs              |
| <i>Item</i> | a Barrell full of figgs  | xvjs               |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 Topnetts of figgs <sup>lxxviii</sup>                                     | xs                 |
| <i>Item</i> | one peece of Raysins   | xvs                |
| <i>Item</i> | 42 couple of Lin Fishe <sup>lxxix</sup> at 14d a Couple                    | xljxs              |
| <i>Item</i> | 5 C Waight of Allom in the loft at home at 28s a C                         | vijli              |

**Wares in the Shopp on the Backside**

|             |  |              |
|-------------|--|--------------|
| <i>Item</i> | Five Ferkins & A halfe of the best second Sope at 14s a Ferkin | iiiijli xijs |
| <i>Item</i> | Five Costrells <sup>lxxx</sup> of Oyle at xviijs a Costrell    | iiiijli xs   |
| <i>Item</i> | Tazles <sup>lxxxii</sup> in the Loft & in that Shopp           | xs           |

**Goods & Warres in the Tauerne on Richard Castley Backsyde**

|             |   |         |
|-------------|---|---------|
| <i>Item</i> | Vinegar in A Barrell There              | xviijs  |
| <i>Item</i> | A firkin of Powther Blew                | xxs     |
| <i>Item</i> | Two Costrells of Oyle                   | xs      |
| <i>Item</i> | Read Wood there                         | xvs     |
| <i>Item</i> | Logwood one hundredth & a halfe         | xljjs   |
| <i>Item</i> | 2 hundreth of Rosin at xijs a hundredth | xxiiijs |
| <i>Item</i> | in Choake <sup>lxxxii</sup> there       | vjs     |

Summa total[is] Bonor[um] ccxvli xvs jd

Summa Creditorum cvli ix s xd

Summa Total[is] Bonar[um]  
et Creditorum cccxcvli iiijs xjd

Summa debitorum cxcli xvs ijd

Besides the Summes for defra[ment] to debt  
w[hi]ch is above accompted in the Total Summe lxxxvli ivs viijd

## Notes

- i Stools and a form for the dining table
- ii Pillow cases. Another hand takes over here
- iii An undecipherable word. The first letters are 'Te', followed by six minims
- iv The heated slab on which oatcake (clapbread) was baked
- v The adjustable hanger for suspending pots over the fire. For details of hearth furniture and general domestic arrangements see S. Denyer, *Traditional Buildings and Life in the Lake District*, (London, 1991), 18-53, and W. Rollinson, *Life and Tradition in the Lake District*, (London, 1974), 35-48
- vi Probably, in this context, a cellar
- vii A rough woollen coverlet, later associated with Bolton: Montgomery, 172, 183
- viii We should call this a dressing gown
- ix As opposed to leather
- x Underpants
- xi It was usual to store grain, and in this case also malt, in an upper room, preferably the one in which the chimney went up which was drier
- xii A coarse sieve
- xiii Hotts are panniers; carr is a cart; strangs are girths
- xiv An end was a single piece of cloth about 27 inches wide and 50-60 yards long
- xv Also called nuns' thread, a fine white sewing cotton: Cunningham, 197-98; Fleming, 330
- xvi A stout twine for tying or sewing packs or bundles: Fleming, 331
- xvii This, and the following two *Items* are silk threads, not materials
- xviii Points were the tagged laces or ribbons used for a variety of purposes, fastening boots to breeches, jerkin fronts, hose to doublets, or to hold up stockings. About this time London fashions had ceased to use points and they became merely ornamental ribbons, tipped with aiglets: Cunningham, *passim*. For a gold point aiglet excavated in Virginia, see L.N. Hunt, *Martin's Hundred*, (London, 1952), 57-61.
- xix Woven cloth
- xx Tape made in Manchester
- xxi A woven tape for binding: Montgomery, 238
- xxii Linen thread or sometimes tape: *ibid.*, 265
- xxiii Spectacles of a superior kind, made of rock crystal
- xxiv A thin worsted yarn: *ibid.*, 209
- xxv Also bolting or bolting, a fine worsted cloth used for sifting meal or flour, possibly from Bolton: *ibid.*, 171
- xxvi Beauper was woollen or linen cloth used for flags: *ibid.*, 160
- xxvii A spool or bobbin holding copper wire
- xxviii Laces with bobbles
- xxix Properly galloon, a narrow ribbon of gold, silver, or silk thread, in this case perhaps embroidered with wool: *ibid.*, 245
- xxx String or thin rope
- xxxi Upholstery nails, usually brass, with a slight pattern on the head
- xxxii Pens
- xxxiii Tuft or tufts was a kind of fustian or cotton velvet made in the Manchester area: *ibid.*, 368
- xxxiv Fustian was a cloth with a linen warp and a cotton weft, later all of cotton, manufactured especially in the Bolton area from the early seventeenth century: Wadsworth and Mann, 15; Montgomery, 244-45
- xxxv Sayn or say was a material like serge, one of the 'new draperies' introduced by Flemish weavers in the mid-sixteenth century: Fleming, 334; Montgomery, 342-43; Wadsworth and Mann, 20
- xxxvi A close-fitting woman's hood, often white, with a lace edging, sometimes coloured, and worn under the hat: Cunningham, 114-16
- xxxvii B. Tyson, in Fleming, 336, suggests a medicinal use for it
- xxxviii Brasill was a wood producing a red dye, which gave its name to Brazil. On dyeing generally and a discussion of the samples in the surviving Kendal pattern book, see J. Satchell, *The Kendal Weaver* (Kendal, 1956), 42, 54-9, and J. Satchell, *Kendal on Tenterhooks*, (Kendal, 1984), 22-23
- xxxix Russett was more usually the reddish-brown clothing worn by country people, but here perhaps a dyestuff
- xl Balls of soap: Fleming, 338, *sub* washballs
- xli Roseagar is realgar, disulphide of arsenic or red arsenic, used as a pigment or dye

- xlii Linen
- xliii Hemp from the female plant of *cannabis sativa*, which produced a coarser fibre
- xliv Thin sheets of metal
- xlvi An alloy of copper, lead, zinc, and tin, like fine brass, hammered in thin sheets
- xlvi Wax
- xlvi Candle or lamp wick
- xlvi Aniseed
- xlix Probably tobacco from St Kitts
- 1 Damask ellis is a material like a figured brocade. The term seems now to be confined to the United States of America where it is used to make bedspreads. The textiles department at the Victoria and Albert Museum, however, suggests that the word ellis 'was a local usage or corruption of another word'. I am grateful to my daughter Sophia for the dogged googling which eventually identified it after all else had failed. I would also like to thank Richard Hall for his many kindnesses during the preparation of this article.
- li Bodices were originally always referred to as a 'pair of bodies': an inner upper garment for women, quilted and padded with whalebone. Stock control seems to have lapsed here as they turn up among the spices
- lii Rice could be grown in this country, but this was probably imported: D. Hartley, *Food in England* (London, 1979), 530
- liii Crystallised sugar
- liv A condiment from the immature fruit spikes of *chavica*, the pepper plant
- lv A gelatine made from fish, used for making jellies or glue, for refining beer, and more recently for preserving eggs
- lvi Powdered sandalwood: Fleming, 334
- lvii A violet-blue or purple dye
- lviii Indigo gave a good fast dye, but there was difficulty in finding fast dyes in other colours: Wadsworth and Mann, 178
- lvix Probably raisins from Malaga. B. C. Jones, in 'Westmorland pack-horsemen in Southampton', TCWAAS, 1959, 67, discusses materials such as raisins, figs, dyestuffs, and alum coming to Kendal on return journeys from taking cloth for export, albeit at a slightly earlier date
- lx Vert grass or lawn seed
- lxi Alum is a mixture of sulphate of ammonia and potash. For its uses, see Satchell, *The Kendal Weaver*, esp. 20-22
- lxii Green vitriol, the green crystals of hydrated ferrous sulphate, used in dyeing
- lxiii All dyestuffs. John Satchell, in *Kendal on Tenterhooks*, 56, suggests that a description of preparing dyes from logwoods in 1851 may reflect earlier practices
- lxiv Soap and oil were both used in processing cloth
- lxv Pauldines are possibly tarpaulins, though OED has no instance of this form at this date
- lxvi A linen lace made with bone bobbins
- lxvii Tow is the coarse and broken part of flax or hemp prepared for spinning
- lxviii Madder or dyer's madder, *rubia fructorum*, producing a red dye
- lxix Perhaps from Genoa
- lxx Perhaps unshelled peppercorns
- lxxi Milled pepper
- lxxii A firkin is a small barrel holding 4-4½ gallons. Aquavite is brandy
- lxxiii Torches, sticks of resinous wood, or twisted hemp soaked in tallow or resin
- lxxiv The buildings and yards behind the house
- lxxv Air-dried raisins: Fleming, 332
- lxxvi This is presumable linen already combed or scrutched with a heckle
- lxxvii See above, n.65
- lxxviii Also tapnet, a rush basket in which figs or raisins were imported
- lxxix Ling, a fish of the cod family, usually dried or salted: Hartley, *Food in England*, 253
- lxxx Normally used for a wine vessel; oil was used in wool-combing: D. Hartley, *Made in England*, 4th edn, (London, 1977), 219-20
- lxxxi Teasels, used to bring up the nap on cloth: Satchell, *The Kendal Weaver*, 30; Satchell, *Kendal on Tenterhooks*, 17
- lxxxii Probably chalk or gypsum

## Bibliography

I have made great use of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*; other sources are cited. The most useful are abbreviated thus:

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