

Wage labour and living standards in early modern England: a case
study of the Shuttleworth accounts, Lancashire 1582-1621

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Abstract

This thesis presents a detailed study of the wage workers employed by the Shuttleworth family of Smithills and Gawthorpe in Lancashire between 1582 and 1621, based on their household accounts and other supporting documents. This long-run of accounts provides a unique window into the lives of wage workers in northern England during a period which has been identified as one of economic crisis. The findings show that current studies of wage labour and living standards have underestimated the complexity of these issues in early modern rural England society.

The first chapter of this thesis provides the background of labour employment in Lancashire, exploring demographic changes, types of agricultural farming and rural industries in the places where the Shuttleworths lived and owned farmland between 1550 and 1650, and the changes of the Shuttleworths' landholdings during this research period. The second chapter concentrates on servants hired by this gentry family, discussing their daily tasks, length of service, wage levels and the relationship between employers and employees. The third chapter analyses the work experiences of casual labourers, exploring gender division of labour, the number of working days per year and gender wage gap. In particular, the employment of male servants and male labourers in the late sixteenth century goes against the opinion that employers increasingly preferred day labourers to servants during this period. The fourth chapter turns to rural craftsmen and specialists employed by the Shuttleworths, and discusses the working lives of rural building workers in detail, including their different types of tasks, annual working days and wage levels. In addition, it considers the connection between occupations and money wages by exploring the mobility of skilled workers. The final chapter focuses on the evaluation of wage workers' living standards. The discussion on the diverse costs of feeding different types of wage workers and the low annual wage incomes indicate that current real wage series do not reflect rural wage workers' living standards in northwest England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By connecting wage income earned by the Shuttleworth employees with their inventories' values, it demonstrates that monetary wages could be used to measure the purchasing power of wage workers during a specific period of their life cycle, but they did not have a positive

correlation with wage workers' living standards measured using inventories.
Access to land played a key role in their changing living standards.

Contents

Abstract	2
Contents.....	4
Tables	8
Figures	11
Maps	13
Conventions	14
Abbreviations	14
Acknowledgements	15
Introduction	16
Wage workers and living standards	17
Sources.....	32
Thesis outline.....	36
1. Lancashire and the Shuttleworth family 1550-1650.....	39
1.1 Landscape and population.....	39
1.1.1 Landscape	39
1.1.2 Population.....	44
1.2 Agriculture.....	53
1.2.1 Types of agricultural land.....	53
1.2.2 Crops and livestock	55
1.2.3 Landholdings	56
1.3 Industry	59
1.3.1 Textiles	60
1.3.2 Coalmining.....	62
1.3.3 Metalworking.....	63
1.4 The Shuttleworths and their landholdings	64
1.4.1 The Shuttleworth family, 1550-1650	65
1.4.2 Landholdings of the Shuttleworths, 1582-1621.....	68

Conclusion	70
2. Servants	71
2.1 Data	73
2.2 Work and employment	75
2.2.1 Work categories	75
2.2.2 Number of servants	79
2.3 The length of service and the regulation of servants.....	81
2.3.1 The length of service	82
2.3.2 The regulation of servants	86
2.4 Wages and other income	89
2.4.1 Monetary wages	89
2.4.2 'Tabling' servants	93
2.4.3 Gifts	94
2.5 Relationships between the Shuttleworths and servants.....	96
Conclusion	100
3. Casual labourers: day-wage labourers and task-wage labourers	102
3.1 Data	107
3.2 The distribution of tasks	111
3.2.1 The categories of tasks.....	113
3.2.2 Multiple tasks undertaken by male labourers.....	122
3.3 Working days and labourers employed.....	126
3.3.1 Working days and the number of labourers	126
3.3.2 Harvesters and their gender	136
3.3.3 Casual labourers with quarterly and yearly payments	139
3.4 The wages of casual labourers	140
3.4.1 'Tabling' labourers	141
3.4.2 Day-wage rates.....	144
3.4.3 Task-wage rates	152

Conclusion	159
4. Rural craftsmen and specialists.....	161
4.1 Gawthorpe Hall	165
4.2 Data	167
4.3 Building workers.....	169
4.3.1 Categories of building workers.....	170
4.3.2 Length of employment	179
4.3.3 Wages of building workers.....	193
4.4 Non-building workers and other specialists.....	200
4.4.1 Non-building workers	200
4.4.2 Other specialists	204
4.5 The origins of skilled workers.....	205
Conclusion	210
5. Wage labour and living standards in early modern England.....	213
5.1 Cost of living	217
5.1.1 'Tabling' servants in husbandry	219
5.1.2 'Tabling' casual labourers	224
5.1.3 'Tabling' craftsmen and building labourers	227
5.2 Annual wage income.....	229
5.2.1 Annual wages of farm servants.....	229
5.2.2 Annual wages of casual labourers	234
5.2.3 Annual wages of building workers	243
5.3 Levels of wealth	250
5.3.1 Overview of the inventory sample.....	251
5.3.2 Household production.....	255
5.3.3 Consumption.....	262
5.3.4 Inventory values.....	265
5.3.5 Wealth level of wage workers	269

Conclusion	276
Conclusion	278
Appendix 1. Types of tasks undertaken by casual labourers	287
Appendix 2. Miscellaneous tasks undertaken by causal labourers.....	290
Bibliography	291
Manuscript Primary Sources	291
Published Primary Sources.....	306
Unpublished Primary Sources	307
Published Secondary Sources.....	308
Unpublished Secondary Sources.....	323

Tables

Table 1.1 Numbers of households in parts of Lancashire, 1563 and 1664.....	45
Table 1.2 The selected Chapelry/Parish Registers	46
Table 1.3 Baptisms and burials of Bolton, Salford Hundred, ten-year averages	51
Table 1.4 Baptisms and burials of Burnley and Padiham, Blackburn Hundred, ten- year averages.....	51
Table 1.5 Baptisms and burials of Eccleston and Croston, Leyland Hundred, ten- year averages.....	52
Table 1.6 Land recorded in the Final Concords for selected township-groups, 1450-1558	54
Table 2.1 The average number of servants.....	80
Table 2.2 Servants who worked for less than one year, 1583, 1586-98, 1600-02 and 1605	84
Table 2.3 The number of servants and the length of employment, 1586-98	84
Table 2.4 Length of service among male servants with different wage levels, 1586-98	86
Table 2.5 The wage rates of best-paid male and female servants	90
Table 3.1 Types of tasks undertaken by casual labourers.....	114
Table 3.2 Types of tasks undertaken by female labourers	116
Table 3.3 The gender division of labour in selected tasks	118
Table 3.4 The gender division of labour in textile production at Smithills and Gawthorpe.....	120
Table 3.5 Male labourers undertaking multiple types of work.....	123
Table 3.6 Examples of the cost of diet	142
Table 3.7 Daily wage rates without food and drink provided in different households (d/day).....	145
Table 3.8 Daily wage rates with food and drink provided in different households (d/day)	146
Table 3.9 Seasonal differences of average day-wage rates with food and drink (d/day)	148
Table 3.10 Gendered comparison of daily wage rates (d/day)	149
Table 3.11 Task-wage rates	153
Table 3.12 Gender division of task-wage rates, 1586-98, 1617-20	155

Table 3.13 Task-wage rates received by John Morres in 1590 and a comparison with average daily wage rates which contained food and drink in 1586-98	157
Table 3.14 Task-wage rates received by John Morres in 1590 and a comparison with average daily wage rates which did not contain food and drink in 1586-98	157
Table 4.1 The number of building workers	171
Table 4.2 The number of building workers, 1600-02, 1605	180
Table 4.3 Annual numbers and working days of building workers, 1600-02, 1605	181
Table 4.4 The distribution of annual working days of building workers, 1600-02, 1605	182
Table 4.5 Comparisons among craftsmen hired in different places	188
Table 4.6 Labour participation of building labourers, 1600-02 and 1605	191
Table 4.7 Quarterly wages received by masons, 1600-01	194
Table 4.8 Daily wage rates with food and drink provided (d/day)	195
Table 4.9 The comparison of daily wage rates with food and drink provided by three households (d/day)	198
Table 4.10 Travelling distance of skilled workers	206
Table 5.1 Eighteenth-century workhouse diets in Bury, Lancashire	218
Table 5.2 Examples of tabling fees, 1582-1606	219
Table 5.3 Annual cost of living for a single man in the 1590s	223
Table 5.4 Examples of male servants' annual income, 1582-99	231
Table 5.5 The distribution of male casual labourers with different wage rates, 1586-1598, 1600-02 and 1605	235
Table 5.6 Proportions of wage income earned by four labourers, 1600-02 and 1605	239
Table 5.7 Average annual income of building craftsmen, 1600-2, 1605	244
Table 5.8 Average annual income of masons/wallers paid by the day and task, 1600-02, 1605	245
Table 5.9 Sum of wage income earned by masons/wallers, 1600-02, 1605 ..	246
Table 5.10 Average annual income of building labourers with food and drink provided, 1600-02, 1605 (£/year)	248
Table 5.11 Regional distribution of inventories, 1580-1620	252
Table 5.12 Occupations and status of testators, 1580-1620	253

Table 5.13 Regional distribution of inventories left by the Shuttleworth employees	254
Table 5.14 Inventoried occupations and status of the Shuttleworth employees	255
Table 5.15 The percentage of inventories recording livestock, 1580-1620	257
Table 5.16 The number of cattle owned by different groups, 1580-1620	258
Table 5.17 The percentage of inventories recording arable crops.....	259
Table 5.18 The percentage of inventories containing evidence of textile processing.....	262
Table 5.19 The percentage of inventories containing household goods, 1580-1620	264
Table 5.20 Number of inventories recording debts, 1580-1620.....	266
Table 5.21 Total value of inventories, 1580-1620.....	267
Table 5.22 Material wealth of inventories, 1580-1620.....	267
Table 5.23 Comparison on the total value of labourers' inventories	268
Table 5.24 Wage rates and material wealth of the Shuttleworth employees ..	271
Table 5.25 Material wealth of the Shuttleworth employees	276

Figures

Figure 1.1 Baptisms and burials in the parish of Bolton, 1573-1650	47
Figure 1.2 Baptisms and burials in the chapelry of Burnley, 1562-1650.....	47
Figure 1.3 Baptisms and burials in the chapelry of Padiham, 1573-1650.....	48
Figure 1.4 Baptisms and burials in the parish of Deane, 1604-1650	48
Figure 1.5 Baptisms and burials in the parish of Ecclestone, 1603-1650	49
Figure 1.6 Baptisms and burials in the parish of Croston, 1550-1650	49
Figure 1.7 Owners of the Shuttleworth property, 1550 - 1650	66
Figure 2.1 Annual number of servants, 1586-98	81
Figure 3.1 The annual total number of days worked by day-labourers, 1583, 1586-1598	127
Figure 3.2 The annual number of labourers paid by the day, 1583, 1586-1598	128
Figure 3.3 The annual number of casual labourers paid by the day or task, 1583, 1586-98	129
Figure 3.4 Baptisms and burials in Bolton, 1587-1599	130
Figure 3.5 Number of male servants and male labourers, 1586-98.....	131
Figure 3.6 The annual total number of days worked by day-labourers, 1600-02, 1605, 1617-20	132
Figure 3.7 The annual number of labourers paid by the day, 1600-02, 1605, 1617-20	133
Figure 3.8 The annual number of casual labourers paid by the day or task, 1600-2, 1605, 1617-20	134
Figure 3.9 Comparison of working days undertaken by building and non-building labourers, 1600-02, 1605	135
Figure 3.10 Baptisms and burials in Padiham, 1600-1625	135
Figure 3.11 The number of male and female harvesters, 1583-4, 1586-98, 1600-2, 1604-5	137
Figure 4.1 The proportional distribution of annual working days of building workers, 1600-02, 1605.....	183
Figure 4.2 The proportional distribution of annual working days among selected examples, 1600-02, 1605	192
Figure 5.1 Yearly costs of tabling William Duckworth and the comparison with average prices of grains, 1580s-1600s	220

Figure 5.2 Annual earnings of William Birchall, 1586-94 (d/year).....	233
Figure 5.3 Annual earnings of Jeffrey Astelay, 1582-4 (d/year).....	233
Figure 5.4 Annual earnings of Oliver Stones, William Eccleston and James Cocket, 1586-1598 (d/year).....	236
Figure 5.5 Annual earnings of John Morres, Edward Makinson and John Horabine, 1586-98 (d/year)	238
Figure 5.6 Annual earnings of Thomas Willasill, 1600-02 and 1605 (d/year) .	240
Figure 5.7 The percentage of household goods, 1580-1620.....	265

Maps

Map 1 Hundreds of Lancashire	41
Map 2 South Lancashire and North Cheshire.....	42

Conventions

Due to the varied spellings in the household accounts, first names have been converted into modern spellings, while surnames have not been changed. Monetary values are presented in the form of pounds (£), shillings (s) and pence (d). One pound equalled to 20 shillings, and one shilling equalled to 12 pence.

As the years in the Shuttleworth accounts ran from Lady Day (25 March) to Lady Day, this thesis follows this calendar style to analyse the data.

Abbreviations

LA Lancashire Archives

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Introduction

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, rural English society was changing from one dominated by small farmers to one in which wage labouring was the main occupation, and wage earning was transformed from a life-cycle phase or part-time activity to a full-time, lifelong condition. Although scholars have different opinions about the origins and development of agrarian capitalism during the early modern period, wage labour has been widely recognised as a key feature of agrarian capitalism that contributed to the rapid development of the English economy.¹ How these wage workers lived their lives during this period is a crucial issue for understanding social and economic change in early modern England and is the focus of this work.

This thesis presents a detailed study of the wage workers employed by the Shuttleworth family of Smithills and Gawthorpe in Lancashire between 1582 and 1621, based on their household accounts and other supporting documents. The Shuttleworth accounts have been well-known to historians since the publication of excerpts by John Harland in the mid nineteenth century. However, the full record provided by the original manuscript documents has rarely been consulted. This long-run of accounts provides a unique window into the lives of wage workers in northern England during a period which has been identified as one of economic crisis. Andrew Appleby suggests harvest failures led to famine conditions in Lancashire during the 1590s.² Wage series suggest labourers' standards of living reached their lowest point since before the Black Death during this period.³ While a number of detailed studies have examined the lives of wage workers in southern England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, those of northern England remain unexplored. This introduction evaluates the existing research on wage workers and living standards in early modern England, before introducing the sources used in this study and the structure of the thesis.

¹ See for example, Robert Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman: The Agrarian Development of the South Midlands, 1450-1850* (Clarendon, 1992); Jane Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk, 1440-1580* (Clarendon, 2000); Leigh Shaw-Taylor, 'The Rise of Agrarian Capitalism and the Decline of Family Farming in England', *Economic History Review*, 65.1 (2012), 26-60; the classic debate about social transition sees, T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin (eds.), *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

² Andrew Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (Liverpool University Press, 1978), pp. 109-54.

³ Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review*, 60.1 (2007), 97-135.

Wage workers and living standards

Before turning to the research about wage workers in early modern England, it is important to note that they were not a new phenomenon in the sixteenth century but had appeared in the Middle Ages.⁴ Wage workers can be generally divided into three groups: servants, casual labourers, and craftsmen and specialist workers. Servants were normally young and unmarried people employed on annual contracts; they lived in their employers' households and ate with their employers. Casual labourers were mainly composed of agricultural labourers, but also included other day labourers who did a wide range of tasks. They did not live with their employers and were hired only when needed, especially during harvest seasons. They were often paid by the day or task. Craftsmen and specialist workers were different from the previous two types of workers mainly because of their specific skills and experience. However, similar to casual labourers, craftsmen and specialist workers had flexible working patterns and were employed only when needed. They were also paid either by the day or task.

Since James Thorold Rogers argued the fifteenth century was the 'Golden Age' of farm labourers by using statistics about wages and prices in the nineteenth century, this approach has been continued by economic historians to analyse wage workers' living standards.⁵ This section first discusses studies of wage series and the cost of living, before moving on to consider other approaches with different types of sources.⁶

E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins published classic studies of the wage rates and the purchasing power of builders in the 1950s. Their two articles, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages' and 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of

⁴ See for example, Jane Whittle, 'The Food Economy of Lords, Tenants and Workers in a Medieval Village: Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1328-48', *Peasants and Lords in the Medieval English Economy: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. S. Campbell*, ed. by Maryanne Kowaleski, John Langdon, and Phillipp R. Schofield (Brepols, 2015), pp. 27-57; M. M. Postan, 'The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the 12th and 13th Centuries', *Economic History Review Supplements*, 2 (1954), 1-48; D. Farmer, 'The Famuli in the Later Middle Age', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England*, ed. by Richard Britnell and John Hatcher (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 207-36; Jordan Claridge and John Langdon, 'The Composition of Famuli Labour on English Demesnes c. 1300', *Agricultural History Review*, 63.2 (2015), 187-220.

⁵ James E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour* (London, 1894), p. 326.

⁶ The weaknesses of real wage series have been summarised by John Hatcher, see, John Hatcher, 'Seven centuries of Unreal Wages', in *Seven Centuries of Unreal Wages: The Unreliable Data, Sources and Methods That Have Been Used for Measuring Standards of Living in the Past*, ed. by John Hatcher and Judy Z. Stephenson (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 15-70; John Hatcher, 'Unreal Wages: Long-Run Living Standards and the 'Golden Age' of the Fifteenth Century', in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Richard Britnell*, ed. by Ben Dodds and Christian D. Liddy (Boydell & Brewer, 2011), pp. 1-24.

Consumables', provided a series of wage rates of builders and the purchasing power of a building craftsman's daily wage rate in southern England from 1264 to 1954.⁷ Their findings show that only in 1880 did the purchasing power of a building craftsman's daily wage rate return to the level last seen in 1510. Based on the data, they suggested a close connection between Malthusian crises and economic development before the industrial revolution. Although Phelps Brown and Hopkins pointed out problems in their articles, noting, for example, that their data were mainly collected from southern England, and lacked information on annual number of days worked, their research has long been used by other scholars to make comparisons.

Gregory Clark built another influential series of real day wages for building workers from 1209 to 2004 to discuss the causes and consequences of the Industrious Revolution.⁸ His revised real wage series did not fluctuate as dramatically as Phelps Brown and Hopkins' data. His comparison between real wage series and estimated English population levels indicates that the escape from Malthusian stagnation in England began in the 1640s, while real wages declined during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As most wage data were collected from urban areas, the employment of rural building workers in early modern England remains to be explored.⁹

Clark was the first scholar to reconstruct long-term real wage series to discuss living standards of male agricultural labourers.¹⁰ In his article, 'The Long March of History', he builds a real day wage series from 1209 to 1869.¹¹ Both day wage rates and threshing piece rate payments are used to calculate average day wage rates. His real wage index supports the pessimistic opinion that there was no sign

⁷ E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', *Economica*, 22.87 (1955), 195-206; 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage-Rates', *Economica*, 23.92 (1956), 296-314.

⁸ Gregory Clark, 'The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1209-2004', *Journal of Political Economy*, 113.6 (2005), 1307-40.

⁹ Some scholars have contributed to the studies of early modern London building workers. See for example, Steve Rappaport, *Worlds with Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), chapter 5; Jeremy Boulton, 'Wage Labour in Seventeenth-Century London', *Economic History Review*, 49.2 (1996), 268-90; Jeremy Boulton, 'Food Prices and the Standards of Living in London in the 'Century of Revolution', 1580-1700', *Economic History Review*, 53.3 (2000), 455-492; Judy Stephenson, 'The Pay of Labourers and Unskilled Men on London Building Sites, 1650-1770', in *Seven Centuries of Unreal Wages: The Unreliable Data, Sources and Methods That Have Been Used for Measuring Standards of Living in the Past*, ed. by John Hatcher and Judy Stephenson (Palgrave, 2018), pp. 143-164. Judy Stephenson, *Contracts and Pay: Work in London Construction 1660-1785* (Palgrave, 2020).

¹⁰ Gregory Clark, 'Farm Wages and Living Standards in the Industrial Revolution: England, 1670-1869', *Economic History Review*, 54. 3 (2001), 477-505.

¹¹ Clark, 'The Long March of History', 97-135. Clark's Malthusian view on British economic growth is also discussed in his book, *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World* (Princeton University Press, 2007).

of higher living standards for agricultural workers before the industrial revolution. However, due to uncertainty about in-kind payments, his data exclude an important part of the agricultural labour force, servants in husbandry.

Concentrating on female workers, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf provide the first long-term studies of unskilled women's wage rates, which ranges from the medieval period to the nineteenth century.¹² In contrast to Clark's selection of data, Humphries and Weisdorf convert the in-kind payments received by wage workers into monetary values based on Robert Allen's basket of consumables.¹³ Although they concentrate on the discussion of 'Golden Age' of the post Black Death period and the effects of industrialisation, their study improves our understanding of female wage workers in early modern England. When concentrating on the research period of this thesis, their findings show that female casual labourers had to work more than 260 days per year between 1550 and 1650 to earn the same amount of annual income as female servants.¹⁴ The value of female day wages was quite low during this period.

The daily wage rates used in these wage series are questionable, as scholars tend to use different proxies in their analysis. For example, the day wage data of agricultural labourers are collected from non-harvest times. As harvest seasons provided important employment opportunities for agricultural labourers during a whole year, it is necessary to explore the types of tasks undertaken by both men and women before analysing their wage levels. When analysing the wage data of building workers, Phelps Brown and Hopkins selected the 'representative' rates of pay to create the wage series, while Clark calculates the average day wage rates. Although Allen's research concentrates on London building workers, his selection of data is another typical example. He collects the daily wage data of London building workers for 1457-1699 from the work of Steve Rappaport and Jeremy Boulton, whose data were calculated differently, according to median and modal wage rates.¹⁵ All these differences have the potential to substantially influence the wage rates presented in the series.

¹² Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850', *Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), 405-47.

¹³ The following section discusses Robert Allen's 'basket of consumables' in detail.

¹⁴ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 418.

¹⁵ Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', 195-206; Robert C. Allen, 'The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War', *Explorations in Economic History*, 38 (2001), 411-47; Rappaport, *Worlds with Worlds*; Boulton, 'Wage labour in seventeenth-century London', 268-90.

The classification of skilled and unskilled workers is also an important issue when analysing wage workers' living standards. It is not uncommon to find that agricultural labourers participated in by-employments without occupations stated. However, the selection of wage data according to HISCO/HISCLASS system presents an oversimplified employment pattern of agricultural labourers. Regarding building workers, some scholars have recognised this issue and discussed semi-skilled workers separately. Rappaport, for example, used 'semi-skilled workers' to include 'servant', 'assistant' and sometimes 'labourer' when studying London building workers of the sixteenth century, as he found that 'servants' and 'assistants' were probably journeymen who would be skilled.¹⁶ This simple division between skilled and unskilled workers risks misrepresenting the actual incomes earned by wage workers.

The selection of day wage data influences the discussion of gender wage gap as well. Judith Bennett points out that women's average wages in the English economy have fluctuated at levels between one third and two thirds of male wages from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ After comparing their female wage data with Clark's male wage data, Humphries and Weisdorf show that the wage rates received by male casual labourers were always greater than those received by female casual labourers, and this wage gap reached a peak in 1580-90.¹⁸ Several factors, such as the patriarchal prejudices, differences in physical strength and market demand, have been used to explain the causes of the gender wage gap.¹⁹ Again, the actual participation rates of the male and female labour force, such as the number of days worked per year, influence the conclusion. This, however, is not reflected by current wage series.

Another problem of wage series is that, although in-kind payments to servants have been taken into consideration, other types of wage payments such as task wages and piece rates have long been ignored due to difficulties of interpretation. Other factors, such as the amount of land worked, the number of labourers employed, and the labour output, often need to be taken into consideration.

¹⁶ Rappaport, *Worlds with Worlds*, pp. 128-9.

¹⁷ Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 102-3; Joyce Burnette, *Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain* (CUP, 2008), p. 73.

¹⁸ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 428, 431-2.

¹⁹ See for example, Sandy Bardsley, 'Women's work reconsidered: gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 165 (1999), 3-29; John Hatcher, 'Women's work reconsidered: gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 191-198; Sandy Bardsley, 'Reply', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 199-202; Burnette, *Gender, Work and Wages*, pp. 72-135.

These task wages would not influence the estimation of the money income earned by wage workers only if the labour output of wage workers was valued by employers under the same standard. However, when wage workers were paid with diverse wage rates, current estimations cannot reflect their actual annual income. This is further complicated by the fact that money wages were only part of labourers' final income; some salaries were paid in different forms, such as with rights to land and even loans, which were recorded in accounts and could help wage earners make ends meet.

Another key issue related to the evaluation of living standards is that, how many days did wage workers work per year? The increasing labour input over time has been used by Stephen Broadberry *et al.* to explain British economic changes. Contrary to the traditional real day wage rates and income-based measure of GDP per head, Broadberry *et al.* present an output-based estimate, which gives a more positive picture of long-term economic growth in Britain.²⁰ After comparing their GDP-per head evidence with Clark's and Allen's real day wage rates of unskilled building workers, Broadberry *et al.* argue that the variations in labour supply per head could reconcile the divergence.²¹

Addressing the problem caused by the unclear number of working days in the debate about England's economic growth, based on annual contracts, Humphries and Weisdorf investigate male agricultural workers' living standards by building an annual income series.²² They not only cast doubt on the occurrence of the 'Golden Age' in the post-Black Death period, but also argue that modern economic growth may have started from the late sixteenth century, rather than the late nineteenth century. It is the first time that male servants are discussed systematically alongside unskilled male day workers. However, when constructing their annual series, the actual number of annual working days stressed by Humphries and Weisdorf follow the same assumption as Clark and Van der Werf that both day workers with fixed day wage rates and annual workers

²⁰ Stephen Broadberry, Bruce M. S. Campbell, Alexander Klein, Mark Overton and Bas van Leeuwen, *British Economic Growth, 1270-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). The discussion on the real GDP per head from income side, see, Gregory Clark, 'The macroeconomic aggregates for England, 1209-2008', *Research in Economic History*, 27 (2010), 51-140. The discussion on GDP per capita and real wages, see, Luis Angeles, 'GDP per capita or real wages? Making sense of conflicting views on pre-industrial Europe', *Explorations in Economic History*, 45 (2008), 147-63.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258. The data of Clark and Allen's research see, Clark, 'The Condition of the Working Class', 1307-1340; Allen, 'The Great Divergence', 411-47.

²² Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Unreal Wages? Real Income and Economic Growth in England, 1260-1850', *The Economic Journal*, 129 (2019), 2867-2887.

would not work longer than the number of days needed to reach the same annual wage level.²³

In fact, in addition to some scattered evidence on the number of working days per year, the mainstream discussion of working days either focuses on the calculated figures according to the annual income and daily wage rates, or the estimation of fixed working days per year.²⁴ Clark, for example, uses '300 working days or so' to calculate the decadal real wages of farm labourers between 1670 and 1869.²⁵ However, both approaches ignore the availability of employment opportunities and access to land, which would influence the number of days labourers worked for wages each year. In addition, current estimations of fixed working days per year are not supported by firm evidence. For example, based on his time use model, Hans-Joachim Voth estimates that the working days per year increased from 258 in 1760 to 336 in 1830.²⁶ The actual annual working days could vary from one year to another due to the changing demand from labour market. Thus, more evidence needed to explore wage workers' number of annual working days in early modern England.

More recently, Jane Humphries, Jacob Weisdorf and Sara Horrell have moved to the discussion of a family unit's living standards. Both life-cycle conditions and the structures of families are taken into consideration in their latest two papers, 'Family Standards of Living' and 'Beyond the male breadwinner'.²⁷ In addition, they are now working on creating an index of the cost of board and lodging.²⁸

²³ To examine the influence of share of labour force and the day-annual pay gap on the annual earnings of the average worker, Humphries and Weisdorf established a model in their research, see, 'Unreal Wages?', 2881-3. Gregory Clark and Ysbrand Van Der Werf, 'Work in Progress? The Industrious Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 58.3 (1998), 830-43.

²⁴ The discussions on the length of working years, see for example, Blanchard, 'Labour productivity and work psychology in the English mining industry, 1400-1600', *Economic History Review*, 31.1 (1978), 1-25; John Hatcher, 'Labour, Leisure and Economic Thought before the Nineteenth Century', 160 (1998), 89; Clark and Van Der Werf, 'Work in Progress?', 830-843.; Hans-Joachim Voth, 'The Longest Years: New Estimates of Labour Input in England, 1760-1830', *Journal of Economic history*, 61.4 (2001), 1078; Robert C. Allen and J. L. Weisdorf, 'Was there an 'industrious revolution' before the industrial revolution? An empirical exercise for England, c. 1300-1830', *Economic History Review*, 64.3 (2011), 715-729; Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', 2880.

²⁵ Clark, 'Farm Wages and Living Standards', 477-505.

²⁶ Hans-Joachim Voth, 'The Longest Years: New Estimates of Labour Input in England, 1760-1830', *Journal of Economic history*, 61.4 (2001), 1065-1082.

²⁷ Sara Horrell, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Beyond the male breadwinner: Life-cycle living standards of intact and disrupted English Working families, 1260-1850', *Economic History Review*, (2021), 1-31; Sara Horrell, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Family Standards of Living over the Long Run, England 1280-1850', *Past and Present*, 250 (2021), 87-134. Their previous studies see, Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 405-47; Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, 'Children's work and wages in Britain, 1280-1860', *Explorations in Economic History*, 73 (2019); Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', 2867-2887.

²⁸ This information was gained from Professor Jane Humphries' speech, 'A respectable living and women's work: England 1260-1860', Economic Social History Society Ireland (ESHSI) Connell Lecture, 4 June 2021.

Nevertheless, their work is built on previous studies of single wage workers' wage series, which means that above issues related to the wage series remain. For example, their latest research includes the contribution made by women and children to family income. However, the extent to which they could contribute to the family earning cannot be presented accurately without more confirmed evidence on the changing employment of women and children over time.

The cost of living is another crucial aspect of living standards. When discussing the cost of living, scholars use different budgets, or different 'baskets of consumables' to evaluate the consumption. The basket of consumables is composed of different items, such as food, cloth and fuel. The cost of living fluctuated as the prices of these items within the basket changed over time.

David Davies' and Sir Frederic Eden's work have been used widely as they recorded detailed living conditions of labourers in the later eighteenth century, including the diets, earnings and expenses.²⁹ Elizabeth Gilboy, for example, used their estimations when exploring building workers' lives in the eighteenth century.³⁰ Based on Horrell's consumption budgets, which are partly collected from Davies' and Eden's work, Clark constructs long-term costs of living for farm labourers.³¹ Particularly, Clark makes two changes: grain prices replace bread prices before 1816; and the consumption of beer is included.

Based on Eden's work as well, both Robert Allen and Craig Muldrew take calories into consideration when creating their baskets. Although his assumption of 250 working days annually has been doubted by other scholars, Allen provides two valuable baskets of consumables which represent two types of lifestyles: the 'respectability budget' and the 'bare bones subsistence budget'. The respectability budget provided a male worker 2,500 calories per day, while the subsistence budget provided a male worker with 2,100 calories per day. The living standard is then evaluated by the 'respectability ratio' or 'subsistence ratio': dividing the annual income (= daily wage rate × 250 days) by the annual cost of

²⁹ David Davies, *The Case of the Labourers in Husbandry Stated and Considered* (London, 1795); Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor: Or, An History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period*, 3 vols. (London, 1797). The discussion on their work, see for example, Ian Gazeley and Nicola Verdon, 'The first poverty line? Davies' and Eden's investigation of rural poverty in the late 18th-century England', *Explorations in Economic History*, 51 (2014), 94-108.

³⁰ Elizabeth W. Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934).

³¹ Clark, 'The Long March of History', 97-135. Sara Horrell, 'Home Demand and British Industrialization', *the Journal of Economic History*, 56.3 (1996), 561-604.

supporting a family (=3.15 × the cost of basket).³² If the ratio is higher than one, it indicates a better living standard; if the ratio is less than one, the family would have to either work more hours or reduce spending on food. Based on such comparisons, Allen argues that high wages were an important feature of the English economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which helped the country escape from Malthusian constraints; despite this, the most dramatic improvement in living standards did not happen until the later nineteenth century. Humphries and Weisdorf adopt his 'respectable basket of consumables' to convert in-kind payments received by annual workers.

When estimating a labouring family budget, Muldrew collects the weekly amount of consumables, which was originally abstracted from Eden's budget for a Berkshire family of nine in the eighteenth century, and adjusts the weights of composites and the types of food consumed accordingly.³³ Muldrew's data assume that a labouring man would consume 5,306 calories per day, which was much higher than those estimated by Allen. Considering calories or not, these two scholars mainly rely on Thorold Rogers' and William Beveridge's work to calculate the prices of commodities, which were mainly collected from southern institutions.³⁴

Donald Woodward's work was a response to this issue, providing data for the north of England. Instead of using Thorold Rogers' and Beveridge's data, Woodward collects the data from the assize prices for grain at Lincoln (1513-1714) and Hull (1710-1749), and the prices paid for cheese and beef for the feasts held at Hull Trinity House.³⁵ In addition, he follows the cost of diet provided

³² The discussions on the baskets of consumables see, Allen, 'The Great Divergence', 411-47; Robert Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 35-45; Robert Allen, 'The high wage economy and the industrial revolution: a restatement', *Economic History Review*, 68.1 (2015), 1-22. The comparison of living standards from a global perspective, see, Robert Allen, Tommy Bengtsson, and Martin Dribe, *Living Standards in the Past: New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe* (Oxford University, 2005). Allen's basket of consumables implies a male adult's consumption. When expanding to the cost of a family, he does not give an accurate size of family but indicates that it includes a father, a mother and some children. In addition, he assumes the family needs an extra 5% of spending on the cost of renting. And thus, the annual cost of supporting a family should be 3.15 times (1.05 × 3) of the single cost of the budget.

³³ Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 135, 214-5. As the youngest three sons were out of service, they were excluded. While two elder sons who aged fourteen and twelve drove the plough for neighbouring farmers, and the younger two children did not work.

³⁴ James Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England: From the Year after the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793)*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1866-1902); William H. Beveridge, *Prices and Wages in England, from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century, Vol. 1, Price Tables: Mercantile Era* (New York, 1939).

³⁵ Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450-1750* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), Appendix 2, pp. 276-85.

by J. C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham for the seventeenth-century, and makes slight changes on the composites: 9 oz. of oats replaced 9 oz. of peas due to the lack of information on the weight of peas as well as the related yield.³⁶ And thus, his basket of food is composed of 2lb. bread, 3½ oz. cheese or 3½ oz. beef, and 9 oz. oats, which should provide an adult man 2,850 calories per day. However, Woodward's budget did not include drink, which was an important part of labourers' daily diet.

In addition to the reliance on price data of southern institutions, different sources of prices influence the calculation of real wages as well. For example, based on retail prices, Rappaport calculates that the real wages of skilled and semi-skilled London builders declined by 29 per cent from the 1490s to 1600s, which is only half the decline in real wages calculated by Phelps Brown and Hopkins (57 per cent), because they used wholesale prices.³⁷

The cost of living was also influenced by the variations in diet, as the expenditure on food varied not only as a proportion of expenditure but also in composition. It is known that while wheat was consumed in the south, oats and barley were more common in the north-west. Since the actual composition of diet varied widely, it is problematic to use the same proxy to assume wage workers' cost of living in the whole nation. This is particularly a case in the later sixteenth century, when price movements suggest that there were more people eating cheap grains. The adjustments based on a fixed basket fail to present how wage workers survived through these difficult times.

Another problem related to the cost of living is that some wage workers were provided food and drink by their employers during the employment. On the one hand, it means that the money wages they received would be less than the actual monetary value of their labour input; on the other hand, it is inappropriate to assume that the cost of food and drink prepared by labourers themselves was the same as those prepared by their employers, especially when employers took work efficiency into consideration while feeding their employees. Thus, when the provision of food to workers in northern England lasted at least until the

³⁶ J. C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food: A History of Five Centuries of English Diet* (London, 1958 [first published in 1939]), Appendix A, pp. 465, 467.

³⁷ Rappaport, *Worlds with Worlds*, p. 150; Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', 312.

nineteenth century, current 'baskets of consumables' cannot fully represent how much money northern wage workers spent on their cost of living.³⁸

When discussing long-term economic growth, economic historians tend to select data from diverse sources to construct long-term indexes of wages or cost of living, and then map the long-term changes of real wages or the 'welfare ratio' with the help of mathematical formulas. Obviously, the long-term indexes provide us with a general view of economic growth, making it possible to explore history from a global perspective. However, the ignorance of local social and economic backgrounds and the exact efforts made by wage-earners and their family members to make ends meet mean that it is still unclear how people made a living during the early modern period. This is similar to Richard Hoyle's comments on Wrigley and Schofield's *Population history of England*, in which he says that 'the great emphasis in this volume on fertility and nuptiality as the determinants of population growth demoted moments of crisis mortality to mere fireworks which did little to influence the overall direction of population change'.³⁹ When these 'mere fireworks' are ignored by grand narratives, we can hardly understand how people survived during the economic and social changes of early modern England.

In addition to the statistics compiled by economic historians, other documents and research approaches have also been used by scholars to explore wage workers who lived in early modern England. Ann Kussmaul provides the first general survey of servants who lived during the early modern period by using a wide range of sources, such as censuses, settlement examinations and parish listings.⁴⁰ Although most documents she uses date from the late seventeenth century onwards, she discusses servants and service in detail, including servants' ages, the gender distribution of tasks, the length of contracts and the hiring dates of servants. While explaining the changing employment of servants over time, Kussmaul uses data on the seasonality of marriages collected from parish registers and concludes that there were two peaks of hiring servants: the late fifteenth century and the mid-eighteenth century. The incidence of October marriages declined gradually from around 1560 to 1650, suggesting the

³⁸ Gregory Clark excluded those day wage data which contained food and drink, see Clark, 'Farm Wages and Living Standards', 480.

³⁹ Richard W. Hoyle, 'Famine as agricultural catastrophe: the crisis of 1622-4 in east Lancashire', *Economic History Review*, 63.4 (2010), 975.

⁴⁰ Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

employment of servants also declined.⁴¹ The rising cost of living, declining real wages and the increasing population were used by Kussmaul to argue that employers increasingly preferred day labourers to servants.

Both Woodward and Jane Whittle argue against such a connection between October marriages and the employment of servants. Woodward points out that Kussmaul underestimated the influence of the Marriage Act of 1653 on the marriage registration in the mid seventeenth century.⁴² Based on nine sets of household accounts, Whittle argues that the employment of servants did not decline in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. She stresses that the demand for servants was affected by other aspects of the rural economy, especially the size of farms and access to land.⁴³ As Kussmaul's data of October marriages were collected from south and east England, and Whittle's data of household accounts were mainly collected from southern England, the employment pattern of northern servants between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remains to be explored.

Based on probate inventories, Alan Everitt discussed living standards of farm labourers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁴ His findings indicate that after reaching a peak of wealth in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, peasant labourers faced a decline of their wealth during the first half of the seventeenth century, and that the labouring class was becoming increasingly differentiated within itself, with more and more labourers relying solely on wages to live. Everitt gave an overview of the farm labourers who lived between 1500 and 1640, but he paid less attention to servants in husbandry or to the differences between servants and day labourers. In addition, the selection of inventories was problematic, as Everitt used inventoried wealth to identify people he thought were labourers: under £5 before 1570, under £10 during the 1590s, and under £15 during 1610-40.⁴⁵

Similarly to Everitt's pessimistic view, Keith Snell uses settlement examinations in his research and depicts the miserable life of the labouring poor who lived in

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 98.

⁴² Donald Woodward, 'Early Modern Servants in Husbandry Revisited', *Agricultural History Review*, 48.2 (2000), 141-150.

⁴³ Jane Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment: Servants in Rural England c. 1500-1660', in *Servants in Rural Europe*, ed. by Jane Whittle (The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 64-66.

⁴⁴ Alan Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 424.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 412-3, 431.

the southern counties of rural England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁶ Although Snell focuses on a later period, his research is important in highlighting the influence of seasonal unemployment on the sexual division of labour, especially on female workers, which reminds us to explore the gender division of labour during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁷

Another important contribution to the studies of agricultural labourers' living standards is *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness* by Muldrew.⁴⁸ Muldrew was the first historian to reconstruct labourers' family earnings by including women's earnings from spinning and agricultural work, children's work, the benefits of keeping cows and pigs, and gleaning and collecting fuel, which helps us get closer to the real lives of labourers.⁴⁹ Contrary to the traditional pessimistic view, Muldrew presents a relatively decent life for labourers living in early modern England (except some crisis periods). In addition, based on 972 inventories of agricultural labourers, Muldrew discusses the ownership of goods among agricultural labourers from the mid-sixteenth to the eighteenth century. However, while calculating the annual wage earnings of male labourers, Muldrew adopts 300 days per year as a standard. In addition, most of the inventories in his sample are collected from southern England: the proportion of inventories collected from Cheshire and Lincolnshire is only 15 per cent. Also, the proportion of inventories recorded between 1550 and 1649 is less, only accounting for 33 per cent of the total.⁵⁰ It is doubtful to what extent these inventories could represent agricultural labourers who lived in northern England.

Based on diverse documents, such as guild records, wills and probate inventories, Woodward's research focuses on early modern building workers who lived in northern towns, and discusses their living standards.⁵¹ Woodward identifies that building craftsmen were small, independent businessmen who might employ other labourers to complete tasks. Craftsmen could provide raw materials

⁴⁶ Keith Snell, *The Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁴⁷ More discussion about gender division of labour sees, M. Roberts, 'Sickles and scythes: women's work and men's work at harvest time', *History Workshop* 7 (1979), 3-28; Whittle, *Servants in Rural Europe*, p. 9; Jane Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650: Evidence of Women's Work from Probate Documents', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15 (2005), 51-74; Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern England', *Economic History Review*, 73.1 (2020), 3-32.

⁴⁸ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁵¹ Woodward, *Men at work*.

themselves and normally pursued a variety of by-employments.⁵² Although he acknowledges that the contributions of women and children need to be examined, Woodward still uses the purchasing power of male breadwinners' money wages to evaluate living standards of building workers. His findings show that wage rates in northern towns showed similar trend to those summarised by Phelps Brown and Hopkins for southern England during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The analysis of probate inventories shows that by-employments were a vital component of wage workers' income. By-employments were not only connected with the development of rural industries but also included the cultivation of land.⁵³ Being able to participate in diverse tasks meant that wage workers could earn more money. In fact, as wage workers would work for different employers, it is similar to 'an economy of makeshifts' pattern; that is, using numerous resources to survive or support a family.⁵⁴ This is particularly the case among landless wage workers and those who had limited access to land. However, as probate inventories only recorded the goods owned and not those leased, borrowed or provided by employers, the actual tasks undertaken by wage workers cannot be fully presented by this type of source.

Based on the payments recorded in overseers' accounts, Keith Wrightson and David Levine reconstruct the living budget for a poor labourer's family with five persons in the later seventeenth century in their case study of Terling, a village in Essex.⁵⁵ They then compare it with the possible maximum annual wage incomes earned by male labourers and craftsmen. Although this estimation relies solely on the purchasing power of male breadwinners who could work 312 days per year (6 × 52 weeks), this 'official' data reflects the village elite's opinion towards poverty and employment, which would be closer to wage earners' real lives than that calculated according to wage rates and 'baskets of consumables'. 'The labouring poor' has long been considered as part of the topic of poor relief and the welfare system, and the data on the purchasing power of 'the labouring

⁵² Donald Woodward, 'Wage Rates and Living Standards in Pre-Industrial England', *Past and Present*, 91 (1981), pp. 28-46. Also see, Woodward, *Men at Work*.

⁵³ See for example, Alan Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', 396-465; Woodward, 'Wage Rates and Living Standards', 28-46.

⁵⁴ Steven King and Alannah Tomkins (ed.), *The Poor in England 1700-1850: An economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 11-3.

⁵⁵ Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village, Terling, 1525-1700* (New York, 1995), pp. 39-42.

poor' who were struggling around the poverty line provides evidence of the minimum cost of living.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, despite some scattered evidence, no such overseers' accounts survived for Lancashire before the 1630s and so could not be used in this study.⁵⁷

Approaching the topic from wage workers' own perspectives is essential to understanding this group of people. However, this approach faces two serious problems. The first one is the lack of direct documents. Probate inventories discussed above are important sources but working for wages does not mean that people were necessarily recorded as labourers in their inventories. Another problem is related to the basic nature of labourers' work. It is not uncommon to find labourers who worked for wages irregularly in early modern England. A. Hassell Smith argues that 'such families opted for a multi-person, multi-faceted fringe economy'.⁵⁸ As they lived in a changing society with uncertain lifestyles, we cannot present the real lives of these wage workers without something like their autobiographies, yet nothing like this survives from the period. Taking this into consideration, it seems impossible to reach a unanimous conclusion about wage labourers and their living standards in early modern England.

However, this does not mean we cannot advance the study of this group of people. As Whittle mentions in her book, studies of wage labour can be meaningful when they are put in the context of the type of work performed, and its importance to the labourers' overall household economy.⁵⁹ In this way, household accounts provide important information for the exploration of wage workers' actual working experience.

Based on household accounts, scholars have provided detailed studies of wage workers who lived in different parts of late medieval and early modern England. In a case study of Nathaniel Bacon, a gentleman farmer who lived in late sixteenth-century Stiffkey, Norfolk, Smith discusses different types of labourers, including their daily tasks and wage rates.⁶⁰ Both Deborah Youngs and Steve

⁵⁶ See, for example, Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (Langman, 1988); Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England: c. 1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004); King and Tomkins (eds.), *The Poor in England 1700-1850*.

⁵⁷ Discussion on poor relief in Lancashire, see, Jonathan Healey, 'The development of poor relief in Lancashire, c. 1598-1680', *The Historical Journal*, 53.3 (2010), 557-9.

⁵⁸ A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part II], *Continuity and Change*, 4.3 (1989), 380.

⁵⁹ Jane Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440-1580* (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 227.

⁶⁰ A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part I],

Hindle explores the relationship between servants and employers.⁶¹ Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths discuss the working lives of servants, labourers, craftsmen and specialists hired by the Le Stranges in Norfolk.⁶² In particular, probate inventories left by tenant family members are used together with the household accounts to explore the relationship between six tenant families and the Le Strange household in the early seventeenth century.

Another important approach is provided by Whittle in her chapter, 'A Different Pattern of Employment'.⁶³ Based on nine sets of household and farm accounts that recorded 482 named servants, Whittle's research was the first work to offer a long-term perspective on the employment of servants before 1660. Her findings revise some previous views proposed by Kussmaul for the long eighteenth century. For example, the average length of employment was two years longer than Kussmaul.⁶⁴ The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in Whittle's work is particularly significant as it is more persuasive in presenting the features of servants and service during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In fact, household accounts, especially those accounts from the upper class, contain valuable information about different types of wage workers who did diverse tasks during their employment. This type of source provides a different perspective from which to explore what wage workers did and how much they could earn by their labour or skills. Current studies of household accounts tend to concentrate on southern and eastern England, while less attention has been paid to northern England. This is partly due to the rich documents as well as the rapid development of agrarian capitalism in certain regions. Since northern England had different farming practices and people there had different lifestyles, it is worthwhile to explore wage workers who lived there separately. In addition, as a basic unit of the social community, gentry households played an important role in rural society. Focusing on this kind of household can also help us analyse the labouring people as a social group.

Continuity and Change, 4.1 (1989), 11-52.

⁶¹ Deborah Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne: the case of Newton, Cheshire, 1498-1520', *Agricultural History Review*, 47(1999), 145-60. Steve Hindle, 'Below stairs at Arbury Hall: Sir Richard Newdigate and his household staff, c. 1670-1710', *Historical Research*, 85.227 (2012), 71-88.

⁶² Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁶³ Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', pp. 57-76.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.63.

Thus, concentrating on the Shuttleworth accounts, 1582 and 1621, this thesis discusses the working lives of wage workers hired by this gentry family, exploring varied work tasks undertaken by different types of wage workers, the gender division of labour, gender wage gap, the number of servants in husbandry and labourers employed, the number of working days per year, and wage levels. In addition, money wages recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts are combined together with the material wealth recorded in the Shuttleworth employees' probate inventories, providing a new perspective to analyse life-cycle changes of wage workers' living standards during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Sources

Household accounts provide detailed information about the employment of servants, casual labourers, craftsmen and specialists. A standard entry recorded the name of a wage worker, the wage payment, the number of days worked and a description of the tasks undertaken. For example, the Shuttleworth accounts record that Richard Edmundsone was paid 3s 8d for driving the plough at Eccleston '11 days after 4d the day' on 1 April 1590.⁶⁵ These entries in the household accounts not only record diverse tasks undertaken by wage workers, but also provide firm evidence for the discussion of some important issues, such as the turnover of wage workers and gender wage gap.

As an important set of household accounts, the Shuttleworth accounts were transcribed selectively by Mr John Harland in the 1850s.⁶⁶ In addition to the transcribed accounts, the published version contains valuable appendixes and notes, which can be used to support the exploration of the Shuttleworth family's history and the local economy. Despite some omissions and errors, the published version has long been used by scholars to discuss various issues. Everitt used the account records to discuss the diverse tasks undertaken by labourers in northern England.⁶⁷ Joan Thirsk uses these household accounts to explore food consumption in Lancashire during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 137.

⁶⁶ John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithills and Gawthorpe, from September 1582 to October 1621*, Part I - IV (Chetham Society, 1854-59).

⁶⁷ Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', pp. 430-31.

⁶⁸ Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (Continuum, 2009).

This transcribed version has also been used widely in local studies. Focusing on the history of early modern Lancashire, Jonathan Healey uses entries relating to poor rates and charitable donation by the household to discuss poor relief in Lancashire.⁶⁹ Some textile-related records, such as the growth of flax and hemp, and spinning and weaving, have been used by John Swain and Norman Lowe to discuss the development of the textile industry in Lancashire during the late sixteenth century.⁷⁰ Thomas Stuart Willan focuses on the evidence of shopping to discuss commercial connections between the Shuttleworths and Manchester in the late sixteenth century.⁷¹

In addition, Charles Foster provides a view of the Shuttleworths' lives at Smithills during the late sixteenth century and discusses the household consumption and production.⁷² Using Dr Eileen White's transcripts, which are now preserved at Gawthorpe Hall, John Champness discusses the process of building Gawthorpe Hall in the early seventeenth century.⁷³

Regarding wage data, the earliest quotation can be found in Thorold Rogers' work in the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ In addition, Clark, Humphries and Weisdorf have also used wage data from Harland's transcripts in their discussion of living standards.⁷⁵

The transcribed version of the Shuttleworth accounts is valuable, but no one has ever used the original accounts to study all types of wage workers hired by this gentry household between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, nor has anyone made systematic comparisons between the Shuttleworth employees and their counterparts hired in other parts of England during this period. Thus, this thesis uses the original version of the Shuttleworth accounts to discuss different types of wage workers hired by this gentry family.

⁶⁹ Jonathan Healey, *The First Century of Welfare: Poverty and Poor relief in Lancashire, 1620-1730* (Boydell & Brewer, 2014).

⁷⁰ John Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution: North –East Lancashire, c. 1500-1640* (Manchester, 1986); Norman Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry in the Sixteenth Century* (Manchester, 1972).

⁷¹ Thomas Stuart Willan, *Elizabethan Manchester* (Manchester, 1980).

⁷² Charles Foster, *Seven Household: Life in Cheshire and Lancashire 1582 to 1774* (Arley Hall Press, 2002), pp. 8 - 64.

⁷³ John Champness, 'The building of Gawthorpe Hall', *Lancaster Archaeological & Historical Society*, 31 (2008), 33-41.

⁷⁴ James E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, Vol. V, 1583-1702* (Oxford, 1887) p. 661.

⁷⁵ Clark, 'The Long March of History', 97-135; Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 405-47; Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal Wages?', 2867-2887.

The Shuttleworth accounts run from September 1582 to October 1621. There are only nine volumes now preserved in Lancashire Archives, with three of the original volumes missing. Although the Volume X, which recorded payments from July 1608 to November 1613, is too fragile for normal access in the archives, Mr David Tilsley, an archivist of Lancashire Archives, generously shared this original volume with me in September 2021. When concentrating on the disbursement records, there are five periods with breaks in the accounts: 15 March 1584/5 to 2 March 1585/6; 15 July 1599 to 1 February 1599/1600; 20 August 1603 to 7 July 1604; 30 June 1606 to 1 July 1608; and 6 November 1613 to 5 November 1616. Despite the fact the existing nine volumes of accounts are not consecutive, and some pages have faded, the whole-year data of some years, including 1583, 1586-98, 1600-2, 1605 and 1617-20 are well preserved, making it possible to track yearly changes during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

In addition to the missing and faded parts, the Shuttleworth accounts have some other limitations. For example, some wage tasks were recorded without detailed information about names or the number of hired workers, making it difficult to calculate the exact number of wage workers hired by the household as well as the amount of work undertaken by individuals. As the accounts recorded the disbursement and receipts from the employers' perspective, the decisions made by hired workers were unknown. The meaning of wage work and money wages to the people who lived in early modern rural English society cannot be fully explained by household accounts. Thus, other sources are used together with the Shuttleworth accounts to study these wage workers.

Based on the location of farmland owned by the Shuttleworths, the parish registers of Bolton, Deane, Ecclestone, Croston, Padiham and Burnley were selected to reconstruct local demographic changes between 1550 and 1650. Unfortunately, incomplete records, as shown in Chapter 1, make it hard to track all the changes consecutively. For example, the baptisms of Bolton cover 1573-4, 1590-1660, weddings cover 1573, 1587-1660, and burials cover 1573-4, 1587-1660.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the available sources provide some clues to support the tracing of wage workers' origins during the late sixteenth century.

⁷⁶ Archibald Sparke (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bolton, Baptisms, 1573-4, 1590-1660, Weddings, 1573, 1587-1660, Burials, 1573-4, 1587-1660* (Bolton, 1913).

Regarding probate documents, both wills of the Shuttleworths and local probate inventories are used to further the discussion of wage workers. As the Shuttleworths' wills contained the bequests of land, they have been used together with the household accounts to supplement the exploration of the land ownership between 1582 and 1621. Also, as the Shuttleworths' wills recorded their bequests to servants, they are quite valuable in discussing the relationship between the Shuttleworths and their employees.

In addition, a sample of 381 Lancashire probate inventories dating from 1580 to 1620 is used to analyse the local economy.⁷⁷ These inventories come from the three Lancashire Hundreds: Salford Hundred, Leyland Hundred and Blackburn Hundred, where the Shuttleworths owned farmland. Based on the Shuttleworth accounts, parish registers and other supporting sources, 34 testators who left inventories are identified as the Shuttleworths' employees during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This provides direct evidence to explore wage workers' wealth levels. Combined with their working lives recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts, such as the number of working days and wage levels, this thesis discusses wage workers' life-cycle changes of living standards.

The last type of source used is the 1595 Lancashire wage assessment. In 1563, the Statute of Artificers stated that the Justices of the Peace in quarter sessions were responsible for setting the maximum wages each year, including the annual wage rates for different types of servants and the day wage rates for labourers and craftsmen.⁷⁸ The 1595 wage assessment is the only available one for the period from which the Shuttleworth accounts survive. This wage assessment regulated different wage levels to servants, agricultural labourers, craftsmen and apprentices, according to factors such as age, gender and skills. These wages are further divided into rates when food and drink were provided by the employers or not. As wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths received different wage rates, the comparison between legal wage levels and actual wage rates can be used to explore the influence of laws on the regulation of employees in the Shuttleworths' household.

⁷⁷ John Longworth was the only one whose inventory was recorded in 1623/4.

⁷⁸ Whittle, *Agrarian Capitalism*, p. 292; Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, pp. 35-6.

Thesis outline

Based on detailed discussion of the three types of wage workers, servants, casual labourers, and rural craftsmen and specialists, hired by the Shuttleworths, this thesis explores the working lives of rural wage workers who lived during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In addition, combined with the findings from probate inventories, this research challenges current studies of wage workers' living standards and provides a new perspective to discuss life-cycle changes of living standards.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to Lancashire, particularly the areas where the Shuttleworths lived and owned farmland between 1550 and 1650. The first three sections discuss the landscape and population, agriculture and industries in Lancashire, presenting a full picture of local social and economic context where the Shuttleworth employees lived. The final section concentrates on the Shuttleworth family. It introduces the household and discusses changes of their landholdings during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The following three chapters discuss the three types of wage workers, namely, servants, casual labourers, and rural craftsmen and specialists, hired by the Shuttleworths between 1582 and 1621. Each chapter contains an explanation of the related data.

Chapter 2 focuses on exploring the working lives of servants. Combined with the wills of the Shuttleworths, this chapter discusses the following questions: what did male and female servants hired by the Shuttleworths do during their employment? How many servants were hired by this gentry household? How much could these servants earn from their employer? What was the relationship between wage levels and the length of service? What was the attitude of the Shuttleworths towards their employees? The findings show that servants in husbandry served the longest with an average length of 4.5 years. In addition, the number of servants showed an increasing trend during the late sixteenth century, when there was demographic crisis, a high cost of living and low real wages.

Chapter 3 discusses casual labourers, including day-wage labourers and task-wage labourers. These workers were paid by the day or task, and were mainly

composed of agricultural labourers hired during the harvest. Following the discussion of some common features of the casual labourers recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts, this chapter is divided into three parts to discuss the gendered distribution of tasks, annual working days and the number of labourers employed, as well as wages earned by casual labourers. The evidence shows that casual labourers were unlikely to work 250/260 days per year for the Shuttleworths. The comparison between the number of male servants and male casual labourers further indicates that servants always constituted the main part of this household's labour force. It was the household needs, rather than the changes in population and real wages, that mattered the most when employing servants or labourers. It is also noted that female labourers showed a particularly high participation in harvest work in the early 1600s.

Chapter 4 turns to explore rural craftsmen and specialists, the skilled workers who were normally paid more than the other two types of wage workers mentioned above. As the Shuttleworths were building Gawthorpe Hall between 1600 and 1606, the first part discusses building workers hired during this period, exploring their tasks, length of employment and wage levels. The second part concentrates on non-building workers and other specialists, discussing their different types of tasks as well as wages. The final part considers the travelling distances from home of rural craftsmen and specialists alongside the number of working months, exploring the connection between occupations and money wages. The analysis demonstrates that there was a group of professionalised building workers who relied on money wages for a living in Lancashire. However, even those rural building craftsmen who worked as 'full-time' workers would rarely work 250 days per year for the Shuttleworths. In addition, the existence of a group of semi-skilled building workers whose occupations as well as wage levels changed over time is noted.

Based on the Shuttleworth accounts and probate inventories, Chapter 5 discusses wage labourers and their living standards from three perspectives. The first two parts explore the diverse costs of feeding different types of wage workers and the low annual wage incomes that could be earned by these Shuttleworth employees, indicating that current real wage series do not reflect rural wage workers' living standards in northwest England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The third part connects wage income earned by the

Shuttleworth employees with their inventories' values, discussing life-cycle changes in their living standards. It demonstrates that monetary wages could be used to measure the purchasing power of wage workers during a specific period of their life cycle, but they did not have a positive correlation with wage workers' living standards measured using inventories. Access to land played a key role in their changing living standards.

1. Lancashire and the Shuttleworth family 1550-1650

The Shuttleworth accounts record the activities of two different houses in Lancashire, Smithills near Bolton, and Gawthorpe near Padiham and Burnley. In 1599, the Shuttleworths returned the Smithills estate to the Barton family. After building Gawthorpe Hall between 1600 and 1606, the household moved to Gawthorpe. The movement of the household had a direct influence on their family economy, especially on the employment of wage workers. As the Shuttleworths also owned farmland at Tingreave and Much Hoole in Leyland Hundred, to the west of both Blackburn Hundred and Salford Hundred; this chapter therefore concentrates on Salford, Blackburn and Leyland Hundreds within Lancashire. The first two sections discuss geographical features, demographic changes, types of agriculture and industries in Lancashire between 1550 and 1650, reconstructing a general background for the employment of wage workers. The final section turns to the Shuttleworth family and their landholdings between 1582 and 1621, providing context for the available employment opportunities provided by this household.

1.1 Landscape and population

Compared with counties in south and east England, Lancashire has been recognised as a poor and conservative county in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ As geographical features and demographic changes are closely connected with the development of the local economy, this section provides a general view of the landscape and population of the parts of Lancashire where the Shuttleworths lived and held land.

1.1.1 Landscape

As a coastal county, the topography of Lancashire was complicated; the average elevation of this county is 492 feet. To the west of Lancashire is the Irish Sea, and from north to south, Lancashire is bordered by the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, West Riding of Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Cheshire. Generally, areas within Lancashire can be divided into uplands and lowlands. There are many hills and forests within Lancashire, particularly in the eastern part of this

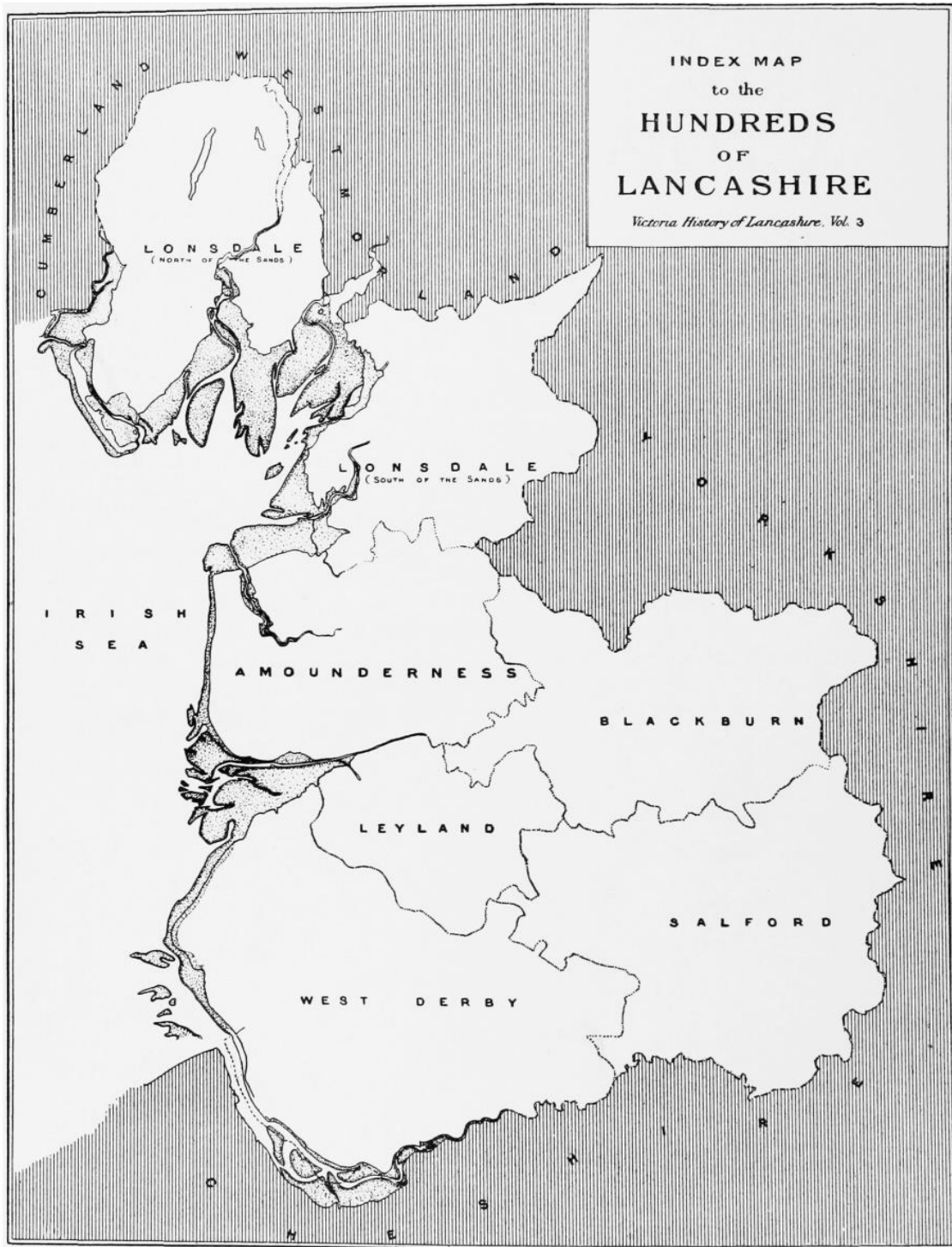
¹ Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 110.

county that forms a part of the Pennine Chain. In the eastern uplands, the Forest of Bowland, Forest of Pendle and Forest of Rossendale are located on the west side of the Pennines from north to south. These forests are actually composed of hills, valleys, and moorlands and have few trees. Separated by the Ribble Valley, Pendle Hill, part of the Forest of Pendle, is southeast of the Forest of Bowland. The River Ribble starts in North Yorkshire and runs through Lancashire towards the Irish Sea in the west. West Lancashire is mainly composed of lowlands which consists of 'moss' [bog or peat], marsh and river meadows.

Lancashire was divided into six administrative hundreds (see map 1). Detailed descriptions of these hundreds were provided in eight volumes of the *Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*.² Lonsdale and Amounderness were in the north bordering Cumberland, Westmorland and part of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Blackburn Hundred was located in the northeast of Lancashire. The River Ribble ran through the west of Blackburn Hundred and the north of Leyland Hundred. West Derby and Salford Hundreds were located in the south and bordered the West Riding of Yorkshire and Cheshire. Leyland Hundred was located in the middle of Lancashire.

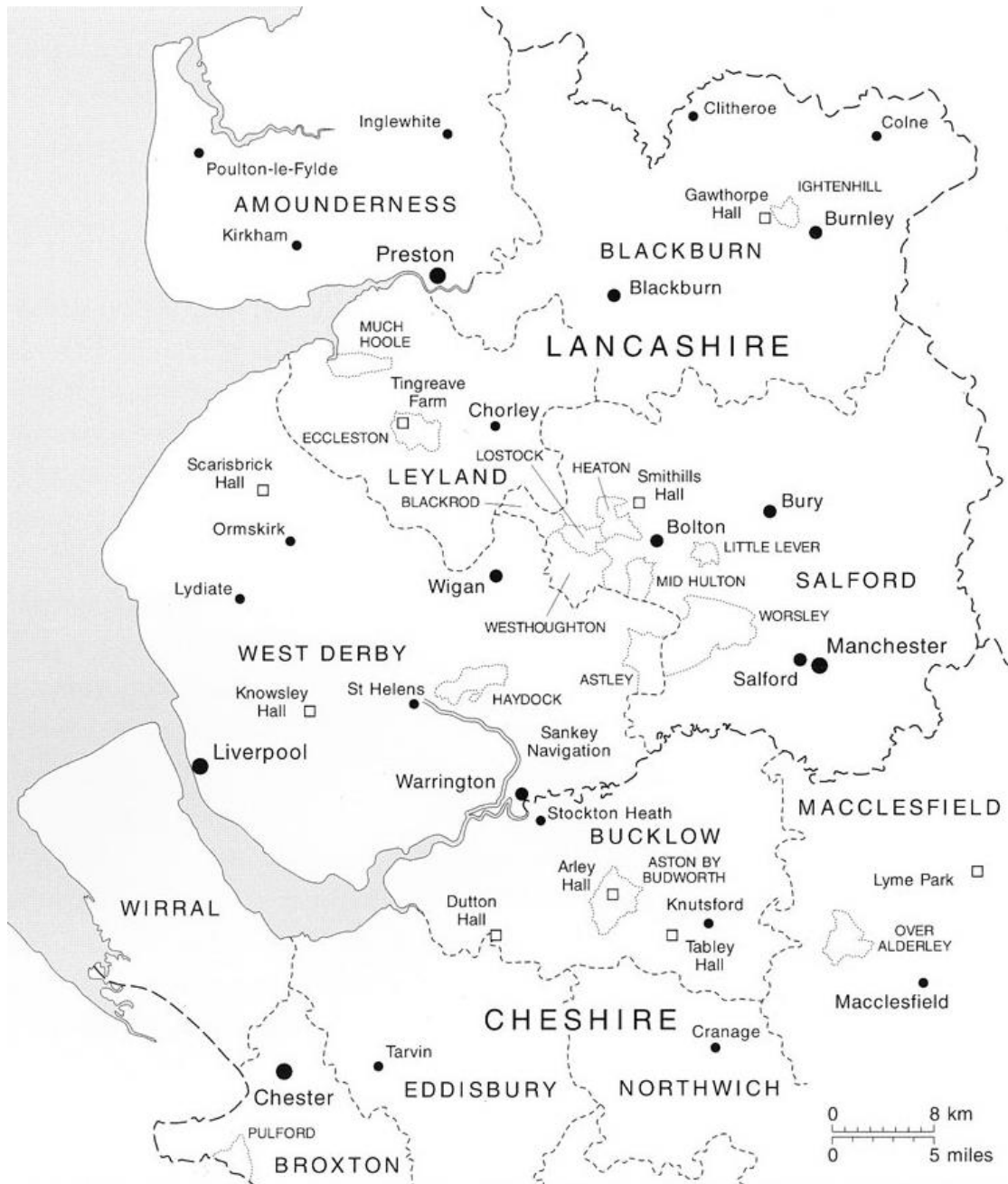
² William Farrer and J. Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, 8 vols. (London, 1906-14).

Map 1 Hundreds of Lancashire



Source: William Farrer and J Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 3 (London, 1907), p. xviii.

Map 2 South Lancashire and North Cheshire



Source: Arley Hall Archives 1750-90, Life on a Cheshire Country Estate, <https://www.arleyhallarchives.co.uk/map2.htm>.

Of those places which contained farmland owned by the Shuttleworths, as shown in map 2, Smithills Hall and Lostock were located in the northwest of Salford Hundred, Gawthorpe Hall was located in the northeast of Blackburn Hundred, and Tingreave and Much Hoole were located in the middle and northwest of Leyland Hundred respectively.

Smithills Hall was the manor house of Smithills manor, located in the northwest of the township of Halliwell, in the ancient parish of Deane. Smithills became part of the civil parish of Bolton later in the Extension Act of 1898. The elevation of Smithills rises from under 500 feet to over 1475 feet on the border of Horwich.³ Lostock was a township in the ancient parish of Bolton le Moors. Like Smithills, it was included in the borough of Bolton in 1898.

Gawthorpe was located between the townships of Padiham and Burnley, the middle of the parish of Whalley, in the northeast of Blackburn Hundred. Gawthorpe Hall is situated in a valley close to the bank of the River Calder and it was originally included within Ightenhill Park, which became a civil parish in 1866. There were several later changes in this area and the site of Gawthorpe Hall was incorporated into Burnley before Ightenhill Park became a part of the Borough of Burnley in 1974.⁴

Tingreave was a small manor located in the north of the township of Ecclestone, in the middle of Leyland Hundred. The ancient parish of Ecclestone was composed of four townships from north to south: Ecclestone, Heskin, Wrightington and Parbold. The township of Ecclestone is divided by the River Yarrow, which flows towards the west and joins the River Douglas. Similar to Much Hoole, the elevation of Ecclestone is higher in the east and reaches about 160 feet in the southeast.⁵

Much Hoole was a township located in the parish of Hoole, northwest of Leyland Hundred. Hoole was originally a part of the parish of Croston and was separated from it in 1641.⁶ Most of the parish was enclosed pasture with only 115 acres of common or waste. The highest elevation of Much Hoole is around 70 feet in the east, slightly declining from east to west. The west boundary is formed by the River Douglas, south by Carr Brook.

These geographical features played an important role in the types of farming recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts. The diverse tasks undertaken by casual

³ Farrer and Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 5 (London, 1911), pp. 12-20.

⁴ Farrer and Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 6 (London, 1911), pp. 487-9. The changes in this area see GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Ightenhill CP through time | Census tables with data for the Parish-level Unit, A Vision of Britain through Time. URL: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10368479>. [Date accessed: 25th April 2021].

⁵ Farrer and Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 6, pp. 162-3.

⁶ Henry Fishwick (ed.), *Lancashire and Cheshire Church Survey, 1649-1655* (Record Society, 1879), p. 115; Henry Fishwick (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Croston in the County of Lancaster* (Wigan, 1900), p. v.

labourers will be discussed in Chapter 3. Before that, it is necessary to discuss local demographic changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as these provide important context for the employment of labour and standards of living.

1.1.2 Population

Although it is hard to determine the exact population of Gawthorpe and Smithills during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, some major changes in demography can be tracked and estimated by using taxation lists and parish registers. Before this, demographic changes of England and Lancashire during this period are introduced.

Generally, the population of England was rising between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. Using the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials that all Anglican parishes were required to keep from 1538 onwards, the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure estimates that the national population rose from 2,830,459 in 1541 to 5,307,979 in 1651.⁷ Their findings have been used by Stephen Broadberry *et al* to calculate annual population growth rates in England from 1270 to 1700.⁸

This rising trend can be also seen in Lancashire from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, although the figures are only available for numbers of households. Two sets of evidence have been used by historians to calculate population levels, one from 1563 and one from 1664. In 1563, all the bishops of England and Wales were required to report the number of households in each parish and chapelry, which constitutes the first set of evidence. The second set of figures are the hearth tax returns for 1664. These taxes were paid by those whose houses had more than two hearths, but some poorer households were recorded even they were exempt from the tax. The same average household size 4.75 has been used when converting the number of households into population figures, although scholars provide different figures. John Walton argues that the population in Lancashire grew from 90,250 in 1563 to 159,040 in 1664, an increase of 76.2 per cent.⁹ The increase calculated by C. B. Philips and J. H. Smith was slightly less, increasing from 82,371 in 1563 to 141,641 in 1664, an

⁷ The quinquennial demographic data see E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen and R. S. Schofield (eds.), *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), Table A9.1, p. 614.

⁸ Stephen Broadberry, Bruce M. S. Campbell, Alexander Klein, Mark Overton and Bas van Leeuwen, *British Economic Growth, 1270-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 31-2.

⁹ John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History, 1558-1939* (Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 24-5.

increase of 72 per cent.¹⁰ Estimates using parish registers suggest that the population of Lancashire was higher, at over 180,000 in 1600.¹¹

When it comes to the Salford Hundred, Leyland Hundred and Blackburn Hundred, these three places, as shown in table 1.1, experienced uneven growth of population over time. According to Walton's calculation, the population of Salford Hundred increased the fastest at 128.2 per cent from 1563 to 1664, followed by Blackburn Hundred which increased at 78.4 per cent. The apparent population expansion in Blackburn Hundred and Salford Hundred is also supported by the figures calculated by Phillips and Smith, although their figures differ from those of Walton.¹² They conclude that the most rapid increase was found in Salford Hundred/Manchester deanery where the population increased at 89.2 per cent, followed by 56.9 per cent in Blackburn Hundred.¹³ Population expansion in Blackburn Hundred and Salford Hundred was mainly a result of the development of cloth production.¹⁴ In contrast, the population of Leyland Hundred maintained a relatively low level and increased by only around 15 per cent over time. For comparison, the national rate of increase between 1561 and 1661 was 73.9 per cent.¹⁵

Table 1.1 Numbers of households in parts of Lancashire, 1563 and 1664

Hundreds	No. of households in 1563	No. of households in 1664	% increase 1563-1664
Blackburn	2657	4740	78.4
Leyland	2058	2368	15.1
Salford	4719	10767	128.2

Source: John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History, 1558-1939* (Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 5.

When concentrating on local areas, in terms of the number of households, data were only available for Burnley and Padiham near Gawthorpe Hall: households

¹⁰ C. B. Phillips and J. H. Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540* (Longman, 1994), p. 7.

¹¹ Broadberry and others, *British Economic Growth*, p. 25; E. A. Wrigley, 'Rickman revisited: the population growth rates of English counties in the early modern period', *Economic History Review*, 62.3 (2009), 711-35.

¹² Phillips and Smith also compare the number of households in different parts of Lancashire, and their data are not always identical with those of Walton. As it is not the theme of this thesis to discuss this difference, here we adopt Walton's data for comparison.

¹³ Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 7.

¹⁴ Walton, *Lancashire*, p. 25.

¹⁵ Wrigley and others, *English Population History*, p. 614.

in Burnley rose from 278 in 1563 to '300 and upwards' in 1650, and in Padiham rose from 106 to 232 during the same period.¹⁶

Table 1.2 The selected Chapelry/Parish Registers

Chapelry/Parish	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
Bolton	1573-4, 1590-1660	1573, 1587-1660	1573-4, 1587-1660
Deane	1604-1886	1604-1886	1604-1886
Burnley	1562-1653	1562-1653	1562-1653
Padiham	1573-1653	1573-1653	1573-1653
Eccleston	1603-1694	1603-1694	1603-1694
Croston	1543-1727	1538-1685	1538-1684

Note: All the records were recalculated according to Lady Day (25 March).

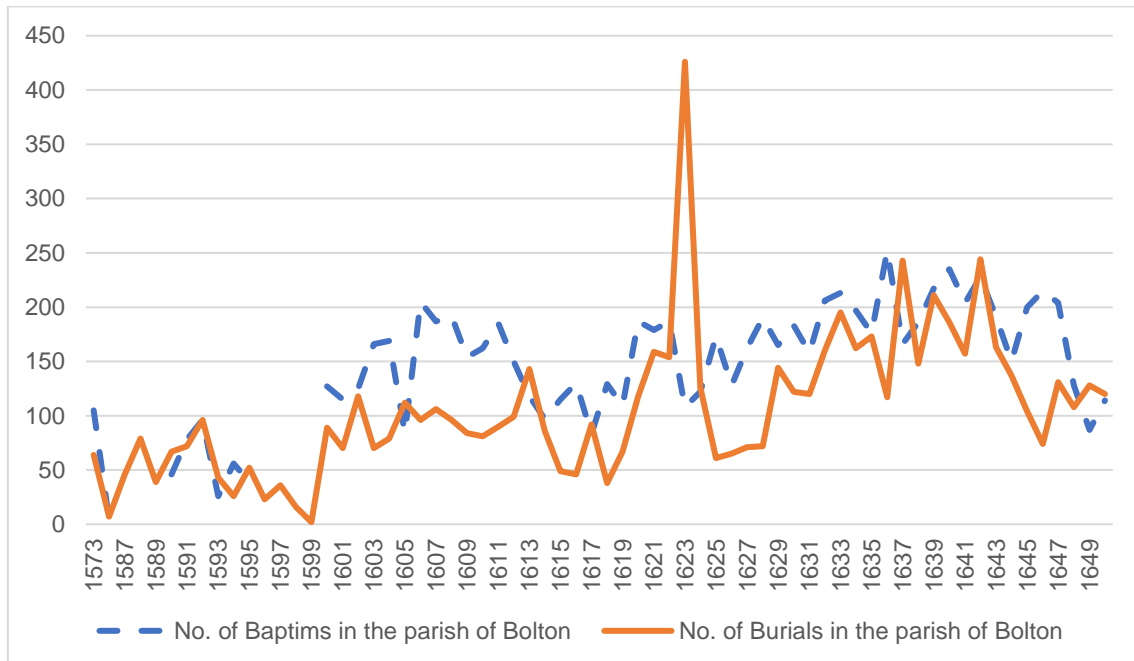
Sources: Archibald Sparke (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bolton, Baptisms, 1573-4, 1590-1660, Weddings, 1573, 1587-1660, Burials, 1573-4, 1587-1660* (Bolton, 1913); William Farrer (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Burnley in the County of Lancaster, Christenings, Weddings, and Burials 1562 to 1653* (Rochdale, 1899); Henry Fishwick (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Croston in the County of Lancaster, Christenings 1543-1727, Weddings 1538-1685, Burials 1538-1684* (Wigan, 1900); Josiah Arrowsmith (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Eccleston in the County of Lancaster, Christenings, Burials and Weddings 1603-1694* (Rochdale, 1903); John A. Laycock (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Padiham in the County of Lancaster, Christenings Burials and Weddings 1573 to 1653* (Wigan, 1903); the records about the parish of Deane see, <https://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Bolton-le-Moors/Deane/stmary/index.html>.

In contrast, parish registers of marriages, baptisms and burials provide more detailed information about population change. As shown in table 1.2, the data about six chapelries/parishes are collected and analysed here. Of these, the parishes of Bolton and Deane were located in Salford Hundred, the chapelries of Burnley and Padiham were located in Blackburn Hundred, and the parishes of Eccleston and Croston were located in Leyland Hundred. Although these records provide more detailed information about demographic changes over time, some issues related to these sources need to be noted here. Firstly, not every parish left full records between 1550 and 1650. For example, the parish registers of Eccleston and Deane started from 1603 and 1604 respectively. Secondly, missing parts made it impossible to track and compare the data during the whole

¹⁶ 1563 figures of Burnley and Padiham, see Alan Dyer and D. M. Palliser, (eds.), *The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603* (British Academy, 2005), pp. 86-7; 1650 figures of Burnley and Padiham see Fishwick (eds.), *Lancashire and Cheshire Church Survey*, pp. 164, 166; John Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution: North –East Lancashire, c. 1500-1640* (Manchester, 1986), p. 17.

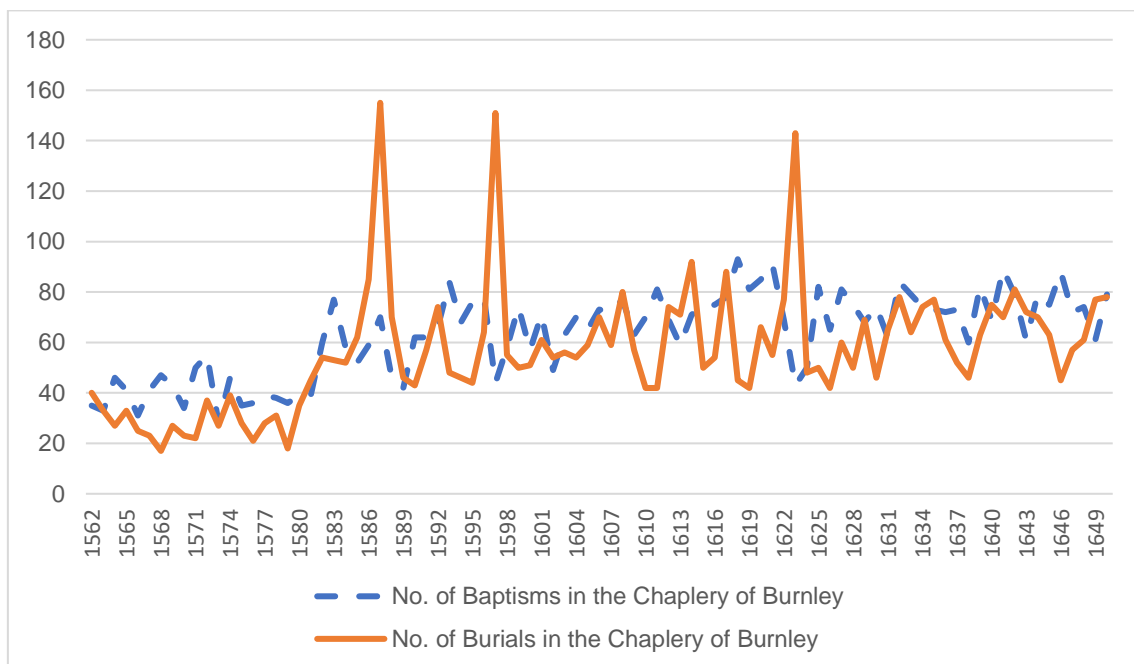
period. For example, the records of burials in the parish of Bolton were lost from 25 March to 12 June 1618. Finally, it is important to note that using parish registers to calculate population change does not take immigration into consideration. In all, six separate lists of graphs are made accordingly.

Figure 1.1 Baptisms and burials in the parish of Bolton, 1573-1650



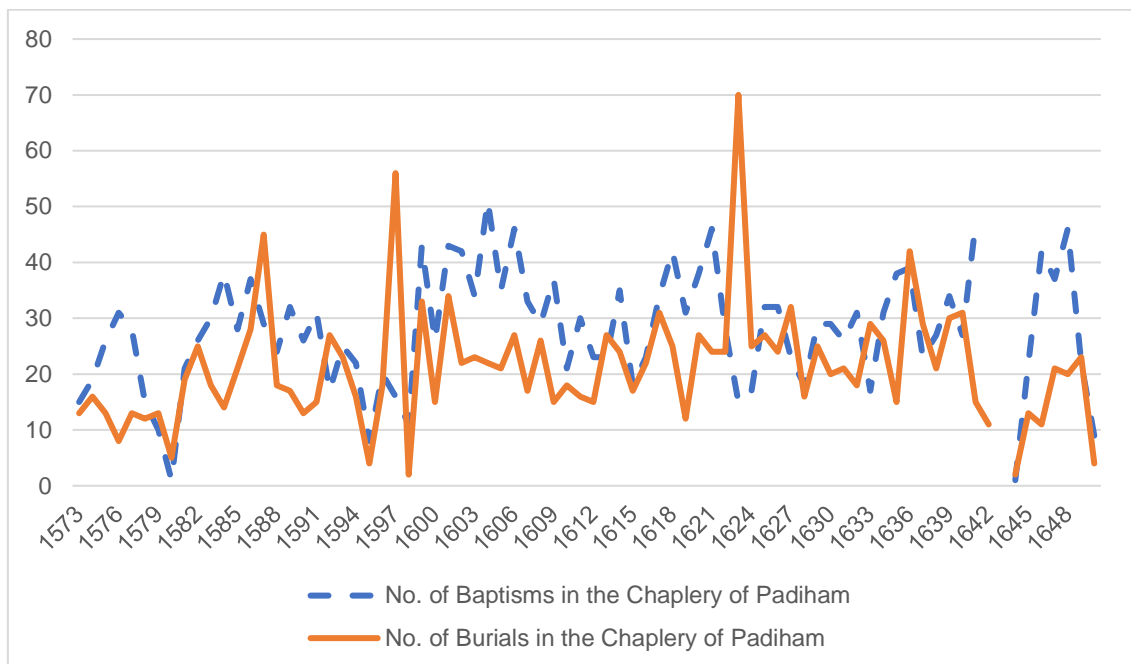
Source: Archibald Sparke (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bolton, Baptisms, 1573-4, 1590-1660, Weddings, 1573, 1587-1660, Burials, 1573-4, 1587-1660* (Bolton, 1913).

Figure 1.2 Baptisms and burials in the chapelry of Burnley, 1562-1650



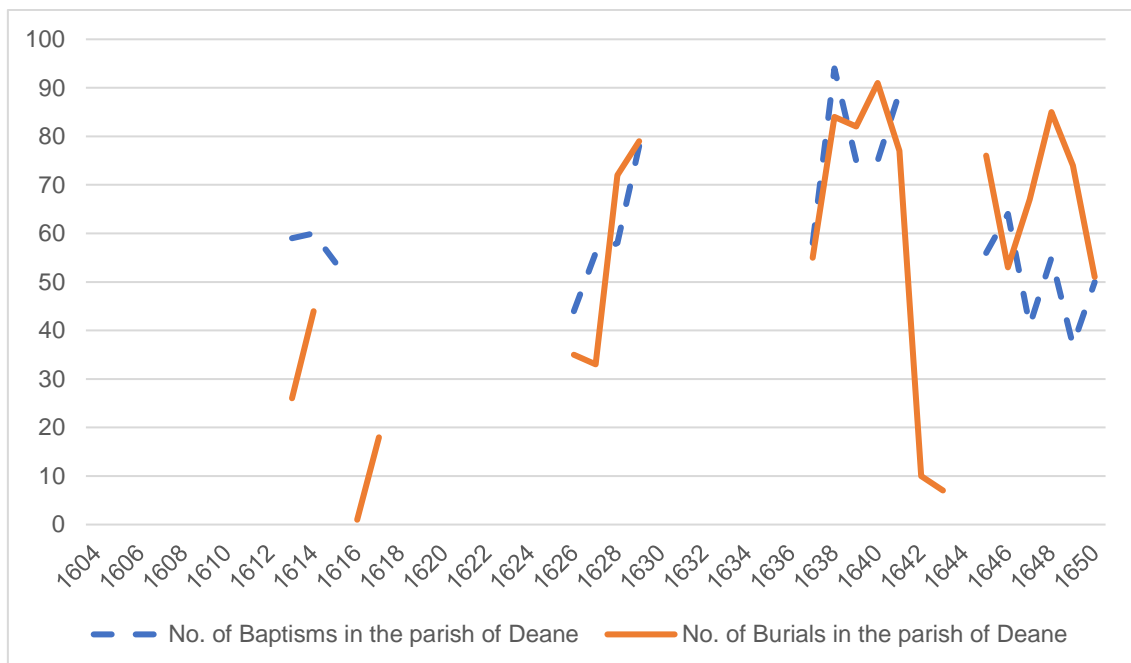
Source: William Farrer (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Burnley in the County of Lancaster, Christenings, Weddings, and Burials 1562 to 1653* (Rochdale, 1899).

Figure 1.3 Baptisms and burials in the chapelry of Padiham, 1573-1650



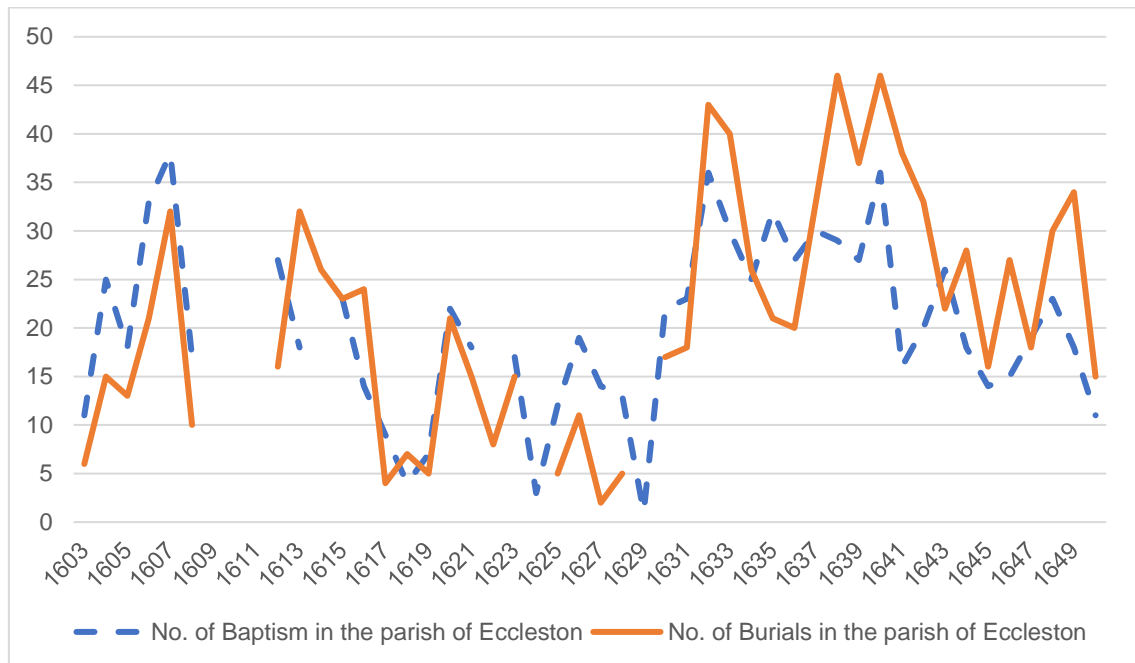
Source: John A. Laycock (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Padiham in the County of Lancaster, Christenings Burials and Weddings 1573 to 1653* (Wigan, 1903).

Figure 1.4 Baptisms and burials in the parish of Deane, 1604-1650



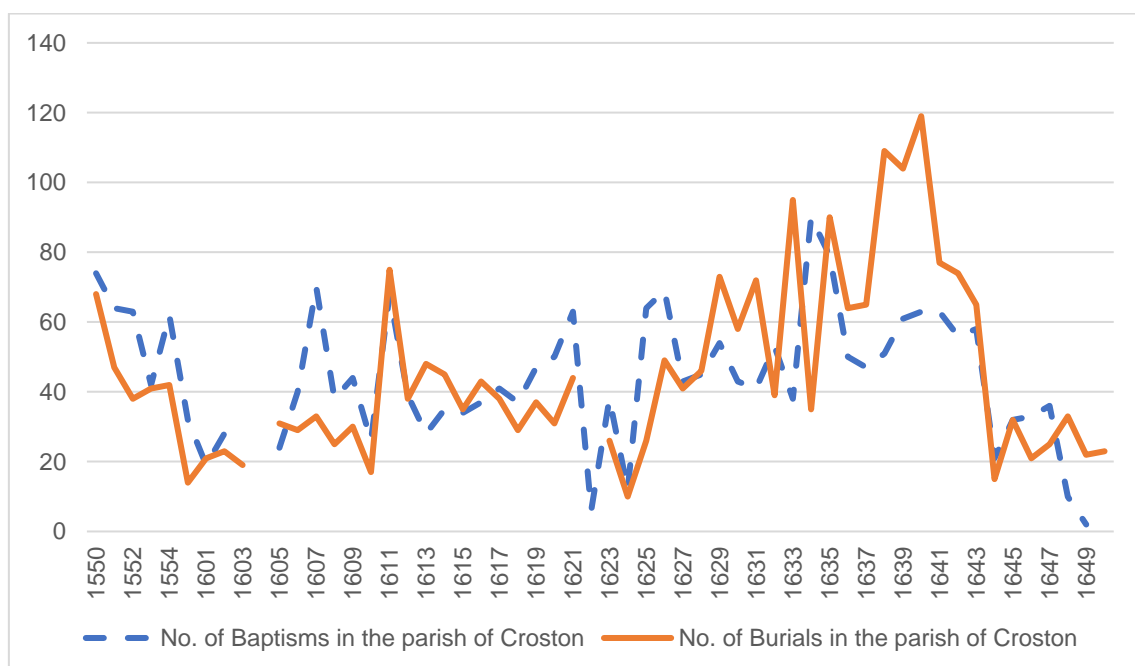
Source: <https://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Bolton-le-Moors/Deane/stmary/index.html>.

Figure 1.5 Baptisms and burials in the parish of Eccleston, 1603-1650



Source: Josiah Arrowsmith (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Eccleston in the County of Lancaster, Christenings, Burials and Weddings 1603-1694* (Rochdale, 1903).

Figure 1.6 Baptisms and burials in the parish of Croston, 1550-1650



Note: the data of 1555-1599 are omitted from this figure as they were either recorded with baptisms or burials.

Source: Henry Fishwick (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Croston in the County of Lancaster, Christenings 1543-1727, Weddings 1538-1685, Burials 1538-1684* (Wigan, 1900).

As shown above in six figures, some years witnessed high numbers of burials in these parishes. Burnley and Padiham (figures 1.2 and 1.3) saw an apparent

decline of population in 1587, 1597 and 1623, which were also the periods when northwest England experienced demographic crises.¹⁷ The available data about Bolton (figure 1.1) showed the same decrease of population in 1623. Although these years of crises were not found in the parishes of Deane, Ecclestone and Croston (figures 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6), these places witnessed some apparent population loss later in the 1630s and 1640s.

To enable a better understanding of demographic changes in these parishes, ten-year averages of baptisms and burials, and the sum of natural increase are presented in tables 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5. As the records of Deane are too fragmented to track long-term changes, this parish is excluded here. Among the other five parishes, demographic changes of the later sixteenth century can be tracked in Croston, Bolton, Burnley and Padiham; that of the first half of the seventeenth century can be found in all these five parishes, although the information from Ecclestone parish and Croston parish was partly missing.

The growth of population is indicated by an excess of baptisms over burials. In Salford Hundred, as shown in table 1.3, the population of Bolton showed a rising trend and baptisms exceeded burials by 2,009 from 1600 to 1650. The registers of Burnley and Padiham, in Blackburn Hundred, showed longer periods of change, as shown in table 1.4, although the natural increase in population were not as much as that in Bolton: baptisms exceeded burials by 824 in Burnley from 1570 to 1649, and by 399 in Padiham from 1580 to 1649. Contrary to these rising trends, Ecclestone and Croston (table 1.5) in Leyland Hundred witnessed more irregular demographic changes and both of these two parishes saw an apparent decline of population in the 1630s and 1640s.

¹⁷ Studies about these crises see for example, W. G. Howson, 'Plague, Poverty and Population in Parts of North-West England, 1580-1720', *Transactions of the historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 112 (1961), 29-55; Andrew Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (Liverpool University Press, 1978), chapters 7 and 8; Richard Hoyle, 'Famine as agricultural catastrophe: the crisis of 1622-4 in east Lancashire', *Economic History Review*, 63.4 (2010), 974-1002.

Table 1.3 Baptisms and burials of Bolton, Salford Hundred, ten-year averages

Period	Baptisms (Avg.)	Burials (Avg.)	Baptisms-Burials (sum)
1580-89	--	--	--
1590-99	--	43.3	--
1600-09	152.4	92	+604
1610-19	127.8	79.1	+487
1620-29	160.1	139.6	+205
1630-39	195.4	165.1	+303
1640-49	184.2	143.2	+410

Note: Those incomplete periods are marked as "--".

Source: Figure 1.1.

Table 1.4 Baptisms and burials of Burnley and Padiham, Blackburn Hundred, ten-year averages

Period	Burnley			Padiham		
	Baptisms (Avg.)	Burials (Avg.)	Baptisms -Burials (sum)	Baptisms (Avg.)	Burials (Avg.)	Baptisms -Burials (sum)
1570-79	39.7	27.4	+123	--	--	--
1580-89	54.2	65.7	-115	26.6	21	+56
1590-99	67.2	63.2	+40	21.9	20.7	+12
1600-09	66	60.1	+59	37.6	22.2	+154
1610-19	75.1	60	+151	28	20.7	+73
1620-29	70.9	66	+49	27.8	29.4	-16
1630-39	73.3	62.6	+107	29.5	25.1	+44
1640-49	184.2	143.2	+410	74.7	67.1	+76

Note: Those incomplete periods are marked as "--".

Sources: Figures 1.2 and 1.3.

Table 1.5 Baptisms and burials of Eccleston and Croston, Leyland Hundred, ten-year averages

Period	Eccleston			Croston		
	Baptisms (Avg.)	Burials (Avg.)	Baptisms -Burials (sum)	Baptisms (Avg.)	Burials (Avg.)	Baptisms -Burials (sum)
1580-89	--	--	--	57.9	--	--
1590-99	--	--	--	--	--	--
1600-09	--	--	--	--	--	--
1610-19	--	--	--	39.2	40.5	-13
1620-29	--	--	--	44.4	--	--
1630-39	28.1	30.1	-20	55.3	73.1	-178
1640-49	20.5	29.2	-87	37.4	48.3	-109

Note: Those incomplete periods are marked as "--".

Sources: Figures 1.4 and 1.5.

In all, the parish registers show some more localised features of demographic changes when compared with the data from Lancashire as well as England. Firstly, not all places witnessed population increase over time: the population in Eccleston and Croston of Leyland Hundred and Deane of Salford Hundred apparently declined in the 1630s and 1640s. Secondly, the population in Bolton increased the fastest during the first half of the seventeenth century, followed by the similar rising trend in Burnley and Padiham where the increase of population started earlier, in the late sixteenth century. This supports the findings of Walton, Phillips and Smith who argue that the population of Salford Hundred increased the fastest from 1563 to 1664.

Obviously, parish registers can only provide part of the picture of demographic changes; as E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield point out, the estimated rates of natural increase based on the birth/death ratios exclude migration, and can therefore only be used to indicate the actual rates of population growth when net

migration is zero.¹⁸ Although we do not have exact figures about migration in Lancashire between 1550 and 1650, some researchers provide information about this. According to G. H. Tupling, for example, the number of separate holdings in Rosssendale rose from 72 in 1507 to treble that figure by 1608, and to 315 by 1662, an increase that he explains as due to immigration.¹⁹ Thus, another possible explanation for the decrease of population in Eccleston, Croston and Deane would be the emigration of local inhabitants. Migration was related closely with economic development. The chapter now moves on to explore agriculture and industries in early modern Lancashire.

1.2 Agriculture

Geographical location had a direct impact on agricultural development. Although the north of England was categorised as 'highland zone', where the soil was poorer and the climate was colder, the types of farming varied in different parts of the region. To explore agriculture in Lancashire, this section is divided into three parts: types of agricultural land, crops and livestock, and landholdings.

1.2.1 Types of agricultural land

According to John Holt's survey in the eighteenth century, the land in northeast Lancashire is rugged, 'interspersed with many rivulets, with a thin stratum of upper soil', while that in the southern part is more softened and more fertile.²⁰ Although most parts of Lancashire were dominated by pastoral farming, there were some arable vales in central and northern Lancashire.²¹ Generally, farming regions in Lancashire can be divided into three areas: the first one is the western part of lowland plain of south Lancashire and Amounderness, including the whole of south-west Lancashire from Preston to Liverpool and two separate districts in the Fylde. This area was mainly composed of pasture and meadow in the Tudor period. The second region is in the central area of south Lancashire from Preston to Manchester, between the River Ribble and the River Mersey, and the central and eastern parts of the Fylde, where the farming was mixed and included different types of crops. The third region is east Lancashire, stretching from

¹⁸ E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Edward Arnold, 1981), p. 185.

¹⁹ George Henry Tupling, *The Economic History of Rosssendale* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1927), pp. 76, 163.

²⁰ John Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster: with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement* (David & Charles Reprints, 1795), p. 8.

²¹ Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, pp. 28-9.

Lonsdale in the north to the Manchester district in the south, and was also dominated by upland pastoral farming.²² Compared with the lowlands in the first region, the pastoral farming of the third region was different due to poorer land, lower temperatures and high rainfall.

Based on evidence from final concords, ‘a legal instrument by which land was conveyed or transferred, in the form of a compromise or agreement made between two parties who had been litigating in the King’s Court’, H. B. Rodgers calculated the proportion of arable lands, meadow and pasture in Tudor Lancashire.²³ Two points need to be addressed before the data is used here. Firstly, wasteland was excluded because it was regionally inconsistent and varied from one place to another. Secondly, it is the township-groups, rather than single townships, that were used to distinguish land use, because the recorded land lay in different townships. Nevertheless, the data analysed by Rodgers allows us to get a general view of land use in those places where the Shuttleworths owned land.

Table 1.6 Land recorded in the Final Concords for selected township-groups, 1450-1558

Township-group	Arable lands and % of the recorded productive area	Meadow and % of the recorded productive area	Pasture and % of the recorded productive area
Accrington	724(37%)	419(21%)	821(42%)
Bolton	900(42%)	562(26%)	680(32%)
Longton	700(48%)	196(14%)	552(38%)
Croston	464(42%)	275(25%)	360(33%)

Source: H. B. Rodgers, ‘Land Use in Tudor Lancashire: The Evidence of the Final Concords, 1450-1558’, *Transactions and papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, 21 (1955), 94-5.

²² H. B. Rodgers, ‘Land Use in Tudor Lancashire: The Evidence of the Final Concords, 1450-1558’, *Transactions and papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, 21 (1955), 79-97; Joan Thirsk, ‘The Farming Regions of England’, in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 81, 84-9.

²³ Rodgers, ‘Land Use in Tudor Lancashire’, 79-97.

As shown in table 1.6, four township-groups are selected, including Gawthorpe located in Accrington, Blackburn Hundred; Smithills and Lostock located in or near Bolton, Salford Hundred; Much Hoole located in Longton and Tingreave located in Croston, Leyland Hundred. Of these, Longton had the highest proportion of arable lands, 48 per cent, followed by Bolton and Croston, 42 per cent; Accrington had the lowest proportion of arable lands, 37 per cent. And thus, it is fair to say that agriculture in these places was dominated by pastoral farming, although arable cultivation remained important. This is further supported by records in the Shuttleworth accounts, as both arable and pastoral farming activities were taking place in these places.

Contemporary surveys are also a valuable type of source, which, although rare, provide some information about land use. The 1617 survey of lands in the manor of Ightenhill left some useful data. Among the land for which rent was paid, arable land accounted for 42 per cent, meadow accounted for 12 per cent and pasture accounted for 46 per cent.²⁴

In all, although Lancashire's agriculture was distinguished by a high proportion of pasture land, there was a significant proportion of arable land. This is important when we turn to analyse the types of wage workers employed by the Shuttleworths in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the diverse tasks undertaken by these wage workers in the following chapters.

1.2.2 Crops and livestock

The diversity of agricultural crops was influenced by the land as well. According to Holt's survey in the late eighteenth century, the principal grain cultivated in Lancashire was oats, which were particularly cultivated around the northern and eastern borders of Lancashire. Some areas such as Low Furness, the Fylde and southwest Lancashire had excellent land for wheat, although wheat did not grow well in upland areas. The area between the River Ribble and Mersey in southern Lancashire had rich sandy loam and fertile plains where a wide variety of vegetables were grown.²⁵ The *Victoria History of Lancaster* showed that the crops at Eccleston were wheat and oats, and the main crops at Much Hoole were wheat, oats and potatoes.²⁶

²⁴ *The Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe in the County of Lancaster*, Vol. II, trans. by William Farrer (Edinburgh, 1912), pp. 404-8; Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution* p. 35.

²⁵ Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster*, pp. 8, 56-7.

²⁶ Farrer and Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 6, pp. 149, 162.

Probate inventories provide evidence of different types of crops and livestock raised in early modern Lancashire. A sample of 380 Lancashire inventories dating from 1580 to 1620 was analysed, as discussed in Chapter 5.²⁷ These show that barley and oats were the two main types of crops grown in Blackburn, Leyland and Salford during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.²⁸

Regarding livestock, the best-known agricultural product in Lancashire was cattle. As shown in table 5.15, the percentage of 341 inventories that recorded cattle was 83.9 per cent between 1580 and 1620. However, the distribution of livestock was influenced by the types of land. Sheep rearing was becoming gradually more important in Pendle and Rossendale during the first half of the sixteenth century.²⁹ Thirsk suggests that except for the mixed farming areas in parts of southern Lancashire and central Fylde, the principal form of agriculture of southwest Lancashire was cattle-rearing and fattening. Although cows and young cattle were fed by grass and hay as well in east Lancashire, dairying became the specialism of this area from the beginning of the seventeenth century.³⁰

1.2.3 Landholdings

Access to land via tenancies and common rights was an important element of standards of living in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Chapter 5 demonstrates that many wage earners were tenants, and others went on to become tenants after working as wage earners. This section briefly surveys the main characteristics of landholding before turning to landholdings in Lancashire.

As the basic unit of lordship, the manor was normally comprised of demesne lands, freehold tenancies, customary tenancies and common land shared by lords and tenants in the sixteenth century. The demesne lands owned by lords were either leased out or used as a home farm. Freehold tenancies were held by freeholders who paid a small rent to the lord of the manor and enjoyed the rights of selling, leasing and bequeathing the land. Customary lands were mostly held by copyholders according to the customs of the manors, although some tenants held land at the will of the lord without a specified tenancy. Copyholders were generally divided into two types: copyhold of inheritance and copyhold for lives. Copyhold of inheritance could be sold or bequeathed to the next generation as

²⁷ John Longworth was the only one whose inventory was recorded in 1623/4.

²⁸ See table 5.17.

²⁹ Walton, *Lancashire*, p.9.

³⁰ Thirsk, 'The Farming Regions of England', pp. 84-6.

long as transfers were reported to the lord and rents and entry fines were paid, while copyhold for lives could not be sold and only held by tenants for years or lives. A third type of customary tenure, tenant right tenure, existed in northern England.³¹ Tenant right tenants undertook border service against Scotland, had the right to inherit tenement between generations and needed to pay the fines on the change of both tenant and lord.³² This tenure developed from leasehold custom rather than manorial custom, and was a flexible tenancy that satisfied the demands of manorial lords in the sixteenth century, although there were conflicts between lords and tenants.³³ James I issued a proclamation against tenant right in 1620 and some customary tenants of tenant right became tenants-at-will or leaseholders in the early seventeenth century.³⁴

Another form of tenure, leasehold, was normally granted for a term of years, or for a life or lives. Leaseholders paid money rents based on the value of the land and enjoyed long leases in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³⁵ The transformation of land from copyhold to leasehold was discussed by Tawney as a cause of the eviction of customary tenants in the sixteenth century, although other historians have noted that traditional 'beneficial leases' differed little from customary tenures.³⁶ The conversion of land from one tenure to another took diverse forms and some tenants maintained their rights by resisting their lords.³⁷ Leases were also created when customary tenants sublet their tenures, charging

³¹ See for example, M. Campbell, *The English Yeoman in the Tudor and Early Stuart Age* (Yale, 1942), pp. 148-9; Eric Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* (London, 1968), pp. 43-56, 58-9; S. J. Watts, 'Tenant-right in Early Seventeenth-Century Northumberland', *Northern History*, 6.1 (1971), 64-87; Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 70

³² Eric Kerridge argues that the main feature of tenant right tenure was border service, while Richard Hoyle has different opinion and thinks it was not sufficient. See, Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After*, pp. 43-56, 58-9; Richard Hoyle, 'An Ancient and Laudable Custom: The Definition and Development of Tenant Right in North-Western England in the Sixteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 116 (1987), 24-55.

³³ Hoyle, 'An Ancient and Laudable Custom', 24-55.

³⁴ Watts, 'Tenant-right', 64-87.

³⁵ Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2000), p. 73.

³⁶ Jane Whittle (ed.), *Landlords and Tenants in Britain, 1440-1660: Tawney's Agrarian Problem Revisited* (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), pp. 14-5; Christopher G. A. Clay, 'Lifeleasehold in the Western Counties of England 1650-1750', *Agricultural History Review*, 29 (1981), 83-96; Mark Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 32-3; Jane Whittle, 'Leasehold Tenure in England c.1300-c.1600: Its Form and Incidence', in *The Development of Leasehold in North-Western Europe, c.1200-1600*, ed. by B. J. P. van Bavel and P. R. Schofield (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 147-50.

³⁷ See for example, Jean Morrin, 'The Transfer to Leasehold on Durham Cathedral Estate, 1541-1626', and Jennifer S. Holt, 'The Financial Rewards of Winning the Battle for Secure Customary Tenure', in *Landlords and Tenants in Britain, 1440-1660: Tawney's Agrarian Problem Revisited*, ed. by Jane Whittle (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), pp. 117-32, 133-49. Henry French and Richard Hoyle, *The Character of English Rural Society: Earls Colne, 1550-1750* (Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 10-11

market rates. This offered an alternative to farming as a way of generating income from customary land.³⁸

In addition to the spread of leasehold, engrossing and enclosure were two significant changes in the structure of landholdings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Engrossing was the enlargement of farms; enclosure meant the physical enclosure of land with a fence or barrier, but also the removal of common rights of grazing from that land, and dated back to the Middle Ages.

The manorial system was weak in Lancashire as tenants could freely sublet and subdivide their freeholds and customary holdings. The size of landholdings held by tenants ranged widely. A market in manorial land had existed from at least the fourteenth century, and the subletting of tenures was widespread from at least the late sixteenth century.³⁹ In terms of landholdings, previous studies show that at least three types of tenures existed in Lancashire: tenant-right in north Lancashire, customary leases in south and west Lancashire, and copyhold in east Lancashire.⁴⁰ The will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth mentioned these tenures and their distribution, including his tenant right land located in Yorkshire, copyhold lands purchased at manor of Ightenhill, northeast Lancashire and other lands purchased at different places such as Inskip at Fylde, northwest Lancashire. The land at Inskip was conveyed by Sir Richard Shuttleworth to Nicholas Shuttleworth and Ughtred Shuttleworth, younger sons of Thomas Shuttleworth, and their heirs. The yearly value of the family property at Inskip was £60 or more.⁴¹

In contrast to the arable-to-pasture enclosure of the Midlands, Tudor and Stuart Lancashire witnessed the conversion of common fields and wastes into enclosed fields.⁴² In the northern and eastern Lancashire uplands, the encroachment on common lands and wastes in the forests from Bowland to Rossendale was

³⁸ Jane Whittle, 'Land and People', in *A Social History of England, 1500-1750*, ed. by Keith Wrightson (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 152-71. Henry French and Richard Hoyle explore in detail the subtenancy of Earls Colne in the eighteenth century sees, French and Hoyle, *The Character of English Rural Society*, pp. 251-92.

³⁹ Whittle, 'Land and People', pp. 155, 158; C. J. Harrison, 'Elizabethan Village Surveys: A Comment', *Agricultural History Review*, 27.2 (1979), 82-9; Whittle, 'Leasehold Tenure', pp. 144-7; Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, pp. 86-9.

⁴⁰ Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 26; Jonathan Healey, *The First Century of Welfare: Poverty and Poor Relief in Lancashire, 1620-1730* (Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 43-4; A. J. Gritt, 'The Operation of Lifeleasehold in South-West Lancashire, 1649-97', *Agricultural History Review*, 53.1 (2005), 1-23.

⁴¹ PROB 11/112/11, will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth (1599), pp. 425-9.

⁴² G. Youd, 'The Common Fields of Lancashire', *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 113 (1962), 1-42.

already apparent during the first half of the sixteenth century.⁴³ According to Porter's calculation, a third of moorland and woodland waste was converted to meadow and permanent pasture in south-eastern Bowland from 1550 to 1630.⁴⁴ A similar trend occurred in Pendle and Rossendale as the result of the encroachment on the waste and subdivision of landholdings continued after the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ Rather than creating large farms, these trends offered a multitude of smallholdings for textile workers and wage earners. John Swain's research on the subdivision of holdings in Colne manor shows the increase of small copyholders: the proportion of holdings which were less than 5 Lancashire acres increased from 16 per cent in 1527 to 45 per cent in 1617.⁴⁶

In all, the rising population, the mixed farming lands and the subdivision of landholdings led to a proliferation of smallholdings which provided a contribution to subsistence but also encouraged people to seek other sources of income. As industrial production could provide some extra employment opportunities, we now turn to the development of industries in Lancashire.

1.3 Industry

Joan Thirsk argued that populous communities of small farmers in pastoral regions were beneficial to the development of rural industries, and this was what happened in parts of early modern Lancashire.⁴⁷ Although Tudor governments aimed to develop industries in towns and agriculture in the countryside, rural areas witnessed the development of both agriculture and industry.⁴⁸ In Lancashire, in addition to the long established woollen manufacture in Blackburn Hundred, there were a range of other rural industries.⁴⁹ Thus, this section concentrates on three types of rural industries: textiles, coalmining and metalworking.

⁴³ Walton, *Lancashire*, pp. 9-10, 23-4.

⁴⁴ J. Porter, 'Waste Land Reclamation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Case of South-East Bowland, 1550-1630', *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 127 (1978), 1-24.

⁴⁵ Mary Brigg, 'The Forest of Pendle in the Seventeenth Century', *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 113 (1961), 71-2; Tupling, *The Economic History of Rossendale*, p. 162.

⁴⁶ John Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution: North-East Lancashire, c. 1500-1640* (Manchester, 1986), p. 72.

⁴⁷ Joan Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays* (Hambleton Press, 1984), pp. 217-33.

⁴⁸ Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 108-9.

⁴⁹ Edward Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, III, 1348-1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 599.

1.3.1 Textiles

Textile production was long established in northwest England by the mid-sixteenth century and continued to expand in the following century, although there were no great technological changes during this period.⁵⁰ The textile industry in Lancashire was mainly composed of woollens and linens, which were both coarse and cheap in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. During the Tudor period, efforts were made to prevent such low-quality production, but this did not change the cheap Lancashire trade a great deal.⁵¹ According to Norman Lowe, there were four main types of woollen cloth manufactured in Lancashire: rugs, friezes, kerseys and cottons, all of which were narrow cloths produced on a narrow loom and woven by one weaver. Both rugs and friezes were coarse cloths, which were normally white, grey or black. Kerseys were not only shorter but also lighter in weight than rugs and friezes. Cottons consisted solely of wool and were lighter than rugs and friezes, but they were slightly heavier than kerseys.⁵²

There were a number of important manufacturing centres in Lancashire during the 1530s and 1540s: Manchester became a centre of coarse woollen and linen; Bolton, Bury, Burnley, Rochdale and Colne were important centres for the woollen manufacture; Eccles, Wigan and Ormskirk were centres for the linen industry.⁵³ By the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the woollen industry gradually became more localised in eastern Lancashire, some places such as Rochdale and Colne continued to produce woollens, and the manufacture of woollens in Manchester was gradually replaced by the production of linen, although Willan argues that both woollen and linen cloth industries existed in Manchester during the Elizabethan period.⁵⁴ In addition, smallware manufacture, such as the production of tapes and garters, developed rapidly in Manchester by the end of the sixteenth century and became one of the principle branches of the Manchester trade by 1650.⁵⁵ Compared with the manufacture of woollens, that of linen in western Lancashire changed relatively little.

⁵⁰ Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 42; Walton, *Lancashire*, pp. 11, 20.

⁵¹ Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 43.

⁵² Norman Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry in the Sixteenth Century* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 3-5.

⁵³ Walton, *Lancashire*, p. 11.

⁵⁴ Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry*, p. 98; Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780* (Manchester University Press, 1931), pp. 24-5; Thomas Stuart Willan, *Elizabethan Manchester* (Manchester, 1980), pp. 48-63.

⁵⁵ Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire*, p. 14.

The most important development in the textile industry in Lancashire during the late Tudor and early Stuart period was the introduction of cotton fibre, which first appeared in the form of fustians, a cotton-linen mixture.⁵⁶ Small-scale production of fustians in Lancashire developed between the 1560s and 1580s when there were exports of fustians from Lancashire to Ireland.⁵⁷ The manufacture of fustians gradually expanded in southeast Lancashire from the 1590s and the first local fustian weaver, George Arnold of Bolton, was recorded in 1601.⁵⁸ This industry was well established in the Blackburn and Bolton areas by 1620 and later in the Middleton, Chadderton and Oldham area by 1630.⁵⁹ In addition, cotton was also used in linen manufactures, and the manufacture of cotton-linen mixes was localised in south and west Lancashire in later seventeenth century.⁶⁰

In terms of trade, although there were some raw materials provided by local areas, such as flax and hemp grown in west Lancashire and the plentiful supply of wool in northeast Lancashire, a large part of raw materials were bought or imported from other places: Lancashire bought more coarse wools from the West Riding of Yorkshire, the Midlands and Ireland; linen yarn was mainly imported from Ireland; raw cotton was imported from Smyrna and Cyprus.⁶¹ In addition to local use, large quantities of Lancashire cloth were sold to other parts of England: linens were mainly produced for the home market, while woollens were produced for wider markets. A large proportion of Manchester's woollen cottons was handled in London for export to countries such as France, Italy and Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶² Although the wars of the late sixteenth century disrupted these overseas markets for the woollen industry and led to a concentration on home demand, this did not last long. As part of the 'northern cottons' (woollen cottons), Lancashire cottons continued to be exported to Europe in the early seventeenth century.⁶³ In addition, the introduction of 'New Draperies' by Flemish refugees from the late sixteenth century led to changes in

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-5; Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry*, p. 99; Walton, *Lancashire*, p. 21.

⁵⁷ Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 44.

⁵⁸ Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 167; James Tait (ed.), *Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records, Vol. I, Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1590-1606* (Manchester, 1917), pp. 121, 249.

⁵⁹ Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire*, p. 25; Walton, *Lancashire*, p. 21.

⁶⁰ Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire*, pp. 111-16.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6; Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry*, pp. 6-19; Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 43.

⁶² Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry*, pp. 64-6. Other ports which handled the export of Lancashire cottons were Chester, Liverpool and Bristol in the late sixteenth century. See, Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry*, p. 73.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-71.

the English textile industry; these 'New Draperies' gradually made up an important proportion of the export of English woollen products in the early seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Although the north's acceptance of new draperies lagged behind by the south, in Lancashire the districts of Rochdale, Bury and Rossendale districts were producing these new types of woollen such as bays by the early seventeenth century.⁶⁵

The Shuttleworths paid some day labourers for doing textile-related tasks from 1582 to 1621, as discussed in Chapter 3. However, these textile products were mainly produced for self-consumption, rather than for selling on the market. In addition, the well-developed textile industry in northeast Lancashire made it possible for this household to buy some finished textile products such as shirts, napkins and doublets, which were recorded in the accounts.

1.3.2 Coalmining

In addition to the textile industry, there were other industries that developed in Lancashire during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, among which coal mining was particularly important. The coalfields within Lancashire were widely scattered, including the cotton area of east Lancashire, the manufacturing areas around Wigan and the south-western industrial area around St Helens and Prescott.⁶⁶

The coalmining in Lancashire dated back to the thirteenth century. Although Nef argues for a more dramatic growth of the coal industry in Lancashire from the 1550s, other historians show that Nef overestimates that development.⁶⁷ According to Langton, the output of coalfields in the south-western area, including Prescott, St Helens, Wigan and Chorley areas, increased by 60 per cent between the 1590s and the 1690s.⁶⁸ This was lower than Nef's estimation that the output of coalmining increased fifteenfold between the 1550s and 1700.⁶⁹ Swain's research provides no support to the opinion that the coal mining industry in the

⁶⁴ D. C. Coleman, 'An Innovation and Its Diffusion: The "New Draperies"', *Economic History Review*, 22 (1969), 417-29; David Jenkins (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 452-61.

⁶⁵ Geoffrey Timmins, *Made in Lancashire: A History of Regional Industrialisation* (Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 13.

⁶⁶ Owen Ashmore, *The Industrial Archaeology of North-West England* (Manchester University Press, 1982), p. 8; Timmins, *Made in Lancashire*, pp. 20-1.

⁶⁷ Timmins, *Made in Lancashire*, p. 21; Walton, *Lancashire*, p. 23.

⁶⁸ John Langton, *Geographical Change and the Industrial Revolution: Coalmining in South West Lancashire, 1590-1799* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 43.

⁶⁹ John Ulric Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* (Routledge, 1932), p. 64.

Colne area experienced a 'revolution' between 1500 and 1650.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the early expansion of coal mining was more evident in other parts of Lancashire, such as Prescot, Wigan and Bolton areas, from the late Tudor period.⁷¹ Some areas, such as Wigan, and new production areas also emerged, such as at Bradford township, Manchester, which was being dug in 1610.⁷²

However, the scale of this early expansion should not be exaggerated. Langton argues that much of the coalfields in south-west Lancashire were unexploited during the seventeenth century. There were no more than sixteen working collieries in this area from 1590 to 1690.⁷³ Coalmining in south-west Lancashire remained low in output and slow in development before 1690. Combined with the similar predominance of small collieries with short or discontinuous working lives in north-east Lancashire, this makes it reasonable to accept the impression that the Lancashire coalfield was among the least productive and least dynamic British coalfields during the seventeenth century.⁷⁴

1.3.3 Metalworking

Another important industrial activity was metalworking in Lancashire. Although it developed more rapidly in the late seventeenth century and eighteenth centuries, the level of activity between 1550 and 1650 is summarised here. The metalworking included the smelting of iron, lead and copper ores at the first stage.⁷⁵ The iron industry was long established in Furness and Rosendale by around the mid-sixteenth century.⁷⁶ Lead smelting emerged later at Cliviger, Burnley, from 1629 to 1635, while the earliest centre of copper smelting emerged at Warrington in 1719.⁷⁷ In addition, some places such as Haslingden, Accrington and Clitheroe in northeast Lancashire had a long history of iron forging, but the production of iron in this area did not develop in any sustained way and was small-scale and sporadic.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 163-78.

⁷¹ Timmins, *Made in Lancashire*, p. 21; P. R. Long, *The Wealth of the Magisterial Class in Lancashire, c. 1590-1640* (MA thesis, Univ. of Manchester, 1968), pp. 97-103, quoted from Walton, *Lancashire*, p. 23.

⁷² Timmins, *Made in Lancashire*, p. 21.

⁷³ Langton, *Geographical Change and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 35-44.

⁷⁴ John Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal Industry: Volume 1: Before 1700: Towards the Age of Coal* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 117-22.

⁷⁵ Timmins, *Made in Lancashire*, p. 23.

⁷⁶ G. H. Tupling, 'The early metal trades and the beginning of engineering in Lancashire', *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 61 (1949), 1-5, quoted from Walton, *Lancashire*, p. 12.

⁷⁷ Timmins, *Made in Lancashire*, p. 23.

⁷⁸ G. H. Tupling, 'The early metal trades and the beginning of engineering in Lancashire', *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 61 (1949), p. 4, quoted from Timmins, *Made in Lancashire*, pp. 23-4.

A characteristic of metalworking in Lancashire were trades such as nail making, brass and pewter, which benefited from the availability of local coal and developed fast. For example, Wigan became a specialist pewter town in the seventeenth century, and the manufacture of brass and pewter at Wigan benefited from the local cannel and smith's seams.⁷⁹ The coalfield further south of Wigan contributed to the emergence of wire, glass and pottery manufacture during the seventeenth century.⁸⁰

The Shuttleworth accounts provide limited evidence of the links between the family's economy and the development of the coalmining and metalworking industries in local area: there were records showing that the family purchased coal. Col. Richard Shuttleworth, the eldest son of Thomas Shuttleworth, was mining coal in the Gawthorpe area in 1660.⁸¹

The places where the Shuttleworths owned farmland were not actively involved in the coal or metalworking industries. Nonetheless, it is possible that the plentiful industrial employment opportunities effected the supply of labour for agriculture in Lancashire by encouraging internal migration within the county. However, for those who were residents near the Shuttleworth's households at Smithills and Gawthorpe, the local economy consisted mainly of small upland farms and some textile production, with limited opportunities for wage workers during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

1.4 The Shuttleworths and their landholdings

The Shuttleworth family has a long history which dates back to the thirteenth century. Both Conroy and Whitaker have provided detailed pedigrees of the Shuttleworths.⁸² As it is not the aim of thesis to explore the history of the family, this part concentrates on the generations of the Shuttleworths who lived during the late Tudor and early Stuart periods, providing a brief introduction to the family and their landholdings.⁸³

⁷⁹ Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 37; Timmins, *Made in Lancashire*, p. 24; Langton, *Geographical Change and the Industrial Revolution*, p. 54.

⁸⁰ Walton, *Lancashire*, p. 23.

⁸¹ Michael P. Conroy, *The Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe* (The Lancashire Family History and Heraldry Society, 1999), p. 16.

⁸² *Ibid.*; Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and honor of Clitheroe, to which is subjoined an account of the Parish of Cartmell*, Vol. II (London Routledge, 1876), p. 185.

⁸³ After transcribing parts of the Shuttleworth accounts, John Harland introduces the Shuttleworth family in the Appendix I, see John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithills and Gawthorpe, from September 1582 to October 1621*, Part II (Chetham Society, 1856-57), pp. 259-333.

1.4.1 The Shuttleworth family, 1550-1650

The earliest known Shuttleworth was “Henry de Shotilworth”, who was living at Hapton in 1218. Ughtred Shuttleworth was regarded as the first Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe, and rented 25.5 acres at Gawthorpe in 1389, although the proof of this has unfortunately been lost.⁸⁴ Whether Ughtred was the first Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe or not, it is clear that the Shuttleworth family lived there from at least 1443, as Lawrence, the son of Ughtred’s descendant Hugh, had his name recorded on the wooden plaque at Gawthorpe that year, which may be his birth date.⁸⁵

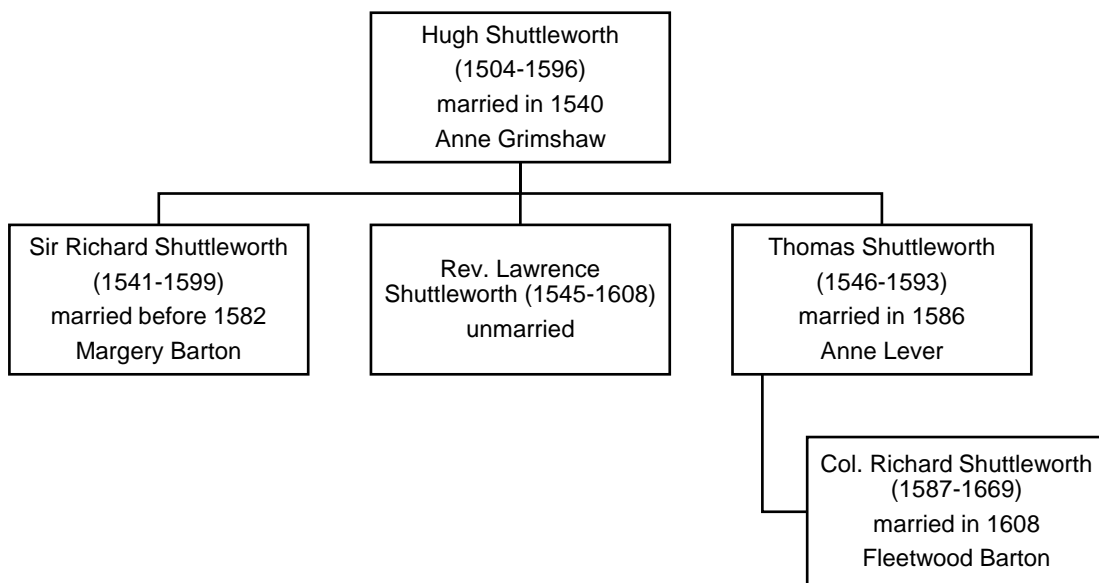
Figure 1.7 presents three generations of the Shuttleworths who owned the family property between 1550 and 1650. Hugh Shuttleworth was the eldest son of Nicholas Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe and was born in 1504. Hugh married Anne Grimshaw of Clayton Hall at Whalley in 1540, and they lived at Gawthorpe their whole lives. Hugh was buried on 26 December 1596 when he was 92, while Anne died in 1597. They had three sons and a daughter: Richard, Lawrence, Thomas and Ellen/Ellinor. It was these three sons of Hugh Shuttleworth and the eldest son of Thomas Shuttleworth, Col. Richard Shuttleworth, who inherited and operated the family’s estate between 1582 and 1621 when the Shuttleworth household accounts were written.

Sir Richard Shuttleworth, the eldest son of Hugh Shuttleworth, was born in 1541 and educated in law. He became Sergeant-at-law in 1584 and received the honour of knighthood by 1589 at the latest. Sir Richard Shuttleworth married Margery Barton before 1582. Margery was the youngest daughter of Sir Peter Legh of Lyme and Haydock, and was the widow of Robert Barton, esquire of Smithills Hall. Her marriage with Richard brought Smithills estate to the Shuttleworth family. Sir Richard also inherited the family estates at Gawthorpe when his father died in 1596. But he did not live at Gawthorpe after he received the legacy. Although he made the decision to build Gawthorpe Hall, this building was finished during the inheritance of his younger brother Lawrence Shuttleworth.

⁸⁴ Christopher Townley extracted the information from the old court rolls at Clitheroe, which said “Halmot apud Brunlay, 12 Ric. II. [1388-9] Joh’es de Eves sursum red. 25 1/2 acras de Rodlaund in villa Ightenhull ad usum Ughtredi de Shuttllworth.” See, Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley*, Vol. II, p. 184.

⁸⁵ Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part II, p. 313.

Figure 1.7 Owners of the Shuttleworth property, 1550 - 1650



Lawrence Shuttleworth was born in 1545 and was educated for the church. He became the rector of Whichford, Warwickshire, from 1582, which may have been the result of his elder brother Sir Richard Shuttleworth's influence.⁸⁶ As Sir Richard Shuttleworth died in 1599 without children, Lawrence Shuttleworth inherited the estate. After returning the Smithills estate to the Barton family in 1599, Lawrence lived alternately at Whichford and Gawthorpe. From 1600, Lawrence focused on the building of Gawthorpe Hall and finished the construction in around 1606.⁸⁷ When Lawrence died and was buried at Whichford in 1608, the Shuttleworths' property was inherited by his nephew, Colonel Richard Shuttleworth, the eldest son of Thomas Shuttleworth.

Thomas Shuttleworth was born in 1546 and married Anne Lever, a daughter of Richard Lever of Little Lever, in 1586. Thomas died early in 1593, while his wife Anne survived longer. She married another man whose surname was Underwill and was buried at Forcett, Yorkshire.⁸⁸ They had three sons and three daughters: Richard, Nicholas, Ughtred, Anne, Ellinor and Elizabeth.

Colonel Richard Shuttleworth, the eldest son of Thomas Shuttleworth, was born in 1587. He inherited the estate from his uncle Lawrence Shuttleworth in 1608

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 292.

⁸⁷ It seems that the building of new Gawthorpe Hall did not finish until 1607 when there was a payment for 956 panel boards from Ireland, which might be used in the dining chamber in 1607 or 1608. See John Champness, 'The building of Gawthorpe Hall', *Lancaster Archaeological & Historical Society*, 31 (2008), 39.

⁸⁸ Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part II, p. 297.

and married Fleetwood Barton, the daughter and heiress of Richard Barton of Barton, in Amounderness in 1611. Richard was Sheriff of Lancashire in 1618 and 1638, and became MP for Preston in 1641. He was active during the Civil War on the Parliamentary side and died in 1669 aged 82.

Sir Richard Shuttleworth was a successful lawyer and did not live permanently at Smithills as he had to travel due to his professional duties in parliament. After he became Sergeant-at-law in 1584, he held some appointments in connection with the House of Lords, helping to prepare and revise bills. Later he became a knight and was elevated as the Chief Justice of Chester.⁸⁹ And thus, as well as the time spent in the London courts, he also needed to attend the sessions on circuit in Cheshire. Whether he was a Sergeant or Judge, these duties required long absences from home, which might be an important reason that Sir Richard employed his two brothers, Lawrence Shuttleworth and Thomas Shuttleworth, to help keep accounts: Thomas kept the accounts from 1582 to 1593; Lawrence from 1593 to August 1594. After keeping the accounts himself for around one year (1594-5), Sir Richard then hired Nicholas Grimshawe, a cousin, to work as a steward from September 1595 to August 1599.

His family background was another reason why Sir Richard Shuttleworth hired his brothers to work as stewards at Smithills Hall. As their father Hugh Shuttleworth lived until the age of 92, Sir Richard Shuttleworth had to earn his own income until he inherited the family property. He inherited Gawthorpe estate when he was fifty-five in 1596, only three years before his death. Employing his brothers to help run the estate was a reasonable way to save money.

Another factor was that Sir Richard Shuttleworth had no children to inherit his property. It seems that his youngest brother Thomas Shuttleworth was chosen to inherit the property and was encouraged to marry soon, as Lawrence was never married and became the rector of Whichford in 1582 with the help of Sir Richard Shuttleworth. Although Thomas died after only seven years of marriage, his marriage left an heir for the family.

Compared with the eleven-year service provided by Thomas, Lawrence's appearance in the accounts (1593-4) was more likely a short-term assistance before Nicholas Grimshawe was hired by Sir Richard Shuttleworth to work as a

⁸⁹ More detailed discussion about Sir Richard's duties sees, Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part II, pp. 282-287.

steward from September 1595 to August 1599. Grimshawe was Sir Richard Shuttleworth's cousin and later became an esquire as well.⁹⁰ When Sir Richard Shuttleworth died in the autumn of 1599, Lawrence Shuttleworth inherited the estate and started keeping the accounts, at least from 21 November 1599 when his signature appeared again.

In contrast to Sir Richard Shuttleworth's preference of hiring kin to help manage the accounts, Lawrence Shuttleworth and his nephew Colonel Richard Shuttleworth hired skilled servants to do the same work. From 1599 to 1608, Abraham Coulthurst and Edward Sherburn were hired to deal with the disbursements of the household, although the signature of Edward Sherburn appeared more frequently in the accounts. After inheriting the estate from his uncle in 1608, Colonel Richard Shuttleworth hired several stewards to keep the accounts: both James Yate and Anthony Wilkinson kept the disbursements and receipt accounts of the household from 1608 to 1613; while in the last period 1616-1621, it was mainly James Yate who helped to record accounts.

1.4.2 Landholdings of the Shuttleworths, 1582-1621

When the Shuttleworths acquired the lease of Ightenhill Manor Park in 1580, they owned most of the land in the Padiham, Simonstone, Higham, Ightenhill and Habergham area, and became the most influential gentry family in the locality.⁹¹ In addition to their family property, the Shuttleworths bought further land over time. Based on the Shuttleworth accounts and wills, this section investigates the land owned by three generations of the Shuttleworths between 1582 and 1621.

When Hugh Shuttleworth died in December 1596, Sir Richard Shuttleworth inherited the family land at Gawthorpe, totalling 105.25 Lancashire acres (170.5 statute acres), from his father.⁹² Compared to the ancestral property of Gawthorpe, the Smithills estate was a temporary possession acquired by Sir Richard Shuttleworth as a consequence of his marriage to Margery, the youngest daughter of Sir Peter Legh of Lyme, Cheshire and of Haydock and Bradley, Lancashire. Margery had previously married to Robert Barton, esquire of Smithills

⁹⁰ PROB 11/112/11, will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth (1599); PROB 11/112/10, will of Lawrence Shuttleworth (1608).

⁹¹ Conroy, *The Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe*, pp. 3-4. Sir Richard Shuttleworth granted a lease of land in the Ightenhill Park in 1593. See, Farrer and Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 6, p. 489.

⁹² Charles Foster, *Seven Households: Life in Cheshire and Lancashire, 1582-1774* (Arley Hall Press, 2002), p. 56. While calculating the Shuttleworth family's land at Gawthorpe, Foster relies on the translated version of *The Court Rolls of the Honour of Clitheroe* by William Farrer, see Appendix 1.2, pp. 58-9.

Hall. After Robert died in 1580, Margery married Richard Shuttleworth and brought the Smithills estate to her second marriage. As the Smithills estate originally belonged to the Barton family, after years of lawsuits, Sir Richard Shuttleworth agreed to return the Smithills estate to the Bartons when he died, and thus, the Shuttleworths only owned this estate from 1582 to 1599.⁹³ The estate of Smithills was larger than the one at Gawthorpe, and was composed of two parts: Smithills Hall and its demesne lands (1096 statute acres), and three other manors (each one ranged from 100 to 300 acres) with demesne lands and tenants, located at Lostock, Tingreave (Ecclestone) and Much Hoole.⁹⁴

As a successful lawyer, Sir Richard Shuttleworth purchased lands at various places in the 1580s and 1590s, including Barbon near Kirkby Lonsdale in Westmorland (by at latest December 1588), Hebblethwaite within the parish of Sedberghe in Yorkshire (by at latest 1597), Forcett near Richmond in North Yorkshire (by at latest 1590), Inskip on the Fylde in West Lancashire (1596) and Austwick in the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1599, which increased the wealth of the family dramatically.⁹⁵

Lawrence Shuttleworth also bought some lands located in other areas after he inherited the property in the early seventeenth century. For example, he bought the land at Sabden, a valley between Pendle Hill and Padiham Heights in 1601, and later land at Padiham in 1602.⁹⁶

Although wills did not necessarily record all the lands someone owned, some information can be gleaned from the wills of the Shuttleworths. The will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth recorded mills and copyhold lands owned by this family in the late sixteenth century. Sir Richard Shuttleworth was granted the water corn

⁹³ Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part II, pp. 282-91; Foster, *Seven Households*, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁴ Foster, *Seven Households*, pp. 13-4, 20-6, 62-3.

⁹⁵ John de Cardenas sold his land to Sir Richard Shuttleworth in 1596 and it descended with the Gawthorpe estates, see William Farrer and J. Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 7 (London, 1912), pp. 279-282. The accounts recorded that two people went to keep court at Barbon in December 1588, see LA DDKS 18/2 p. 94. The rent at Hebblethwaite, see Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part III, (Chetham Society, 1857-58), p. 684. In terms of land in Forcett, see, William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York North Riding*, Vol. 1 (London, 1914), pp. 64-71. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/north/vol1/pp64-71> [accessed 28 October 2019]. Detailed discussion about the ownership of the manor of Forcett, see, Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part II, pp. 303-4. The accounts recorded the whole year profit of Inskip in 1597, see Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part I, p. 120. The transaction of the manor of Austick in 1599, see Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part II, p. 419.

⁹⁶ Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part I (Chetham Society, 1854-55), pp. 138-9, 146-7.

mills of Burnley and Clitheroe by her majesty from 1595 for two continuous periods, 31 and 41 years respectively.⁹⁷ The watermill owned by the Shuttleworths at Burnley was leased to Mr John Towneley of Hurstwood for the price of £26 13s 4d per year.⁹⁸ Lawrence and his heirs were given the right to use the fee-simple of all those copyhold and customary messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments, which were the inheritances of James Willisill of Scholebanck. The yearly rent, 20 marks, was paid to Ingram Willisill, a servant of Sir Richard Shuttleworth.

Compared with their elder brother, both Lawrence Shuttleworth and Thomas Shuttleworth did not leave much information about land in their wills. Thomas' will only recorded the messuages and tenure in the Ightenhill Park, as well as the land at Westmorland, while Lawrence inherited lands at Ightenhill Park and copyhold lands from Sir Richard Shuttleworth in 1608.⁹⁹ However, his eldest son, Colonel Richard Shuttleworth, increased the family's property after he inherited the wealth from his uncle Lawrence Shuttleworth. The Shuttleworth family acquired the estates of Barton when Colonel Richard Shuttleworth married Fleetwood Barton in 1611. Colonel Richard Shuttleworth not only owned lands at Blackburn Hundred but also some estates at Inskip, Barbon and Forcett in 1660; and he was mining coal at Gawthorpe.¹⁰⁰ When Colonel Richard Shuttleworth died in 1669, his eldest grandson, Richard Shuttleworth, succeeded to the estates, which included Gawthorpe, Forcett, Barton and Barbon.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

The geographical features of Lancashire made this a county dominated by pastoral farming, although arable farming was not absent. Given that population levels were rising and employment opportunities were limited in places where the Shuttleworths owned farmland, it is reasonable to assume that local inhabitants would be attracted to work for this gentry family. This attraction would have been intensified by the subdivision of landholdings. How the different types of wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths experienced their working lives is the main topic in the following three chapters.

⁹⁷ PROB 11/112/11, will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth (1599).

⁹⁸ Conroy, *The Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe*, p. 12.

⁹⁹ LA DDKS 33/1, will of Thomas Shuttleworth (1593); PROB 11/112/10, will of Lawrence Shuttleworth (1608).

¹⁰⁰ Conroy, *The Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe*, p. 16.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

2. Servants

Compared with other types of wage workers, servants were young and unmarried people who were hired yearly and lived with their employers. For these young people, service was a common choice between their childhood and adulthood in early modern England: servants constituted around 60 per cent of the population aged fifteen to twenty-four between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ As an important type of wage workers, servants did most of the paid labour for the Shuttleworth household during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, less attention has been paid to the employment pattern of these northern rural servants compared to other types of wage workers.

The phenomenon of 'life-cycle' service and the large number of servants in early modern England have been discussed by John Hajnal and Peter Laslett since the 1960s, and in 1981, Ann Kussmaul provided a detailed study of servants who lived in early modern England.² When focusing on long-term changes, based on the argument that servants would get married after they left service, October marriages in 56 agricultural parishes in the south and east England were used by Kussmaul to map the incidence of service between the 1550s and 1830s.³ She concluded that there were two major cycles from c. 1450 to c. 1900, during which time the incidences of October marriages reached two peaks, in the mid-sixteenth century and mid-eighteenth century respectively. Two periods witnessed the decline of service: the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century, and the mid-eighteenth century onwards.⁴ Three factors, increasing population, rising costs of living and declining real wages, were used by Kussmaul to support her opinion.

Since the publication of Kussmaul's monograph, scholars have extended the analysis of servants and service in late medieval and early modern England by

¹ Peter Laslett, 'Mean Household Size in England Since the Sixteenth Century', *Household and Family in Past Time*, ed. by Peter Laslett (Cambridge, 1972), p. 152; Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 3.

² John Hajnal, 'European marriage Patterns in Perspective', in *Population in History*, ed. by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London, 1965), pp. 101-43; John Hajnal, 'Two Kinds of Pre-Industrial Household Formation System', *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, ed. by R. Wall (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 65-104; Peter Laslett, 'Mean Household Size in England Since the Sixteenth Century', pp. 125-58; Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1977); Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*.

³ Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, pp. 97-119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

using different types of sources, such as church court records, wills and statutes.⁵ When focusing on the discussion of servants from the perspective of wage workers, scholars have used household and farm accounts to explore different types of wage workers hired in different parts of England.⁶ Based on nine sets of household and farm accounts, Jane Whittle provides the first comprehensive study on the employment of servants before the mid-seventeenth century.⁷ Her findings show that the employment pattern of servants was quite flexible before 1660, and the average length of service was closer to two years than the one year argued by Kussmaul. In addition, without an apparent hiring peak at Michaelmas (29 September), the incidence of October marriages adopted by Kussmaul cannot be used without doubt to explore the incidence of service over time. Nevertheless, the household and farm accounts studied by scholars were mainly related to the farmland located in southern England; how northern servants lived their working lives remains to be explored.

When focusing on wage levels, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf contribute to the studies of servants. They collect national wage data and provide the first long-term wage series of unskilled women, ranging from 1260 to 1850.⁸ After

⁵ See for example, P. J. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in A Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300-1520* (Clarendon Press Oxford, 1992); Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press, 1994); Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560 – 1640* (Oxford, 1996); Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660 - 1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, 2000); Laura Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay: Servants and Mistresses in Seventeenth-Century England', *Gender and History*, 14. 2 (2002), 183-201; Jane Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650: Evidence of Women's Work from Probate Documents', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15 (2005), 54-6; Charmian Mansell, 'Female Service and the Village Community in South-West England 1550-1650: The Labour Laws Reconsidered', in *Servants in Rural Europe*, ed. by Jane Whittle (Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 77- 94; Charmian Mansell, *Female servants in the early modern community: a study of church court depositions from the dioceses of Exeter and Gloucester, c. 1550-1650* (Unpublished PhD thesis, 2016). Marjorie K McIntosh, 'Servants and the Household Unit in an Elizabethan Community', *Journal of Family History*, 9.1 (1984), 3–23; Marjorie K. McIntosh, *A Community Transformed: the Manor and Liberty of Havering-atte-Bower 1500-1620* (Cambridge, 1991); Jane Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440-1580* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁶ See for example, Carole Shammas, 'The World Women Knew: Women Workers in the North of England During the Late Seventeenth Century', in *The World of William Penn*, ed. by Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 99-115; L. R. Poos, *A Rural Society After the Black Death: Essex 1450 – 1525* (Cambridge University Press, 1991); A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part I], *Continuity and Change*, 4.1 (1989), 11-52; A. H. Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part II], *Continuity and Change*, 4.3 (1989), 367-394; Steve Hindle, 'Below stairs at Arbury Hall: Sir Richard Newdigate and his household staff, c. 1670 – 1710', *Historical Research*, 85.227 (2012), 71-88; Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012). Claridge and Langdon use over 400 manorial accounts to explore agricultural labour in c. 1300, see Jordan Claridge and John Langdon, 'The composition of famuli labour on English demesnes, c. 1300', *British Agricultural History Review*, 63.2 (2015), 187-220.

⁷ Jane Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England c. 1450-1650', in *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain 1400-1900*, ed. by Maria Ågren and Amy Louise Erickson (Ashgate, 2005), pp. 89-107; Jane Whittle, 'A Different pattern of Employment: Servants in Rural England c. 1500-1660', *Servants in Rural Europe*, ed. by Jane Whittle (The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 57-76.

⁸ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The wages of women in England, 1260-1850', *The Journal of*

excluding London and wages from harvest seasons, their data shows that female workers could earn more money from annual contracts than from casual work between the late sixteenth century and the mid-seventeenth century. In addition, they further our knowledge of male agricultural labourers' living standards by using the annual incomes earned by both annual and casual male workers.⁹ These wage series are useful when tracking long-term British economic changes, but the nature of servants hired in different parts of England are hidden behind these statistics as they concentrate on 'unskilled' labourers. In addition, it was Robert Allen's 'basket of consumables' that was used to calculate the monetary values of in-kind payments, and this basket relies heavily on the price data of southern institutions.

Thus, this chapter aims to discuss the employment pattern of northern servants and compares it with existing studies. Based on the Shuttleworth accounts, 1595 Lancashire wage assessment, wills and other sources, this chapter focuses on four aspects to explore the working lives of servants hired by this gentry family: work and employment, length of service and the regulation of servants, wages and other income, and relationships between servants and employers. Comparisons are made accordingly with servants hired in other parts of early modern England.

2.1 Data

As discussed in the introduction, the missing parts of the Shuttleworth accounts influence the statistical analysis of wage workers. In addition, although the Shuttleworth accounts recorded the names and wages of servants employed and the dates when these servants received wages, three important issues should be addressed first.

Firstly, the identification of servants. A standard entry about a servant includes the name, the date of payment, the length of service and the wage paid. Sometimes, a description of tasks was included as well. But not every servant was recorded with complete information in the household accounts. And thus, several methods have been adopted to identify this group of wage workers. As quarterly and yearly payments were one typical feature of servants' employment,

Economic History, 75.2 (2015), 405-47.

⁹ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages? Real income and economic growth in England, 1260-1850', *The Economic Journal*, 129 (2019), 2867-87.

these payments have been used to identify servants. In addition, specific occupations, such as cooks, brewers and gardeners, which were either recorded in the household accounts or could be deduced from the description of tasks, have also been used to support the identification. Servants who only provided several weeks of 'service' were included in this category as well, since it was not uncommon to find some short-term service in early modern England. In all, 1,463 payments to servants were collected from the Shuttleworth accounts.¹⁰

Secondly, the number of servants. This problem is related to the identification of servants as well, since different spellings of names would influence the calculation. For those servants recorded with clear full names, after converting their first names into modern spellings, several sources are used together to support the identification of surnames: parish registers of Bolton and Padiham, *The Surnames of Lancashire*, and the indexes of names transcribed by John Harland and Eileen White.¹¹ The comparison of their quarterly wage rates also supports the tracking of employment. Unnamed servants are counted individually when no further information was provided. In all, there were 235 servants employed by the Shuttleworths from 1582 to 1621; 75 were female and 160 were male.¹²

Thirdly, the dates of payment were not always identical with the start or end dates of service. An ideal entry provides detailed information about the start and end dates of service, regardless of whether it was a short-term or long-term contract. It is easy to collect this information after 1600 when the records in the Shuttleworth accounts became more standardised and the end dates of quarterly service were recorded clearly. However, it is more common to find incomplete entries that only listed the length of service and wages in the late sixteenth century. To track the length and the start dates of service, the listed dates are assumed to be the end dates of service when no further information was provided.

¹⁰ Based on the dates of entries, the data cover two periods: 1582-1606 and 1616-21.

¹¹ Parish registers see, Archibald Sparke (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bolton, Baptisms, 1573-4, 1590-1660, Weddings, 1573, 1587-1660, Burials, 1573-4, 1587-1660* (Bolton, 1913); John A. Laycock (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Padiham in the County of Lancaster, Christenings Burials and Weddings 1573 to 1653* (Wigan, 1903). Lancashire surnames see, Richard McKinley, *The Surnames of Lancashire* (Leopard's Head Press, 1981); The indexes of names see, John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithills and Gawthorpe, from September 1582 to October 1621*, Part IV (Chetham Society, 1858-59), pp. 1137-71; Dr Eileen White transcribed names of wage workers hired in the early seventeenth century, see, Eileen White, *Transcripts of Shuttleworth Account book 1600-1606* (Gawthorpe Hall archive, 1985). Thanks to Mrs Rachel Pollitt for sharing the information with me.

¹² It is important to note that these figures should be less than the actual number of servants hired during this period, as this set of household accounts was broken for several periods.

This is helpful when calculating the annual number of servants. In addition, combined with the identified names, the adjustment does not influence the calculation of the average number of servants hired during a specific period.

2.2 Work and employment

As a common type of wage worker, servants are defined mainly by the fact that they often agreed an annual contract with employers, and ate and lived in their employers' households. However, just like the servants hired in other households of early modern England, not every servant was recorded with a detailed description of their occupation or task. Based on the accounts' records, this section discusses the work undertaken by servants, the categories of servants and the number of servants hired by the Shuttleworths over time.

2.2.1 Work categories

Based on the accounts of Henry Best and Robert Loder, wage assessments, wills and inventories, Whittle provides a detailed discussion on the types of tasks undertaken by servants in early modern England.¹³ Regarding domestic tasks, female servants undertook tasks such as cooking, housekeeping, and washing clothes, while male servants cooked, brewed or helped to run the household and estate. In addition, servants also participated in agricultural tasks: female servants were paid for dairying and doing harvest work, while some male servants were farm servants who concentrated solely on agricultural tasks, such as mowing, and ploughing and harrowing with draught animals.¹⁴ Service was not something new in the sixteenth century, as it dated back to the twelfth and thirteenth century when *famuli* worked on the demesne of manors and were mainly responsible for the livestock.¹⁵

Although the Shuttleworth accounts did not record detailed tasks undertaken by individual servants or separate domestic servants from servants in husbandry, some useful information can be summarised from the accounts. Female servants served as housekeepers, maids, wash maids, dairy-keepers and kitchen-maids in this household, while male servants were recorded with a wider range of occupations, including cook, smith, shepherd, gardener, carter, kitchen boy and

¹³ Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England c. 1450-1650', pp. 91-4.

¹⁴ More detailed exploration on the range of tasks undertaken by female servants, see, Charmian Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community: a study of church court depositions from the dioceses of Exeter and Gloucester, c. 1550 – 1650' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2016), p. 189.

¹⁵ M. M. Postan, 'The Famulus: The Estate Labour in the XIIth and XIII Centuries', *Economic History Review Supplement*, 2 (1954), 1-48.

ploughboy. In addition, servants were simply divided into work servants and serving men from 1609, and female servants were included in these two categories as well.¹⁶ Considering the nature of early modern English society - an agrarian society - it is reasonable to assume that servants hired by the Shuttleworths shared similar tasks with those hired in other households.

Although the Shuttleworth accounts did not list clearly the categories of servants, their wage levels provide some useful information for classification. Based on the level of yearly and quarterly wages, servants hired by the Shuttleworths can be divided into different categories.

Regarding male servants, the first category is senior servants who were normally paid over £2 per year. It was common for gentry families to employ stewards to manage their estates in the seventeenth century, and this was also the case for the Shuttleworths. One difference is that Sir Richard Shuttleworth invited his two younger brothers Lawrence Shuttleworth and Thomas Shuttleworth to work as stewards and keep the farming and household accounts, while Sir Richard Shuttleworth only checked the accounts regularly with his own signature written underneath. However, these two account keepers also employed bailiffs and other senior servants to help them undertake some daily tasks. Although there was no record as to whether Lawrence Shuttleworth and Thomas Shuttleworth were paid by their elder brother when they worked as stewards, we can find the payments to Edward Sherburn and James Yate who were recruited as bailiffs after the Shuttleworths moved to Gawthorpe. Both of them received £3 6s 8d per year during their service. In addition, Organ Wincott and Henry Grimshaye were paid £4 per year in the 1610s, which was the highest annual wage paid to servants hired by the Shuttleworths.

The next group of male servants can be described as secondary servants, whose annual wages ranged from £1 13s 4d to £2 per year. Servants in this category included the cook, smith, brewer, carter, schoolmaster and a great number of agricultural servants. Among those servants, smith and carter were two occupations which appeared after 1600. Both of them were paid 10s per quarter (or £2 per year) in the 1600s. One smith, Thomas Auston, was categorised as a

¹⁶ It is important to note that the accounts' keeper added Anthony Whythead, the leading mason, in the list of servants with 30s per quarter. Considering his specialised skills and his wage did not change since the first time he appeared in the accounts as a mason in 1601, he was excluded from the analysis about servants here.

work servant in the accounts and served for the Shuttleworths from September 1609 to June 1611. Work servants was a category the account keepers used to separate them from those serving men who received higher wage payments in the early seventeenth century. The lower status of work servants can be demonstrated by the wills of Thomas Shuttleworth and Lawrence Shuttleworth as well. Both Thomas and Lawrence bequeathed money to work servants, and the amount was lower when compared with those bequeathed to senior servants.¹⁷ And thus, it is fair to conclude that smith was a lower or at least secondary occupation in the Shuttleworth family during the early seventeenth century.

Agricultural servants in this category had some different features, especially when the Shuttleworths lived at Smithills. Robert Aspeden was a farm servant who entered into service from at latest 1583 and served at least until 1596. During these thirteen years, besides the £2 per year wage for his annual service, Robert was also paid for doing other tasks, including threshing the tithe corn, traveling to different fairs to sell or buy goods, and even regulating other servants. For example, in February 1593/4, Robert Aspeden paid one male servant 10s for his last-quarter wage as a representative of his employer.¹⁸ Robert not only undertook the role of farm servant but also acted as a steward in some cases. He helped Thomas Shuttleworth record the accounts until Thomas died in December 1593. Perhaps in return for Robert's loyalty to this household, Thomas bequeathed Robert Aspeden 10s in his will of 25 September 1593.¹⁹ Except for the service Robert provided, it seems that he was not purely an employee in the later period, as he was in charge of paying the annual rent of tithe corn in Bolton and Heaton in 1598 and 1601 respectively.²⁰

The third category of servants included more common agricultural servants whose wages typically ranged between £1 6s 8d and £1 13s 4d per year. William Duckworth, a young male servant who served at Smithills from 1582 to 1599, was paid an unchanging wage £1 6s 8d of per year. During his service, similarly to Robert Aspeden, he often travelled to do agricultural tasks at Hoole or Tingreave, and his 'tabling fee' there was around £4 per year.²¹ As well as the young and

¹⁷ LA DDKS 33/1, will of Thomas Shuttleworth (1593); PROB 11/112/10, will of Lawrence Shuttleworth (1608).

¹⁸ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 314.

¹⁹ LA DDKS 33/1, will of Thomas Shuttleworth (1593).

²⁰ John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithills and Gawthorpe, from September 1582 to October 1621*, Part I (Chetham Society, 1854-55), pp. 121, 124.

²¹ It is important to note that the £4 may not only include the payment to servants or labourers but also

unmarried servants, there were some older servants who were not live-in servants but were paid quarterly or yearly. Jeffrey Astelay, for example, was a labourer who lived at Lostock. He was hired as a servant and received £1 13s 4d per year from 1582 to 1584/5.²² He also earned extra money by undertaking some other tasks such as getting hay, ploughing and scouring the watercourse between 1582 and 1587.²³ His wife was also paid 18d for winnowing corn at Lostock on 28 February 1584/5.²⁴ In addition, several gardeners who were responsible for maintaining the garden were paid within this wage range as well.

The last group of male servants were those who received less than £1 6s 8d per year (or 6s 8d per quarter), including the kitchen boy, ploughboy, cowboy and other younger servants. Their daily tasks included looking after animals, helping the cook in the kitchen and doing less strenuous and less-skilled agricultural tasks in the farm. Although their wages increased according to their performance, skills and length of service, they were always paid less than other groups of male servants. This group also included two shepherds who did not live with the Shuttleworths: James Cocket and Denis Smithe who received 15s 3d and £1 5s 6d per year respectively. Their low wages probably reflect the fact that they looked after their own sheep as well.

Compared with male servants, the composition of female servants in this household was much simpler. Between 1582 and 1599, female servants were mainly maids and dairy-keepers, most of whose annual wages were less than £1 per year. After moving to Gawthorpe Hall, Jane Hogkinson, Elizabeth Russell and Elizabeth Rosser were three housekeepers who appeared in the accounts between 1599/1600 and 1605, and all received the same annual wages, £1 6s 8d per year. They probably served the household continuously. Jane Hogkinson was hired on 8 March 1599/1600 and served the household for around one and a half years. Elizabeth Russell replaced Jane on 2 March 1601/02 and may have left between June 1603 and March 1604, as the last record about her wages was on 24 June 1603. Later Elizabeth Rosser, the third housekeeper, was hired in around March 1604 and may have left the household after 29 September 1605 when she was paid for her second-quarter work. The accounts are missing

contain the payment to those who tabled these servants or labourers.

²² LA DDKS 18/1 *passim*.

²³ LA DDKS 18/1-2 *passim*.

²⁴ LA DDKS 18/1 p.40.

between 1606 and 1608, but Eleanor Atherton's annual wages reached £2 per year between 1609 and 1611. Several married women were paid quarterly for washing clothes from 1610 to 1611. Two female nurses were hired to look after Mr. Vght and Mr. Barton between 1617 and 1621, and both of them received £4 per year.²⁵ In addition, the wife of Richard Stones was paid £13 for nursing Mr. Richard Shuttleworth for three years and a quarter on 14 September 1618 (£4 per year).²⁶

Although this household added some relatively high-paid occupations over time, the wages received by female servants (excluding nurses who were paid for specific skills) normally ranged between 12s and £1 6s 8d per year, which were much lower than their male counterparts and can only be ranked within the fourth category of male servants.

Would the available tasks influence the number of servants employed? The following part turns to explore this issue.

2.2.2 Number of servants

While exploring the number of male and female servants employed in early modern England, scholars have different findings. Kussmaul, for example, used 63 parish listings dated from 1574 to 1801 and argued that 'the overall ratio of male to female servants is 107:100, and the ratios in farmers' and craftsmen's households are 121:100 and 171:100'.²⁷ Based on detailed analysis of household accounts, Whittle argues that the size of households influenced the number of male and female servants employed.²⁸ After tracing the number of male and female servants hired by the Shuttleworths over time, the findings show that this gentry household had a clear preference for male servants who could do a wide range of tasks, which complies with Whittle's conclusion.

Table 2.1 compares the average number of servants hired by the Shuttleworths in five periods. These five periods are selected because the data were well-preserved, making it possible to calculate yearly numbers of servants hired by this household. In addition, as some servants provided short-term services, they are included as well. The comparison shows that, despite the fluctuation over

²⁵ Another nurse Jackson was hired with the same payment between 1620 and 1621, although the gender was unclear.

²⁶ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 73.

²⁷ Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 4.

²⁸ Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', 61-3.

time, the number of male and female servants showed different trends. The average number of male servants peaked at 27 between 1586 and 1598, which was over twice the number in 1600-02 and 1617-20 (13), while the average number of female servants rose gradually from 5 in 1583 to 8 in 1617-20. The relatively low average numbers of male servants hired in 1600-02 and 1617-20 were influenced by different factors. Between 1600 and 1602, the main project was to build Gawthorpe Hall; the Shuttleworth family did not settle down until the building was finished. Regarding the later period between 1617 and 1620, that volume did not provide detailed information about those who were labelled as 'work servants' during this period, which means that the real average numbers of male and female servants would be higher than the figures indicated.

Table 2.1 The average number of servants

Period	Average no. of male servants	Average no. of female servants
1583	20	5
1586-98	27	6
1600-2	13	6
1605	20	7
1617-20	13*	8

Note: (*) the figure contained three servants who were paid for 'service in husbandry'.

Sources: LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9.

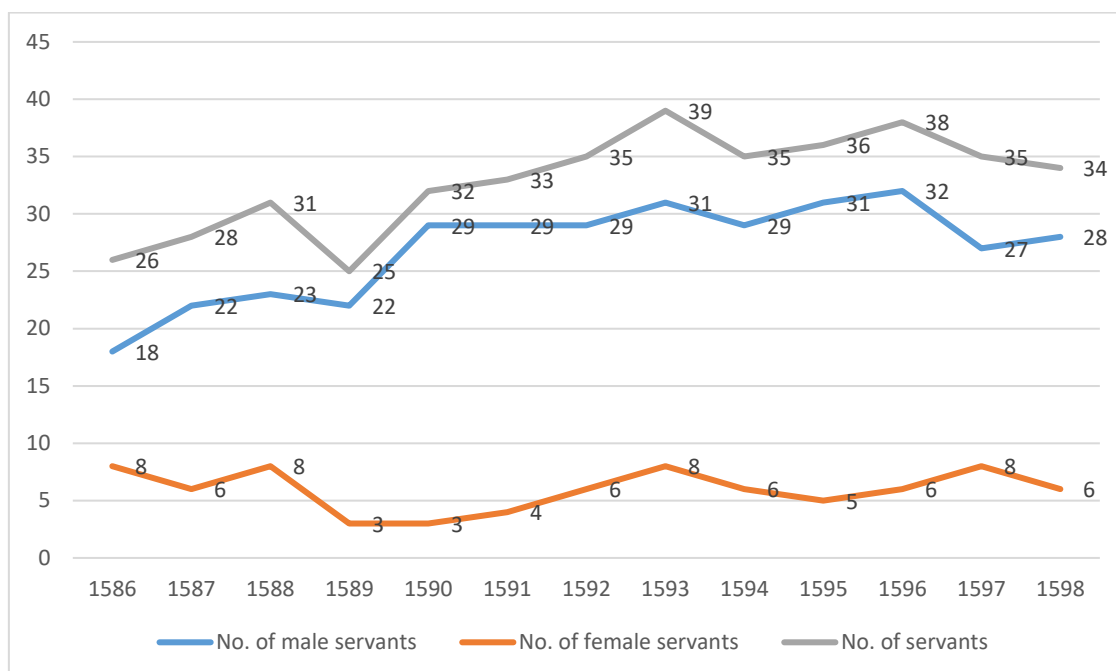
Since the Shuttleworth accounts left continuous records on the employment of servants between 1586 and 1598, a further comparison can be made here. Figure 2.1 presents the annual number of male and female servants hired by the Shuttleworths in Lancashire from 1586 to 1598. While the number of male servants rose steadily from the 1580s to the 1590s, that of female servants maintained a low level. Thus, it is fair to conclude that the Shuttleworths preferred to employ male servants who did a wide range of tasks during their service.

Another important aspect related to figure 2.1 is that, in contrast to Kussmaul's argument, the number of servants did not decrease during the late sixteenth century when the cost of living was rising and real wages were low.²⁹ In fact, the

²⁹ Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population, and Economic Growth, England

comparison between the number of male servants and that of male day labourers in Chapter 3 will show that it was the employment of male day labourers, rather than male servants, that were influenced directly by demographic changes. Thus, the findings comply with Whittle’s conclusion that, in the period before 1660, the demand for servants did not follow the pattern suggested by Kussmaul.³⁰

Figure 2.1 Annual number of servants, 1586-98



Source: LA DDKS 18/2-3.

To summarise, servants hired by the Shuttleworths showed gendered differences in their work and numbers. Unlike female servants who were mainly paid for domestic work and dairying, male servants did a wider range of domestic tasks and performed all agricultural tasks. The average number of male servants always outnumbered that of female servants, and the Shuttleworths showed high demand for servants in the late sixteenth century. As the start or end of contract would vary individually, the next section will turn to discuss the length of service and the regulation of servants in the Shuttleworths’ households.

2.3 The length of service and the regulation of servants

Since Kussmaul argued that servants normally served for one year at a time, more irregular service has been demonstrated by other scholars in their research. Youngs argued that servants hired in Humphrey Newton’s household preferred

1209-1869’, *Economic History Review*, 60.1 (2007), 108-9.

³⁰ Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 98; Whittle, ‘A Different Pattern of Employment’, pp. 57-76.

short-term contracts in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³¹ Smith noted that young and unmarried servants hired by Nathaniel Bacon between 1587 and 1597 stayed from several weeks to over three years.³² Based on nine sets of household accounts, Whittle calculates that the average length of employment of servants hired between 1521 and 1657 was 2.3 years, and that of female servants was 1.9 years.³³ Regarding the dates when servants entered and left employment, based on settlement examinations, Kussmaul found that more than 90 per cent of contracts started and ended at some customary dates in the eighteenth century: Michaelmas (29 September) in south and east England, Martinmas (11 November) in the north, and May Day (1 May) in pastoral areas.³⁴ However, other scholars have demonstrated that there was no clear link between these special dates and the entry or exit from service.³⁵ How long would Lancashire servants stay in service? What was the relationship between wage levels and length of service? Did their employment dates show any hiring preference? How did the Shuttleworths treat those who broke their contracts? To answer these questions, this section focuses on two aspects: the length of service and the regulation of servants.

2.3.1 The length of service

It is not uncommon to find some servants who were paid for a short-term period when working for the Shuttleworths, making it necessary to discuss the length of service. When Humphries and Weisdorf discuss female workers' wages, they assume female servants would work five days per week.³⁶ However, this may not be the case, as one important feature of service was the requirement that servants should be available throughout the year, 'at any time of the day or night'.³⁷ The example of John Loud recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts provides some useful information. John Loud was a servant employed at latest on 28 June 1604, when his quarterly wage rates were 10s per quarter. He was paid 12d for eight days' service on 13 April 1605, the date when he went away.³⁸

³¹ Deborah Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne: the case of Newton, Cheshire, 1498-1520', *Agricultural History Review*, 47 (1999), 145-60.

³² Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 15.

³³ Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', p. 63.

³⁴ Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, pp. 50-1.

³⁵ See for example, Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', pp. 57-76; Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', 145-60; Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 11-52.

³⁶ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 412-3.

³⁷ Donald Woodward, 'Early Modern Servants in Husbandry Revisited', *Agricultural History Review*, 48.2 (2000), 143.

³⁸ LA DDKS 18/7 p. 66.

If we assume these wage rates were paid solely for his service, the daily wage value of his service would be 1.5d per day. Thus, he would have worked 320 days per year to earn £2. To calculate the length of employment, it is assumed that servants would work 6.5 days per week. However, due to the irregular employment pattern, as shall be discussed in the following part, it is hard to estimate the length of service in cases where detailed information was not recorded. And thus, these records of daily or weekly service are excluded when calculating working lengths, and are discussed separately.

Of 175 servants hired by the Shuttleworths in 1583, 1586-98, 1600-02 and 1605, 47 were female servants, and 128 were male servants. These four periods were selected as the data were complete for each year. As some servants only worked a short-term period, after excluding eight servants whose dates of service cannot be estimated, table 2.2 lists the number of servants who served less than one year during the four periods. The comparisons show that the proportion of female servants (56.5 per cent) who worked less than one year was higher than that of male servants (28.1 per cent), indicating a higher turnover rate among female servants hired for short-term service. In addition, the average length of service undertaken by these short-term female servants was 14.4 weeks (3.6 months), which was less than that undertaken by their male counterparts, 21.4 weeks (5.4 months). In fact, this difference was mainly determined by the tasks available to female servants. Among the records of twenty-six short-term female servants, seventeen contained payments for weeks' service, and eight servants worked in the dairy house. Without other employment opportunities, these female servants had to leave service.

Table 2.2 Servants who worked for less than one year, 1583, 1586-98, 1600-02 and 1605

	No. & % of servants who worked less than one year and the proportion	Total no. of servants	Total work-length recorded (weeks)	Avg. work-length recorded (weeks)
Male	34 (28.1%)	121	727.5	21.4
Female	26 (56.5%)	46	375.5	14.4
Total	60 (35.9%)	167	1103	18.4

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-7.

A further comparison can be made for servants hired by the Shuttleworths from 1586 to 1598. Among 119 servants hired by the Shuttleworths during this period, 32 were female servants and 87 were male servants. After excluding three male servants whose working lengths were unrecorded, table 2.3 presents 116 servants hired by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598, and the work-years of male and female servants.

Table 2.3 The number of servants and the length of employment, 1586-98

	No. of servants who stayed for one year and above	Total no. of servants	Percentage of who stayed for one year and above (%)	Servant work-years recorded	Average work-years recorded
Male	62	84	73.8	295.6	3.5
Female	12	32	37.5	53.9	1.7
Total	74	116	63.8	349.5	3

Note: Three male servants are excluded as their working lengths were not recorded. Because the year in this household accounts began from Lady Day (25 march) to Lady Day, the data analysed here between 1586 and 1598 ranged from 25 March 1586 to 25 March 1599.

Source: LA DDKS 18/2-3.

The average length of service provided by servants hired by the Shuttleworths during this period was 3 years, which was higher than the 2.3 years calculated by Whittle for nine households between 1521 and 1657. However, the average length of service for female servants hired in the Shuttleworths was 1.7 years, which was slightly less than Whittle's data (1.9 years). After comparing working lengths of male and female servants hired by the Shuttleworths, it is clear that the high average length of service was mainly due to the longer service provided by male servants, as their average number of work-years in the household was 3.5 years, which was around twice than that of female servants (1.7 years).

The long-term service in the Shuttleworth household can be also demonstrated by the numbers of those who served for one year and above. Seventy-four servants stayed in the household for one year and above during this period, accounting for 63.8 per cent of the total number. Among which, 62 male servants stayed in the household for that long and accounted for 73.8 per cent of all male servants, while that of female servants was only 37.5 per cent. It seems likely that this difference was influenced by the available occupations or tasks provided by the Shuttleworths. Another possibility is that the relative low wage rates discouraged women from staying in service.³⁹

To explore the influence of wage levels on the length of service, based on quarterly and yearly wage rates, table 2.4 compares the length of service provided by 81 male servants who received different wage rates between 1586 and 1598.⁴⁰ The main finding is that the wage rates received by male servants were negatively correlated with the length of service: the higher the wage rates were, the shorter the period of employment. The five best-paid male servants were Richard Grenehalghe, Roger Kenyon, Peter Ashton, Thomas Neller and William Coppe, whose annual wages were over £2 per year; the last two servants were only paid for one-quarter service. The average length of service of the best-paid male servants was 2.7 years, which was shorter than that of other wage groups, and less than the average length listed in table 2.3 (3.5 years). The average working years of those who received less than £1 6s 8d per year and those who received between £1 13s 4d and £2 per year were similar, 3.3 and 3.9

³⁹ Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', p. 73.

⁴⁰ Quarterly wages are converted into yearly wages when necessary.

years respectively, while the group whose yearly wages ranged between £1 6s 8d and £1 13s 4d stayed the longest, 4.5 years.

Table 2.4 Length of service among male servants with different wage levels, 1586-98

Wage level (per annum)	No. of male servants	Total length of service (years)	Average length of service (years)
Over £2	5	13.6	2.7
£1 13s 4d - £2	16	63.1	3.9
£1 6s 8d - £1 13s 4d	19	85.1	4.5
Less than £1 6s 8d	41	133.9	3.3

Note: the lower end of wage range was not included when counting the number of male servants.
 Source: LA DDKS 18/2-5.

Long-term service by male servants recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts was not unusual. Based on church court depositions, Charmian Mansell points out that long and irregular service was not uncommon.⁴¹ When focusing on household accounts, it is similar to that of Alice Le Strange's household between 1613 and 1628, for which Whittle calculates that it was the low-paid male servants who stayed the longest, on average 4.25 years, when these low-paid male servants in Le Strange's household received less than £2 5s per year.⁴²

Servants could benefit from long-term service. They could acquire skills and save money during their employment. This was particularly important when costs of living were high as has the case in the 1590s. In addition, servants who stayed longer could get promoted during their service. For example, the Shuttleworth accounts show that the annual wage rates of fourteen male servants who received less than £1 13s 4d per year increased over time.

2.3.2 The regulation of servants

As discussed above, the payment dates recorded in the household accounts were not always identical with the dates when servants started or finished their contract. Nevertheless, the Shuttleworth accounts left some information to

⁴¹ Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community', pp. 174-97.

⁴² Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', p. 68.

explore the regulation of servants, including their hiring patterns and attitudes towards servants.

Generally, the hiring pattern in the Shuttleworth family can be divided into two periods. The first period was the late sixteenth century, when most servants hired by the Shuttleworths enjoyed a flexible employment pattern. Except those who were hired for a fixed short-term period, the findings in the Shuttleworth accounts show that there were no dominant hiring days in Lancashire during the late sixteenth century. This was similar to the situation in the households of Humphrey Newton, Cheshire, and Nathaniel Bacon, Norfolk, where there was no fixed time for servants to start or end their contract.⁴³

This kind of flexibility disappeared gradually after 1600 when Lawrence took over the estate. Records in three periods, 1600-06, 1609-13 and 1616-21, show that the traditional quarter days of Lady Day (25 March), Midsummer (24 June), Michaelmas (29 September) and Christmas (25 December) appeared more frequently and regularly in the Shuttleworth accounts, and there was a preference for starting an official contract on those special days, especially Michaelmas (29 September). For example, when Frances Goodyear was hired in September 1600, the payment to her was divided into two parts: the first part was her one-month wage, which was 13d, the other part was 13s 4d for a whole year that started from 29 September 1600.⁴⁴ From then onwards, her payment schedule was the same as that of other female servants who were paid quarterly. A similar pattern can be found in the records of Elizabeth Russell. After finishing the first-quarter work on 1 June 1602, Elizabeth Russell was employed for another three weeks until 24 June when she became a permanent servant and was paid quarterly.⁴⁵ Such evidence can be found in the recruitment of male servants as well. For example, Brian Ellille served nine weeks from 26 July to 29 September, before he agreed an annual contract at 40s per year on 29 September 1604.⁴⁶

Several factors could influence the agreement of employment. Henry Best's farming book shows that he cared about the previous experience and reputation of new servants, and he stressed that it was important to take time to inquire with

⁴³ Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', 149; Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 17.

⁴⁴ LA DDKS 18/4 p. 33.

⁴⁵ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 74.

⁴⁶ LA DDKS 18/6 p. 24.

previous masters and neighbours before hiring a servant.⁴⁷ It was also common for servants to negotiate with their new masters about their wage rates or employment length before the contract was agreed. Although there was no clear evidence of negotiation or 'checks' of their servants in the Shuttleworth accounts, it is reasonable to assume that there was a trial period of employment for some servants at the start of their contracts with the Shuttleworths.

Rules are important for the efficient running of a household as well. Sir Richard Newdigate's regulations for his staff hired at Arbury Hall in Chilvers Coton, Warwickshire between 1670 and 1710 are one example.⁴⁸ As well as the remuneration system, he also set rules about the daily and moral performance of his servants; anyone who broke these rules would be fined or punished. Such strict regulations were rare in early modern household accounts, and here in the Shuttleworth accounts, it seems that the Shuttleworths were quite tolerant towards their servants. Instead of regulating and punishing their servants, the Shuttleworths were quite relaxed and happy to reward servants who worked for them, although some servants broke the rules and left earlier than agreed. For example, Brian Ellille, the male servant mentioned above, agreed an annual contract with the household but left earlier on 5 May 1605 when he just finished three quarters' work. Ellaine Birche was hired for 20s a year in September 1601 after finishing five weeks' service. However, she left the household on 28 February 1601/2, when she had not finished her second-quarter service, which should have lasted until 25 March 1602. However, the Shuttleworths still paid her 5s for that quarter.⁴⁹ This was also the case for Margaret Pollerd. When she left earlier than her agreed contract on 10 January 1602/3, she was paid 2s for her last service. Two shillings should have been the payment for half a quarter of service, but Margaret had not worked that long when she left.

There is also evidence that some servants returned to the household after taking time off. Jennet Talier, perhaps a dairy-maid, left the household between November 1591 and February 1591/2. However, she was paid the same wage rate, 3s per quarter, after she came back to serve the Shuttleworths.⁵⁰ It was not

⁴⁷ Donald Woodward (ed.), *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642* (British Academy, 2015 (first published in 1984)) <10.1093/actrade/9780197260296.book.1>, pp. 139-40.

⁴⁸ Steve Hindle, 'Below stairs at Arbury hall: Sir Richard Newdigate and his household staff, c. 1670-1710', *Historical Research*, 85.227 (2012), 71-88.

⁴⁹ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 26.

⁵⁰ LA DDKS 18/2 pp. 209, 233.

clear whether the Shuttleworths chose not to employ her over the winter or she left for other reasons. Different from Jennet who might have negotiated with the Shuttleworths before leaving the service, Adam Winstandley, a gardener, left the household without a quarter warning on 21 September 1590.⁵¹ However, he came back to work for the Shuttleworths in 1592 and stayed until 22 February 1593/4.

The long-term service makes it clear that serving for the Shuttleworths was a popular choice among local people. Compared with their southern counterparts, servants hired in Lancashire stayed longer. The tracking of their different wage levels indicates that servants in husbandry stayed the longest. In addition, the regulation of the Shuttleworths was loose: the entry and exit from service was flexible and this household did not adopt strict policies to regulate their servants.

2.4 Wages and other income

The regulation of servants' wages dates back to the Ordinance of Labourers in 1349, and the 1563 Statute of Artificers created a system whereby wage rates were set each year at county level. Although day labourers normally received food and drink in this period, at least in the countryside, the actual income of servants was normally composed of more parts: money wage, board and lodging, and occasionally gifts from their employers. Among these elements, board and lodging played the most important role because they ensured the provision of food and somewhere to live even in difficult times such as during periods of harvest failure. Whittle argues that around three-quarters of servants' wages were paid in the form of board and lodging.⁵² Based on the Shuttleworth accounts, 1595 Lancashire legal wage assessment and wills, this section discusses different types of incomes earned by servants employed by the Shuttleworths: monetary wages, 'tabling fees' and gifts.

2.4.1 Monetary wages

As an important part of research on monetary wages, the gender wage gap between male and female servants has been discussed by scholars such as Humphries and Weisdorf, and Whittle.⁵³ The discussion above about categories

⁵¹ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 159.

⁵² Jane Whittle, 'Land and People', in *A Social History of England, 1500-1750*, ed. by Keith Wrightson (Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 164.

⁵³ See, for example, Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England', 405-47; Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England c. 1450-1650', pp. 89-107.

of servants shows that there was a clear gender wage gap in the Shuttleworth household as well. Due to unknown ages and skills, here we concentrate on the comparisons between the best-paid male and female servants. In addition, another set of household accounts in northwest England is used to compare the general wage rates.

Table 2.5 The wage rates of best-paid male and female servants

Periods	Highest male wage (per year)	Highest female wage (per year)	Average ratio (Male: Female)
1582-1599	£2 16s 8d	£1 10s	1.9:1
1600-1606	£3 6s 8d	£1 6s 8d	2.5:1
1609-1611	£3 6s 8d	£2	1.7:1
1617-1621	£4	£1 6s 8d	3:1

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-9.

Table 2.5 compares the wage levels of the best-paid servants in four periods. The average wage ratio of the best-paid male servants to the best-paid female servants fluctuated over time. Between 1582 and 1599, the highest annual wages were paid to Elizabeth Ainsworth (£1 10s per year) and Peter Ashton (£2 16s 8d per year), and the wage ratio was 1.9:1, which was close to the average ratio calculated by Whittle for male and female servants between the mid-fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries (2:1).⁵⁴ When building Gawthorpe Hall between 1600 and 1606, three female servants and one male servant received the highest annual wages, which were £1 6s 8d and £3 6s 8d per year respectively, and the wage ratio rose to 2.5:1. Between 1609 and 1611, Eleanor Atherton, the best-paid female servant, received £2 per year, while the five best-paid male servants received £3 6s 8d per year, reducing the ratio to 1.7:1.⁵⁵ As the highest annual salary received by male servants rose to £4 per year between 1616 and 1621, and the highest yearly payment to female servants maintained £1 6s 8d per year, the ratio increased to 3:1 during this period.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England c. 1450-1650', p. 95.

⁵⁵ As some servants were paid as a group in 1612 and 1613, data of these two years are excluded.

⁵⁶ Between 1616 and 1621, female nurses hired by the Shuttleworths were paid £4 per year, which was the highest. Due to their specialised skills, they were excluded. In addition, the highest year-wage of female servants was calculated here based on the highest quarterly wage 6s 8d.

Contrary to the rising trend of wages received by the best-paid male servants from 1582 to 1621, the best-paid female servants were always paid less. Eleanor Atherton was a skilled servant with a high position, as her quarterly wage was far higher than that received by other female servants. When Eleanor was paid 10s per quarter between 1609 and 1611, other female servants hired during the same period were normally paid 6s per quarter. In addition, although there were severe crises in northwest England in the years 1587-88, and 1597-98, it seems that the wages paid by the Shuttleworths were not influenced by these crises. In summary, there was a wage gap between the best-paid male and female servants throughout the period, although the size of that gap varied over time.

The wages paid by the Shuttleworths can be compared with legal wage levels as well. Whittle argues that the actual wages paid to many servants exceeded the legal limits in early seventeenth-century England.⁵⁷ When focusing on the best-paid servants, the findings in the Shuttleworth accounts show that this was the case here too.

A wage assessment for Lancashire survives for 1595. This set the highest wage of male servants was 40s per year with livery or 8s for the same.⁵⁸ Although the evidence was scarce, the Shuttleworth accounts recorded some information about liveries. For example, on 22 April 1597, the household spent £27 10s on purchasing the liveries.⁵⁹ Although there were no similar records about the purchase of liveries after that, there was a record about the payment for the carriage of liveries from Bolton in April 1612, leading to the assumption that at least the best-paid servants in the household were provided with liveries during this period. The highest yearly wage rates received by male servants increased from £2 8s per year between 1597 and 1599, to £3 6s 8d or £4 per year between 1600 and 1621. These wage rates were always higher than the legal regulation, and the gap was widening over time. A similar change can be found among female servants. When the highest female legal wage rate of Lancashire in 1595 was 13s 4d per year, the highest female wage in the Shuttleworth accounts

⁵⁷ Whittle, *Servants in Rural Europe, 1400-1900*, p. 13.

⁵⁸ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. III, The Later Tudors (1588-1603)* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1969), p. 149.

⁵⁹ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 59.

increased from 18s per year between 1597 and 1599, to £1 6s 8d - £2 per year between 1600 and 1621.⁶⁰

Regional differences in the wage levels of the best-paid servants have been discussed by Whittle; here the evidence in the Shuttleworth accounts can be used to make further comparisons.⁶¹ The wage levels of the best-paid servants in the Shuttleworth household were far less than the salaries paid to other estate stewards who mainly received £20 - £40 per year in the seventeenth century.⁶² Compared with the best-paid male servants whose yearly wages ranged from £3 6s 8d to £8 per year in south and midland England between 1604 and 1654, the wage levels received by the best-paid male servants hired by the Shuttleworths ranked towards the lower end.⁶³ However, these wage levels were not that low when compared with Henry Best's payment to his senior servants in Yorkshire in 1617 and 1618, which was only £3 per annum.⁶⁴ The highest female wage in the Shuttleworth household was also one of the lowest when compared with those in other parts of England.⁶⁵ And again, it was only higher than that of Henry Best of Elmswell: Best paid £1 6s, the highest annual wage rate, to his female servants in 1617.⁶⁶

Other local household accounts provide further evidence of the low wage rates in northwest England. The accounts of the Fells at Swarthmoor Hall between 1673 and 1678 provided some useful information. Swarthmoor Hall is located in the Furness area of northern Lancashire. The most common annual wage rate received by female servants hired by the Fells was £1 10s per year, which was similar to that received by female servants hired by the Shuttleworths (£1 - £1 4s per year) more than 50 years before. The best-paid female servants in both households received £2 per year. Regarding the wage rates of male servants, while the most common wage rates in the Shuttleworth accounts were £2 per year, male servants hired by the Fells received between £2 10s and £3 per year with clothing that might be valued at 10s or more.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. III*, p. 149.

⁶¹ Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England c. 1450-1650', pp. 94-5.

⁶² J. T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, 1999), p. 114.

⁶³ Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', table 3.2, p. 72. Five household accounts from Berkshire, Kent, Norfolk, Herefordshire and Devon are compared together.

⁶⁴ Woodward (ed.), *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best*, pp. 164-6.

⁶⁵ Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', table 3.3, p. 74.

⁶⁶ Woodward (ed.), *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best*, p. 164.

⁶⁷ Shammass, 'The World Women Knew', p. 110.

2.4.2 'Tabling' servants

Similar to other households, the Shuttleworths also provided board and lodging to their servants, and particularly, kept some records about 'tabling' servants. 'Tabling fees' were paid to local inhabitants who were tenants of this gentry family for providing food and drink to wage workers. Since Chapter 5 discusses the tabling fees in detail, here we shall concentrate on the example of William Duckworth. William Duckworth was a permanent servant who had worked for the Shuttleworths since 1582 and received £1 6s 8d per year. He lived at Tingreave, Eccleston, and his service may have lasted until 1602 when there was an entry showing that 40s were paid for 'Duckworth's last half year's table'.⁶⁸ While his annual wage maintained the same level, the payment for tabling him changed over time. In most years, the cost of feeding him was £4 per year; it reached its lowest cost in 1584 and 1586 at £3 6s 8d per year, and rose to its highest in 1587 at £4 13s 4d per year.

This tabling fee was much less than that provided by Robert Loder as he calculated that the cost of each adult's consumption in the household, including servants, ranged from £9 to £11 per year in Berkshire in 1610-20.⁶⁹ Combined with the unchanged money wage, the actual annual income of William Duckworth ranged from £5 13s 4d to £6 per year, leading to the conclusion that the cost of his diet constituted 70 – 77 per cent of his whole wages per year. This proportion is similar to Whittle's calculation that board and lodging made up 77 per cent of the income received by servants in Robert Loder's household.⁷⁰

In addition, it is important to note that the 'tabling fee' may contain two parts: the cost of food and drink for feeding servants and the payment for the cooks' labour. Since William Duckworth did not live with the Shuttleworths, it would be inappropriate to use the cost of feeding him to evaluate that of feeding other live-in servants. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that those live-in servants hired by this household would consume at least the same amount of calories as William, because the calories contained in the provisions must fulfil the basic needs for doing the diverse tasks required.

⁶⁸ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 104.

⁶⁹ G. E. Fussell (ed.), *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610-1620* (Camden Society, 1936). For detailed analysis about servants' consumption, see Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England', pp. 95-6.

⁷⁰ Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England', p. 96.

2.4.3 Gifts

Gifts were another important component of servants' actual income. Based on the Shuttleworth accounts and wills of Sir Richard Shuttleworth, Lawrence Shuttleworth and Thomas Shuttleworth, the gifts received by servants hired by the Shuttleworths between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can be divided into two types: money gifts and material gifts.⁷¹

Money gifts in the household accounts were paid in different ways. For example, Henry Whitfeld, a cook, received 26s 6d for 'wage and gift' on 28 July 1621.⁷² In addition, it is common to find money gifts when servants left the household. For example, after serving at least one year at Smithills, Michel Buke was given another 6d when he left the household on 14 October 1583.⁷³ After paying Jane Claiton 6s 6d for her quarter wage on 17 January 1619/20, she was given another 3s 4d on 24 January when she left Gawthorpe.⁷⁴ These kinds of money gifts were recorded in the wills of Sir Richard Shuttleworth, Lawrence Shuttleworth and Thomas Shuttleworth as well.⁷⁵ Their wills recorded the bequests of different amount of cash to almost all their servants, as shall be discussed in the following part.

The Shuttleworths provided some material gifts to their servants as well. In 1600, Lawrence Shuttleworth paid 21d to buy eight pairs of gloves for his male work-servants, including a cowboy, although this may have been part of preparations for building Gawthorpe Hall or for harvest. Thomas Shuttleworth's will recorded not only the quarter wage due to James Yate but also the bequest of a pair of shoes and a doublet to him.⁷⁶

Among these material gifts, it is noticeable that the Shuttleworths kept providing clothes for the young boys employed. The kitchen boy received a pair of shoes from his employer on 2 February 1596/7, which cost 2s.⁷⁷ Tom, a cowboy, received a pair of shoes, shirts, and a pair of stockings in March and June 1601, and later in January 1601/2. Bill Whythead received a pair of breeches, a doublet

⁷¹ LA DDKS 33/1, will of Thomas Shuttleworth (1593); PROB 11/112/11, will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth (1599); PROB 11/112/10 p. 424, will of Lawrence Shuttleworth (1608).

⁷² LA DDKS 18/9 p. 138.

⁷³ LA DDKS 18/1 p. 20.

⁷⁴ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 106.

⁷⁵ LA DDKS 33/1, will of Thomas Shuttleworth (1593); PROB 11/112/11, will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth (1599); PROB 11/112/10 424, will of Lawrence Shuttleworth (1608). More detailed information about the gifts to servants in wills will be discussed further below.

⁷⁶ LA DDKS 33/1, will of Thomas Shuttleworth (1593).

⁷⁷ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 54.

made of sheep skin and a pair of stockings in January 1604/5 and February 1605/6. Six yards of canvas were used for making breeches and a doublet for the kitchen boy on 28 July 1612.⁷⁸ More evidence like this can be found in the seventeenth century accounts of this household.

Generosity or charity alone cannot fully explain this increased phenomenon, but we can find some clues from the social context. To solve the problem of poverty, the 1563 Statute of Artificers made service compulsory. Under these clauses, it was unacceptable for a young adult to live with their parents in England unless the parents had significant wealth or land sufficient with which to employ their child.⁷⁹ In terms of children, these rules dated back to 1535 when the legislation stated that children aged between five and fourteen may be put to service if they lived in idleness or were taken begging.⁸⁰ Later statutes provided more detailed regulations about the ages of children, and it was ordered that those children whose parents were thought not to be able to keep and maintain them were to be apprenticed until 24 if male or 21 if female in the Poor Law of 1598. In 1601, an amendment was added allowing poor girls to leave apprenticeship earlier to get married.⁸¹

The Shuttleworth family reacted positively to the statutes of 1598 and 1601 by providing money for poor relief. For example, on 17 May 1599, the Shuttleworths paid Alexander Sweetelove 10s 6d for the relief of the poor of Bolton parish between 6 May and 29 July.⁸² Although we cannot tell whether these boys hired by the Shuttleworths were orphans or not, and some boys were unnamed which means that we cannot track them, it is reasonable to deduce that the household was retaining parish apprentices and providing them with clothing.

To summarise, although servants hired by the Shuttleworths were paid less than those hired in southern England, the best-paid male servants within this household were always paid more than their female counterparts. In particular, there was a rising trend in wages among those best-paid male servants who were hired by the Shuttleworths from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century.

⁷⁸ LA DDKS 18/8 p. 163.

⁷⁹ Tim Wales, 'Living at their own hands': policing poor households and the young in early modern rural England', *Agricultural History Review*, 61.1 (2013), 19-39.

⁸⁰ 27 Henry VIII, c.25, 1535.

⁸¹ Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England c. 1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 171-223. Hindle provides a detailed introduction about the change of regulations on children, see note 95, p. 196.

⁸² LA DDKS 18/3 p. 111.

In addition, the actual wage rates paid to the best-paid servants were higher than the 1595 legal wage assessment of Lancashire, and the gap was increasing from the late sixteenth century. Regarding other forms of wages, the value of food and drink provided by the Shuttleworths accounted for a large proportion of farm servants' wages, which would be quite attractive to young people who could hardly afford the high cost of living at that time. Besides, both money gifts and material gifts showed that the Shuttleworths were generous towards their servants, although some long-term agricultural servants did not receive wage increases during their whole period of service.

2.5 Relationships between the Shuttleworths and servants

The relationship between employers and employees is another important issue in the working lives of servants. Studies on the accounts of the Humphrey and Newdigate families found two opposite types of relationship between servants and gentry households: Humphrey's good reputation would be an important reason why servants chose to serve this household, while Newdigate's strict policies were responsible for the significant turnover of servants.⁸³ Although such records are rare, some information about the relationship between the Shuttleworths and servants can be deduced from the household accounts and wills left by the Shuttleworths. Based on these two types of sources, this discussion is divided into two parts: the relationship between the Shuttleworths and senior servants, and the relationship between the Shuttleworths and common servants.

Firstly, the close relationship between the Shuttleworths and their senior servants can be demonstrated by money-borrowing. Robert Ainsworth, a servant of Sir Richard Shuttleworth, paid back £10 to Richard in 1597 and then borrowed £100 from Lawrence Shuttleworth in 1602 based on his bond.⁸⁴ Although we do not have clues as to what Robert Ainsworth did with the money, the account recorded him as Mr. Robert Ainsworth, which indicates that his own personal reputation had been built before 1602. Another steward, Anthony Wilkinsone, was a tenant of the Shuttleworths and was paid back £20, a debt from Col. Richard Shuttleworth, in December 1610.⁸⁵ Such connections could extend to the credit

⁸³ Youngs, 'Servants and labourers', 145-60; Hindle, 'Below stairs at Arbury Hall', 71-88.

⁸⁴ Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part I, pp. 119, 145.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.197.

relationships between the Shuttleworths and servants' families. For example, Thomas Duckworth's mother was paid £9 as a loan in April 1620.⁸⁶

The loyalty of senior servants is also evidenced by the fact that some of them followed the Shuttleworths and moved from Smithills to Gawthorpe. James Yate appeared in the accounts on 4 April 1595 for the first time, when he was paid 30s for working three quarters as a schoolmaster.⁸⁷ In the will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth, he was paid £3 for his wage and was bequeathed shoes and a doublet.⁸⁸ After moving to Gawthorpe, James was employed again between June 1606 and July 1608, with a higher annual salary, £3 6s 8d per year. In the will of Lawrence Shuttleworth in 1608, James was described as a 'faithful and trusty servant' and was given £20.⁸⁹ After Lawrence's death, James served in the household at least until 1619. Another employee was James Shuttleworth, who might have been a relative of this family. He worked in the household from 1596 and was paid £1 13s 4d per year. After moving to Gawthorpe, it seems that he did not receive yearly wages again. He worked as a dish-thrower in November 1604, and received a sum of 4s for working twelve days.⁹⁰ In Lawrence's will, James was bequeathed £5. Edward Sherburn and Abraham Coulthurst were another two senior servants who followed the Shuttleworths as well. Both kept the accounts during their service.

Evidence of the relationship between the Shuttleworths and common servants can be found in the following two phenomena: commercial connections and employment. Commercial connections were common between the Shuttleworths and common servants' families. The accounts left plenty of records about the purchasing of daily consumptions from local families. For example, in October 1611 and October 1613, the household paid 10s 7d and 20s separately to the cook's wife for butter.⁹¹ This kind of transaction can be also found between the Shuttleworths and other local families who were probably tenants of the gentry household. The wife of Robert Stones, for example, appeared in the accounts for

⁸⁶ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 108.

⁸⁷ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 15. While tracking James Yate on the accounts, three names appeared, James Yeate, James Yate and James Yates. After comparing the notes and accounts, it seems that John Harland believed that these three names might be the same person. We adopted the same opinion here, but it is necessary to point out the name James Yeate did not first appear in December 1596 but April 1595 by comparing the same spelling. See, Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part IV, pp. 1132-33, 1171.

⁸⁸ PROB 11/112/11, will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth (1599).

⁸⁹ PROB 11/112/10, will of Lawrence Shuttleworth (1608).

⁹⁰ Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part I, p. 159.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.196, 211.

two kinds of tasks, selling chickens to the household, and tabling servants such as William Wood and threshers at Hoole for different lengths of time.

This kind of commercial connection was not specific to the Shuttleworths, as it has been recorded in other household accounts. For example, the Le Strange accounts recorded food gifts to the family, although this kind of gift only comprised a relatively low proportion of this household's acquisition of food.⁹² Obviously, this kind of local transaction was good to both sides because it avoided the cost of travelling, but it is also important to remember that the daily consumption of the household could hardly be met by this kind of irregular supplement.

Regarding employment, some servants continued to work for the Shuttleworths after finishing their service but were paid by the day or task. For example, Peter Stones did some agricultural tasks including mowing and shearing and was paid accordingly, after he left service in May 1592. Richard Longworth was another servant who stayed with the Shuttleworths for a long period. He worked as a day labourer after ending his contract in August 1592, but later returned to work as a servant again from 3 November 1594.

When some mature servants were working for the Shuttleworths' household, sometimes their family members would be employed. For example, in 1612, when William Wood delivered goods for the household and received payment, his wife was also paid 7s 10d 'for ashes and *baucking* [bowking or backing] of 44 haspes of yarn'.⁹³ Although we do not know how long this task took and whether she got help from others, we can assume that she undertook this task partly because of her husband's connection with the Shuttleworths. When Oliver Stones of Smithills was serving the household in 1595, his brother was also hired by the Shuttleworths to do some tasks but worked as a casual labourer.⁹⁴

The wills of the Shuttleworths show the generosity of this family to their employees as well. In the 1593 will of Thomas Shuttleworth, his bequests to servants were divided into three categories: those who were perhaps hired by Thomas himself were given 10s per person, including John Woodruff, William Kenion and Robert Aspeden; those who wore Sir Richard's clothes or liveries

⁹² Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, pp. 50-85.

⁹³ Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths*, Part I, p.199.

⁹⁴ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 27.

were given 5s per person, while work servants were given 2s per person; and finally, those hired by his father Hugh Shuttleworth were given 2s per person.⁹⁵

In the 1599 will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth, he bequeathed to his cousin and servant Nicholas Grimshawe the yearly sum of £3 'during all the said several terms in the said tithe in Hool'.⁹⁶ Abraham Coulthurst and John Folden, another two senior male servants, were also given the yearly sum of £3 for ten years after Sir Richard's death. James Yate, the schoolmaster, received the sum of 40s, and John Woodruff of Burnley was bequeathed £10. Of the common servants: everyone who wore his clothes or liveries at the time of his death was given 44s 1d per person; other household and menial servants who dwelled at the time of his death were given 20s; and every other servant was given a lesser sum.⁹⁷

The 1608 will of Lawrence Shuttleworth shows that Lawrence was more generous towards his servants than his two brothers, although it also recorded different levels of bequests to servants. The highest bequest was £20, which was given to Gilbert Grimshawe and James Yates respectively. Edward Sherburn and Arthur Michel received £10 each. Abraham Coulthurst and James Shuttleworth were bequeathed £5 each. For common servants, those who stayed in Gawthorpe or Whichford for at least two years were given one quarter of their year wage; while those who had not worked so long would be given 5s 1d per person.⁹⁸

Based on these three wills, it is easy to see that although the Shuttleworths' personal relationships with servants influenced their bequests to certain people, the household preserved a clear classification among servants from the 1590s to the 1600s. Although Whittle finds that female servants outnumbered male servants in the bequests to servants between 1450 and 1640, this was not the case in the Shuttleworths' wills.⁹⁹ This is understandable, as female servants hired by the Shuttleworths received the lowest annual wages and were outnumbered by men.

However, it is important to stress that there was a specific connection between the household and local women. As mentioned above, some farm servants such

⁹⁵ LA DDKS 33/1, will of Thomas Shuttleworth (1593).

⁹⁶ PROB 11/112/11, will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth (1599), p. 426.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁹⁸ PROB 11/112/10, will of Lawrence Shuttleworth (1608), p. 424. Whichford is located in Warwickshire. Lawrence lived at Whichford from at least 1586. After he inherited the land from his brother Sir Richard, he lived at Whichford and Gawthorpe alternatively.

⁹⁹ Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England', 54-6.

as Robert Aspeden, William Duckworth and William Wood often travelled to work on different farms, such as Hoole and Tingreave, especially when the Shuttleworths lived at Smithills between 1582 and 1599. The accounts recorded payments to local people for tabling these farm servants. These records make it clear that it was women who undertook the task of tabling servants, although they were normally recorded as the wives of their husbands, such as 'William wife Stones', 'Robert wife Stones of Hoole' and 'Birchall wife'.¹⁰⁰ These women also undertook some farm work such as weeding the barley.¹⁰¹ Some records only mentioned male names; for example, Henry Dicconson, a tenant of the Shuttleworths, tabled William Duckworth for a long time in Eccleston. It is unclear who did the task of cooking, but it is likely to have been his wife or daughter.

There is no doubt that traditional domestic work, such as cooking, can be also regarded as an important way of earning money. In fact, this kind of 'tabling' was not something new for rural workers in the sixteenth century. Dating back to the thirteenth century, 'manorial documents recorded both the common table, the Lord's mensa, and the employment of women to cook for the labourers'.¹⁰² However, the Shuttleworth accounts show that women's work, including rearing poultry and providing food for servants, was paid either in cash wages or with certain rights to the land, indicating the value of women's traditional unpaid work.¹⁰³

Conclusion

The Shuttleworths provided good employment opportunities for young men and women who wanted to earn money or learn skills during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although the types of tasks undertaken by Shuttleworth servants were similar as those undertaken by other servants hired in other areas of early modern England, detailed analysis on the employment pattern of servants who worked in rural Lancashire from 1582 to 1621 showed some different characteristics.

This household had a clear preference for male servants. The number of servants employed by the Shuttleworths was increasing gradually in the late sixteenth

¹⁰⁰ See for example, LA DDKS 18/2 p. 48.

¹⁰¹ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 49.

¹⁰² Postan, 'The Famulus', 14.

¹⁰³ Most recent discussion about domestic work, see Jane Whittle, 'A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and The Pre-Industrial Economy', *Past and Present*, 243.1 (2019), 35–70.

century, indicating that it was the household's demand, rather than demographic changes, cost of living and real wages, that played a key role in the employment of servants in this gentry household.

Regarding the length of service, this ranged from several weeks to seventeen years in the Shuttleworth accounts. Focusing on four complete periods, 1583, 1586-98, 1600-02 and 1605, the average length of service was three years, which was longer than Kussmaul's and Whittle's calculations (1 year and 2.3 years respectively). In addition, the average length of service in this household showed gendered differences: male servants worked 3.5 years and female servants worked 1.7 years. Farm servants stayed the longest, and their average working length reached 4.5 years.

The comparison of the best-paid servants' wage levels shows that both male and female servants were paid higher than the rates in the 1595 wage assessment of Lancashire, although wages were low when compared with households in southern England. The gender wage gap between the best-paid male and female servants was apparent and fluctuated over time, with male servants more likely to receive higher wage rates. Regarding other types of wages, the cost of diet accounted for around three quarters of the actual wages, and both cash and material goods were given to servants. In particular, the increasing provision of clothes to boys in the early seventeenth century indicate that the Shuttleworths responded actively to poor relief.

The Shuttleworths held tolerant and open attitudes towards their servants. This household showed clear trust to senior male servants, as their credit connections were built during their service. In addition, the higher positions of servants were linked with higher bequests recorded in the wills of the Shuttleworths. In terms of general servants, it was more common to find small-scale commercial transactions and employment connections.

Last but not least, turning back to the discussion of wage labour, the value of women's domestic work has been demonstrated by providing food and drink for servants, especially when the Shuttleworths lived at Smithills between 1582 and 1599, leading to a reconsideration of the traditional unpaid work.

3. Casual labourers: day-wage labourers and task-wage labourers

Casual labourers are defined here as a group of workers who were hired and paid by the day or task to do general tasks mostly connected to agriculture. Compared with servants hired by the Shuttleworth family, casual labourers were less closely connected with the household as they enjoyed a more flexible employment pattern and did not live within the household as most servants did. However, casual labourers played an important role in the economy of the household and estate, especially at harvest time.

While focusing on this group of people, research can generally be divided into the following two categories: economic historians who rely on wage series to study labourers' living standards; social and economic historians who try to reconstruct labourers' lives by using more diverse documents.

Based on evidence of wages and prices, real wage data has been widely used by economic historians to study changes in living standards and long-term economic growth. In terms of research about agricultural labourers, it can be dated back to the nineteenth century, when Thorold Rogers argued that there was a 'Golden Age' of farm labourers in the fifteenth century.¹ For the early modern period, Gregory Clark, Jane Humphries, and Jacob Weisdorf have contributed significantly to research about casual agricultural labourers, although their research normally covers a longer period from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century.

Clark's two influential articles about male agricultural labourers were published in 2001 and 2007 respectively.² In 'Farm Wages and Living Standards', after building an index of male agricultural labourers' real wages, Clark argues that farm day labourers only improved their living standards after the 1820s, and that the agricultural revolution occurred in the early nineteenth century. In his later article 'The Long March of History', Clark broadens the wage data and builds a

¹ James E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour* (London, 1894), p. 326.

² Gregory Clark, 'Farm Wages and Living Standards in the Industrial Revolution: England, 1670-1869', *Economic History Review*, 54.3 (2001), 477-505; Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review*, 60.1 (2007), 97-135.

series of nominal day wages, allowing the calculation of the marginal product of labour (MPL) in agriculture and real wages from 1209 to 1869 to study economic growth. Based on these series, Clark concludes that after 1600 demographic change was replaced by technology as the main influence on labour productivity in English agriculture, and that the real wage index does not show higher living standards for agricultural workers before the industrial revolution.

Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf also build long-run wage series of workers to discuss some important economic issues. In 'The Wages of Women', they create a long-term wage series of unskilled English female workers, including casual female workers with daily or weekly wages and women with annual service contracts.³ After excluding the data from London and harvest seasons, their data is compared with that of male day wage data collected by Clark to explore the influence of changing markets on female labour over 600 years, particularly in the post-Black Death period and the era of industrialisation. In addition to the widening wage gap between casual male and female workers after the Black Death, the nominal daily wages of casual and annual female workers present some significant trends as well. The daily wages of casual female workers exceeded those of annual female workers after the Black Death and continued to do so until the late sixteenth century. From then onwards, the daily rates of annual female workers exceeded that of casual female workers, although the relative value of daily wages rose in around 1700, annual work once more became more beneficial than casual work during the era of industrialisation.⁴

However, this kind of study has some fundamental drawbacks. When focusing on agricultural labourers, the first problem is the unknown number of working days per year. In previous research about workers, there is an assumption that workers normally worked for 250 or 260 days per year, as was assumed by scholars such as Robert Allen, as well as Humphries and Weisdorf in their long run wage series.⁵ However, this assumption has been questioned from two perspectives: the availability of this number of working days, and the willingness of labourers to

³ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850', *Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), 405-47.

⁴ The changes on the daily wages of male and female workers can be found in Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 417.

⁵ See for example, Robert Allen, 'The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War', *Explorations in Economic History*, 38 (2001), 411-47; Robert Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 405-47.

work so many days per year.⁶

Addressing the problem caused by the unclear number of working days in the debate about England economic growth, Humphries and Weisdorf extend their research to investigate male agricultural workers, dividing them into men/helpers, servants, labourers, and unknown workers, and building an annual income series based on annual contracts.⁷ After comparing three series of wages: the annual income based on daily wage rates multiplied by 250 working days, the real annual income from annual work, and English per capita GDP, Humphries and Weisdorf not only cast doubt on the occurrence of the 'Golden Age' in the post-Black Death period, but also argue that the modern economic growth may have started from the late sixteenth century, rather than the late nineteenth century, although noting that the reason for the increased labour input needs to be explored further. While constructing their annual series, the actual annual working days stressed by Humphries and Weisdorf followed the same assumption as Clark and Van der Werf that both day workers with fixed day wage rates and annual workers would not work longer than the days needed to reach the same annual wage level.⁸ However, these assumptions can hardly reflect actual annual working days due to the changing demand from labour market.

Another issue is the meaning or role of the money wage to agricultural labourers, or, to put it another way, how much did these labourers depend on their money wages for a living? When scholars use different economic models to calculate labourers' nominal incomes, both the basic consumables and in-kind payments are transformed into monetary values, but the final real wage rates can only be recognised as the purchasing power of these workers' earnings.⁹ If workers could earn enough money and had access to land and livestock, would they be

⁶ John Hatcher has addressed these two aspects in his articles, see John Hatcher, 'Unreal Wages: Long-Run Living Standards and the "Golden Age" of the Fifteenth Century', in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Richard Birtnell*, ed. by Ben dodds and Christian D. Liddy (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 1-24; 'Labour, Leisure and Economic Thought before the Nineteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 160.1 (1998), 76-80.

⁷ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Unreal Wages? Real Income and Economic Growth in England, 1260-1850', *The Economic Journal*, 129 (2019), 2867-87. The categories about these workers see, Table 1, p. 2872. While collecting the annual data, Humphries and Weisdorf not only consider the annual servants but also those unskilled workers who were hired by actual days rather than previous assumptions.

⁸ To examine the influence of share of labour force and the day-annual pay gap on the annual earnings of the average worker, Humphries and Weisdorf established a model in their research, see, 'Unreal Wages?', 2881-3. Gregory Clark and Ysbrand Van Der Verf, 'Work in Progress? The Industrious Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 58.3 (1998), 830-43.

⁹ Craig Muldrew discusses the diverse variables in male wage rates, see, 'What is a Money Wage? Measuring the Earnings of Agricultural Labourers in Early modern England', in *Seven Centuries of Unreal Wages: The Unreliable Data, Sources and Methods That Have Been Used for Measuring Standards of Living in the Past*, ed. by John Hatcher and Judy Z. Stephenson (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 165-193.

attracted to the changing labour market to work for more money? Also, it is not unusual to find other connections between employers and employees during the Middle Ages and early modern period. For example, some tenants would work for their landlords during harvest in exchange for the right to land. The role of real wages may not be so significant in a partially self-sufficient economy, and it is inappropriate to use a modern proxy to review historical circumstances. If we only extract the entries of wage payments from the original accounts without considering the context, it leads to misunderstanding of the past.

When building the long-run series, different economic models are also used to avoid or minimise errors. Although scholars are shifting towards the wage series of a whole family, the simple collection of wage data from diverse account books hides the detailed characteristics of agricultural labourers' working lives, such as the impact of labour markets on the employment pattern, regional differences of diet and different types of tasks undertaken by agricultural labourers.¹⁰ Real wage series can be used as a general proxy to track long-term economic changes, but have a limited ability to reflect labourers' actual working lives.

In contrast to economic historians who rely on wage data to study agricultural labourers, other scholars have used diverse sources to explore labourers' lives. Alan Everitt used probate inventories, estate account books and diaries to reconstruct the life of farm labourers who lived during the Tudor and Stuart periods.¹¹ Everitt explored farm labourers' work, wages, their relationship with employers, and their domestic life, arguing that this group of people not only witnessed a peak of their wealth in the later sixteenth century and a decline in the first half of the seventeenth century, but also became increasingly differentiated within itself.¹² Unlike the long-run statistics, Everitt's research shows the diverse forms of agricultural work and payments, the contribution of women and children to family earnings from by-employments as well as agricultural tasks, and the contrasts between forest and fielden areas. However, Everitt did not distinguish day labourers from servants in husbandry. Instead, he divided rural labourers into cottage farmers, rural craft-workers, and labourers who depended solely on

¹⁰ See for example, Sara Horrell, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Beyond the male breadwinner: Life-cycle living standards of intact and disrupted English Working families, 1260-1850', *Economic History Review*, (2021), 1-31; Sara Horrell, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Family Standards of Living over the Long Run, England 1280-1850', *Past and Present*, (2021), 87-134.

¹¹ Alan Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 396-465.

¹² Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', p. 424.

wages, arguing that the cottage farmers, whom he also named as labourers in his chapter, accounted for one quarter of the labouring population.¹³

Craig Muldrew also uses probate inventories to study agricultural labourers in his book *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*.¹⁴ Contrary to the traditional pessimistic view, Muldrew presents a more optimistic picture of a relatively decent life for labourers in early modern England (except during some crisis periods). To reconstruct labourers' family income, Muldrew calculates women' earnings from spinning and agricultural work, children's work, the benefits of keeping cows and pigs, gleaning and collecting fuel, which is closer to the real life of labourers than the single real wage series.¹⁵ However, most of the inventories in his sample are from southern England, as was the evidence used by Snell and Everitt, for instance. In addition, Muldrew did not find enough evidence to support his research into workers who lived during the sixteenth century, mainly due to the lack of inventories made by people specifically described as labourers in this period.

There are also scholars who connect labourers with poverty in their research. Based on the payments recorded in overseers' accounts, in their book *Poverty and Piety in An English Village: Terling 1525-1700*, Keith Wrightson and David Levine reconstruct the minimum survival budget of a poor labourer's family with five persons in the later seventeenth century.¹⁶ Overseers' accounts are valuable as they reflect the opinion of the village elite on poverty and employment, but it is a pity that this type of source was not more widely preserved. Keith Snell uses settlement examinations in his research and depicts the miserable life of the labouring poor who lived in southern counties of rural England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ Although Snell focuses on a later period, his research is important in highlighting the influence of seasonal unemployment on sexual division of labour, especially on female workers, which provides an important perspective to analyse the division of labour during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁸ Nevertheless, despite the association between poverty

¹³ Ibid., pp. 419-20.

¹⁴ Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 257.

¹⁶ Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in An English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (New York, 1995).

¹⁷ Keith Snell, *The Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹⁸ The latest research, see Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern

and labourers, it is important to stress that not all labourers can be categorised as poor people. Material wealth was influenced by a range of factors during one's life cycle, such as age, gender and marital status, and fluctuated over time.

Based on household and farm accounts, a case-study approach has also been adopted by scholars to explore agricultural labourers who lived in medieval and early modern England.¹⁹ In these case studies, some common features of agricultural labourers, such as the types of tasks, wage levels and the seasonal unemployment, are explored in more depth. In addition, as a type of wage workers, day-labourers are not only analysed within local communities, showing the interaction between local economy and casual labourers, but also explored specifically in their relationship with employers. This kind of research method is helpful as it presents the exact lives of agricultural labourers from different backgrounds, although current studies concentrate on southern England. This is the approach taken in this thesis.

To explore the working lives of casual labourers who lived in Lancashire during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, based on the Shuttleworth accounts, parish registers and other types of sources, this chapter is divided into four parts: the nature of the data analysed in this chapter; the distribution of tasks and working patterns; the number of working days and labourers employed, and the wages of casual labourers. As well as comparisons between male and female labourers, more comparisons are made between casual labourers hired by the Shuttleworths and those hired in other parts of early modern England.

3.1 Data

As mentioned in the introduction, the Shuttleworth accounts are not preserved in an unbroken series. To track the changes on the employment of casual labourers, this chapter concentrates on the data of five periods: 1583, 1586-1598, 1600-02, 1605 and 1617-1620, when annual data were recorded clearly.²⁰ Regarding the data, it is necessary to address a number of issues.

England', *Economic History Review*, 73.1 (2020), 3-32.

¹⁹ See for example, Deborah Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne: the case of Newton, Cheshire, 1498-1520', *Agricultural History Review*, 47(1999), 145-60; A. H. Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part I], *Continuity and Change*, 4.1 (1989), 11-52; Jane Whittle, 'Servants, Labourers and Rural Craftsmen' in *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440-1580* (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 225-304; Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, 'The Employment of Labour' in *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household, The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 210-38.

²⁰ Taking the year as starting and finishing at Lady Day (25 March).

The first issue is the identification of casual labourers' occupations. Like other sets of accounts left in early modern period, not all entries in the Shuttleworth accounts provided detailed information about each labourer's occupation. In fact, detailed occupations only appeared regularly in the accounts when the Shuttleworths were building Gawthorpe Hall.²¹ Due to the different levels of detail in household and farm accounts, not every wage worker can be identified by HISCO and HISCLASS systems. Instead of relying on occupational information, more attention is paid here to the detailed descriptions of wage tasks. In fact, the work-task categories were not something new. In their project 'Forms of Labour', Jane Whittle and her team have used the evidence of work tasks recorded in church court depositions and quarter sessions examinations.²² Here, work categories and available occupations are combined to identify casual labourers, as well as craftsmen and specialists in the next chapter.

The second issue is the number of working days. Day labourers normally worked five or six days per week for their employers in early modern England. Scattered evidence of daily and weekly wage rates received by the same labourer indicate that labourers hired by the Shuttleworth family normally worked six full days to receive weekly wages. Alexander Ward, for instance, was paid 1s for working 12 days at hay in July 1588. He was paid 2s for working at hay for 4 weeks in August 1588.²³ Detail analysis of the 'tabling fee' in 3.4.1 further supports the evidence of six working days per week. Thus, this number of weekly working days is used in this chapter to calculate the number of working days.

Some labourers paid quarterly or yearly are excluded from the calculation of days worked and are discussed separately, as it is unclear how many days they worked for those wages. For example, James Cocket, a labourer who worked at Hoole from at least November 1582 to March 1599, was not only paid for some casual daily tasks such as ditching but also received 15s 3d per year as he was responsible for looking after lambs during the winter and making hedges for the demesne at Hoole. The calculated average daily wage rate, 0.59d, would not be reasonable if we use six working days per week. It is more likely that labourers such as James Cocket did certain tasks when needed and the quarterly or yearly wages worked as a 'credit' or 'deal' to make sure that these labourers would do

²¹ LA DDKS 18/4-7.

²² Detailed introduction about this project, see, <https://formsoflabour.exeter.ac.uk/>.

²³ LA DDKS 18/2 pp. 80, 82.

certain tasks when they were required.

The third issue is that the recorded wage rates and working days should be considered carefully as they might be misleading if we ignore the difference between 'single wage rate' and 'total wage rate'. It is easy to collect or calculate his/her working days from one entry that provided information about one worker. Also, when the description of certain tasks contained the information showing that 'every one of them', or 'either of them', this information could be used to confirm the exact working days of per worker. However, when several workers were recorded together in the same entry, the actual working days need to be considered carefully. For example, John Swayne and his man were paid 4.5d and 2.5d per day respectively on 31 January 1600/1.²⁴ However, on 7 February 1600/1, John Swayne and his man were paid 3s 6d for 6 days hewing stones at Gawthorpe at 7d/day.²⁵ It is clear that the rate of 7d/day was the sum of Swayne and his man's daily wage rates rather than the rate of 'a single labourer'. Taking this into consideration, it is concluded that Swayne and his man each worked six days when they received money on 7 February 1600/01.

However, other examples lead to an opposite conclusion. John Longworth was a labourer who was paid 1d per day when working at getting turves. This wage rate was consistent when he worked with his children. However, when John and his wife worked six days at turves in June 1586, they received 6d, which was the same as that earned by John when he worked alone.²⁶ The only reasonable explanation is that John Longworth and his wife worked as 'a unit of labour', and the six working days was the sum of their working days. A similar example can be found on 28 June 1592, when Oliver Stones' daughter and her brother were paid 11d for working 11 days at getting turf.²⁷ Here the 11 days should be regarded as the total working days as well. The payments to building labourers have the same problems. Thomas Willasill and James Roe were two building labourers hired to help building Gawthorpe Hall from 29 March 1600. Both received 6d per day when getting stones without food and drink. Based on this wage rate, the recorded two days' work undertaken by them for getting stones at

²⁴ LA DDKS 18/4 p. 49.

²⁵ LA DDKS 18/4 p. 51.

²⁶ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 12.

²⁷ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 240.

Riccliff on 15 April 1600 was the total number of working days.²⁸

To minimise the influence of different ways of recording on the calculation of working days and wage rates, the average wage rates and average working days are only used when no extra evidence is available to track the single wage rate and separate working days.

The fourth issue is related to the identification of names. The same sources as used in Chapter 1, the index of names provided by John Harland in the 1850s, the index of wills and inventories at Chester from 1545 to 1620, and the parish registers of Bolton and Padiham are used to identify labourers' names.²⁹ In addition, some wage workers who shared the same names could be different people. For them, further comparisons are made according to their working days and wage rates. For example, James Fouldes appeared in the accounts with four occupations: labourer, shearer, waller and wright. After comparing their working days, it is evident that there were three men named James Fouldes employed by the Shuttleworths; the man who was recorded as either labourer or shearer in the accounts was the same person. Thomas Cockshot and Thomas Cockshot the elder were paid for doing different tasks in 1602. The wage rate received by Thomas Cockshot ranged from 0.5d to 1.5d per day, while that of Thomas Cockshot the elder was higher and ranged from 2d to 2.5d per day, allowing them to be distinguished from one another.

After moving to Gawthorpe, it became more common for some labourers to be only recorded with their surnames. For example, Thomas Smalley was paid 11d for making the boy Watmough's clothes on 10 September 1602.³⁰ The same surname Smalley appeared several times from January 1601 to January 1603. Based on the same task, making clothes for young boys, and the fact that no other labourers were found with that surname during the same period, it is reasonable to assume that this was the same person. However, this method cannot be used for all labourers hired during the period 1617-20 as several

²⁸ LA DDKS 18/4 p.3.

²⁹ John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithills and Gawthorpe, from September 1582 to October 1621*, Part IV (Chetham Society, 1858-9), pp. 1137-71; J. P. Earwaker (ed.), *An Index to the Wills and Inventories at Chester, From A. D. 1545 to 1620* (The Record Society, 1879); Archibald Sparke (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bolton, Baptisms, 1573-4, 1590-1660, Weddings, 1573, 1587-1660, Burials, 1573-4, 1587-1660* (Bolton, 1913); John A. Laycock (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Padiham in the County of Lancaster, Christenings Burials and Weddings 1573 to 1653* (Wigan, 1903).

³⁰ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 115.

labourers shared the same surnames. For example, when Hargreaves and Whithead were paid together for doing different tasks, it is unclear if they were John Hargreaves or Richard Hargreaves, or John Whithead or James Whithead during this period. And thus, only a minimum assumption can be made about the number of labourers hired for that period to calculate the working days undertaken.

The final issue is the number of casual labourers. Casual labourers whose names were recorded could be counted relatively easily. For those who were only recorded as a number, with genders unknown, only limited information could be inferred. For example, when 11 people were paid 11d for washing sheep at Smithills on 4 June 1592, the following entry recorded that 15d was paid for *clipping* sheep at Smithills during the same day.³¹ And thus, 11 is also assumed to be the number of workers for *clipping* sheep that day.

3.2 The distribution of tasks

Generally, there was no fixed distribution of tasks among labourers as they were hired when needed and did a wide variety of tasks in different places, ranging from weeding in the garden to labouring on the farmland. Previous studies about the distribution of tasks among casual labourers can be divided into two types. The first category concentrates on skills. According to their specific skills, labourers were divided into specialist and non-specialist groups. The former includes shepherds, hedgers and ditchers, slaughterers, harness makers, mole-catchers and carriers; the latter includes threshing, hay mowing and general labouring duties.³² The second category contains further divisions of labour. Based on their work tasks, casual labourers in this group can be divided into three types: agricultural labourers whose tasks were connected directly with harvest or food processing; daily labourers hired to do some casual tasks, which were mostly related to the maintenance of land and household such as weeding, ditching and hedging; daily labourers hired without seasonal preferences for tasks were connected with building projects or textile production.³³

However, neither of these two general approaches imply that there was any

³¹ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 235.

³² Mark Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 42; Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 11-52.

³³ See for example, Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', 145-60; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, pp. 221-5.

specific connection between certain labourers and certain tasks. In fact, it is common for labourers to do a mixture of tasks during their employment. For example, when Richard Longworth worked for the Shuttleworths from 1583 to 1594, he was paid for doing diverse tasks, such as getting turves, mowing, shearing and ditching.³⁴ John Morres, another labourer, was paid 4s for driving the plough on the barley land at Lostock and for harrowing the same land on 27 May 1583.³⁵ In addition, not all these labourers were unskilled workers as some tasks done by them such as hedging and ditching were skilled occupations.

To have a better understanding of the distribution of tasks within the Shuttleworth accounts, the day wage data and task wage data are combined to calculate the amount of day labour data. As this section concentrates on tasks, the calculation is made according to the frequency with which each type of work appeared in the accounts. The principle is that one labourer doing a single type of task is defined as one unit of labour. And thus, on the one hand, for those paid for mixed tasks such as John Morres mentioned above, the type of task is added into each category accordingly; on the other hand, for those 'group labourers' who did the same tasks in the same entry, the amount of data is multiplied according to the number of labourers. However, for those who did different processes of textile-related tasks, they are not counted repeatedly. For example, when Giles Ainsworth was paid 11s for spinning and weaving 38 yards of cloth on 17 February 1594/5, he is identified as one instance here.³⁶

In all, as shown in table 3.1, 4,217 instances of labour are collected from five periods of the Shuttleworth accounts. Among these, the instances of labourers whose genders and names were unknown were 166, accounting for around four percent of the whole instances. Due to the damage and loss to the series of accounts, the data is less than the actual amount of labour. However, it provides enough information to explore the gendered distribution of wage tasks in the Shuttleworths' household. Based on the data, this part is divided into two sections: the categories of tasks undertaken by casual labourers who were hired by the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and multiple tasks undertaken by individual male labourers.

³⁴ LA DDKS 18/1-2.

³⁵ LA DDKS 18/1 p. 7.

³⁶ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 11.

3.2.1 The categories of tasks

Based on work categories, table 3.1 lists twenty types of tasks recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts. Detailed categories of tasks in these five selected periods can be found in Appendix I. Among these, some categories involved a variety of different activities. Building labourers are a complicated group. The mixed tasks undertaken by building labourers made it more difficult to give a clear classification of these labourers. In addition to general unskilled building labourers who were responsible for getting slate, getting and carrying stones, making and blending mortar, carrying or shifting timber, and getting wood, servers of craftsmen are included as well.³⁷ 'Hay harvest' includes getting, laying and tenting hay.³⁸ 'Grain processing' contains threshing, winnowing, dressing and drying corn and oats. 'Animal husbandry' includes rearing animals, driving beasts, and washing and shearing sheep. 'Maintaining land' is a comprehensive category as well, it contains tenting or keeping land, gripping, guttering and stubbing the land, dressing or cleaning meadows, and stirring fallows. 'Husbandry work' is recorded separately as this is a phase used by account keepers in the 1600s when no further information is provided about those labourers' tasks. 'Farm transport' and 'transport' are classified according to the different things transported. The former category is about carrying corn, hay and straw, the latter one is about carrying goods, including beasts and horses carried between two different places. 'Weeding and other labour in garden' contains weeding corn and oats, weeding and dressing garden, and planting trees in orchard. Tasks related to turves, dung and textile processing are classified accordingly.

'Miscellaneous tasks' is a mixed group as well, the tasks included in this category such as washing clothes, cleaning the stable and scaring crows from the corn appeared only occasionally. Details of the tasks included in 'miscellaneous tasks' can be found in Appendix II. The unspecified group is composed of those who were either recorded with names or the number of labourers but without detailed information about tasks.

³⁷ Other building labourers, such as apprentices and journeymen, are excluded discussed in the next chapter.

³⁸ 'Tenting' is a complicated word with diverse meanings. 'Tenting hay' and 'tenting ground or land' appeared frequently in the accounts. As the 'tenting ground or land' was normally recorded with the payment for different acres of land, this was identified as an abbreviation of 'tenting land of hay' in this thesis.

Table 3.1 Types of tasks undertaken by casual labourers

Types of tasks	1583	1586-98	1600-02	1605	1617-20	Total no. recorded
Building-related	0	75	1041	121	23	1260
Hay harvest	18	134	108	87	27	374
Grain processing	5	164	27	46	101	343
Corn harvest	3	172	51	59	34	319
Hedging and ditching	3	136	59	34	54	286
Mowing	1	91	46	25	26	189
Ploughing, harrowing and sowing	10	106	9	11	47	183
Textile-related	0	108	8	5	62	183
Turf-related	6	139	0	0	0	145
Farm transport	4	90	12	2	3	111
Animal husbandry	1	83	7	6	8	105
Maintaining land	0	40	5	17	14	76
Weeding and other labour in garden	9	7	10	2	35	63
Dung-related	0	25	4	5	18	52
Husbandry work	0	0	38	9	4	51
Transport	0	36	6	0	5	47
Calling*	0	0	19	6	19	44
Malting and brewing	1	0	0	0	0	1
Miscellaneous tasks	1	12	12	1	4	30
Unspecified	36	224	37	6	52	355
Total no. recorded	98	1642	1499	442	536	4217

Notes: (*) Calling is a poorly defined task found in the Shuttleworth accounts. According to the notes provided by John Harland, calling has several meanings in the accounts: 1) bird calls, artificial calls made by different materials to catch birds; 2) the shouting of the lad employed to scare crows from corn fields; 3) in northern dialect, a call is an outlet of water from a dam, the letting of such water; 4) 'calling' means the making of wears in Cumberland. See, John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithills and Gawthorpe, from September 1582 to October 1621*, Part III (Chetham Society, 1858-9), pp. 484, 499.

The instances of haymakers recorded between 1617 and 1620 were significantly lower than the actual ones, mainly because some haymakers were only recorded with different piece rates for male and female workers. Without the information about working days and numbers of male and female workers, the number of workers cannot be calculated here. Detailed categories of tasks in these five selected periods can be found in Appendix I.

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9.

In all these 4,217 instances of day labour data, 3,650 instances (86.6 per cent)

related to male labourers, only 401 instances (9.5 per cent) to female labourers. Some tasks, such as mowing corn or hay, filling or spreading dung, hedging and ditching, were solely undertaken by male labourers for the Shuttleworths. Only three female labourers did building-related tasks in these five selected periods. Two women were paid for gathering lime stones in October 1587 and June 1618 respectively.³⁹ Elizabeth Hallywall was employed by the Shuttleworths between 1589 and 1594 and did diverse tasks. She was the only female server of craftsmen and worked 10 days for serving the thatcher in July 1592, receiving 15d for her labour.⁴⁰

Although the dominant role of men in strenuous tasks mentioned above could be explained by the gendered differences in strength or the labour efficiency, as argued by Joyce Burnette, the tasks available to female labourers were limited in other ways as well.⁴¹ Table 3.2 lists 401 instances of tasks undertaken by female workers during the five selected periods. It is clear that female labour concentrated on hay and corn harvest tasks, accounting for 53.1 per cent of all the female labour data. Textile-related tasks were the third largest category, which recorded 53 instances of female labour. Winnowing grain, turf-related tasks (particularly getting turves), sheep husbandry and weeding were another four common tasks undertaken by women. The variety of tasks undertaken by female labourers hired by the Shuttleworths in the five selected periods are similar to Overton's findings about the participation of female labour in early modern England. Overton argues that both men and women did same tasks except those particularly labour-demanding ones which were dominated by male labourers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴²

³⁹ LA DDKS 18/9 p.66.

⁴⁰ LA DDKS 18/2 pp. 245-6.

⁴¹ Joyce Burnette, 'An investigation of the female-male wage gap during the industrial revolution in Britain', *Economic History Review*, 50.2 (1997), 274-6.

⁴² Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England*, p. 188.

Table 3.2 Types of tasks undertaken by female labourers

Types of tasks	1583	1586-98	1600-02	1605	1617-20	Total no. recorded
Hay harvest	0	24	68	60	3	155
Corn harvest	0	7	17	28	6	58
Textile-related	0	49	1	0	3	53
Winnowing	1	34	0	0	2	37
Turf-related	0	30	0	0	0	30
Sheep husbandry	0	18	4	0	0	22
Weeding in the garden	4	0	1	0	14	19
Building related	0	3	0	0	1	4
Driving thatch	0	4	0	0	0	4
Sowing	0	0	2	0	0	2
Farm transport	0	2	0	0	0	2
Dressing corn	0	1	0	0	0	1
Washing clothes	0	0	0	0	1	1
Unspecified	1	6	2	3	1	13
Total no. recorded	6	178	95	91	31	401

Source: as in table 3.1.

The exact tasks undertaken by female labourers hired by the Shuttleworths were not identical with those undertaken by their counterparts in other parts of England. Carole Shammas analyses different types of tasks undertaken by male and female workers who provided goods and services to the Fells of the Furness district of Lancashire between 1673 and 1678.⁴³ Her findings show that the top three types of work undertaken by female labourers were spinning, gathering

⁴³ Carole Shammas, 'The World Women Knew: Women Workers in the North of England During the Late Seventeenth Century', in *The World of William Penn*, ed. by Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 99-115.

manure and haywork.⁴⁴ Keith Snell argues that female labourers in south-east England did diverse agricultural tasks before 1750, including 'reaping, loading and spreading, ploughing, threshing, thatching, following the harrow, sheep shearing, and even working as shepherdesses.'⁴⁵ Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood's research on south-west England shows that women played a dominant role in winnowing and were an important proportion of those shearing sheep.⁴⁶ Among the tasks recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts, as noted above, the largest number of female labourers participated in hay and corn harvests, textile-related tasks, winnowing, turf-related and sheep husbandry. No women were found gathering manure, ploughing, threshing, harrowing or working as shepherdesses in the Shuttleworth accounts. In addition, the instances of female labourers who participated in sheep husbandry may have been less than the actual ones, partly because unknown labourers are excluded here. For example, 10 unnamed persons were paid 23d for shearing sheep at Smithills in June 1593.⁴⁷ Between 1586 and 1598, at least 42 labourers involved in sheep husbandry were not recorded with further information to identify their genders. This was also the case for 1605 and 1617-20, when there were unknown labourers who worked at sheep husbandry. In terms of winnowing, the dominant role of women was concentrated in the period 1586-98, when 13 female labourers and 6 male labourers were paid for this task.⁴⁸

A further comparison can be made regarding the gender division of labour from the Shuttleworth accounts. Seven types of tasks listed in table 3.3 are selected because of the high participation of female labour (as shown in table 3.2). Instances of unknown labour are excluded due to the unclear gender: 18 instances of labour in hay harvest, 64 in corn harvest, 51 in animal husbandry, 14 in turf-related tasks and 14 in textile-related tasks. Although the distribution of the labour force in animal husbandry could be influenced directly by these excluded instances, male labour would maintain the dominant role in categories such as 'turf-related' even if these tasks were done by female labourers. In fact, among the remaining categories, only in 'winnowing' did the proportion of female labour

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-9.

⁴⁵ Snell, *The Annals of the Labouring Poor*, p. 52.

⁴⁶ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', 16-7.

⁴⁷ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 287.

⁴⁸ As some labourers were only recorded with surnames between 1617 and 1620, if they were assumed the same persons, then the minimum numbers of male and female labourers who winnowed during that period would be 6 and 2 respectively.

exceed that of male labour. In terms of harvest work, both Youngs' and Smith's studies show that a high proportion of female workers were hired during harvest times.⁴⁹ However, evidence from the Shuttleworth accounts shows that male labourers played a more important role than female labourers in both hay and corn harvest, although yearly changes in the number of harvesters needs to be taken into consideration, which is discussed further in the next section. Regarding weeding, this was different from the work distribution in Bacons' accounts as well. This task was dominated solely by female labourers hired by Nathaniel Bacon of Norfolk in 1593-4.⁵⁰

Table 3.3 The gender division of labour in selected tasks

Types of tasks	No. of male	Male (%)	No. of female	Female (%)	Total no. recorded
Hay harvest	201	56.5	155	43.5	356
Corn harvest	197	77.3	58	22.7	255
Textile-related	116	68.6	53	31.4	169
Winnowing	30	44.8	37	55.2	67
Turf-related	101	77.1	30	22.9	131
Animal husbandry	32	59.3	22	40.7	54
Weeding	44	69.8	19	30.2	63

Note: the number of unknown labour is excluded in the total number.

Source: As in table 3.1.

Textile-related tasks in the Shuttleworth accounts were an important subset of tasks where women also participated alongside men. One hundred eighty-three instances are collected from 1583, 1586-98, 1600-02, 1605 and 1617-20, among which, there were 53 and 116 instances of female and male labour respectively. Compared to the 49 instances of female labour in 1586-98, there were 45 instances of male labour recorded in that period. However, the figure for male labour rose to 59 in 1617-20, while only 3 instances were found of female labour in textile work. It seems that female labour was gradually replaced by male labour

⁴⁹ Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', 157; Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 28-30.

⁵⁰ Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], Appendix IV, 44-6.

in textile production in the early seventeenth century. This conclusion can be further supported by the change in the numbers of male and female labourers employed for textile-related tasks over time: when the number of male labourers rose from 16 to 19, the number of female labourers reduced from 42 to 3 over time.⁵¹

To further explore the gender distribution of work within the textile industry, table 3.4 lists the instances of male and female labour in different categories of textile-related tasks in the Shuttleworths over time. Unlike previous tables, table 3.4 separates those who did different procedures within the textile industry according to the different tasks undertaken. For example, when Giles Ainsworth was paid for spinning and weaving linen cloth on 17 February 1594/5, he was added into both 'spinning' and 'weaving'.⁵² In addition, although tailors are a type of craftsmen, they are included in the discussion as some of them were paid for making clothes without occupations stated in the early seventeenth century. Thus, 175 records are collected from the Shuttleworth accounts.

⁵¹ The frequent use of surname 'Smalley' and one labourer was recorded as 'tailor' made it impossible to give an exact number of labourers who were paid for textile-related tasks in the early seventeenth century. Thus, 22 is a minimum assumption for the number of those labourers. There were 3 female labourers and 19 male labourers respectively.

⁵² LA DDKS 18/3 p. 11.

Table 3.4 The gender division of labour in textile production at Smithills and Gawthorpe

1586-98	Smithills		sum
	Instances of Male	Instances of Female	
Categories of textile-related tasks			
Pulling and drying hemp and flax	1	14	15
Braking and swingling hemp and flax	2	17	19
Dressing, greasing or colouring wool	4	1	5
Spinning	1	10	11
Winding yarn		2	2
Weaving and fulling	20	5	25
Knitting and milling	1	2	3
Making, dyeing and mending clothes	16		16
Total	45	51	96
1600-02, 1605, 1617-20	Gawthorpe		
Categories of textile-related tasks	Instances of Male	Instances of Female	sum
Pulling and drying hemp and flax	1		1
Braking and swingling hemp and flax	1		1
Dressing, greasing or colouring wool	6		6
Spinning	4	1	5
winding yarn	0		0
Weaving and fulling	12		12
Knitting and milling	2		2
Making, dyeing and mending clothes	49	3	52
Total	75	4	79
Total	120	55	175

Note: Unknown labourers are excluded.

Source: As in table 3.1.

The table shows the gender division of tasks undertaken by workers when the Shuttleworths lived at two different places. When the household was living at Smithills between 1586 and 1598, female labourers concentrated on processing hemp and flax and spinning, while most male labourers were responsible for weaving and making clothes during the same period. The gender division of labour in textile found in the Shuttleworth accounts of the 1580s and 1590s differs from Foster's opinion that the textile production was dominated by women, but complies with Whittle and Hailwood's argument that women dominated the 'preparatory processes' of textile-related tasks, while men dominated the 'finishing processes'.⁵³ While less evidence can be found about female labourers who worked in textiles during the early seventeenth century, male labourers maintained their dominant role in the 'finishing processes'.

When focusing on the finishing processes, there were some changes as well. Among 58 labourers who worked at textile-related tasks between 1586 and 1598, there were 6 weavers (4 male, 2 female) and 5 skilled male labourers who might be tailors.⁵⁴ Thomas Pendelburie, for example, was a weaver who was not only paid for weaving table napkins, but also paid for weaving linen, hemp and canvas cloth from 19 January 1586/7 to 5 May 1596. The tailors were paid for making clothes, mittens and stocks. When turning to the early seventeenth century, at least 22 labourers (3 female and 19 male) were hired by the Shuttleworths to do textile-related tasks. Among these labourers, 13 male tailors were paid for making diverse clothes, such as stockings, coats and doublets. Three female labourers were paid for making shirts, napkins and bands, and at least four male labourers were paid for weaving.

The comparison between these two periods shows that the household relied more on finished goods after moving to Gawthorpe rather than paying for the processing of raw materials. Although the reduced size of farmland might be one reason, the developing textile manufacture in the local area might be another important reason.⁵⁵ The textile industry was well established around Manchester,

⁵³ Charles Foster, *Seven Household: Life in Cheshire and Lancashire 1582 to 1774* (Arley Hall Press, 2002), p. 5; Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', 18. The preparatory processes include cleaning, combing, carding and spinning the wool, while the finishing processes include dyeing, weaving and fulling.

⁵⁴ There were 15 male labourers and 42 female labourers hired for textile-related tasks respectively between 1586 and 1598.

⁵⁵ The sizes of farmland at Smithills and Gawthorpe were at least 1096 and 170.5 statute acres respectively. The size of three other manors at Smithills ranged from 100-300 acres. Foster, *Seven Households*, pp. 13-4, 20-6, 56, 62-3.

Blackburn and Burnley in the early seventeenth century, making it more convenient for the household to buy cloth and clothes from local tailors directly.⁵⁶

3.2.2 Multiple tasks undertaken by male labourers

The distribution of tasks discussed above followed the rule that one person who did one task would be regarded as one instance, but the real working pattern was much more complicated than this assumption. In fact, both multiple tasks undertaken by labourers and 'group workers' can be found in the accounts. To examine the working patterns of casual labourers hired by the Shuttleworths over time, this section concentrates on three periods 1586-98, 1600-02 and 1617-20, comparing the tasks undertaken by day labourers.

Before analysing the data, some explanations should be offered here. As mentioned earlier, the incomplete records made it impossible to track and compare the tasks undertaken by labourers consecutively. For example, when William Morres worked for the Shuttleworths from May 1586 to April 1589, seven entries provided detailed information about his tasks, including harrowing, working at turves and driving lambs to Haslingden.⁵⁷ However, the remaining seven entries only recorded his working days.⁵⁸ Unknown labourers who were only recorded as numbers make it more challenging to make comparisons. Consequently, this part concentrates on male labourers for whom detailed information is provided, including full names, tasks, working days and payments. In terms of their tasks, three types of work are used here to make further classifications, namely agricultural labourers, building labourers, and other day labourers. Among these, other day labour was mainly composed of ditching and hedging.

⁵⁶ The development of textile industry in Lancashire, see for example, Norman Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry in the Sixteenth Century* (Manchester, 1972); Jonathan Healey, *The First Century of Welfare, poverty and Poor Relief in Lancashire, 1620-1730* (Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 47-50.

⁵⁷ Haslingden is a small town in Rossendale, Lancashire. It lies in a valley. For detailed information about this town, see William Farrer and J. Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 6 (London, 1911), pp. 427-433.

⁵⁸ LA DDKS 18/2.

Table 3.5 Male labourers undertaking multiple types of work

Time periods	No. of named male labourers who did at least two types of work ^a	No. of named male labourers	% of named male labourers who did at least two types of work
1586-98	56	210	26.7
1600-02	30 ^b	88	34.1
1617-20	25	89	28.1

Notes: (a) Tasks are classified into three types of work: agricultural labouring, building labouring and specialist labouring; (b) this figure contains some male labourers who participated in different types of tasks between 1600 and 1605.

Source: LA DDKS 18/2-5, 9.

Using these principles, as table 3.5 shows, among the 210 male labourers hired in 1586-98, 56 did at least two types of work; of 88 male labourers hired in 1600-02, 30 did at least two types of work; of 89 male labourers hired in 1617-20, 25 did diverse types of work.⁵⁹ The proportion of labourers who did at least two types of work reached the highest in 1600-02, 34.1 per cent, as the building of Gawthorpe Hall attracted a group of male workers.

It is possible to find examples of flexible working patterns among the labourers employed by the Shuttleworths. For example, Richard Stones was an agricultural labourer and drove the plough at Hoole for a payment of 4d per day in June 1586.⁶⁰ But from at least September 1588, he was in charge of providing meat such as wildfowl, chicken and fish to the Shuttleworths. John Morres worked for the Shuttleworths from 1582 to 1599 inconsecutively. He mainly undertook tasks such as shearing corn and threshing grain. He was also paid for filling dung carts and getting turves when it was not busy. In addition, he was a craftsman as he made shoes and mittens, although the payment was not high. Roger Cockshot was a building labourer who did diverse tasks during his employment from May 1600 to May 1606, including shifting timber, *fehing* [dressing or cleaning] the ground of new hall, serving the waller, working at hay, and ditching at different places. His wage ranged between 2d and 3d per day. John Roe, a worker hired

⁵⁹ Because of the diverse meaning of call, this type of task is not included while counting and comparing the tasks.

⁶⁰ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 15.

by the Shuttleworths from 1617 to 1620, not only spun and wove wool but also sheared and threshed wheat during his employment. In fact, this was not the first time when the name John Roe appeared in the accounts. The same name appeared in 1604 and 1605, when John was paid for mowing and shearing corn.

The multiple tasks or diverse occupations of workers hired in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been discussed by scholars such as Overton and Everitt, and the traditional view is that the main occupation of most inhabitants in rural England was farming, but that they also engaged in by-employment to support their families.⁶¹ This conclusion is mainly supported by evidence from probate inventories which show agriculture being combined with crafts and retailing in many households. However, based on probate inventories, Sebastian Keibek and Leigh Shaw-Taylor draw different conclusions.⁶² They argue that poorer workers were more likely to have a single occupation such as weaving, and their estimates indicate that less than one in six labourers engaged in by-employment. Evidence recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts indicates that a group of male labourers participated in several tasks such as weaving, agriculture and building work, according to what work was available. These agricultural labourers may also have had the opportunity to do more than one type of work during their life cycle. Combined with probate inventories, Chapter 5 discusses this issue in more detail.

There are another two aspects related to multiple tasks. For these labourers, the more skills they acquired over time, the more tasks they could do to earn money. Multiple tasks undertaken by wage workers could enable them to earn more money and overcome difficulties. This working pattern was similar to the 'economy of makeshifts': the multiple means of making ends meet discussed by historians of poverty.⁶³ In addition, economic historians tend to separate skilled from unskilled labourers when constructing the index of wage series, but this selection may lead to underestimating the money earned by some labourers who did both skilled and unskilled work tasks.

In terms of group workers, the working pattern of the family unit that appeared in

⁶¹ Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England*; Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', pp. 396-465.

⁶² Sebastian A. J. Keibek and Leigh Shaw-Taylor, 'Early modern rural by-employments: a re-examination of the probate inventory evidence', *Agricultural History Review*, 61.2 (2013), 244-81.

⁶³ Steven King and Alannah Tomkins (eds.), *The Poor in England 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 11-3.

the late sixteenth century is not a new phenomenon. During the late medieval period, this kind of employment model was evident in parts of England.⁶⁴ In the Shuttleworth accounts, it is common to find other family members of certain labourers working at the same tasks. For example, John Longworth, a labourer hired by the Shuttleworths from September 1582 to November 1591, did diverse tasks during his employment, including tenting hay, harrowing and getting turves. When he worked for the Shuttleworths, his wife, son, daughters and two maids also appeared in the accounts.⁶⁵ In fact, John Longworth's inventory in 1623/4 indicates that he was a husbandman, and his material wealth was £79 4s 2d.⁶⁶

In addition, some labourers would work together in groups for the Shuttleworths. John Morres and Edward Makinson, for instance, often worked together and sometimes accompanied others when threshing or shearing oats and barley, ditching the ground and mowing hay at Lostock in 1580s and 1590s.⁶⁷ When the household was building Gawthorpe Hall in the early seventeenth century, some building labourers tended to work in small groups as well. For example, Thomas Willasill and James Roe worked together at getting hewen stones from 29 March 1600 to 11 June 1603.⁶⁸ Agricultural labourers, particularly harvest workers, were often hired in gangs. This form of group hiring continued until 1617-20 when haymakers were paid together: a group of men and women were paid 39s 6d for making hay at Gawthorpe on 2 September 1618, with wage rates for men and women at 3d and 2d a piece respectively.⁶⁹

To summarise, both male and female casual labourers hired by the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries participated in a wide range of tasks, although male labourers engaged more widely than female labourers in most cases and appeared more frequently in the textile-related tasks over time. In addition, the multiple tasks undertaken by labourers is a reminder of the importance of thinking carefully about the working lives of labourers as well as their family income. However, without the evidence about changes in the number of working days and the numbers of day labourers hired per year, no firm

⁶⁴ Deborah Youngs, *Humphrey Newton: An Early Tudor Gentleman* (the Boydell Press, 2008), p. 79. See also, Sandy Bardsley, 'Women's work reconsidered: gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 165.1 (1999), 3-29.

⁶⁵ There were limited evidence about maids hired by labourers who worked for the Shuttleworths. They are further discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁶ WCW/Supra/C87A/0. As discussed further in Chapter 5.

⁶⁷ LA DDKS 18/2-3 *passim*.

⁶⁸ LA DDKS 18/4-5 *passim*.

⁶⁹ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 71.

conclusion can be made about the employment pattern of day labourers in the Shuttleworths, and that is the topic of the next section.

3.3 Working days and labourers employed

The number of annual working days and the number of labourers employed are two important aspects related to labourers' employment. Estimates of 250/260 working days and 300 working days per year have been used by scholars to explore agricultural labourers' living standards.⁷⁰ Based on household accounts, some scholars have calculated the exact annual working days undertaken by different labourers and the number of labourers employed.⁷¹ In fact, the employment pattern in gentry households was influenced by several factors such as changes in the quality and timing of the harvest, building projects and the quantity of land farmed in early modern England. In addition, the calculation of the number of days worked per year is further complicated by the fact that some labourers were paid by task rather than by day. To explore the working days undertaken by casual labourers per year and the number of casual labourers employed by the Shuttleworths, this part is divided into three sections: the first section is about day labourers paid by days and weeks, exploring the number of days they worked and the number of labourers employed in this way.⁷² Labourers paid by tasks are then combined to discuss the number of labourers employed. The second section concentrates on harvest labourers hired over time. The third section considers specific examples of labourers paid in multiple ways.

3.3.1 Working days and the number of labourers

Figure 3.1 presents the number of days worked by day labourers per year in the Shuttleworths in 1583 and 1586-98. Working days undertaken by labourers of unknown gender are included. In all, the average total number of working days undertaken by day-labourers employed by the Shuttleworths each year was 413. Compared with this average level, the number of days' labour was relatively high in 1583, 1586 and 1592-1594, while 1587-1591, and 1595-1598 witnessed lower levels of employment. When turning to the gender distribution of labour, the

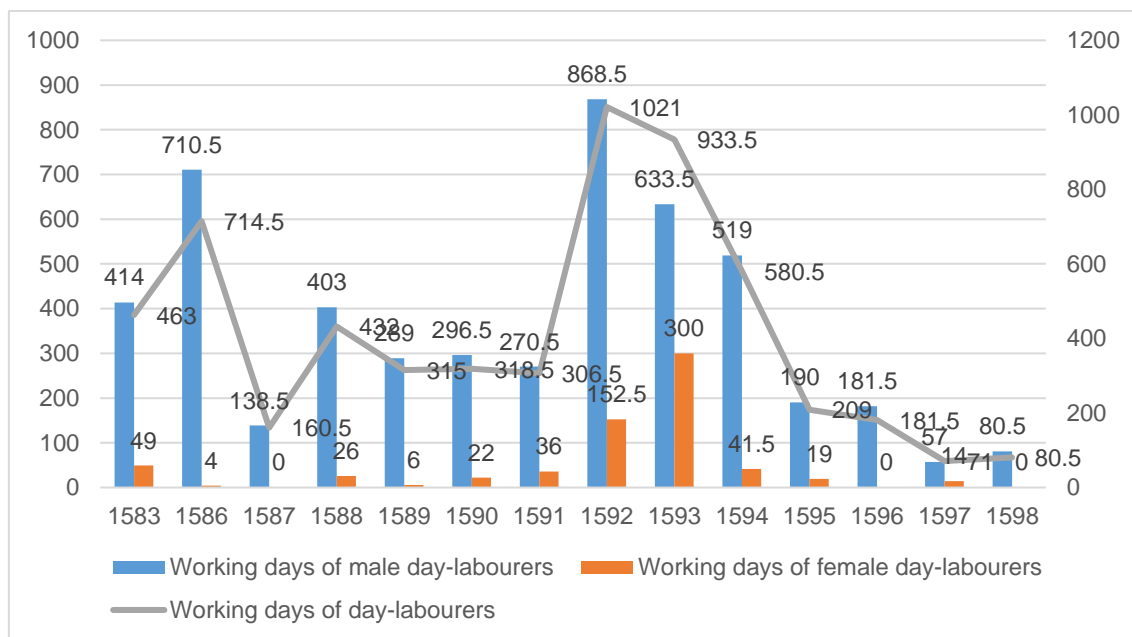
⁷⁰ See for example, Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', 2867-2887; Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England', 405-47; Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, pp. 208-59; Clark, 'Farm Wages and Living Standards', 477-505.

⁷¹ See for example, Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, pp. 221-5; Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 26-30; Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', 157-8.

⁷² Labourers were assumed to work six days per week, and thus, the weekly wages were recognised as six-day wages.

average total number of working days undertaken by male and female labourers during the whole period were 361 and 48 respectively. The working days undertaken by female labourers were relatively high in 1593, when four women worked at spinning for 46 weeks. However, it is clear that male labourers hired by the Shuttleworths worked more days than their female counterparts on average throughout the period observed.

Figure 3.1 The annual total number of days worked by day-labourers, 1583, 1586-1598



Note: Working days undertaken by unknown workers are added in the working days of day-labourers.

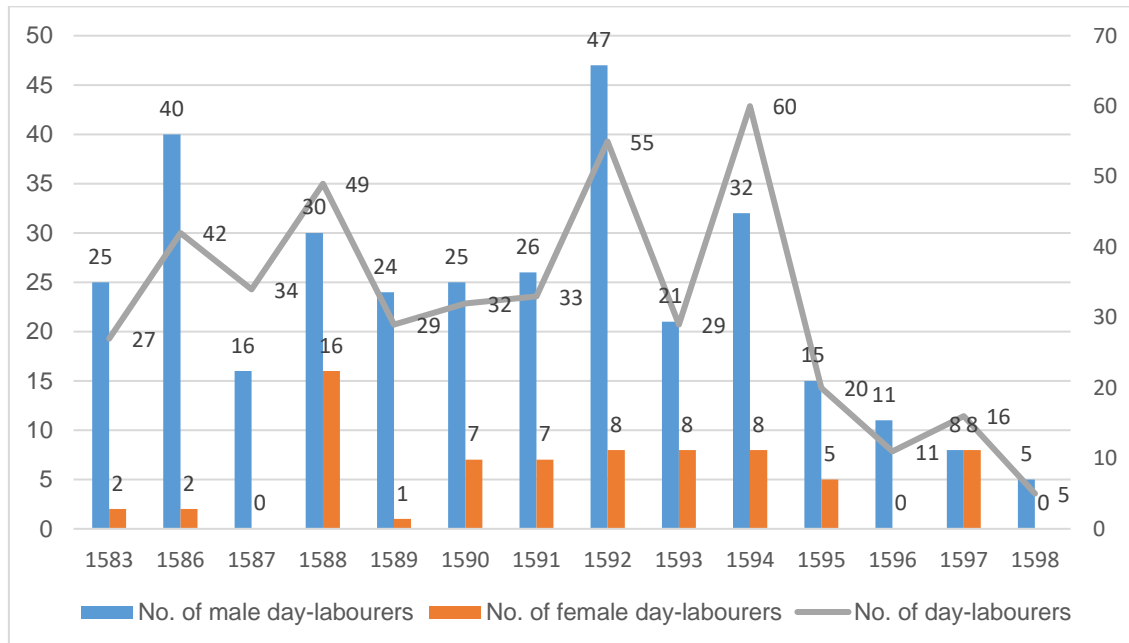
Source: LA DDKS 18/1-3.

Figure 3.2 presents the annual number of day-labourers hired by the Shuttleworths in 1583 and 1586-98. As some day-labourers were recorded without gender, they are only included in the sum number of day-labourers. There were 18 unidentified labourers in 1587, 3 in 1588, 4 in 1589 and 21 in 1594. In addition, the number of labourers hired in 1598 is a minimum estimation because of two unclear entries: Edward Makinson worked with 'others' for 25 days and 22 days respectively on 3 April 1598 and 17 December 1598.⁷³ The average number of day-labourers hired by the Shuttleworths in 1583 and 1586-98 was 32. The years when the number of day-labourers was above this average figure were 1586-1588, 1590-1592 and 1594. In terms of gendered difference, the average

⁷³ LA DDKS 18/3 pp. 83, 101.

annual numbers of male and female day-labourers employed during this period were 23 and 5 respectively. The number of female day-labourers employed by the Shuttleworths was particularly high in 1588, when 11 unnamed women were paid for 'dighting hemp' at Hoole.⁷⁴

Figure 3.2 The annual number of labourers paid by the day, 1583, 1586-1598



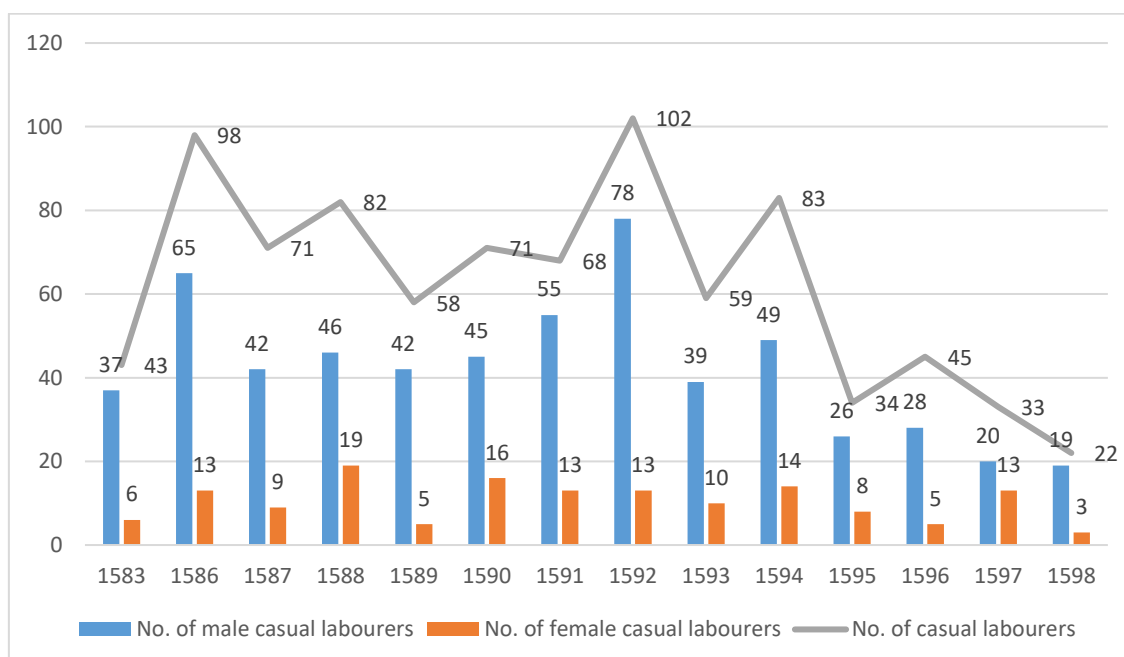
Notes: Unknown day-labourers in 1587, 1588, 1589 and 1594 are included in the sum number of day-labourers. The number of day-labourer in 1598 is a minimum estimation.

Source: As in figure 3.1.

Based on figures 3.1 and 3.2, the average annual working days undertaken by individual day-labourers can be calculated accordingly. For male day-labourers hired by the Shuttleworths, their average number of working days per year ranged from 7 to 30 days per year, while the average annual working days undertaken by their female counterparts ranged from 0 to 37.5 days per year. In fact, the actual working days undertaken by per labourer per year ranged more widely. Between 1586 and 1598, the largest number of working days undertaken by male and female labourers were 149 days and 60 days respectively. Although agricultural labourers could possibly work for different households within one year, the evidence in the Shuttleworths shows that the annual working days were likely to be far less than the assumed 250/260 days per year.

⁷⁴ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 84.

Figure 3.3 The annual number of casual labourers paid by the day or task, 1583, 1586-98



Note: Unknown labourers in 1586-90, 1592-4 and 1596 are included. In addition, the numbers of casual labourers in 1587, 1594 and 1598 are minimum estimations, as these three years contained group workers.

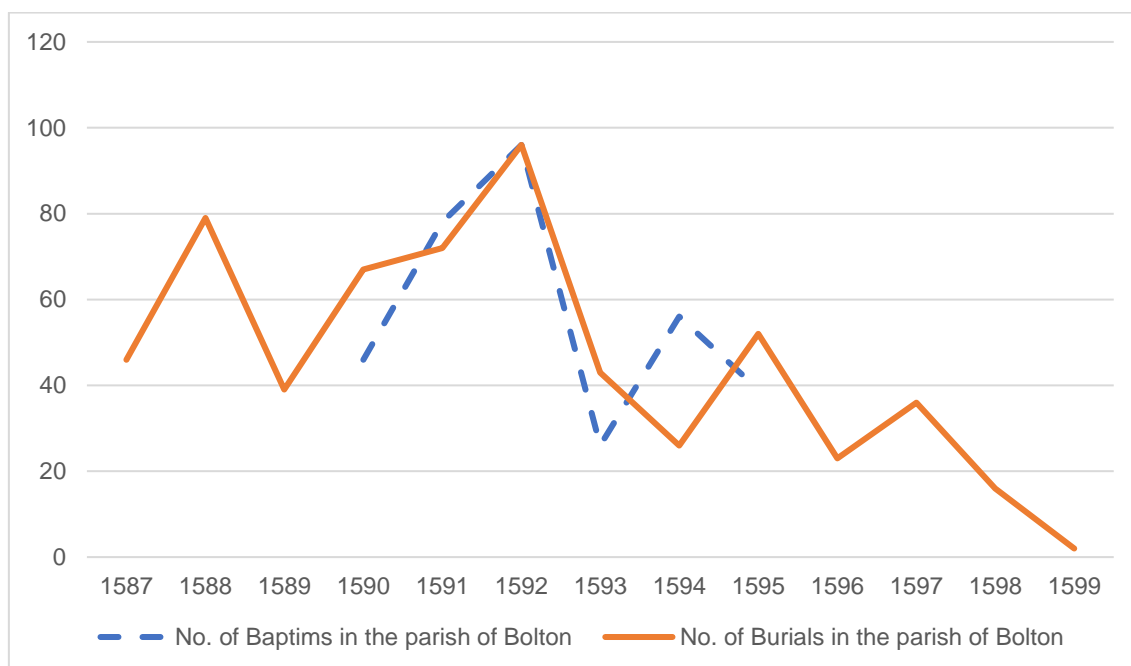
Source: As in figure 3.1.

As labourers were paid either by the day or task, it is necessary to include those who received task wages when tracking the change over time. Figure 3.3 presents the annual number of casual labourers hired by the Shuttleworths in 1583 and 1586-98. As some casual labourers were not listed clearly, the number was particularly low between 1595 and 1598. Nevertheless, the average number of labourers paid by days and tasks was 62, which was nearly twice than that of day-labourers (32) employed during the same period. In terms of male and female labour, when those who were paid by task are included, the average annual number of male and female labourers hired by the Shuttleworths during this period was 42 and 11 respectively. The comparison shows that male labourers maintained the dominant role in the employment of casual labourers during this period. In addition, while the number of casual labourers were apparently higher in the periods of 1586-88, 1590-92 and 1594, female labour showed slightly higher participation in 1586, 1588, 1590-92, 1594 and 1597.

Demographic crises in northwest England in 1587-88 and 1597-98 have been recognised by historians, and Andrew Appleby suggests that the whole of

England suffered from dearth between 1594 and 1597.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the parish registers of Bolton, near Smithills Hall, as shown in figure 3.4, are incomplete and cannot be used to track yearly local population changes, so we could not get enough information about demographic changes in the 1580s and 1590s.

Figure 3.4 Baptisms and burials in Bolton, 1587-1599



Source: Figure 1.1.

When Appleby explores the demographic crises in 1587-8, 1597-8, he argues that typhus and famine were the two main reasons for 1587-8 crisis, and followed the bad harvests in 1594-7, while 1598 witnessed plague, both of which led to crisis in 1597-8.⁷⁶ Bad harvests and high grain prices were an important reason for high mortality, which have been discussed by scholars for 1596-8, although the harvest of 1587 was plentiful before the severe crisis in 1588.⁷⁷ It is possible that the bad harvests and high grain prices in the late 1580s and late 1590s encouraged more women to work for wages. Nevertheless, in most cases, the proportion of female labourers hired by the Shuttleworths maintained a low level. However, demographic changes and rising costs of living cannot fully explain this employment pattern of male wage workers. Chapter 1 discussed the annual

⁷⁵ Andrew Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (Liverpool University Press, 1978), pp. 95, 112-3.

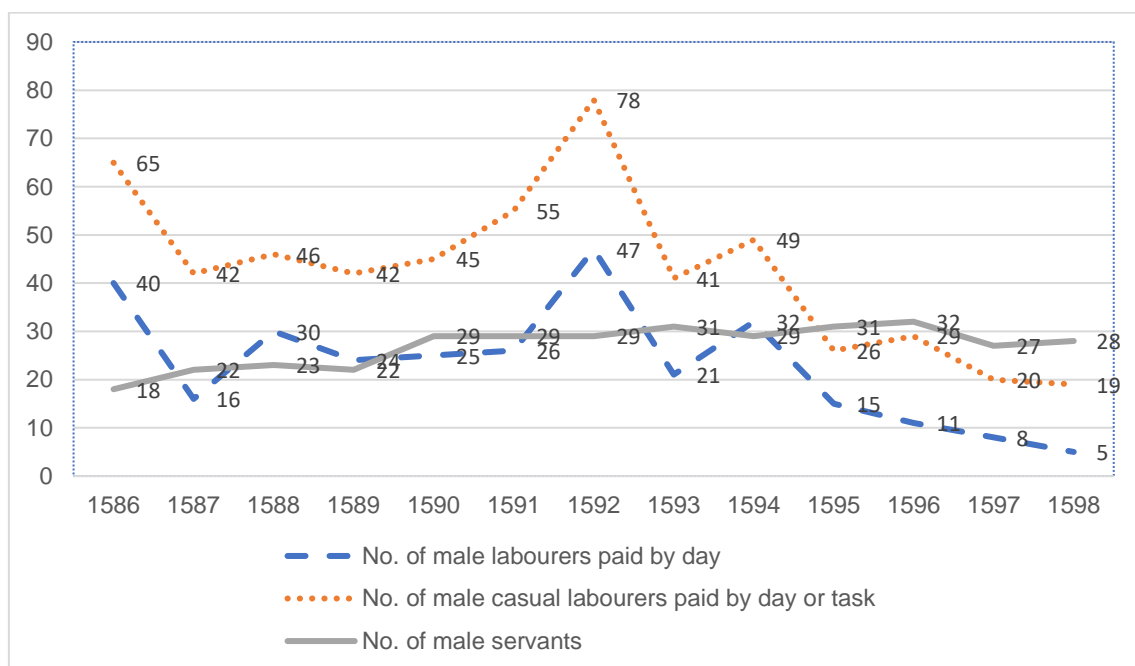
⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-132.

⁷⁷ E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 665-6, the discussion about 1587/8 see footnote 51 on p. 666.

number of servants hired by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598: a further comparison can be made between the number of male servants and the number of male labourers employed during this period. As shown in figure 3.5, while the number of male labourers fluctuated dramatically between 1586 and 1598, that of male servants was increasing steadily during the same period. While it might be expected that the Shuttleworths would reduce the employment of servants and hire more casual labourers when facing the rising costs of living in the late sixteenth century, it is clear that they adopted the opposite strategy.

In fact, it seems that the number of male casual labourers employed by the Shuttleworths was mainly influenced by the household's needs. Building tasks in 1592 were an important reason why the number of casual labourers reached a peak in that year. In addition, harvest conditions had a direct influence on the employment of casual labourers: the years when the number of casual labourers reached three peaks, 1586, 1592 and 1594, were the years when the number of harvesters employed by the Shuttleworths reached three peaks (see figure 3.11). Although the incomplete records make it impossible to track in detail the number of labourers employed between 1595 and 1598, it is reasonable to assume that servants in husbandry would have done more agricultural tasks when there was a lack of casual labour force.

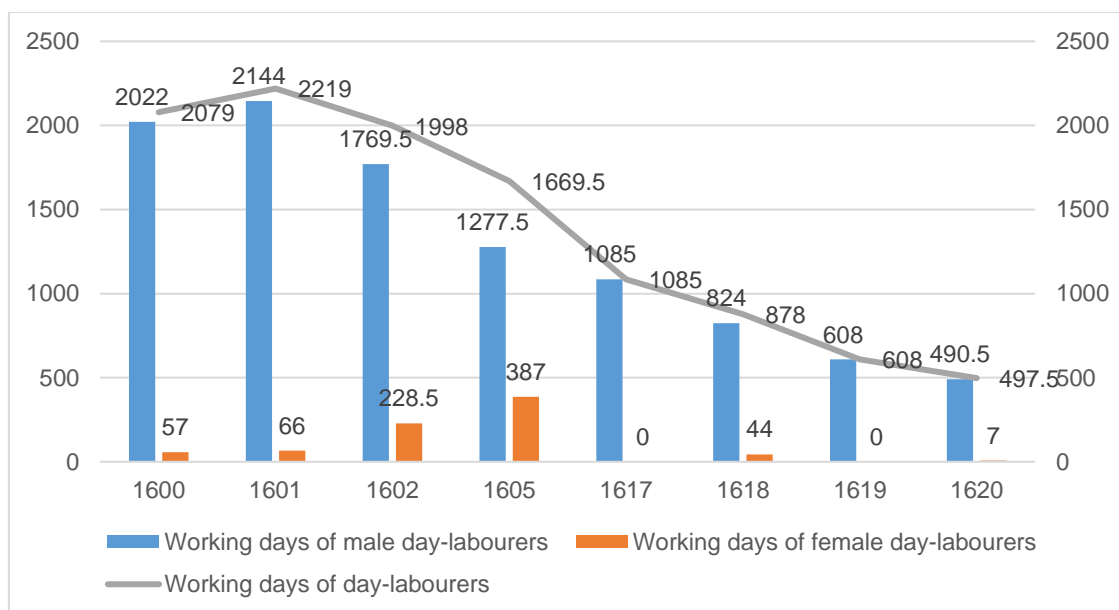
Figure 3.5 Number of male servants and male labourers, 1586-98



Sources: Figure 2.1; figure 3.2; figure 3.3.

When it comes to the early seventeenth century, the building of Gawthorpe Hall led to a higher proportion of building labourers in the workforce, which created some different characteristics. As shown in figure 3.6, after including building labourers engaged in non-specialist tasks such as carrying timber and wood, the average total numbers of days worked were 1991 and 767 in the early 1600s and 1617-20 respectively, which were much higher than that of days worked by labourers in the 1580s and 1590s (413).⁷⁸ Concentrating on gendered comparison, the average total numbers of days worked by male labourers was 1803 in the early 1600s and 752 in 1617-20, and that of female labourers was 185 in the early 1600s and 13 in 1617-20. As some haymakers were only recorded with piece wage rates between 1617 and 1620, the calculated working days of both male and female labourers employed during this period is lower than the actual ones. However, when the data of 1580s-1590s is compared with that in the early 1600s, the Shuttleworths employed more labour from both men and women in the early 1600s.

Figure 3.6 The annual total number of days worked by day-labourers, 1600-02, 1605, 1617-20



Notes: Working days undertaken by unknown labourers are included. There were 9 days in 1601, 5 days in 1605, and 10 days in 1618.

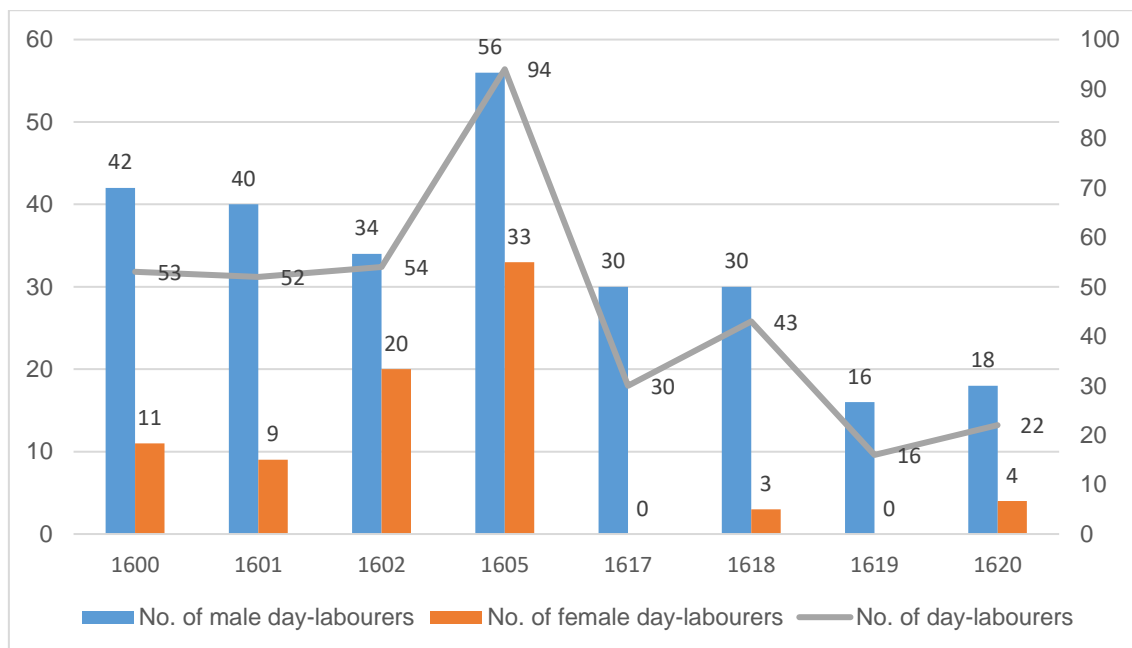
Source: LA DDKS 18/4-7, 9.

The number of labourers employed per year in the early seventeenth century

⁷⁸ The calculated average working days of 1617-20 were a minimum estimation because haymakers hired in these four years were unidentified, making it impossible to compare the working days and the number of labourers with that of earlier periods.

increased as well. As shown in figure 3.7, compared with 23 male and 5 female day-labourers in 1580s-1590s, the average annual numbers of male and female day-labourers employed by the Shuttleworths rose to 43 and 18 in the 1600s, and then declined to 24 and 2 in 1617-20. After adding the number of labourers paid by task, as shown in figure 3.8, the average annual numbers of male and female casual labourers increased to 53 and 20 respectively in the 1600s, and then declined to 39 and 6 in 1617-20.

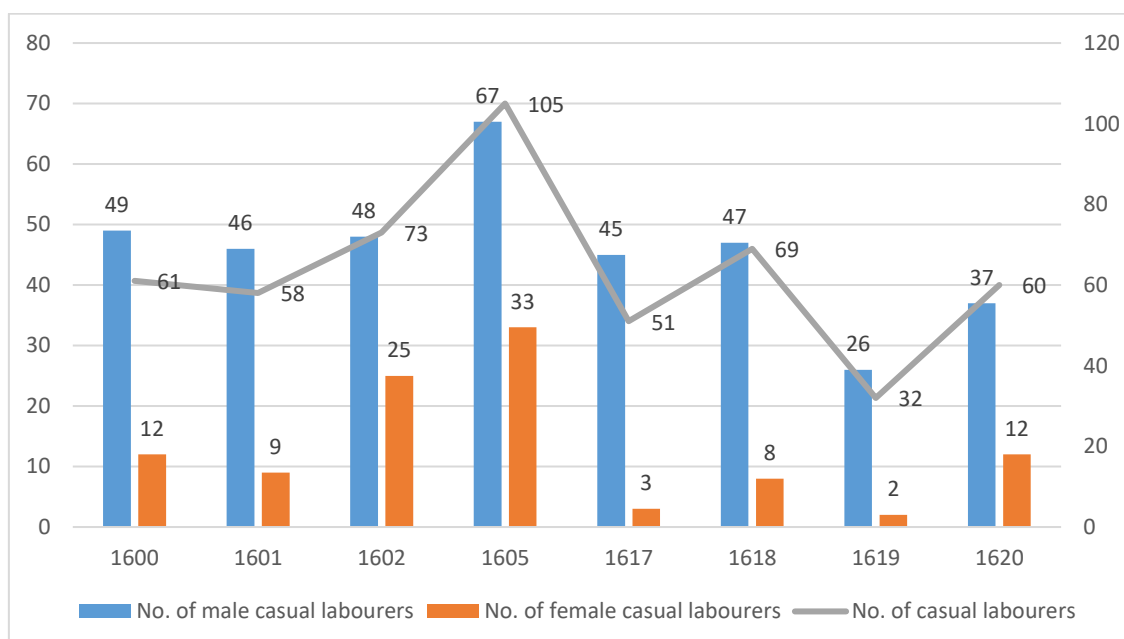
Figure 3.7 The annual number of labourers paid by the day, 1600-02, 1605, 1617-20



Note: Unknown labourers are included. There were 3 haymakers in 1601, 5 sheep shearers in 1605, and 10 wheat shearers in 1618.

Source: As in figure 3.6.

Figure 3.8 The annual number of casual labourers paid by the day or task, 1600-2, 1605, 1617-20



Note: Unknown casual labourers are included. There were 3 haymakers in 1601, 5 sheep shearers in 1605, 3 sheep shearers in 1617, and 10 wheat shearers in 1618. In addition, as there were group haymakers paid with a sum of wages, the number of casual labourers hired between 1617 and 1620 was less than the actual one.

Source: As in figure 3.6.

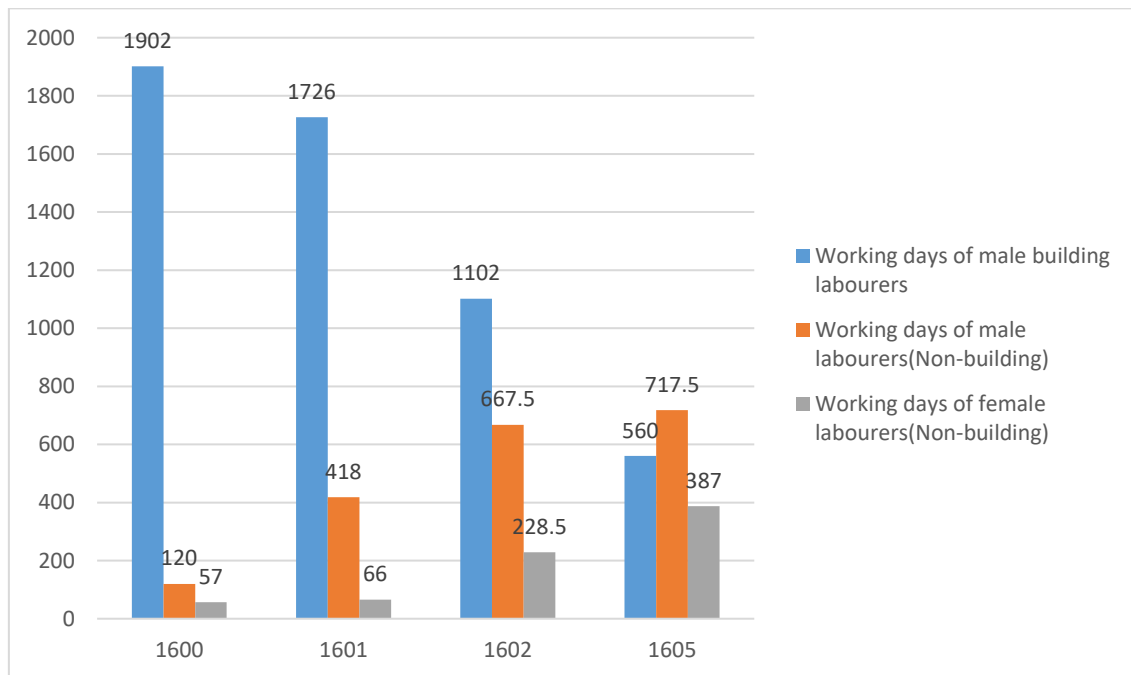
Again, the annual average working days undertaken by individual labourers could be calculated as well. Focusing on the average data, while male labourers worked 22 – 54 days per year, female labourers worked less than 15 days per year. As shall be discussed in the next chapter, John Cockshot was the only labourer who worked over 250 days in one year. He did both building and agricultural tasks in 1605 and worked 278 days in that year. Regarding female labourers, widow Leigh worked the longest: she worked at spinning of flax for seven weeks and was paid 2s 4d on 2 April 1618.⁷⁹

Although the higher number of days worked by male labourers in the early seventeenth century was the result of the combination of building tasks and agricultural tasks, the rising contribution of female labour needs to be explored further as both male and female labourers shared the non-building tasks. Table 3.2 shows that female labourers did not join in the building tasks in 1600-02 and 1605; it is therefore helpful to explore the days worked by male and female non-building labourers in comparison to male building labourers. And thus, figure 3.9

⁷⁹ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 60.

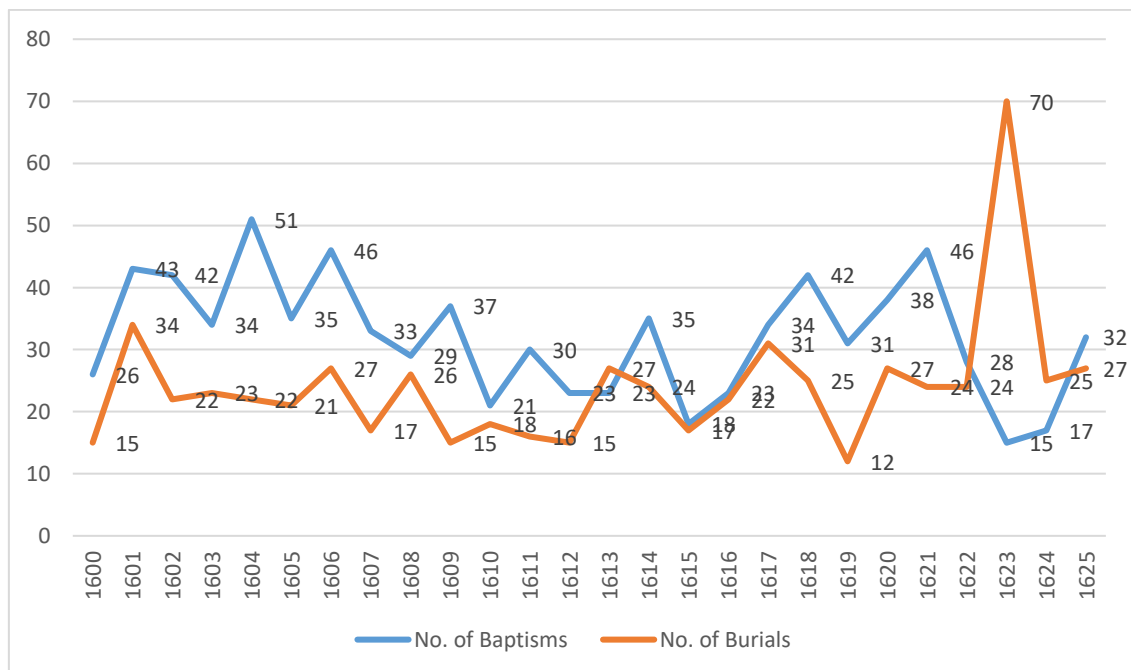
compares the days worked by both building and non-building labourers employed in 1601-02 and 1605. When the days worked by male non-building labourers maintained a high level, that of female labourers was rising steadily.

Figure 3.9 Comparison of working days undertaken by building and non-building labourers, 1600-02, 1605



Source: Figure 3.5; the data about male labourers were collected from LA DDKS 18/4-7.

Figure 3.10 Baptisms and burials in Padiham, 1600-1625



Source: Figure 1.3.

Demographic crises have been used to explain the relatively higher participation

of female labour in the late sixteenth century, but this was not the case in the early seventeenth century. As figure 3.10 shows, the population of Padiham was increasing steadily during the two periods, 1600-05 and 1617-20. In addition, it seems that the war with Ireland and Spain did not have an influence on local labour force, as a group of male labourers worked for the Shuttleworths in the early 1600s. It is, therefore, necessary to look for other explanations. One possibility is that that higher proportion of building tasks attracted more men who mainly worked as building labourers, and thus left some harvest work to women. Another important possibility is that some women had to work for wages as life was difficult for people during the early seventeenth century. Muldrew's estimations of family earnings show that it was particularly difficult for families to make ends meet during this period.⁸⁰ In addition, the Shuttleworths' active response to Poor Law might explain this situation as well. In similarity to the apprenticeship of young boys in the early seventeenth century, the employment of female labourers may have been another way to help relieve the burden of life for local families.

In summary, when the Shuttleworths lived at Smithills and Gawthorpe, the days worked by male labourers and the number of male labourers were always far greater than that of their female counterparts during the same period. Nevertheless, most labourers were unlikely to work 250/260 days per year for the Shuttleworths. Although demographic changes influenced the number of labourers employed, the household's needs mattered the most.

3.3.2 Harvesters and their gender

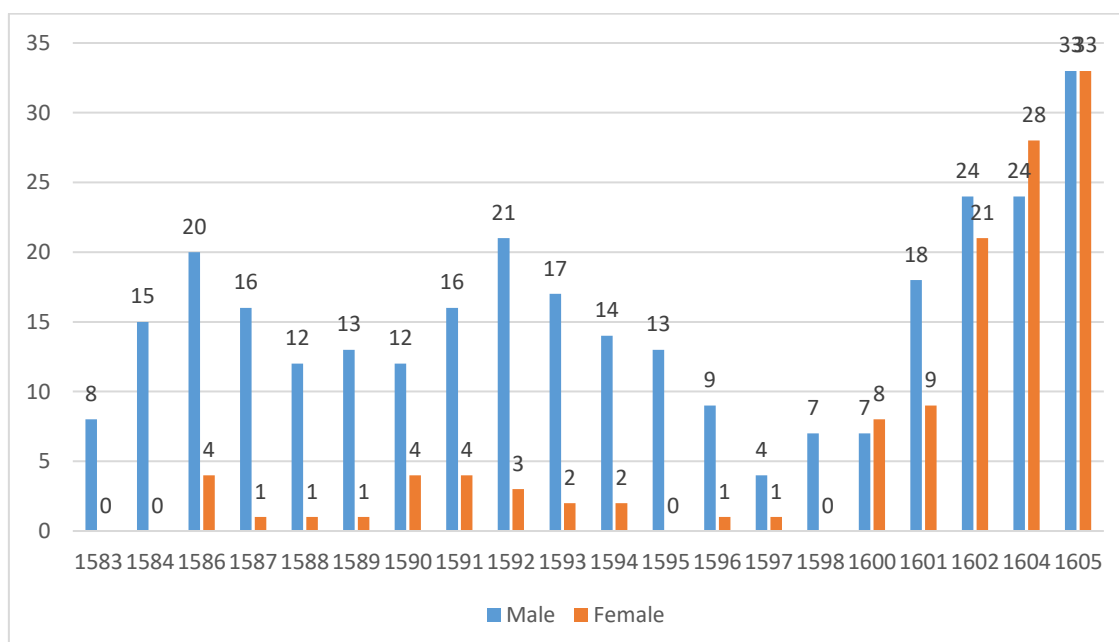
The data collected about labourers who were paid by the day and week show that male labourers on average worked more days than female labourers during the whole period; even when combined with task-wage labourers, the number of male labourers employed was always higher than that of female labourers. As female labourers joined in agricultural tasks, particularly harvest work, in the early seventeenth century, this section concentrates on the changes of harvesters over time.

In terms of the data, harvesters discussed here include those paid by day as well as by task. In addition, the data of 1584 and 1604 are included as the Shuttleworth

⁸⁰ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, pp. 217, 257.

accounts recorded complete information of harvest workers employed in these two years. Focusing on hay and corn harvest work, and mowing, figure 3.11 below presents the number of male and female harvesters employed by the Shuttleworths in four periods: 1583-4, 1586-98, 1600-02 and 1604-05. When the average numbers of male harvesters were 13 and 21 respectively in 1583-98 and 1600-05, that of female harvesters rose dramatically from 2 in 1583-98 to 20 in 1600-05, reaching a similar level as their male counterparts in the early seventeenth century. In addition, the number of female harvesters exceeded that of male counterparts in 1600 and 1604, although the gap was not large.

Figure 3.11 The number of male and female harvesters, 1583-4, 1586-98, 1600-2, 1604-5



Note: Some unknown haymakers and shearers are excluded. There were 20 shearers in 1586, 6 haymakers in 1587, 1 haymaker and 2 shearers in 1588, 20 shearers in 1594, 12 shearers in 1596, 3 haymakers in 1601. In addition, some harvesters were hidden behind 'others' in 1589, 1593, 1595-98. The period 1617-20 is excluded because of limited information about harvest workers.

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-7.

The change on the number of female harvesters employed over time stands in contrast to the opinion that female labourers were gradually decreasing their participation in agricultural labour over time.⁸¹ On the one hand, the employment of female harvest workers by the Shuttleworths was different from the patterns observed by Youngs and Smith. Their studies present a higher participation by

⁸¹ The discussion about the participation of female labour, see Keith Snell, *The Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1985); Michael Roberts, 'Sickles and scythes: women's work and men's work at harvest time', *History Workshop*, 7 (1979), 3-28; Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', 3-32.

female workers in harvest work: the proportion of female harvesters rose to 70 per cent at Newton, Cheshire in 1500, and the number of female labourers who worked at hay and harvest was nearly twice that of male labourers hired by Bacon at Norfolk in 1593-4.⁸² Although the number of female harvesters hired by the Shuttleworths increased rapidly in the early 1600s, the proportion of female labourers ranged from 30 per cent to 54 per cent during this period, which was less than that found by Youngs and Smith. Perhaps the main reason is that female labourers were hired by the Shuttleworths to supplement male labourers in the early 1600s, and this did not mean that the household changed its preference for male labour. However, the proportion of female harvest workers employed was higher than that calculated by Whittle and Hailwood, whose findings show that only 26 per cent of tasks in the grain harvest were undertaken by female labourers in southwest England.⁸³ In addition, it is contrary to Pamela Sharpe's conclusion that the demand from agriculture for female labour was limited both before and during the industrial revolution.⁸⁴

On the other hand, the higher participation of female labour in the early 1600s does not mean that male and female harvest workers did the same tasks. In fact, female labourers were only paid for making hay and shearing corn during harvest time. In contrast, male labourers not only did these two types of tasks but also worked exclusively at mowing. This kind of task distribution was related to the agricultural tools used by labourers during the harvest time. Male labourers used scythe to mow, while both male and female labourers used sickle to reap crops.⁸⁵

In addition, there were changes in the types of female labourers over time. The numbers of married and unmarried women who did harvest work during the late sixteenth century were 8 and 6 respectively, rising to 17 and 40 in the early seventeenth century, demonstrating a higher contribution of single women's labour in harvest tasks in the early seventeenth century. In contrast, Smith finds that among the female day labourers hired in 1593-4 at Stiffkey, the numbers of married (including widows) and unmarried women were the same: 13.⁸⁶ The high

⁸² Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', 157; Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], Appendix IV, 44-6. The sum of female and male day-labourers were 26 and 4 respectively.

⁸³ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', 16.

⁸⁴ Pamela Sharpe, 'The Female Labour Market in English Agriculture during the Industrial Revolution: Expansion or Contraction?', *Agricultural History Review*, 47.2 (1999), 161-81.

⁸⁵ Roberts, 'Sickles and Scythes', 3-28.

⁸⁶ Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 44-6.

numbers of single women employed goes against the suggestion made by Humphries and Weisdorf that single women would have limited opportunities to do daily tasks due to the discouragement of the authorities.⁸⁷

To conclude, although the days worked by male labourers and the number of male labourers were always higher than their female counterparts in the Shuttleworths' household, the early 1600s witnessed a higher proportion of female harvesters who were mainly composed of single women. As mentioned earlier, it is possible that these women were encouraged to work for money because of the difficult times. In addition, when a group of male labourers were attracted by the building project, and the Shuttleworths responded actively towards the Poor Law, local labour market created good opportunities for women to work during the harvest time. This shows the demand from the labour market played a key role in the employment of harvest workers.

3.3.3 Casual labourers with quarterly and yearly payments

Quarterly and yearly wage payments are used in Chapter 2 to study servants. However, the data collected from the Shuttleworths show that several day labourers were paid in this way as well when they worked in different places away from the Shuttleworth household. In all, four cases found in 1586-98, 1600-02 and 1617-20 are discussed here. Based on wage payments, they can be classified into two groups.

The first group is composed of occasional quarterly/yearly payments. While Nicholas Yate, a ploughboy, received 4s as his second quarter wage on 1 May 1594, he was paid either by day or by week between 1593 and 1595. Similarly, when Thomas Pendelburie was paid for weaving linen cloth for the year on 22 December 1593, the remaining twelve entries were the wage payments for weaving certain amounts of cloth from January 1586/7 to May 1596. When Lawrence Bothe, a labourer from Symondston, was paid 11s for a one quarter which ended on 4 June 1601, he also received daily wages for doing diverse tasks, including getting stones, mowing, making hay and making hedges from June 1600 to May 1606. He might have worked for the Shuttleworths until at least 1620, as the last time he appeared in the accounts was 8 April 1620 when he worked at ditching with Henry Hartley.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 411-2.

⁸⁸ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 107.

The second group is constituted by the fixed yearly payment with some daily wages. Eight labourers hired by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598 were paid in this way. Chapter 5 discusses their annual wage incomes when working for the Shuttleworths. Here, we can focus on one example to explore their working patterns. William Eccleston and his wife were recorded for winnowing corn yearly with the same wage rate of 2s 6d per year at Tingreave, between January 1591/2 and January 1596/7, indicating that they might have done the task together. During these five years, William was also paid by the day for driving the plough and filling dung carts.

These two groups mentioned above are different from each other. For the first group, the random quarterly payments might be related to the available cash obtained by employers at that moment, and thus represent accumulated wages owed to the worker. For the second group, the fixed yearly wage was more likely a minimum income for those labourers to ensure they were available to undertake particular tasks, while the extra daily wages received by them and their family members were for additional tasks not included in that agreement. Nevertheless, whichever group the payment fell in, compared with the work efficiency of tasks paid daily or weekly, the yearly or quarterly wage had no strict regulation on the deadline to finish the task. Lawrence Bothe, for example, received 11s for one-quarter unknown task in May 1601, when his daily wage rate was 2d in April 1601. If this daily wage rate was adopted for his one-quarter task, then it would only take him 66 days, rather than 78 days, to finish it.⁸⁹ Because of the trust involved by the employer in assuming necessary work would be carried out when needed, this kind of payment is more likely to be given based on a close bond between the employer and the employee.

3.4 The wages of casual labourers

Wage incomes are another important aspect of casual labourers' working lives. Although economic historians' research has moved away from off-season day wages to annual wage incomes, task wages have long been ignored when exploring wage incomes earned by casual labourers.⁹⁰ Since the Shuttleworths provided food and drink for most of their employees, before discussing money

⁸⁹ 78 days were the sum of working days for a quarter when labourers worked six days per week.

⁹⁰ Clark, 'The Long March of History', 97-135; Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 405-47; Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', 2867-87.

wages earned by casual labourers who were employed by the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it is necessary to explore the cost of 'tabling' labourers.

3.4.1 'Tabling' labourers

Table 3.6 lists twenty-one examples of payments for tabling workers selected from the Shuttleworth accounts. These workers were not catered directly by the Shuttleworths as they worked in different places, which were far away from Smithills or Gawthorpe. Instead, the 'tabling fee' listed below was paid to inhabitants who lived locally to where the work was performed, in order that they would provide the necessary food to the hired workers. Generally, there were three types of payments: the single meal, the daily cost and the weekly cost. If we assume the cost was composed solely by value of food and drink, then the average rate of food and drink can be calculated accordingly. In terms of meal-payment, the cost rose from 1-1.5d in 1580s and 1590s to 2d in 1600s. The daily cost ranged from 3-4d in 1580s and 1590s to 6-6.7d in 1600s and 1610s. The weekly payment maintained the same level, 20d or 22d per week, during the whole period, although the average cost of tabling the wright on 1 June 1605 was 3s per week, reaching the peak of weekly payment.

Labourers were normally provided three meals when working for a whole day. If the meal-payment was multiplied with three, then the meal-payment in the accounts would be converted to 3-4.5d per day in the 1580s and 1590s, and 6d in the 1600s. The differences between the 'corrected daily cost' and the actual daily cost in the Shuttleworth accounts might be related to the specific tasks undertaken by workers. As table 3.6 shows, when James Roggers mended the plough at Lostock, his tabling fee was 6d for 4 meals.

A similar situation occurs when the daily cost was converted into a weekly cost with the assumed six working days per week. The 'corrected weekly cost' would be 18-24d in 1580s and 1590s, rising to 36-40.2d in 1600s and 1610s, whereas actual payments were 20-22d per week. As the grain prices changed yearly and had a direct influence on the cost of food and drink, it would be more persuasive to find the evidence about a particular labourer catered for in the same year. Fortunately, there is an example: William Wood. His tabling fees were 22d per week in April 1591, 3.3d per day on 10 May 1591 and 4d per day on 30 May 1591. If the six working-days were taken into calculation, the 'corrected weekly cost'

would be 19.8d and 24d respectively. The average weekly cost calculated based on these is 21.9d, which is similar to the 22d recorded in the accounts. And thus, it is reasonable to deduce that, although the exact working days of day labourers in the Shuttleworths would fluctuate, the assumption that labourers worked for six days each week is not only supported by the scattered day-wage and weekly-wage evidence in the accounts, but also supported by the evidence found in the cost of diet.

Table 3.6 Examples of the cost of diet

Time	Description	Cost (pence)
Mar. 1585	Wife of Birchall, for the tabling of Henry Roggers and his man when they worked at Lostock for 51 meals	51d
Apr. 1583	The tabling of William Duckworth 5 weeks at Hoole	100d
Sep. 1587	Robert Stones, a day tabling unto 14 persons	48d
Aug. 1588	Wife of Robert Stones of Hoole, for the tabling of 11 women one day to dress hemp	33d
2 Ma. 1589	Wife of Robert Stones at Hoole, for the tabling of William Duckworth 8 days	24d
Mar. 1589/90	William Birchall was paid for 4 meals to James Roggers when he mended the plough at Lostock	6d
Jul. 1590	Wife of Robert Stones, tabling George Dowsonne for 10 days	34d
Apr. 1591	Wife of Robert Stones, a week tabling of William Wood	22d
10 Ma. 1591	The tabling of William Wood 6 days at Hoole	20d
30 Ma. 1591	John Stones was paid for tabling 4 persons for 4 days	64d
30 Ma. 1591	Wife of Robert Stones at Hoole, for the table of William Wood 4 days	16d

Mar. 1592/3	Wife of Robert Stones at Hoole for the tabling of William Wood 16 days	54d
14 Dec. 1593	The tabling of William Wood at Hoole for 7 meals and a day after the rate of 22d the week	156d
27 Jun. 1600	The tabling of 4 men 3 days working in Mitton Wood at 6d a man a day	72d
23 Aug. 1600	James Wood, for the tabling of 4 wrights at James Wood house 6 days at 3s 4d the man	160d
25 Oct. 1600	The tabling of the said 2 wrights [at Mitton Wood] this week	80d
15 Jul. 1602	The tabling of 5 men in Mitton Wood getting further timber, every of them 3 meals <i>le</i> meal 2d a man	30d
30 Apr. 1603	Wife of Richard Deweste of Whalley, for the tabling of 5 wrights at Wood, every one of them 3 days after 2s 8d the week for a man <i>le</i> day 22d	80d
1 Jun. 1605	Wife of James Grime, for the tabling of 5 wrights in the Wood one week <i>le</i> man 3s	180d
20 Jun. 1605	Wife of James Grime, for the tabling of 8 men in the Wood every one of them 4 meals <i>le</i> meal 2d	68d
Dec. 1617	Paid to John Harrison for the tabling of 17 mowers [at Heblewhaite]	108d
Jan. 1618/9	Paid to John Harrison for board tabling of 12 mowers [at Heblewhaite] for 12 days after 6d the day	72d

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9.

Chapter 5 discusses in detail the different levels of feeding costs; here, some brief comparisons can be made with the accounts of Nathaniel Bacon, Henry Best and Sara Fell.⁹¹ Based on 1592-6 kitchen account book, Smith calculates the average cost of feeding every adult worker was 3s per week or 5d per day in

⁹¹ Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 11-52; Donald Woodward (ed.), *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642* (British Academy, 2015 (first published in 1984)) <10.1093/actrade/9780197260296.book.1>; Norman Penney (ed.), *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall* (Cambridge, 1920).

Bacon's household.⁹² The Shuttleworths provided a wider range of weekly and daily costs of 20-30d per week and 2-6d per day, in 1580s and 1590s. When concentrating on casual labourers, the average cost of the daily diet was 4d per day in the Shuttleworth accounts between 1582 and 1593, which was close to that provided by Bacon. The cost of feeding a thatcher for Henry Best in 1641 was 6d per day, which was similar to the daily cost provided by the Shuttleworths for feeding craftsmen and building labourers during the early seventeenth century.⁹³ The household accounts of Sarah Fell recorded that James Kendall's wife was paid 4s for tabling 2 mowers for 3 days while they were mowing at Gleaston Mothers on 17 July 1674.⁹⁴ This implied daily cost of 8d provided by the Fells for feeding a mower was higher than that recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts: John Harrison received 6s for tabling 12 mowers for 12 days at 6d per day on 27 January 1618/19.⁹⁵ This difference in payment is to be expected given the accounts are 55 years apart.

In similarity to servants hired by the Shuttleworths, the cost of board played an important part in casual labourers' wages. How much money did the Shuttleworths pay their employees? This is the question that is discussed and answered in the following sections.

3.4.2 Day-wage rates

Except for the tabling fee, most day labourers hired by the Shuttleworths were paid with food and drink; only a small amount of them were recorded as 'on their own tables', whereby they worked without food and drink provided by the employer. As the monetary value of feeding themselves would be different in each case, here we separate those paid with food and drink from those paid without food and drink. Tables 3.7 and 3.8 compare the daily wage rates received by day labourers from the Shuttleworths with that of day labourers hired in different areas of England. The 1595 Lancashire wage assessment is also listed for comparison.

⁹² Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 24. Bacon and his family were excluded from the calculation.

⁹³ Woodward (ed.), *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best*, p. 144.

⁹⁴ Penney (ed.), *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 105.

⁹⁵ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 85.

Table 3.7 Daily wage rates without food and drink provided in different households (d/day)

Types of tasks	The Shuttleworths 1582-94	Nathaniel Bacon 1593-4	Data from southern England 1580-1629	1595 Lancashire wage assessment
Mowing				8
Haymaking		5-11		6
Hedging, ditching	4-6	8-12	8-10	
Threshing	4-7	8-8.5, 12		
Types of tasks	The Shuttleworths 1595-1621	Robert Loder 1610-20	Le Stranges 1615-24	Henry Best 1640-1
Mowing	10, 12	14-16(a)	14	10
Haymaking				4
Hedging, ditching	5-8			
Threshing	6			

Notes: (a) The payment for mowing in Robert Loder's accounts did not record clearly if it contained food and drink. As the wage without food and drink was always higher than that with food and drink, the payment provided by Loder could be regarded as a maximum wage level for mowing. Sources: The data of wage rates in Robert Loder's accounts, see George Edwin Fussell (ed.), *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts 1600-1620* (London, 1936), p. xxviii; the data of average wage rates received by agricultural labourers in southern England, see Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1967), Table XV, p. 864; the data of wage rates in Nathaniel Bacon's accounts, see A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part I], *Continuity and Change*, 4.1 (1989), Appendixes II & IV, pp. 37, 44-6; The regulation of 1595 Lancashire Wages, see Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. III, The Later Tudors (1588-1603)* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 149-50; the data of wage rates in the Shuttleworth accounts, see LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9; the data of the period 1608-13 were collected from Harland's work, see John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithills and Gawthorpe, from September 1582 to October 1621*, Part I (Chetham Society, 1854-55), pp. 175-211; the data of wage rates in Henry Best's accounts, see Donald Woodward (ed.), *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642* (British Academy, 2015), p. 34; the data of wage rates in the Le Stranges' accounts, see Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012), Table 8.3, p. 229.

Table 3.8 Daily wage rates with food and drink provided in different households (d/day)

	The Shuttleworths 1582-94	1595 Lancashire Wage Assessment	The Shuttleworths 1595-1621	Le Stranges 1615-24
Mowing	1, 3-6	4	2-4, 6	
Haymaking	0.5-2.3	3	0.5-3	4(M)
Hedging, ditching	1.5-3		1-3	6
Threshing	1-3		0.5-0.6, 1-3	
Building	1-3		1-4	

Note: (M) means male.

Sources: As in table 3.7.

Both daily wage rates with or without food and drink provided by the Shuttleworths were lower than that provided by other households. In terms of wage rates without food and drink, as shown in table 3.7, when the Shuttleworths paid mowers 12d per day in 1620, it was higher than that provided by Henry Best in 1640-1, at 10d per day. However, it was less than that provided by Robert Loder and Le Stranges in the early seventeenth century when they paid mowers at least 14d per day. In addition, the wage rates for hedging, ditching and threshing in the Shuttleworth accounts from 1582 to 1621 were never above 8d per day, which was the minimum wage rate provided by both Nathaniel Bacon in 1593-4 and the southern counterparts in 1580-1629.

In terms of wage rates with food and drink, as shown in table 3.8, day labourers who worked in making hay, hedging and ditching for the Shuttleworths in 1582-1621 were always paid less than those who worked for Le Stranges in 1615-24. In addition, a comparison with the 1595 Lancashire wage assessment leads to some further productive observations. The maximum wage rate for mowing with meat and drink provided in the Lancashire wage assessment was 4d per day.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. III, The Later Tudors (1588-1603)* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1969), p. 149.

The payment for mowing in the Shuttleworths normally ranged from 3d to 6d per day with food and drink between 1582 and 1594. Three boys were paid 1d per day when they most likely helped Richard Longworth on 10 July 1594.⁹⁷ Among 32 instances of mowing between 1586 and 1594, only 4 were paid less than 4d per day, while 27 received at least 4d per day.⁹⁸ However, when the instances of mowers rose to 81 between 1595 and 1621, during which time only 12 instances of mowers received higher than 4d per day, and 69 instances of mowers were recorded with payments between 2d and 4d per day with food and drink provided.⁹⁹ When compared with legal wage rates, it is reasonable to believe that mowers' wage rates in the Shuttleworth accounts were influenced by 1595 legal regulations.

The wage levels for making hay in the Shuttleworths did not change as much as those for mowing. As table 3.8 shows, day wage rates for making hay in the Shuttleworths were never above the legal wage rate of 3d per day between 1582 and 1621. However, compared with the diverse wage rates in the 1580s and 1590s, the wage divisions among haymakers became more uniform after 1600 and were divided into six levels in 1600-21: 0.5d, 1d, 1.5d, 2d, 2.5d and 3d. In addition, female haymakers were paid 2d per day in the Shuttleworths from 1600 to 1621, which was higher than that regulated by the law of 1d per day with food and drink.¹⁰⁰

The seasonal and gendered differences in wage rates within the Shuttleworth accounts need to be considered carefully. In terms of seasonal differences, the average day-wage rates of male adult labourers in three types of tasks, threshing, harrowing and ploughing, are compared below in table 3.9. The summer and winter daily wage data are selected according to the 1595 wage assessment of Lancashire: summer wages ranged from May to October, winter wages ranged from November to April. Agricultural labourers who received weekly wages are assumed to work six days per week. In addition, when labourers were paid for diverse tasks in one entry, it is assumed that they received the average daily wage rates for each type of task. Based on these rules, the figures listed in the brackets of table 3.9 below represent the number of instances collected for each

⁹⁷ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 323.

⁹⁸ As Elies Houlden was paid by both task and days, it is impossible to calculate his daily wage rates.

⁹⁹ The data of 1608-1613 is collected from John Harland's transcript. One entry listed that a mower was paid 6d per day in 1610.

¹⁰⁰ Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. III*, p. 149.

period.

Although the average day-wage rates of these three types of tasks were not high, they have different changes over time. In terms of threshing, when the summer wage rose slightly from 2.3d in 1586-98 to 2.8d in 1617-20, the winter wage declined from 2.1d to 1.5d, and then rose to 2.5 in 1617-20. Despite the incomplete data, the average daily wage rates of harrowing and ploughing arose close to 3d per day between 1617 and 1620. In addition, the comparison shows that the average summer daily wage of 2.8d per day for ploughing in 1617-20 was slightly lower than the winter one of 3d per day. This was mainly influenced by Thomas Thimble, the only labourer who received 12d per week but worked 12 weeks in 1618.

Table 3.9 Seasonal differences of average day-wage rates with food and drink (d/day)

		Threshing	Harrowing	Ploughing
1586-98	Summer	2.3 (19)		2(1)
	Winter	2.1 (7)	1.6 (5)	2(2)
1600-02	Summer			
	Winter	2 (4)		1.6 (3)
1605	Summer	2.6 (8)		3.1 (5)
	Winter	1.5 (32)	2.5(2)	2.3 (4)
1617-20	Summer	2.8 (23)	3(4)	2.8 (29)
	Winter	2.5 (13)	3(1)	3 (8)

Note: Labourers paid weekly wages are assumed to work six days per week. Quarterly wage of Robert Pendelburie in 1596 is excluded.

Source: LA DDKS 18/2-7, 9.

A further comparison can be made between the wage rates of these three types of tasks and the 1595 Lancashire legal wage assessments. While summer daily wage rates for these three types of tasks were rising gradually, they never exceeded 3d per day, which was the legal wage level specified in 1595. However, the winter wages paid by the Shuttleworths did not follow the law, and exceeded the legal rates of 2d per day in the early seventeenth century.

Gendered comparison is another aspect which needs to be taken into consideration as male and female labourers sometimes participated in the same tasks when working for the Shuttleworths. As adult labourers and child labourers shared the daily wage rates when doing the turf-related tasks during the late sixteenth century, and this type of task was not recorded in the seventeenth century, this category is excluded from this gendered comparison. Textile-related tasks are excluded as well, as labourers were mainly paid by task for that work. Thus, table 3.10 below lists five types of tasks undertaken by both men and women. To minimise the influence of different age groups' wage rates, a further selection of wage data is made for shearing and haymaking: only those who received higher than 2d per day are included in the category of shearing corn, while those who received at least 1.5d per day are included in the category of haymaking. The figures in the brackets represent the number of instances collected from different periods, and it is the average daily wage rates of each category that are compared together.

Table 3.10 Gendered comparison of daily wage rates (d/day)

	The Shuttleworths		The Shuttleworths	
	1583, 86-98		1600-02, 05, 1617-20	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Shearing corn	3.2d(29)	3d(1)	3d(58)	3d(44)
Haymaking	1.6d(16)	1.5d(1)	2.3d(55)	2d(128)
Weeding	1.4d(1)	1.4d(1)	2.1d(11)	1.7d(3)
Winnowing	1.5d(1)	4d*(3)	6d*(24)	6d*(2)
Sheep husbandry	2d(1)	2.5d(2)	4d(2)	4d(4) ^a

Notes: (*) means the wage rate without food and drink. (a) As there was no daily wage rates of female labourers who worked in 1600-02, 1605 and 1617-20, here the wage data of female labourers are collected from 1606.

Sources: LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9.

As table 3.10 show, there was no big wage gap between male and female adult labourers hired by the Shuttleworths for shearing corn and making hay. When male shearers were paid 3.2d per day between 1582 and 1598, female shearers

received 3d per day, although there was only one record about female shearers during this period. Margaret Whittlye was paid 3d per day for shearing on 16 September 1593.¹⁰¹ Similar to the limited records about female shearers in 1582-98, only one female haymaker was found in the same period after excluding child labourers and maids. Elizabeth Hallywall was paid 15d together with Robert Kent for working ten days at hay on 29 July 1592.¹⁰² When the payments received by female adult haymakers were 2d per day during the seventeenth century, the average daily wage rates received by their male counterparts were 2.3d per day from 1600 to 1621.

In fact, a clear gender wage gap for making hay can be found in the Shuttleworth accounts. For example, on 1 September 1613, it recorded that some haymakers were hired at 3d le day, some hired at 2d, some 1.5d and some 1d le day, the sum 31s 9d.¹⁰³ In addition, the accounts recorded that men should be paid 3d per day, women should be paid 2d/day between 1617 and 1620. However, both male and female haymakers were paid the same wage level of 3d per day on 30 September 1621, except two female haymakers, Isabel Harrison and Florence Willisell, who were paid 2.5d per day and 9d per week, and one boy received 2d per day.¹⁰⁴ This is different from the payments recorded in other household accounts. Both adults and children were paid 2d per day by Newton; while female labourers could only get half that the amount paid to male labourers during harvest time from Bacon.¹⁰⁵ The household accounts of Sarah Fell recorded payments to labourers hired in the Furness district of Lancashire between 1673 and 1678. During the harvest time, daily wage rates received by both male and female agricultural labourers increased: male harvesters' wages ranged from 4d to 7d per day, while female harvesters' wages were not over 2d per day.¹⁰⁶

Male and female labourers received similar average wages for doing the rest of the tasks listed in table 3.10 as well. When the Shuttleworths were living at Smithills between 1582 and 1599, male and female labourers normally received the same daily wage rates for weeding and sheep husbandry. Only one female labourer – the daughter of Robert Stones – was paid 3d for shearing sheep on 8

¹⁰¹ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 300.

¹⁰² LA DDKS 18/2 p. 252.

¹⁰³ LA DDKS 18/8 p. 194.

¹⁰⁴ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 141.

¹⁰⁵ Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', 158; Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 30.

¹⁰⁶ Shammass, 'The World Women Knew', p. 110.

July 1592.¹⁰⁷ The wage rates show changes after the Shuttleworths moved to Gawthorpe. While male and female labourers received the same average wage rates for winnowing and sheep husbandry during the early seventeenth century, they were paid 2.1d and 1.7d per day respectively for weeding. In fact, the actual wage rates of weeding paid by the Shuttleworths were lower than that received by labourers in the Le Strange household in 1615-24: when 2d per day was the wage rate received by boys for weeding, and adult labourers were paid 3-4d per day with food and drink by the Le Stranges during this period, the maximum daily wage rate for weeding in the Shuttleworths was 2.5d per day.¹⁰⁸

Although the Shuttleworths preferred hiring male labourers, daily wage rates recorded in the household's accounts were mostly determined by different tasks rather than gender. Labour efficiency and customary discrimination have been used to explain gender wage gap.¹⁰⁹ When explaining the similar wage levels received by male and female labourers in the Shuttleworths, perhaps one important reason is that those tasks were unskilled, making it possible for labourers to be paid a similar amount. Another reason is related to the changes in labour supply, as there were a higher proportion of female labourers who supplemented male labour during the harvest seasons in the 1600s. The demand of labour in the Shuttleworths made it possible for the employer to provide same wage rates for both male and female labourers at that time.

In summary, day-wage rates paid by the Shuttleworths were low when compared with their southern counterparts. Although the wage rate of mowing was higher than that of other types of tasks in the Shuttleworth accounts, it was only higher than that paid by Best. In addition, the similar day-wage rates paid to male and female labourers for certain types of tasks suggest that the gender wage gap was caused by the type of tasks men and women did, and the number of days they were employed, rather than by different wage rates for the same task.

¹⁰⁷ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 243.

¹⁰⁸ Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, pp. 223-4.

¹⁰⁹ See for example, Donald Woodward, 'The Determination of Wage Rates in the Early Modern North of England', *Economic History Review*, 47.1 (1994), 22-43; Bardsley, 'Women's Work Reconsidered', 3-29; John Hatcher, 'Debate: Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 191 – 198; Sandy Bardsley, 'Reply', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 199 – 202; Penelope Lane, 'A customary or market wage? Women and work in the East Midlands, c. 1700-1840', in *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850*, ed. by Penelope Lane, Neil Raven and K. D. M. Snell (Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 102-118; Joyce Burnette, 'Women's wages' in *Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 72-135; Roberts, 'Sickles and Scythes', 3-28.

3.4.3 Task-wage rates

Task wages have long been recognised as a part of the income for casual labourers in early modern England. However, other than Clark, when economic historians discuss the living standards of labourers, task wages have been excluded because of the complexity.¹¹⁰ It is understandable that payments for some tasks such as getting turves and threshing oats or barley cannot be compared directly when the labour was measured in different ways. But similar to day-wage rates, the Shuttleworth accounts provide information about changes in task-wage rates. Thus, this part discusses different task-wage rates received by labourers in the Shuttleworth accounts over time. After exploring gendered task-wage rates, the final section focuses on the conversion of task wages into daily wages, discussing the possible total working days undertaken by agricultural labourers hired by the Shuttleworths.

As task wages may contain the payment to a group of labourers, the limited information about actual workers makes it impossible to provide an exact number of labourers. Therefore, the following analysis concentrates on the detailed records of each type of task left in the accounts, and the calculated piece wage rates are adopted when no direct information is found. In all, ten types of task-wage rates are collected and listed in table 3.11. Among these, the wage rates of mowing, making hay, shearing, ploughing, and harrowing were measured by acre, ditching and hedging were measured by rod, while drying oats, getting turves and leading hay were measured by weight. In terms of threshing, three types of measures recorded in 1582-99 – mett, bushel and sieve – were used to measure wheat, barley and oats respectively. To make comparisons with the data of threshing oats in 1617-20, the other two types of threshing are excluded here.

¹¹⁰ Gregory Clark provides an estimation of actual day wages by combining day-task wages and threshing payments. See, Clark, 'The Long March of History', 97-135.

Table 3.11 Task-wage rates

Types of tasks	1582-99	1600-06	1608-13	1616-21
Mowing (d/acre)	8, 9, 15,16, 18, 20	32, 36, 38, 40	18, 36	20
Making hay (d/acre)	12, 16-22		36	15, 18, 20, 24
Shearing corn (d/acre)	40, 44, 66	40	44, 48, 50	44, 56, 60
Ditching and hedging (d/rod)	1-7	1.5-9	2-7	1.5-7, 13
Threshing oats (d/sieve)	1.3, 4			6.5, 7.5, 8
Drying oats(d/killnefull)		2	3, 4	3, 4
Getting turves (d/load)	1.5			
Leading hay(d/load)	0.5, 0.6			
Harrowing (d/acre)	6			
Ploughing (d/acre)	14, 15, 23			

Sources: LA DDKS 18/1-9.

Among the three types of harvest work, the highest task-wage rate was for shearing corn, which indicates that more labour was needed to harvest an acre of corn than to mow an acre of hay. Most task-wage labourers who worked at shearing corn were paid 40d per acre between 1582 and 1606, while only one labourer, William Johnson, was paid 22s for shearing 4 acres of wheat, bean and oats at Tingreave on 28 November 1598, indicating that he would have paid another group of workers to finish the task.¹¹¹ The minimum wage rates for shearing corn increased to 44d per acre during two later periods, 1608-13 and 1616-21. The maximum wage rates for shearing wheat of 5s per acre were paid to John Roe, and Joseph Sager and his company respectively. Again, some contractors can be found for this period. When Richard Tompson, for example, was paid 4s 8d per acre for shearing wheat on 25 September 1617, he was paid 3s 8d per acre for shearing oats at the same day.¹¹²

¹¹¹ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 99.

¹¹² LA DDKS 18/9 p. 39.

Although the task-wage rates for mowing and making hay were lower than that for shearing corn, there are some changes in each type of task over time. As some labourers were paid together for mowing and getting hay, the task-wage rates show some overlaps during the four periods. In terms of mowing, compared with the diverse wage rates recorded between 1582 and 1599, evidence found in the early seventeenth century shows a standard wage level for mowing: labourers were paid 18d per acre and 3s per acre between 1608 and 1613, and later 20d per acre between 1616 and 1621. This, however, was probably influenced either by the land quality or by the combination of payments with haymaking. Regarding making hay, the minimum task-wage rates increased from 12d per acre in 1582-1599 to 15d per acre in 1616-1621. In addition, the task-wage rates for making hay and mowing were particularly high between 1600 and 1606, when the minimum wage rates were £2 8d per acre. The higher demand for agricultural labourers during this period was an important reason for this wage gap.

Generally, the wage rates of ditching and hedging, and threshing oats rose slightly over time, although they showed different characteristics. The wage rates for hedging and ditching normally ranged from 1d to 7d per rod during the whole period, and only in 1620 did the accounts record 13d per rod for ditching. The main reason for this highest wage rate would be the mixed tasks undertaken by labourers. When those three groups of labourers, John Barton, John Hey, Jeffery Birchall and each of their respective companies, were hired in 1620, they were not only paid for ditching but also for getting and setting wood. Regarding the wide range of task-wage rates, these differences would be influenced directly by the work needed. George Munkes, for instance, received 1d per rod, 2d per rod and 4d per rod in January 1590/91 for ditching at Lostock.¹¹³ For threshing oats, only one labourer, Giles Ganan, was paid 1.3 per sieve in April 1586 and worked as a harvester later in 1588.

Regarding the remaining categories, the wage rates for drying oats rose slightly in the early seventeenth century. Although the records for getting turves, leading hay, harrowing and ploughing can only be found for the period 1582-99, the wage rates for the first three types of tasks maintained the same low level over time. These were 1.5d per load, 0.5-0.6d per load and 6d per acre respectively. Regarding ploughing, Jeffrey Astelay was the only labourer who received 23d per

¹¹³ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 174.

acre, while other labourers were normally paid 14d or 15d per acre. Different types of land being ploughed would be one possible explanation.

Previous discussion shows that there was no big wage gap between male and female day-labourers hired by the Shuttleworths over time; a similar conclusion can be further found from the evidence about gendered task-wage rates. As table 3.12 shows, three types of tasks are collected from the accounts to make comparisons. Group workers are excluded as their labour cannot be valued accordingly.

Table 3.12 Gender division of task-wage rates, 1586-98, 1617-20

1586-98	Male	Female
Making hay (d/acre)	12, 16-22	18, 20
Shearing corn (d/acre)	40, 44, 66	40
1617-20		
Making hay(d/acre)	15, 18, 20, 24	20
Gathering stones (d/load)	4, 6	5

Sources: LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9.

The task-wage rates show that female labourers were always paid in a similar level as their male counterparts over time. When female haymakers were paid 18d or 20d per acre in 1586-98 and 1617-20, the wage rates received by their male counterparts ranged from 12d to 24d per acre. Among shearers, Nicholas Pendelburie's wife was the only woman who was paid solely between 1586 and 1598. She received 3s 4d for shearing an acre of land at Lostock in October 1588.¹¹⁴ In terms of gathering stones recorded between 1617 and 1620, the wage levels were similar as well: when Richard Hargreaves received 4d and 6d per load respectively for gathering limestones, Richard's wife received 5d per load for the same task.¹¹⁵

Although the unclear labour distribution within groups of workers means that it is impossible to track each labourers' contribution, the similar task-wage rates between men and women labourers indicate that the gendered bias due to

¹¹⁴ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 89.

¹¹⁵ As two male labourers shared the same surname Hargreaves in 1618, John Hargreaves and Richard Hargreaves, it cannot be detected whose wife did this task.

different physical strength did not influence the level of task payments. For early modern employers, the satisfactory completion of the task mattered the most.

When economic historians construct wage series, 250 or 260 working days per year have been used to calculate labourers' earnings and living standard. Although task-wage rates were recorded in different measures in the Shuttleworth accounts, specific examples can be found to make further comparisons. And thus, the following part concentrates on John Morres, a married labourer who lived at Lostock and worked for the Shuttleworths from 1582 to 1599, and attempts to calculate his actual working days in 1590. His wages for driving plough, harrowing, mowing, tenting hay and shearing corn in 1590 were paid by acres, making it possible to calculate them using the same standard.

Table 3.13 lists the task-wage rates received by John Morres in 1590 and compares them with the average daily wage rates. The second and third columns are collected from the accounts. The average daily wage rates are calculated based on the wage rates with food and drink provided by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598. If we assume the labour input maintained the same level, the task-wage rate can be converted into day-wage rates, and the working days needed to finish an acre of task can then be calculated. For example, the days needed to finish ploughing an acre of land = $14 \div 2 = 7$. After multiplying the acreage of each task, the working days can be calculated accordingly. In all, it would have taken John Morres 201.5 days to undertake the work for which he was paid driving the plough, harrowing, mowing, tenting hay and shearing corn in 1590 if he did these tasks alone.

Table 3.13 Task-wage rates received by John Morres in 1590 and a comparison with average daily wage rates which contained food and drink in 1586-98

Types of tasks	d/acre	acres	d/day ^a	days/acre	Working days needed
Driving plough	14	11	2	7	77
Harrowing	6	12	1.6	3.8	45.6
Mowing	16	6.5	4.7	3.4	22.1
Making hay	16	2.3	1.6	10	23
Shearing corn	40	2.7*	3.2	12.5	33.8
					201.5

Note: (*) As three labourers were paid for shearing 8 acres of corn at Lostock in 1590, the average value is calculated here.

Sources: LA DDKS18/2-3; table 3.9; table 3.10.

Table 3.14 Task-wage rates received by John Morres in 1590 and a comparison with average daily wage rates which did not contain food and drink in 1586-98

Types of tasks	d/acre	acres	d/day ^a	days/acre	Working days needed
Driving plough	14	11	4	3.5	38.5
Harrowing	6	12	4	1.5	18
Mowing	16	6.5	6.7	2.4	15.6
Making hay	16	2.3	3.6	4.4	10.1
Shearing corn	40	2.7*	5.2	7.7	20.8
					103

Note: (*) As three labourers were paid for shearing 8 acres of corn at Lostock in 1590, the average value is calculated here.

Sources: LA DDKS18/2-3; table 3.12.

As daily wage rates were recorded with or without food and drink in the Shuttleworth accounts, it is necessary to take daily wage rates without food and drink into consideration. When working at driving plough and harrowing, male adult labourers received 4d per day without food and drink in 1590, but the wage rates for mowing, making hay and shearing corn were either recorded with food

and drink or recorded as task-wage rates during the same period. If we adopt the minimum daily cost of diet, 2d per day, according to the 1595 Lancashire wage assessment, and assume that this daily cost of diet could provide John enough calories, it is possible to calculate the maximum working days needed by John Morres to earn the same amount of money. As table 3.14 shows, the sum of working days would be 103.

After adding four days for getting turves, the working days undertaken by John Morres in 1590 could be calculated accordingly. If John Morres was provided food and drink by the Shuttleworths, he had to work 205.5 days alone in 1590 to earn the same amount of money. This is less than Craig Muldrew's assumption that male agricultural labourers were employed to work 300 days per year.¹¹⁶ If he fed himself during the employment, he only needed to work 107 days to earn that money. Neither of these two figures is close to the 250/260 working days used by economic historians. Of course, this calculation is too simple in many ways, as work efficiency is influenced by many factors, including the number of labourers, the land quality, and the daily time labourers devoted into the task.¹¹⁷ In addition, the assumed minimum cost of diet is calculated according to the legal wage assessment, which might not reflect the way labourers really fed themselves during work.¹¹⁸ In fact, according to 1595 wage regulations, the cost of feeding labourers should range from 2d to 4d per day.¹¹⁹ If labourers wanted to save money for their family, then the cost would be less than the assumed one, although poor nutrition would ultimately have a negative impact on the amount of work they could do. However, these questions cannot be avoided when economic historians debate the number of days worked each year by labourers. Instead of assuming the possible working days and relying solely on day-wage rates, task-wage rates should be taken into consideration as well.

The task-wage rates recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts show that the wage rate for shearing corn was the highest type of harvest wages. The wage rates for other types of tasks did not change greatly except for specific high wage rates for

¹¹⁶ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, pp. 217.

¹¹⁷ For the latest discussion of time and work, see Mark Hailwood, 'Time and Work in Rural England, 1500-1700', *Past and present*, 248.1 (2020), 87-121.

¹¹⁸ The budget or expenditure of labourers and their families is an important part of living standards and will be discussed further in Chapter 5. For some related work see: Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, pp. 215-6; Sara Horrell, 'Home Demand and British Industrialization', *The Journal of Economic History*, 56.3 (1996), 561-604; Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution*, pp. 35-42.

¹¹⁹ Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. III*, p. 149.

mowing and making hay in 1600-06. In terms of gendered task-wage rates, the evidence found in the Shuttleworth accounts shows there was no gender wage gap between male and female labourers during the early modern period. Based on task-wage rates and day-wage rates, the calculated annual working days undertaken by the male labourer was significantly lower than the assumed annual working days suggested by economic historians.

Conclusion

Similarly to the employment of servants, the preference for hiring male workers in the Shuttleworth accounts was shown in the employment of casual labourers as well. Although male labourers did more types of tasks and dominated some tasks such as mowing and maintaining land, both male and female labourers shared other types of tasks, such as getting turves, weeding and harvesting grain. The multiple tasks undertaken by male labourers show that labourers in early modern England experienced complicated working patterns during their life cycle, thereby necessitating a reconsideration of their work and wages. Living in an economy of makeshifts, it was important for labouring people to seek every employment opportunity to make ends meet, especially when they had no access to land.

Regarding the annual number of working days, most labourers hired by the Shuttleworths were unlikely to work 250/260 days per year, even when some agricultural labourers did both building and agricultural tasks between 1600 and 1606. In addition, based on task-wage rates and day-wage rates, the estimated working days undertaken by agricultural labourers in one year was still less than 250 days. In terms of gendered comparison, the number of working days indicate that female labourers were mainly employed as a supplement to their male counterparts. Although some female labourers worked at spinning and engaged in harvest work, their contribution to family income was limited.

When focusing on the number of labourers employed, on the one hand, the comparison between male servants and male labourers employed during the late sixteenth century shows that the Shuttleworths always put their household needs first, rather than changing the proportion of labour force according to demographic changes and costs of living. When the number of male servants was increasing steadily in the 1580s and 1590s, the number of male labourers fluctuated dramatically due to harvest changes and building projects. On the other

hand, although male labourers always outnumbered female labourers over time, female agricultural labourers showed a higher participation in the early 1600s. Living in a period when local population was increasing gradually, the demand from the labour market provided women, particularly single women, with more opportunities to earn money.

Whilst the daily wage rates in this household were lower than those in their southern counterparts, some wage rates (such as that for mowing) were higher than that paid by Henry Best in East Yorkshire. The provision of food and drink by the Shuttleworths was an important reason why the daily wage rates were low. Nevertheless, both day-wage rates and task-wage rates paid by the Shuttleworths showed little gender difference. Instead, women were paid at a similar level as their male counterparts when working at the same tasks. Although the low skilled nature of these tasks, such as weeding, was an important reason for the similar wages paid to women and men, it is reasonable to argue that, compared with labour efficiency, the demand and supply of labour mattered more than gender in the payments to labourers. In addition, it seems that the 1595 legal wage assessment had some influence on the regulation of wage levels received by day labourers from the Shuttleworths, as most day-wage rates received by mowers were under the legal level.

How could these agricultural labourers survive with the limited working days and low wage rates recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts? Before discussing this issue, it is necessary to explore another type of wage workers, craftsmen and specialists in the next chapter.

4. Rural craftsmen and specialists

In contrast to general labourers discussed in previous chapter, craftsmen and specialists were skilled workers and were paid higher wage rates. The Shuttleworths employed large numbers of these workers, especially during the building of Gawthorpe Hall from 1600 to 1606, providing detailed information to explore the working lives of rural building workers.

Previous studies of skilled workers generally fall into two groups: the first group concentrates on building workers and discusses their wage rates and living standards; the second is composed of case studies, which address a wider range of the skilled workers of early modern England. There is also a large literature on apprentices and apprenticeship, but that has less relevance to the themes addressed here.¹

The classic studies of the wage rates of building craftsmen and labourers are provided by E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins in the 1950s.² Their statistics have long been used to prove the decline of living standards for wage earners during the early modern period. However, as Phelps Brown and Hopkins write in their articles, there are a number of problems related to these data: most significant is the unknown number of actual working days per year and the basic costs (including the exact consumption) needed to maintain 'a constant standard of living' over seven centuries. In addition, the wage data before 1700 are collected from Thorold Rogers' research, and around 40 or 50 per cent of data on builders' wages before 1620 came from Oxford. For most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were around fifteen entries for building craftsmen per year, but for the period 1580-1620 there were fewer entries, with only three per year.³

Focusing on real day wages of building workers from 1209 to 2004, Gregory Clark collected 'more than 46,000 quotes of day wages, 90,000 quotes of the prices of

¹ Important studies about English apprenticeship are summarised by Patrick Wallis, see, 'Apprenticeship in England', in *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Maarten Prak and Patrick Wallis (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

² E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', *Economica*, 22.87 (1955), 195-206; 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage-Rates', *Economica*, 23.96 (1956), 296-314.

³ Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', 195.

49 commodities, and 20,000 quotes of housing rents' to explore the cause and consequences of the Industrial Revolution.⁴ On the one hand, Clark argues that real wages between 1200 and 1800 were trendless, which supports the Malthusian model; on the other hand, the comparison between real wage series and estimated English population levels indicates that the escape of Malthusian stagnation in England began in the 1640s. His wage series are valuable to track long-term British economic changes, but most of the data is collected from urban areas.

Other scholars have concentrated on London builders to rebuild the wage series and discuss their living standards during different periods.⁵ Living standards are an important issue that will be discussed in the next chapter. When concentrating on building craftsmen and their labourers, although the main data are collected from urban areas, scholars express different opinions. The first question is, can the wage rates of building craftsmen be used to represent the living standards of wage-earners in general in early modern England? Based on northern building accounts and the probate inventories of building craftsmen, Donald Woodward argues that building craftsmen could not be understood as wage-earners in modern sense, as many craftsmen were small, independent businessmen who employed other labourers to work, provided raw materials themselves for some small-scale tasks and normally pursued a variety of by-employments.⁶ However, after exploring lives of labourers and building craftsmen in northern towns in his book *Men at Work*, Woodward concludes that wage rates in northern towns showed similar trend to that summarised by Phelps Brown and Hopkins for southern England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁷

Another question is about the actual wage incomes received by building workers. Judy Stephenson argues that the actual wages paid to London building workers were below current estimates because building contractors took a proportion of

⁴ Gregory Clark, 'The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1209-2004', *Journal of Political Economy*, 113.6 (2005), 1307-40.

⁵ See for example, Steven Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge University Press, 1989); Jeremy Boulton, 'Wage Labour in Seventeenth-Century London', *Economic History Review*, 49.2 (1996), 268-90; Jeremy Boulton, 'Food Prices and the Standards of Living in London in the 'Century of Revolution', 1580-1700', *Economic History Review*, 53.3 (2000), 455-492; Robert Allen, 'The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War', *Explorations Economic History*, 38 (2001), 411-47.

⁶ Donald Woodward, 'Wage Rates and Living Standards in Pre-Industrial England', *Past and Present*, 91 (1981), 28-46. Also see, Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450-1750* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷ Woodward, *Men at Work*.

the payments.⁸ In addition, she concludes that the wage salaries received by craftsmen and labourers were influenced by a range of factors, including the day wage rate, the level of the worker's skill and the number of working days in a year.⁹ This question becomes further complicated when the families of builders are regarded as a unit, as other types of income either earned by building workers for doing non-building tasks or contributed by their family members have been neglected when constructing the long-term wage series.

The third issue is about the categorisation of building workers. Both Steve Rappaport and Jeremy Boulton have highlighted the different wage levels earned by building workers, indicating that not all building labourers were unskilled.¹⁰ Based on the analysis of three construction sites and organizations in London from the late seventeenth century through to the eighteenth century, Stephenson agrees that the labourers who assisted craftsmen in the building industry were not all unskilled.¹¹ In fact, some of them should be defined as 'semi-skilled' workers, in contrast to the traditional binary division between 'skilled' craftsmen and 'unskilled' labourers. Although Stephenson's research focuses on the building industry of London during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the debate is about the 'high wage' economy proposed by Robert Allen, it raises issues that should also be considered when examining building workers hired in rural areas during the early modern period.

The final question is related to the number of annual working days. While Allen uses 250 working days per year to calculate the welfare ratio of London building workers, both Woodward and Stephenson have found that this figure cannot be used as a proxy.¹² Stephenson has explored the actual working days of London building workers in the early 1700s.¹³ However, as rural building workers might

⁸ Judy Z. Stephenson, 'Real' wages? Contractors, workers, and pay in London building trades, 1650-1800', *Economic History Review*, 71.1 (2018), 106-132. Robert Allen replied to Stephenson's article, see, Robert C. Allen, 'Real wages once more: a response to Judy Stephenson', *Economic History Review*, (2018), 1-17.

⁹ Judy Z. Stephenson, 'In Search of the Average Craftsman: Understanding Skilled Work and Wages in the Early Modern Building Trades and Wider Economy', in *Seven Centuries of Unreal Wages: The Unreliable Data, Sources and Methods That Have Been Used for Measuring Standards of Living in the Past*, ed. by John Hatcher and Judy Z. Stephenson (Palgrave, 2018), pp. 117-42; Judy Z. Stephenson, 'The Pay of Labourers and Unskilled Men on London Building Sites, 1650-1770', in *Seven Centuries of Unreal Wages: The Unreliable Data, Sources and Methods That Have Been Used for Measuring Standards of Living in the Past*, ed. by John Hatcher and Judy Z. Stephenson (Palgrave, 2018), pp. 143-63.

¹⁰ Rappaport, *Worlds with Worlds*, 128-9; Boulton, 'Wage labour in seventeenth-century London', 271.

¹¹ Stephenson, 'The Pay of Labourers and Unskilled Men', pp. 143-63.

¹² Woodward, *Men at Work*; Judy Z. Stephenson, 'Working days in a London construction team in the eighteenth century: evidence from St Paul's Cathedral', *Economic History Review*, 73.2 (2020), 409-30.

¹³ Stephenson, 'Working days in a London construction team', 409-30; Judy Stephenson, *Contracts and Pay: Work in London Construction 1660-1785* (Palgrave, 2020).

also participate in agricultural tasks, it remains to be explored how rural building craftsmen and labourers organised the number of working days each year.

In addition to these debates, social historians who concentrate on wage workers hired by specific households provide more detailed information about the working lives of craftsmen and specialists. When discussing the specialist day-labourers hired by Nathaniel Bacon, a gentleman farmer who lived at Stiffkey, north Norfolk, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Smith focuses on three types of skilled workers -- shepherds, hedgers and ditchers (also called 'spadesmen') -- and building labourers, who were mainly hired from nearby communities.¹⁴ Among the labourers, shepherds and spadesmen were elite groups because of their payments and skills. In addition, although higher numbers of building labourers were hired from outside of Stiffkey, most building labour was done by local men, which, Smith argues, was because the 'food and drink' payment was not attractive to labourers from nearby parishes, leaving these tasks to local labourers. This indicates that the 'firm', which normally comprised master craftsmen, apprentices and labourers, was a loose organisation in rural areas. When examining those workers hired by Humphrey Newton, a gentleman who lived at Newton, northeast Cheshire during late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Youngs takes a different approach. She combines craftsmen and smiths with agricultural labourers as she finds that they normally undertook mixed tasks for the Newton family.¹⁵ Similar mixed tasks can also be found in Le Stranges' accounts from early seventeenth-century Norfolk, where craftsmen and specialists were not only paid for skilled tasks but also for some general tasks.¹⁶

In contrast to these case studies which rely heavily on household accounts, Whittle uses the records of quarter session courts from 1532-1592, to analyse workers in rural Norfolk during the sixteenth century.¹⁷ The slightly increased proportion of craftsmen and specialists, 25.5 per cent in 1532-43 to 26.6 per cent in 1558-92, shows the existence of those skilled workers in rural areas, reminding

¹⁴ A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part I], *Continuity and Change*, 4.1 (1989), 11-52.

¹⁵ Deborah Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne: the case of Newton, Cheshire, 1498-1520', *Agricultural History Review*, 47 (1999), 145-60.

¹⁶ Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household, The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 210-38.

¹⁷ Jane Whittle, 'Servants, Labourers and Rural Craftsmen' in *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440-1580* (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 225-304.

us to consider this type of workers separately from agricultural workers.

It is apparent that current studies tend to concentrate on skilled workers hired in southern England. Although Woodward explores building craftsmen and labourers in northern towns, less information can be found about skilled workers in northern rural areas during the early modern period. When Lawrence Shuttleworth inherited the family property and started building Gawthorpe Hall in 1600, a large number of building workers were hired, which provides detailed sources for us to explore building craftsmen and labourers hired in early seventeenth-century Lancashire. In addition, some non-building craftsmen and specialists were paid for doing different tasks when the Shuttleworths lived at both Smithills and Gawthorpe Hall.

To have a full understanding of these skilled wage earners' work experience during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this chapter is divided into five parts. The first two parts provide a brief introduction to Gawthorpe Hall and the data analysed. The third part concentrates on the working lives of building workers, exploring their tasks, length of employment and wage levels. The fourth part turns to non-building rural craftsmen and other specialists, and the final part discusses the origin of these skilled workers.

4.1 Gawthorpe Hall

According to the household accounts, the Shuttleworths began building Gawthorpe Hall in February 1599/1600, and the first stone was laid on 26 August 1600.¹⁸ The whole building project lasted at least until June 1606 and was probably finished in 1607. The design of Gawthorpe Hall has been attributed to Robert Smythson, the architect who designed many other famous houses of the Elizabethan style, although there are no direct documentary records of him in the Shuttleworth accounts.¹⁹

¹⁸ LA DDKS 18/4 p. 23.

¹⁹ *Gawthorpe Hall* (the National Trust, 1996), p. 5.

Gawthorpe Hall



Photographed by author on 8 September 2021.

As shown in this picture, the Gawthorpe Hall is a three-storey building. The external walls of Gawthorpe Hall are built of stone, constructed from bottom to top, while the inner structure was mainly composed by timber, and the inner decoration was finished from top to bottom. Building materials needed by the Shuttleworths were obtained from Gawthorpe and nearby places. For example, stone for walling was from Gawthorpe, Scole Bank, a farm close to Rose Grove, and Riccliffe. Timber was from Mitton Wood, 6 miles from Gawthorpe. A *pipper* [piper] was given 6d as a reward to celebrate the completion of roof construction on 'Rearing Day', 19 June 1602, while the accounts show that the work on the construction of the Hall roof lasted until August 1602.²⁰ After that, the construction turned to interior structures and decoration. The roof of new hall was plastered by Francis Gunby on 16 November 1605, when Bryen Blych made mortar for him.²¹

²⁰ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 74.

²¹ LA DDKS 18/8 p. 52.

The Hall was restored and refurbished between 1850 and 1852, when Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth employed another architect, Sir Charles Barry, to improve the Hall. Today, the Hall is run by the National Trust.

4.2 Data

As with the analysis of servants and casual labourers hired by the Shuttleworths in previous two chapters, it is impossible to track yearly changes to the employment of all craftsmen and specialists from 1582 to 1621 in an exact way. In addition to the period when the Shuttleworths had the building project and employed building workers systematically from 1600 to 1606, the employment of craftsmen and specialists was irregular and difficult to classify. Although the main principle of collecting and counting this evidence is based on the detailed descriptions of tasks, considering the complexity of household accounts, several issues need to be discussed.

The first problem is related to categorising rural craftsmen and specialists. Skilled workers had a wide variety of occupational titles based on different skills. Before they became skilled workers, apprenticeship was necessary for them to work in non-agricultural occupations during the early modern period. The 1563 Statute of Artificers made it clear that people had to learn specific skills by serving as apprentices for seven years before they became skilled craftsmen. According to the 1573 memorandum of the Statute of Artificers, the following occupations could only be entered via apprenticeship: smith, wheelwright, ploughwright, millwright, carpenter, roughmason, plasterer, sawyer, lime burner, brickmaker, bricklayer, tiler, slater, helier, tilemaker, linnenweaver, turner, cooper, miller, potter, woollen weaver (weaving housewives or household cloth only), fuller, burner of ore or 'woade' ashes, thatcher and shingler.²²

When focusing on the household accounts, some entries were only recorded with names of workers and description of skilled tasks but no occupational labels, making it necessary to seek other approaches to make further classification. This was particularly common among those non-building craftsmen. Thus, the description of tasks from the accounts are classified by using the History of Work Information System (HISCO) to make further distinctions. In addition, it is not uncommon to find some entries that only recorded skilled tasks but not the name

²² R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (eds.), *Tudor Economic Documents, being select documents illustrating the economic and social history of Tudor England*, Vol. 1 (Longmans, 1951), pp. 357-8.

or occupation of the worker. For example, one entry recorded that the Shuttleworths paid 6d for mending the plough irons at Lostock in April 1583.²³ Without further information about who did these skilled tasks, this kind of record is excluded from the statistical analysis here. Where workers were recorded without names but with their occupational titles and detailed tasks, such as smiths, tinkers and thatchers, they are included.

For those recorded with occupational titles, several aspects need to be considered carefully. On the one hand, although the evidence is rare, we can find some workers who appeared in the accounts with different spellings or forms of names. After careful comparison, for instance, it is clear that Robert Wilson and Robin Wilson were the same person. This is not the only example found from the accounts: Robert Smith and Robin Smith have been identified as the same worker as well. On the other hand, it was not uncommon to find that some workers had more than one occupational title in the accounts, leading to the further identification. For example, William Whythead, a building worker, was recorded as both a mason and a waller in the accounts, when he participated in the building project between 1600 and 1606. The problems become more complicated when some workers shared the same name but were labelled with different occupational titles. As discussed in the previous chapter, the name James Fouldes appeared in the accounts with four different titles: labourer, shearer, waller and wright. By comparing the dates these men worked, it is evident that the James Fouldes who was labelled as a labourer could not be the same person who was labelled as a waller or wright. If we assume craftsmen would not switch from one trade to another, then there were at least three men called James Fouldes hired by the Shuttleworths in the early seventeenth century.

When calculating the unit of labour, the same principle used in the previous chapter is applied to the counting of craftsmen and specialists. That is, one worker doing a single type of task is defined as one unit of labour. However, it is common to find master craftsmen working together with their apprentices, journeymen or servants (normally named as the masters' men), and sometimes labourers. As these group workers were not always recorded with clear numbers, and available wage rates were not enough to deduce the number of individual workers contained in the groups, a minimum estimation of workers is calculated

²³ LA DDKS 18/1 p. 15.

here.

In addition, considering the multiple tasks undertaken by workers during the early modern period, it is not persuasive to assume that all skilled workers always did skilled tasks when they were hired. For example, when Henry Roggers and his men appeared in the accounts from January 1582/3 to July 1589, they were not only paid for mending ploughs but also paid for doing unrecorded tasks for different lengths of time. Over those 16 day-wage payments, Henry and his men were normally paid 4d per day.²⁴ Although the HISCO system can be used to identify that Henry was probably a smith, and workers with occupational titles of this kind are added accordingly to this analysis of skilled workers, we will never know exactly what Henry and his men did when they received these kinds of daily wages. This is not the only example found in the Shuttleworth accounts: when William Stones worked with or without his men at Smithills and was paid around 4d per day in the 1590s, no detailed records were provided about their tasks.

In summary, based on the occupational titles recorded in the accounts and the comparison of tasks with the HISCO system, the skilled workers and specialists hired by the Shuttleworths can be generally divided into two categories: 1) building craftsmen and labourers; 2) Non-building craftsmen and other specialist workers. Focusing on these skilled workers and specialists recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts, 4,467 instances of data are collected from three periods, 1582-99, 1600-06 and 1616-21.²⁵ The period during which Gawthorpe Hall was constructed, 1600-1606, had the highest number of records about skilled workers, 3,364, which accounted for 75.3 per cent of the total.

4.3 Building workers

Building workers hired by the Shuttleworths can be generally divided into two types: building craftsmen and building labourers. Despite two missing volumes of accounts, August 1603 - July 1604 and July 1606 – June 1608, 1600-06 provides the richest records about building workers, as this was the period when the Shuttleworths were building Gawthorpe Hall. In addition, there were building workers hired to work at other estates owned by the Shuttleworths or maintaining the buildings occasionally during other periods. Based on all building workers employed over three periods, 1582-99, 1600-06 and 1616-21, this part aims to

²⁴ Only one entry shows that Henry Roggers and his man were paid 7.5d per day.

²⁵ The data of 1608-13 is excluded as the information was incomplete.

explore their working lives from three aspects: categories of building workers, the length of employment and their wage levels.

4.3.1 Categories of building workers

According to the accounts, building craftsmen hired by the Shuttleworths for the building project included the following occupations: mason, waller, wright, joiner, slater, plasterer, paver, plumber, glazier and smith. These craftsmen mainly dealt with stone, timber and other building materials during the employment. As some thatchers and their servers were recorded for thatching houses or barns, and were paid higher than general labourers, they are discussed in this section as well. Building labourers are identified according to both their tasks and occupational titles: 'labourers', including the general labourers discussed in the previous chapter, servers of building craftsmen and some who did skilled tasks such as plastering.²⁶ Carters are included in this group as well, as they were paid for carrying stone to Gawthorpe for the building project in the early seventeenth century. In all, as shown in table 4.1, 441 building workers are listed across the three different periods.

As some workers were unnamed in the accounts, assumptions are made accordingly. For those unnamed journeymen who worked with their masters, they are assumed to be the same group of people in multiple entries. For example, when William Clayton and his man worked in October 1601, this man is assumed to be one of two men who worked with William in June 1600. When workers are only recorded with their occupations and with no name, with no further information provided in the accounts, they are assumed to be different persons. For example, the paver of Burnley who appeared six times from 1604 to 1606 is identified as six separate workers. Because of this methodology, the calculation about the number of thatchers and their servers is likely to be a maximum assumption as it is common to find both thatchers and their servers were unnamed in the accounts, especially in the 1580s and 1590s. Because these workers did tasks at different places, all of them are counted individually in the table 4.1.

²⁶ As some labourers were paid for 'falling wood for the call', they were included as well. The discussion about calling has been noted in previous chapter.

Table 4.1 The number of building workers

	1582-99	1600-06	1616-21	Sum
Mason	2	25	4	31
Waller	16	41	1	58
Wright	15	37	9	61
Joiner	3	7	1	11
Slater	18	4	2	24
Plasterer	2	12	3	17
Paver	3	8	3	14
Plumber	3	2	1	6
Glazier	6	1	1	8
Smith	0	3	0	3
Building labourer	30	96	29	155
Thatcher & server	42	5	6	53
Sum	140	241	60	441

Notes: 1) As some thatchers and their servers were unnamed in the accounts, the number of this type of worker is a maximum assumption.

2) The number of some craftsmen is a maximum assumption as some of them were only recorded with their occupational titles in the accounts, which makes it impossible to identify if they would be same persons. For example, among these eight pavers recorded in 1600-06, six of them were recorded as 'the payver of Burnley' in the accounts. Without further information, they are assumed to be different persons.

3) The data for 1600-06 are not complete as the two volumes, which cover August 1603 - July 1604 and July 1606 – June 1608, are missing.

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9.

Woodward notes that as a type of building craftsmen, masons were generally divided into two groups: top masons and general masons. Top masons were paid for carving the decorative figures for large churches and laying the cut blocks of stone, while general masons were paid for cutting the stone.²⁷ Among the building craftsmen employed by the Shuttleworths, Anthony Whythead was a chief mason who was paid 30s per quarter from March 1600 to June 1603. He acted more

²⁷ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 16.

likely as a supervisor than a building worker. Although his employment cannot be tracked for the period of August 1603 to July 1604 due to the missing volume of accounts, the last entry about Anthony shows that he was paid £2 6s 8d by the order of Rev. Lawrence Shuttleworth on 13 October 1604.²⁸ After that, Anthony went to work on Haigh Hall, near Wigan.²⁹

It was the second type of masons, general masons, who were recorded abundantly in the Shuttleworth accounts. When building Gawthorpe Hall, the majority tasks undertaken by masons and wallers happened between 1600 and 1602. There were 25 general masons employed by the Shuttleworths doing diverse tasks, such as hewing stone, setting chimney pipes and 'working at the stairs' in the 1600s. Masons hired between 1616 and 1621 continued walling houses at different places on the estate, while Thomas Astle, a mason hired in the 1590s, was paid for mending things around the house at Smithills.

Wallers were another type of building craftsmen who also worked with stone, including breaking and walling stone. It is not uncommon to find craftsmen recorded as both masons and wallers in the Shuttleworth accounts. Of the 41 wallers employed from 1600 to 1606, for example, 15 were recorded as both mason and waller in the accounts when they were doing similar tasks. Although Woodward argues that wallers employed at Carlisle and Kendal were usually a 'lower-grade occupation', the wage rates received by both masons and wallers in the Shuttleworths do not support this conclusion: their wage ranges were the same.³⁰ Regarding the wallers hired in the 1580s and 1590s, over half of them were journeymen or apprentices, who worked with two master wallers, Richard Houlden and Thomas Astelaye, respectively.

Wrights were another common group of craftsmen and worked on woodcutting tasks.³¹ The wrights hired by the Shuttleworths started working in the early summer of 1600, when their main tasks were to cut timbers and make scaffolding at Mitton Wood, near Whalley. When working at Gawthorpe, these wrights did diverse tasks: making doors, floors and roofs within the new hall, and sawing boards and planks for the stable. In all, there were 37 wrights hired for different

²⁸ LA DDKS 18/7 p. 36.

²⁹ *Gawthorpe Hall*, p. 42.

³⁰ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 17.

³¹ To separate these wrights from millwrights and wheelwrights, this part only discusses those wrights participated in the building of inner structure.

periods from 1600 to 1606, and they were paid by the day. Of the fifteen wrights who worked between 1582 and 1599, only two were recorded with detailed tasks. Edward Sharples, a wright, appeared three times for mending the barn and stable at Hoole. Another unnamed wright received 11d for mending a plough at Tingreave on 6 April 1595.³² One specific wright was Henry Milner. He and his two men were paid 4s 8d on 28 September 1598.³³ If he and the Henry Mylner, the leading wright of Gawthorpe Hall, were one and the same person, his skills and earlier connection with the Shuttleworths are likely to be an important reason why he later participated in the building of Gawthorpe Hall. In addition, John Tomson, a carpenter from Eccleston, was paid 32s for building a house for the calves at Tingreave on 8 August 1594.³⁴ Nine wrights hired between 1616 and 1621 were paid for diverse tasks. For example, Henry Baron and his man were paid for 'husbandry business' at Gawthorpe in May 1619; they had previously been paid 29s for working at 'the new houses' in December 1616.³⁵

When the fitting out of the house started in 1602/3, joiners, plasterers and other craftsmen were employed for different periods. Although the records of August 1603-July 1604 are missing, it is reasonable to assume that many joiners and plasterers continued working during this period. Joiners started working within the Hall from March 1602/3. Seven joiners were recorded doing diverse tasks: Edward Nycolles, John Nycolles and George Beamond worked on the ceilings of different chambers, the stairs, and on tables in the dinning chambers. In addition to the ceilings, Thomas Hurdeys, Hugh Sandes and Thomas Hurdeys' man, Cornelius Towndley, mainly worked on the gallery, setting up beds, making doors and other decorative work. Francis Gunby, the leading plasterer who worked at Gawthorpe Hall, was recorded as a joiner in May 1603, when he worked on the ceiling of the dinning chamber. Similar joinery tasks had been done by Wyakefield and his man when working at Smithills in August 1589.³⁶ Another unknown joiner was paid for mending the chapel in August 1593.³⁷ Only one joiner, Iscar, was found in the period of 1616-21, when he was paid for 'making a fine rode' and 'setting over of a lock' on 12 March 1617/8 and 24 June 1618 respectively.³⁸

³² LA DDKS 18/3 p. 14.

³³ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 96.

³⁴ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 325.

³⁵ LA DDKS 18/9 *passim*.

³⁶ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 118.

³⁷ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 294.

³⁸ LA DDKS 18/9 pp. 58, 67.

Plasterers started working at Gawthorpe Hall from May 1603. Twelve plasterers were hired for making mortar or plastering the chambers and gallery. Their wage rates varied according to different tasks and different levels of skills, which will be discussed in the following part about wages. Among these plasterers, Francis Gunby was the chief plasterer. Francis Gunby and his brother Thomas Gunby came from Leeds, West Yorkshire. Francis was recorded for cutting and making moulds for decorative plasterwork for ten days in June and July 1603, which were reused in some West Yorkshire houses after 1605.³⁹ To dry the water from the mixed materials, plastering work was normally done during the summer. However, the Shuttleworth accounts show that this work was undertaken in November and December 1605, which would have helped them to complete the building project quickly. In contrast to the systematic plastering work in 1603-06, plasterers appeared occasionally in two other shorter periods. Two plasterers worked for 14 days at Smithills in June and July 1596.⁴⁰ In addition, Oliver Astley, a whitelimer, and his men worked several times at whitening the house at Smithills during the late sixteenth century. Three plasterers appeared in the accounts between 1616 and 1621: Chatburn received 2d for half a day's plastering on 19 July 1617; Thomas Roper and his man did some plastering work for 32 days and 20 weeks from May to September 1620.⁴¹

Regarding slaters, of the eighteen slaters hired in the 1580s and 1590s, seven of them were only recorded with occupational titles in the accounts. In the early seventeenth century, four slaters were hired for mending and slating, but were not all employed to work at Gawthorpe. One slater, Richard Righton, for example, was paid for taking the slate off the old hall and ridging the barn at *Whitteker* [Whitacre] for two days on 20 May 1602.⁴² For the houses at Gawthorpe, John Rushton and Thomas Rushton worked on slating the Great Barn and mending the slates over the kitchen chamber respectively in 1604. It was John Rushton, probably the same man as John Rushton, and his man who were mainly responsible for slating and repairing the houses between 1616 and 1621.

Pavers, like masons and wallers, worked with stone, although their tasks required less skill compared with other types of building craftsmen. The paving tasks at

³⁹ David Bostwick, 'The Jacobean plasterwork at Gawthorpe Hall and its sources', *Apollo Magazine*, 387 (1994), 25.

⁴⁰ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 39.

⁴¹ LA DDKS 18/9 pp. 30, 110, 115, 120.

⁴² LA DDKS 18/5 p. 67.

Smithills were mainly undertaken by Elias Geste and Roger Yate in 1588 and 1589. The same Roger probably participated in paving the Great Barn in June 1605 and received 33s 4d. Another skilled paver hired in the 1600s was Thomas Copplery who came from Burnley. Together with the six unnamed pavers who came from Burnley, they worked on areas which were outside of the hall, including the Great Barn, the oxen house and various other areas at Padiham. Similar tasks were undertaken between 1620 and 1621 when pavers were paid for working at Padiham Moor.

There were also a small number of plumbers employed. Three plumbers hired in 1586, 1588 and 1593 were paid for mending things and casting lead at Smithills. When building Gawthorpe Hall, two plumbers, Robert Strette and Henry Strette, who were probably brothers, appeared in the accounts and were paid for making leads and spouts at the new Hall. Before that, six wrights made a frame and did other preparations for the plumbers when they worked on the floors of the Hall on 3 July 1602.⁴³ A plumber named Anthony was paid 6s on 10 December 1619.⁴⁴ Although his tasks were not recorded in the accounts, the following entry recorded the payment to him for three and a half pound of *sowder* [solder].

Glaziers were mainly paid for installing and mending windows. Among the six glaziers hired in the 1580s and 1590s, five of them were only recorded with their occupational titles, and only one glazier was recorded with his place of origin: a glazier from Blackburn was paid 3s for mending windows at Smithills in November 1593.⁴⁵ This was not the only glazier who travelled a long distance to work for the Shuttleworths. Thomas Rothwell, a glazier from Garstang, worked at Gawthorpe Hall in 1617 and 1620 respectively.⁴⁶ The distance between Garstang and Gawthorpe is over 25 miles. In the early 1600s, one named glazier, Nicholas Garres, was paid 2s for cutting glass and mending windows in diverse places on 25 October 1604.⁴⁷

Smiths were craftsmen who worked with iron. It is common to find smiths paid by the Shuttleworths shoeing oxen or mending various metal goods and fixtures. However, three workers recorded in the accounts support Woodward's opinion

⁴³ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 77.

⁴⁴ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 104.

⁴⁵ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 308.

⁴⁶ LA DDKS 18/9 pp. 51, 112.

⁴⁷ LA DDKS 18/7 p. 38.

that smiths also participated in the building process.⁴⁸ James Smith, for example, a smith from Padiham, made iron for window bars and locks in 1601, although his main task was to shoe oxen.⁴⁹ John Wood was another smith who came from Billington, around 6.5 miles from Gawthorpe Hall. He and his man made casements for the new house in 1603.⁵⁰

Compared with building craftsmen, building labourers did less-skilled tasks. It is not uncommon to find that some tasks undertaken by building labourers overlapped with those undertaken by general labourers who were discussed in the previous chapter. For example, Peter Smith helped to *fee* [dress or clean] the Great Barn for the paver in June 1605.⁵¹ As this kind of task constituted a part of building process, it is included in building labour. Based on details of the tasks undertaken by these building labourers, they can be generally divided into two types: the first is composed of labourers who did strenuous tasks, including getting stone and slate, shifting timber, and making or blending mortar; the second group is composed of 'hodmen' or servers who were normally paid for serving skilled building craftsmen, such as masons and wallers.

However, this division does not mean that they were different people. Instead, it is common to find labourers participated in both types of tasks. John Thornes, for example, was a labourer who was paid 2d per day for transporting stone at Gawthorpe in June and July of 1600. He helped to serve wallers in September and October of the same year when his daily wage rate was reduced to 1.5d per day. Compared with apprentices, servants or journeymen who had a legal relationship with their masters, these servers had a loose bond with the craftsmen, were more likely to be hired from the local area, and participated in the less-skilled parts of the building project. This can be further supported by the labour participation of these servers of craftsmen. Between 1600 and 1606, of the 32 building labourers who worked at serving craftsmen, 21 worked at both building and non-building tasks, accounting for 66 per cent of the total.

Among the 155 building labourers hired in three periods, only two were women, who were paid for gathering limestone. The number of building labourers employed between 1600 and 1606 (96) was over three times the number

⁴⁸ Woodward, *Men at Work*, pp. 21-2.

⁴⁹ LA DDKS 18/3-7 *passim*.

⁵⁰ LA DDKS 18/5 *passim*.

⁵¹ LA DDKS 18/6 pp. 79-80.

employed in 1582-99 (30) and 1616-21 (29). As discussed in the previous chapter, the building of Gawthorpe Hall in the early 1600s attracted a large number of male labourers, providing employment opportunities for their female counterparts in agricultural work in the early 1600s. Regarding the distribution of tasks, six of 96 building labourers hired from 1600 to 1606 were recorded with skilled occupational titles, including five plasterers and one wright, who will be discussed in the following section which considers length of employment. While 43 labourers participated in both building and non-building labour in the early 1600s, 53 labourers worked solely in building-related tasks. After finishing the building project in the early 1600s, seven labourers, Hugh Cockshot, James Roe, James Whithead, John Hee, Lawrence Booth, Michel Thrope and Robert Crouckshe, probably continued working for the Shuttleworths between 1616 and 1621. During this period, they did diverse tasks such as shearing corn, ditching and felling wood.

In terms of thatching, the great majority of thatchers and their servers were hired during the 1580s and 1590s and worked at Smithills, Tingreave, Hoole and Lostock, accounting for 79.2 per cent of the total number recorded. Although not every record provided detailed information about workplaces, the available information showed that thatchers were mainly hired for thatching or mending barns located in the different estates owned by the Shuttleworths. In addition, some thatchers were paid for doing agricultural tasks. For example, James Wilson, a thatcher hired in the 1600s, was not only paid for thatching the barns but was also paid for drying oats and shearing corn.

Although the building workers are classified according to the twelve groups mentioned above, in some cases there were changes to their occupational titles, and sometimes changes to their wage levels. When labelled as either James Leigh's men or as a mason/waller in 1601, John Fouldes and Henry Spencer were paid 3d and 2.5d per day respectively for hewing and 'dighting' stone. John Haworth was paid 2.5d per day for hewing stone when he was recorded as John Swayne's man in 1601. His salary increased to 4d per day for the same task when his occupational title became mason in 1602. A similar wage rise was experienced by William Bankes, an apprentice or journeyman of John Chivell, whose daily wage rates increased gradually from June 1601 and reached 4d per day in 1604. Robert Dobson, a young labourer, was paid 8d a week when *fehing*

the ground at the new hall in 1600. Later in 1605, Robert was labelled as a wright and worked on the axle of a cart and shoeing oxen at Gawthorpe. Although it is unclear how strictly these rural building craftsmen followed the regulations of apprenticeship, John Fouldes, Henry Spencer, John Haworth and William Bankes would have received permission from their masters when working independently for the Shuttleworths, if they were still apprentices at this point. The pay rises experienced by John Haworth, William Bankes and Robert Dobson, however, might indicate that they had finished their apprenticeships and could work independently at Gawthorpe.

There are also examples showing that the account keepers used mixed titles when describing workers. Among the 12 plasterers hired between 1600 and 1606, 5 of them were recorded as both plasterers and labourers in the accounts. Thomas Grymshay, for example, a plasterer, was paid 4d per day for plastering in the gallery, chambers, stairs and dairy house in 1604 and 1605. He was also described as a labourer when making mortar with the same daily wage. In addition, Francis Gunby, the leading plasterer, was labelled as both a joiner and a plasterer in the accounts.

This kind of identification is complicated by the fact that some workers who shared the same names in the accounts and participated in different trades might be different people. For example, James Fouldes, a waller, was paid 3d per day in 1601. In 1602-3 and 1604/5-05, a man with the same name and a daily wage rate of 4d per day appeared in the accounts.⁵² William Fouldes and John Tayler were another two labourers who were paid for serving wallers in 1601 and 1602. Men with the same names were recorded as wrights later in 1603. Considering the specific skills required in different trades and the time needed to be apprenticed, it is unlikely that these workers who shared the same names were in fact the same persons.

Another specific example is Henry Tayler's son, John Tayler. When Henry Tayler was paid 4d per day for working on the partitions and floors in 1603, his son, John Tayler, appeared for the first time as a wright in the accounts and was only paid 1d per day for the same tasks. When John worked with his father for the Shuttleworths in 1606, his wage rate increased to the same level as his father, 4d

⁵² Another labourer James Fouldes was hired in 1599/1600-1603, 1604/5-05. After comparing their working days, it is reasonable to believe that they were different workers who shared the same name.

per day. Rural youths apprenticed by their fathers were not unusual, as Smith has found that some sons worked together with their fathers who were craftsmen at Stiffkey in late sixteenth-century Norfolk.⁵³ Regarding the wage levels, it is common to see some apprentices, journeymen or servants (sometimes named as 'his men' in the accounts) being paid the same or slightly less than their masters under the same occupational titles. Nevertheless, the most important point is, for children who were apprenticed by their fathers, they could not only learn skills but also earn money for the family from a younger age.

The categories of building workers hired by employers were influenced directly by the progression of the building project. Occupational titles played an important role when categorising different types of building workers, but the possibilities of converting from labourers to craftsmen and the mixed use of professional titles demonstrate the limitations of the strict categorisation of skilled and unskilled workers. The different skill levels within the same category of building workers would not only influence the wages received by individual workers, but also the calculation of wage levels for certain group of workers. Without further classification, a wage series built on single occupational titles is not able to represent a specific group of workers. And this is further complicated by the fact that some building workers should be identified as semi-skilled.⁵⁴ Before comparing the wage levels, it is necessary to explore the annual number of working days undertaken by building craftsmen and labourers.

4.3.2 Length of employment

How many days did wage-earners work per year in early modern England? Two hundred and fifty days per year has been used widely to calculate annual incomes and real wage rates for labourers, even though the actual number of working days was influenced by diverse factors.⁵⁵ When the Shuttleworths were building Gawthorpe Hall in 1600-06, the four years of 1600-02 and 1605 provide complete year-round records, making it possible to explore the annual working days of building craftsmen and labourers hired in these periods. After discussing their

⁵³ Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 22; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press, 1994), p. 81.

⁵⁴ Stephenson, 'The Pay of Labourers and Unskilled Men', pp. 143-63.

⁵⁵ See for example, Allen, 'The Great Divergence', 411-47; Robert Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 38; Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Unreal Wages? Real Income and Economic Growth in England, 1260-1850', *The Economic Journal*, 129 (2019), 2867-87. Latest discussion on the building workers' working days see, Stephenson, 'Working Days in a London Construction Team', 409-430.

working days per year and comparing their working days with those undertaken by their counterparts hired during a similar period, some building craftsmen and labourers are selected to estimate their working days based on their day wages and task wages. The final section takes agricultural labour into calculation, exploring the working days undertaken by building workers who did both building and non-building tasks during the same year.

Table 4.2 The number of building workers, 1600-02, 1605

Occupational titles	No. of building workers
Mason/Waller	46 ^a
Wright	28 ^b
Joiner	6 ^c
Plasterer	9
Paver	3
Plumber	2
Slater	3
Smith	3
Building Labourer	73
Total	173

Notes: a) James Fouldes was labelled as both a waller and a wright. As discussed above, this indicates that there were two James Fouldes in the accounts.

b) Henry Myller and Henry Mylner are identified as the same wright.

c) Francis Gunby was labelled as both a joiner and a plasterer. Due to the frequency with which each is recorded in the accounts, he is included as a plasterer.

d) 79 labourers were hired in 1600-02 and 1605. As 5 plasterers and 1 wright have been counted in different groups, they are excluded from the category of labourer here.

Source: LA DDKS 18/4-7.

Table 4.2 lists 173 building workers hired by the Shuttleworths to build Gawthorpe Hall in 1600-02 and 1605. Masons and wallers are counted together as some craftsmen were recorded with both titles. Since only one glazier, Nicholas Garres, was paid by task in 1604, this category is excluded. Apprentices and journeymen of craftsmen are included according to their occupational titles, while thatchers and their servers are excluded. Regarding building labourers, 79 of 96 were hired in 1600-02 and 1605. After excluding six labourers who were also recorded as

skilled craftsmen, the total becomes 73. Among these building workers, the proportion of masons/wallers and wrights was 42.8 per cent, which was similar to that of building labourers (42.2 per cent).

Since some building workers tended to work five or six days per week when employed regularly, six working days per week are used here as a maximum assumption to convert weekly and quarterly lengths of employment.⁵⁶ Table 4.3 shows the number and working days of craftsmen and labourers per year. Building craftsmen always outnumbered building labourers and worked more days: the sum of working days undertaken by craftsmen accounted for 67.6 per cent of the whole number. This distribution of labour was less than that recorded by Bacon between 1589 and 1592, when building workers were employed to build Stiffkey Hall: specialist building labourers there worked 2,246 days of the 3,077 total days, accounting for 73.3 per cent.⁵⁷

Table 4.3 Annual numbers and working days of building workers, 1600-02, 1605

	1600	1601	1602	1605
No. of craftsmen	48	41	33	28
Craftsmen's working days	3020.5	4672	3955	2654
No. of Labourers	32	23	18	19
Labourers' working days	2023	2297.5	1726	815.5

Note: Building workers are assumed to work six days per week.

Source: LA DDKS 18/4-7.

Since some building workers only appeared temporarily in the accounts, four different lengths of employment, are used here, as shown in table 4.4, to make further classification: one month (24 working days), three months (72 working days), six months (144 working days) and nine months (216 working days). Based on this table, figure 4.1 presents the yearly variations in the proportional

⁵⁶ As some building workers were paid quarterly and daily during the same year, quarterly working days are not excluded.

⁵⁷ Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], Appendix III, 43.

distribution of working days undertaken per building worker hired by the Shuttleworths in these four years.

Table 4.4 The distribution of annual working days of building workers, 1600-02, 1605

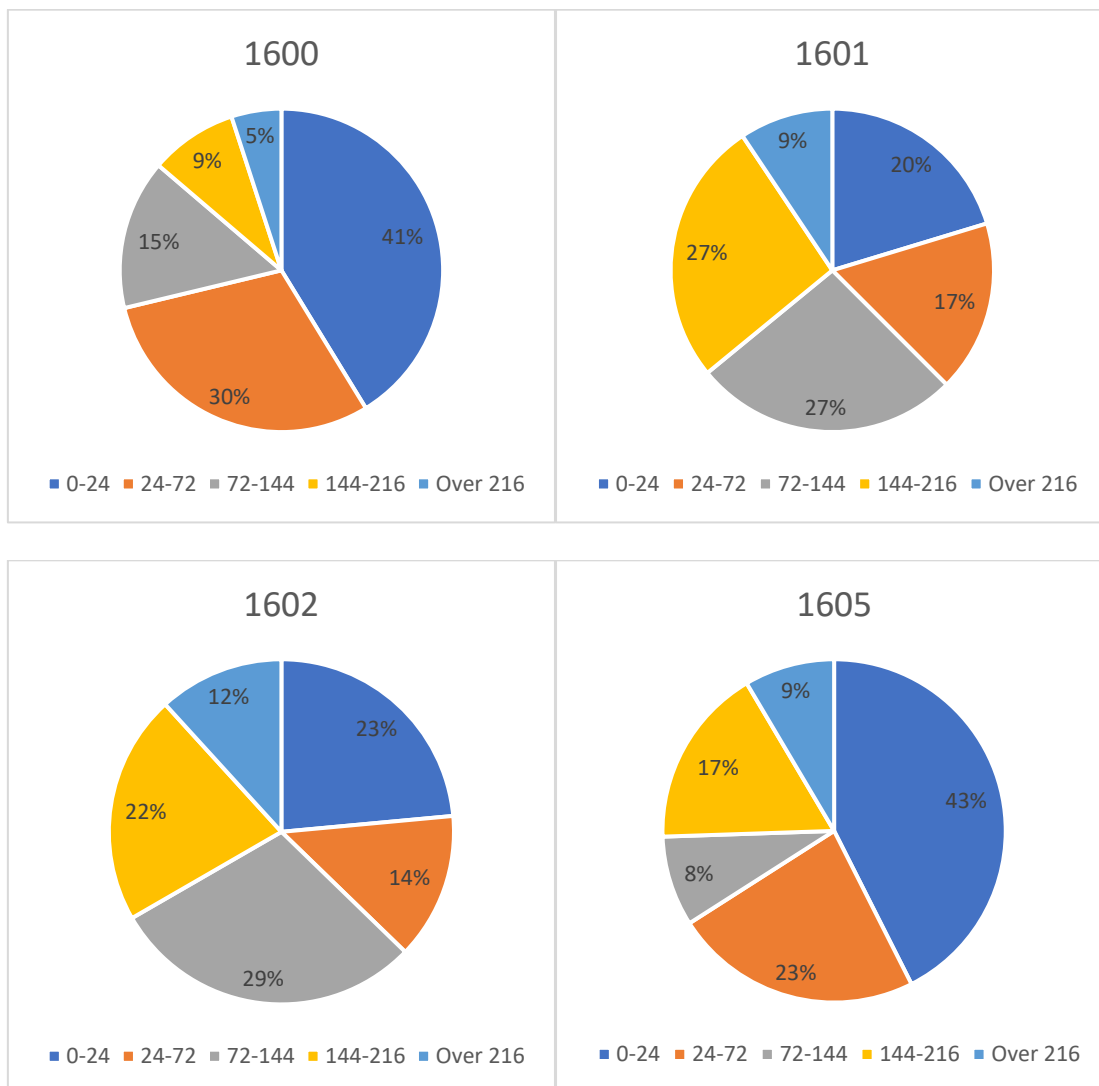
Working days/year	1600	1601	1602	1605
0-24	33	13	12	20
24-72	24	11	7	11
72-144	12	17	15	4
144-216	7	17	11	8
Over 216	4	6	6	4
Sum	80	64	51	47

Note: Building workers are assumed to work six days per week.

Sources: LA DDKS18/4-7; table 4.3.

As shown in these four charts, the proportion of building workers who worked more than nine months per year for the Shuttleworths (216 working days) maintained a low level, ranging from 5 per cent to 12 per cent during these four years. In fact, there were fourteen building workers (11 craftsmen and 3 labourers) who worked over 216 days annually in these four years, eight of whom were paid wholly or partly by quarters. As building labourers were assumed to work 78 days per quarter, a further comparison between quarterly wages and daily wages is made below. Among the remaining six building workers, William Fouldes, a wright, was the only craftsman who *actually* worked over 260 days: he worked 274 days in 1605. The annual length of employment among the other five workers (4 craftsmen and 1 labourer), on the other hand, ranged from 220 to 250 days per year.

Figure 4.1 The proportional distribution of annual working days of building workers, 1600-02, 1605



Note: Building workers are assumed to work six days per week.
 Sources: LA DDKS18/4-7; table 4.4.

In addition, most building workers employed by the Shuttleworths in these four years worked less than 144 days (six months) per year. A further difference is found here: while most building workers were employed for less than 72 days per year in 1600 and 1605, over half of building workers hired in 1601 and 1602 worked between 72 and 216 days (three – nine months) per year for the Shuttleworths.

As some building workers were paid both quarterly and daily, it is important to discuss them separately and track their working days per year. Anthony Whythead was the only craftsman who was paid solely by the quarter from March 1600 to June 1603. Among the other building craftsmen, five masons/wallers,

namely Gregory Kenyon, James Hacker, John Chivell and his man William Bankes, and Richard Bawden, were paid both quarterly and daily at different times between 1600 and 1601. Using their daily wage rates, I calculate that these craftsmen worked either 204 days or 220 days per year, each of which is less than 250 working days. Richard Haworth was a labourer hired in the early 1600s to drive a cart. During his employment, his annual wage rate was £2 per year, while his average daily wage rate was 2.9d per day. If we assume his labour efficiency maintained the same level, it would take him 165.5 days per year to earn that annual wage.

Although it is unknown whether these building workers worked elsewhere during their breaks from this building project, daily wage rates lead to the finding that most building workers hired by the Shuttleworths worked less than 250 days per year when building Gawthorpe Hall in the 1600s. In addition, it is possible that the quarterly wage payments made in the beginning of this building project functioned as a guarantee to ensure skilled building workers would fulfil their tasks. The calculated annual working days undertaken by building craftsmen and labourers indicate that 250 is an overestimated figure, which cannot be used as a proxy to analyse building workers' living standards.

The building accounts studied by Malcolm Airs that relate to similar periods make further comparisons possible. The following part concentrates on comparison with three sets of building accounts: the accounts for Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, 1584-5; the accounts for Triangular Lodge at Rushton, Northamptonshire, 1594-7; and the accounts for Trentham Hall, Staffordshire, 1633-8.⁵⁸ Wollaton Hall was built between 1580 and 1588 for Sir Francis Willoughby, and was designed by the architect Robert Smythson, who also designed Gawthorpe Hall.⁵⁹ Rushton Triangular building was constructed between 1593 and 1597, and was designed by Sir Thomas Tresham.⁶⁰ Trentham Hall was built between 1630 and 1638, when it was owned by Sir Richard Leveson.⁶¹ Like Gawthorpe Hall, it was rebuilt by the architect Charles Barry in

⁵⁸ The data about these three building accounts are collected from Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Sutton, 1998), pp. 159, 161, 163-4.

⁵⁹ Pete Smith, 'The Sundial Garden and House-Plan Mount: Two Gardens at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, by Robert (c. 1535-1614) and John (-1634) Smythson', *Garden History*, 31.1 (2003), 1-28.

⁶⁰ Sir Gyles Isham, *Rushton Triangular Lodge, Northamptonshire* (London: English Heritage, 1986).

⁶¹ Jill Francis, "'Fit and answerable to the degree they hold'?: The gardens of Sir Thomas Temple at Burton Dassett in Warwickshire and Sir Richard Leveson at Trentham Hall in Staffordshire, c. 1630', *Midland History*, 38:2 (2013), 131-51.

the nineteenth century.

Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire



Source: <https://wollatonhall.org.uk/>.

Rushton Triangular Lodge, Northamptonshire



Source: <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/rushton-triangular-lodge/>.

Trentham Hall, Staffordshire



Source: <https://www.victoriansociety.org.uk/news/trentham-hall-staffordshire>.

As the data about labourers are incomplete and only those hired regularly are compared by Airs, only skilled workers are considered here. Airs finds that 77 building craftsmen were hired to work at Wollaton Hall from October 1584 to November 1585, including 53 masons and layers, and 24 joiners and carpenters.⁶² During these 56 weeks, 39 of them worked from the spring of 1585, which means that their maximum length of employment should be three yearly quarters, equating to 234 working days if we adopt six working days per week. The remaining 38 craftsmen worked for different periods from October 1584. In addition, only masons (freemasons and roughmasons) and carpenters who participated in building the Triangular Lodge at Rushton owned by Sir Thomas Tresham in 1595 are selected by Airs when making comparisons.⁶³ Craftsmen hired for building Trentham Hall are divided into two groups: masons (1633-5) and carpenters (1636-8). The data on masons exclude those who were either paid mainly by piece rates (with daily rates occasionally) or only appeared for a few days. In contrast, carpenters hired in 1636-8 were paid solely by the day, making it easier to calculate their working days, although a large group of carpenters with piece wage rates finished their work and left the site by 1635.⁶⁴

It is necessary to explain how Airs compiled his data, as his methods were slightly different from the analysis of building Gawthorpe Hall described above. Airs compares the weekly presence of selected building craftsmen and calculates the working days undertaken by these craftsmen during selected periods. To compare with the normal proxy used by economic historians, 250 working days per year, the working days recorded during different length of weeks are converted accordingly. For example, when Laurence worked 309 days from October 1584 to November 1585 (56 weeks), he is assumed to work around 287 days for one year (52 weeks).⁶⁵ Based on this calculation, the following table 4.5 compares the number of craftsmen hired by these households and the proportions of those who worked over 250 days per year.

⁶² Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 157.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-3.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

Table 4.5 Comparisons among craftsmen hired in different places

	No. of craftsmen	No. of craftsmen who worked over 250 days/year	% of craftsmen who worked over 250 days/year
Masons, layers, joiners and carpenters, Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (Oct. 1584-Nov. 1585)	77	15	19.5%
Masons and carpenters, Rushton, Northamptonshire (1595)	17	0	0
Masons and wallers, Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire (1600-02, 05)	46	0	0
Masons, Trentham Hall, Staffordshire (1633-5)	12 ^a	2	16.7%
Carpenters, Trentham Hall, Staffordshire (1636-8)	4 ^b	1	25%

Notes: a) and b) list the numbers of masons and carpenters who worked at Trentham Hall in 1633-5 and 1636-8 respectively. Among 28 masons hired in 1633-5, half of them were paid by both daily and piece rates.

Sources: The data of Wollaton Hall, Rushton Triangular Lodge and Trentham Hall, see Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Sutton, 1998), pp. 159, 161, 163-4; The data of Gawthorpe Hall, see LA DDKS 18/4-7.

As shown in table 4.5, the highest proportion of craftsmen who worked over 250 days per year was 25 per cent, which was solely composed of carpenters who worked at Trentham Hall, Staffordshire in 1636-8. It was followed by 19.5 per cent of craftsmen who worked at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, between October 1584 and November 1585. Regarding masons, the proportion of masons hired for building Trentham Hall was 16.7 per cent. In contrast, no masons and carpenters hired at Rushton and Gawthorpe worked over 250 days per year.

The exclusion of other types of building workers who worked more flexibly and only stayed for a short period means that the actual number of craftsmen working for shorter periods was higher than the totals listed in this table. Although the arrangement of building projects would influence the number of building workers hired in each year, the available data here show that the majority of craftsmen, especially masons, were unlikely to work over 250 days per year in these country house building projects during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Whereas the calculations in the previous section exclude work paid by task, the following part concentrates on several building workers who were paid by both days and tasks in the early seventeenth century. The selection is not easy as building workers participated in different types of tasks and were paid in different ways. Here I concentrate on those workers who did similar tasks but were paid both by the day and by task. Thus, Luke Whythead, Thomas Willasill and James Roe were chosen as representatives of this type of work.

Luke Whythead, a waller, worked for the Shuttleworths from July 1600 to September 1602. During this time, 19 entries record that he was paid by task for doing two types of work: *scapeling* [rough-dressing] hewn stone at 7d per 20 yards, and 'dighting' wall stone at 5d per yard. His daily wage rates for doing these two types of tasks were 4d (with food and drink) or 8d per day (without food and drink), and 4d per day respectively. From 5 December 1601 to 20 March 1601/02, Luke received 83d for 'scapeling hewen stone' and 265d for 'dighting wall stone'. If we assume his work efficiency maintained the same level, and that he finished these tasks himself, then the days needed to finish these tasks would be either 77 or 87 days. Combined with the working days calculated according to his daily wage rates, 131.5 days, Luke would work no longer than 218.5 days in 1601, which was close to the converted working days based on quarterly and daily wage rates, but was still less than the estimation made by economic

historians of 250 days.

The actual working days undertaken by building labourers are more complicated to estimate because they did more types of non-skilled tasks with different wage levels. Since Thomas Willasill and James Roe spent most of their time getting stone during their employment, they are selected to analyse the working days. Thomas and James were two labourers from Scole Bank, a farm close to Rose Grove, where there was a stone quarry. They received the same daily wage rates, which were replaced by task wage rates after September 1600. Here, we take the data recorded in 1601 as an example: Thomas and James were paid 8517.5d for getting stone in this year. Their daily wage rates for getting stone increased from 6d per day to 7d per day without food and drink in 1600. If we assume that they worked the same length of days, it would take each of them 608 or 710 days to receive that payment, which was impossible to do so. One possible explanation is that there was a form of subcontracting among those who received task wages. Thus family members or other labourers would work together with named workers when getting stone at Scole Bank, although they were 'hidden' from the accounts. This is in line with the findings about agricultural labourers who were paid by the acre in the previous chapter.

Another consideration related to building labourers' employment length is that some of them would participate in agricultural and other daily tasks during the employment. Thus, the following part concentrates on those building labourers who worked for the Shuttleworths in 1600-02 and 1605, exploring their working days undertaking both building tasks and non-building tasks.

Among the 73 building labourers hired in 1600-02 and 1605, 34 participated in at least two types of tasks from 1600 to 1606. However, not everyone did these mixed tasks within the same year. For example, James Bayley, a labourer, helped to carry stone and timber in 1601. He joined in more types of tasks, including mowing corn, holding the plough, making hedges and 'filling dung for barley', later in 1605 and 1606, while one entry shows that he was paid for helping the wright in 1606. The participation in these different types of tasks was influenced directly by demand.

To have a better understanding of labourers who did diverse tasks, only those who did mixed tasks during the same year are selected here to make further comparisons. Based on this rule, 38 instances of labourers are selected to

present the changes to the annual numbers of labourers who did diverse tasks in 1600-02 and 1605. The number of building labourers who did multiple tasks during the same year was 28. As shown in table 4.6, only in 1602 do we find that the number of building labourers who did both building and non-building tasks exceeded that of building labourers who worked solely on tasks related to the building project. During the other three years, the proportion of building labourers who did at least two types of tasks each year was always under one third of the whole number. In addition, among these 28 labourers, six labourers participated in both building and non-building tasks for at least two years.

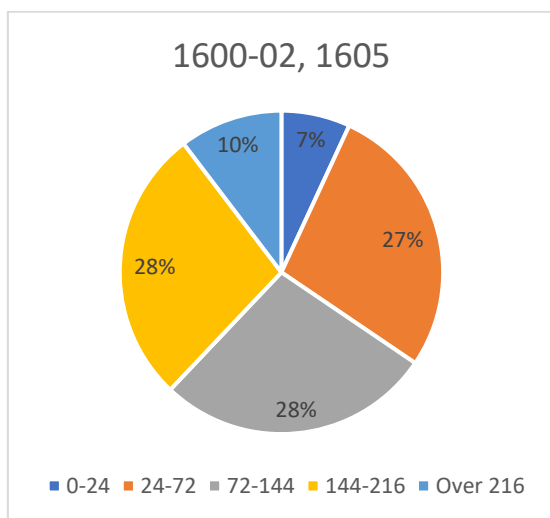
Table 4.6 Labour participation of building labourers, 1600-02 and 1605

	1600	1601	1602	1605
Building Task	27	18	10	18
Building and Non-Building Task	8 (22.9%)	9 (33.3%)	12 (54.6%)	9 (33.3%)
Sum	35	27	22	27

Sources: LA DDKS18/4-7; table 4.3.

In addition, of these 38 instances of labourers who did both building and non-building tasks in 1600-02 and 1605, nine were paid by both day and task. When concentrating on the other 29 instances of labourers paid solely by the day, as shown in figure 4.2, only 10 per cent of labourers worked over nine months (216 days) per year. The majority of labourers tended to work from one month to nine months (24-216 days) for the Shuttleworths in the early seventeenth century, accounting for 83 per cent, and only 7 per cent of labourers worked for less than one month (24 days). John Cockshot was the only labourer who worked more than 250 days in one year: the sum of his working days was 278 in 1605. During this year, his daily wage rates ranged from 1d to 2d per day, and he received a sum of £1 16s 7d for his labour. His wife, a haymaker, received 3s for working 16 days in the same year. In all, John and his wife earned £1 19s 7d when labouring for the Shuttleworths in 1605.

Figure 4.2 The proportional distribution of annual working days among selected examples, 1600-02, 1605



Note: Building workers are assumed to work six days per week.

Sources: LA DDKS18/4-7; table 4.5.

If we take the working hours into consideration, things become yet more complicated. According to the 1563 Statute of Artificers, artificers and labourers should start work at or before five in the morning and should not leave until between seven and eight in the evening from mid-March to mid-September, and they could have a maximum of 2.5 hours per day for food and drink during the summer time. Their working hours changed to ‘the Spring of the Day in the morning and until the Night of the same day’ from mid-September to mid-March.⁶⁶ John Cockshot the younger, for example, a labourer, was paid 10.5d for making mortar on 14 November 1601, while his daily wage rates were 1.5d per day and 2d per day during these six working days.⁶⁷ If he did this task alone, one possible explanation for the changes of wage rates would be that he did not follow a standard number of working hours per day, and was paid less when he worked fewer hours.

Thus, evidence from the Shuttleworth accounts show that most building craftsmen and labourers were unlikely to work 250 days per year for daily and quarterly wages, even when the building project had a tight schedule. For those building labourers who participated in non-building tasks during the same working year, most of them barely reached this ‘standard’ level either. Although the piece

⁶⁶ Tawney and Power (eds.), *Tudor Economic Documents*, Vol. 1, p. 342.

⁶⁷ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 43.

wage rates and the demand from building projects influenced the actual working days undertaken by building workers in rural areas, it would be too optimistic to use 250 days of wage employment per year as a proxy to analyse rural wage workers' lives during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

4.3.3 Wages of building workers

Another important debate related to living standards is whether the wage rates of building craftsmen can be used to represent the living standards of wage-earners more generally in early modern England. As three types of wage-earners were hired by the Shuttleworths over time, it is possible to compare their wage levels. This section concentrates on two aspects of the wage rates received by building workers: comparisons with other types of rural wage-earners hired by the Shuttleworths between 1582 and 1621, and comparisons with the wage levels of other building workers in southern England and northern towns, and the legal regulations.

As several masons received quarterly wages at the beginning of building Gawthorpe Hall, it is necessary to analyse them separately. Since the Shuttleworths hired servants in the early seventeenth century and Anthony Whythead was recorded as a 'servant' in the accounts, it is reasonable to believe that these masons received board and lodging when working at Gawthorpe. As shown in table 4.7, five masons and one journeyman or apprentice were paid quarterly in 1600-01. Anthony received the highest wage rate because he was the chief mason and was responsible for the supervision of this whole project. Although John Chivell and his man, William Bankes, were paid as a group and their individual quarterly wages were unknown, given that John received the same daily rate as James Hacker and Gregory Kenyon, which was higher than that received by Richard Bawden, it is reasonable to assume that 18s 4d was the lowest quarterly wage received by masons in 1600-01. This wage level was higher than that received by the best-paid servant, Edward Sherburn, whose quarterly wage was 16s 8d during the same period. However, it was far less than £6 13s 4d, the half-year wage salaries received by the best-paid craftsmen employed for building Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, in the late sixteenth century.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ David N. Durant and Philip Riden (eds.), *The Building of Hardwick Hall, Part 2: The New Hall, 1591-98* (Derbyshire Record Society, 1984), p. lxii.

Table 4.7 Quarterly wages received by masons, 1600-01

Names	Quarterly Wages
Anthony Whythead	30s/quarter
James Hacker	19s 2d/quarter
Gregory Kenyon	19s 2d/quarter
Richard Bawden	18s 4d/quarter
John Chivell and his man William Bankes	30s/quarter

Source: LA DDKS 18/4.

When turning to daily wage rates, as with agricultural labourers, the wage rates received by building workers are divided into two types: with or without food and drink. The discussion about building workers' wage rate levels is complicated for several reasons: firstly, some apprentices and journeymen appeared together with their masters in the accounts, making it impossible to give an accurate estimation about their daily wage rates when no further information provided. Secondly, wage rates received by the same craftsman were not consistent when they participated in different types of tasks, as was the case with agricultural labourers who did diverse tasks. For example, Richard Ryeley, a mason, was hired in 1601 and 1604. His daily wage rates for hewing stone rose from 4.5d per day to 5d per day. However, when he worked at flagging the barn in 1604, his daily wage rate declined to 3d per day. The variations in daily wage rates were also influenced by the skill of the worker as well as by seasonal changes.

Due to the unclear boundaries between skilled and unskilled (or semi-skilled) work, although the average wage rates of specific building workers are calculated when needed, priority is given to categories of occupations, and it is the range of their wage rates, rather than the average wage rates of each group of workers, which are compared here. Thus, table 4.8 presents the range of daily wage rates paid to building workers who were hired by the Shuttleworths during three periods, 1582-99, 1600-06 and 1616-21. Data about apprentices, journeymen and servants are included in the groups of craftsmen. As glaziers and plumbers were paid by task, and the examples of smiths paid by the day are scarce, they are excluded here.

The range of daily wage rates received by each type of building craftsmen and

labourers did not change dramatically over time, although 1600-06 presents a wider range of data. Most building craftsmen were paid more than 3d per day and the highest daily wage rate received by them was 6d per day when food and drink were provided. In fact, the highest daily wage rate was paid to different types of craftsmen over a long period of time: two pavers, Roger Yate and John Geste, in November 1590; three leading craftsmen, namely Henry Mylner (wright), Thomas Hurdeys (joiner) and Francis Gunby (plasterer) in the 1600s; one joiner, Iscar, in 1618, and one mason, John Hacking, in 1621. This wage rate was the same as the highest level received by mowers who worked for the Shuttleworths (table 3.8 in Chapter 3). In contrast, the wage rates received by building labourers ranged from 1d to 4d per day, which was similar to that received by agricultural labourers from the Shuttleworths.

Table 4.8 Daily wage rates with food and drink provided (d/day)

Types of builders	1582-99	1600-06	1616-21
Mason/Waller	4	2-5	3-6
Wright	3 or 4	2.5-6	3-4.5
Joiner	--	3-6	6
Plasterer	4	2.5-6	4
Slater	2 or 3	3 or 4	4
Paver	4 or 6	4 or 4.5	--
Labourer/Server	1-3	1-4	2-4

Note: The wage rates listed about building craftsmen exclude that received by child labourers. For example, Henry Tayler's son, John Tayler, was labelled as wright in 1603. Since his daily wage rate was 1d/day, he is excluded.

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-9.

The wage rates received by building workers in the Shuttleworth accounts were not particularly low when compared with the 1595 Lancashire wage assessment. According to the 1595 Lancashire wage assessment, if they were provided food and drink, then the daily wage rates received by craftsmen should range from 3d to 4d per day and apprentices should be paid 2d per day; if food and drink were not provided, craftsmen should receive either within 6d or 8d per day, and

apprentices should receive within 5d per day.⁶⁹ However, the Shuttleworths did not follow these regulations strictly. For example, among 107 masons/wallers, wrights, joiners and plasterers hired between 1600 and 1606, 24 craftsmen were paid higher than 4d per day at least once during their employments. Twelve recorded apprentices or journeymen were paid more than 2d per day. When masons and wallers were paid 7 or 8d per day without food and drink in 1600-06, which were within the legal regulations, most labourers were paid 6d or 7d per day, which were higher than that regulated for apprentices (5d/day).⁷⁰

Before making comparisons with their counterparts in other parts of early modern England, it is necessary to discuss the studies on provision of food and drink to building workers. Similar to Thorold Rogers' opinion that workers were always unlikely to receive an allowance of food and drink, Woodward argues that many building workers in northern towns were provided with drink, and sometimes bread, while the meals were mainly provided for those who worked away from home, which was relatively uncommon.⁷¹ As Woodward explains in the appendix of his book, he believes the lack of evidence about the provision of drink had limited influence on the total wage as it was only around 1d or 2d in the seventeenth century.⁷² This opinion is accepted by Jeremy Boulton when he discusses the wage rates received by building workers in the seventeenth-century London. Boulton argues that the perks and rewards which were given in the form of food and drink should be regarded as ways to improve workers' productivity and loyalty, and barely affected the prevailing wage rate received by workers.⁷³ Nor can we assume that providing food and drink for workers was typical in rural contexts, as Smith argues that some rural workers were unlikely to accept food and drink as parts of their salaries.⁷⁴

Thus, it is the wage salaries without food and drink provided by the Shuttleworths that are used here to make further comparisons. While building craftsmen and labourers who worked for the Shuttleworths without food and drink received 7-8d

⁶⁹ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. III, The Later Tudors (1588-1603)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 149-50.

⁷⁰ As some workers who were not tabled by the Shuttleworths were recorded with 'on their own charge' in the accounts, this has been used to separate them from those who were provided with food and drink.

⁷¹ James E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England: From the Year after the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793)*, Vol. V, 1583-1702 (Oxford, 1887), pp. 637-8; Woodward, *Men at Work*, pp. 147-9; Donald Woodward, 'The determination of wage rates in the early modern north of England', *Economic History Review*, 47.1 (1994), 24-5.

⁷² Woodward, *Men at Work*, Appendix 1, p. 250.

⁷³ Boulton, 'Wage labour in seventeenth-century London', 272.

⁷⁴ Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 23.

and 5-7d per day respectively, southern building craftsmen and labourers received 12d and 8d per day respectively between 1580 and 1626. In addition, the daily wage rates received by building craftsmen and labourers in northern towns were 8-14d per day and 5-9d per day from 1580 to 1620.⁷⁵ The gap among building labourers was small: although the labourers hired by the Shuttleworths received less than their southern counterparts did, their wages ranged within the same bounds as those who worked in northern towns, and both Chester and York had labourers who received 9d per day, which exceeded the prevailing wage rates received by labourers in southern England. In contrast, building craftsmen in the Shuttleworth accounts were paid less than their southern counterparts as well as those who worked in northern towns, although the wage rates received by building craftsmen from southern England overlapped with the wages of their urban counterparts in northern England.

As some studies of household accounts include the payments for building workers, detailed comparisons can be made to further our understanding of the wage rates in the Shuttleworth accounts. Table 4.9 lists the daily wage rates paid by Nathaniel Bacon in 1582-97, the Shuttleworths in 1582-1606 and 1616-21, and the Le Stranges in 1615-24 to masons, joiners, their apprentices or journeymen, and labourers. The households of Bacon and Le Stranges were located in Norfolk and maintained similar wage levels, despite differences in the wages paid to journeymen masons and master joiners. While journeymen masons employed by the Bacon family received 7-9d per day in 1582-97, same types of craftsmen were paid 6d per day by the Le Stranges in 1615-24; while master joiners in the Le Stranges received 10 or 12d per day, their counterparts in the Bacons only received 8d per day. However, the daily wage rates recorded in the Shuttleworths were always less than those recorded in either of these two households: journeymen masons and master wallers of the Shuttleworths received 2.5-4d per day and 4-6d per day respectively.

⁷⁵ Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', 205; Woodward, *Men at Work*, pp. 250-75.

Table 4.9 The comparison of daily wage rates with food and drink provided by three households (d/day)

		Nathaniel Bacon 1582-97	The Shuttleworths 1582-1606
Masons	Craftsmen (Master)	10	3-5
	Journeymen (his men)	7-9	2.5-4
	Labourers (servers)	4	2
Joiners	Craftsmen (Master)	8	4-6
	Journeymen (his men)	6-7	3-3.5
		Le Stranges 1615-24	The Shuttleworths 1616-21
Masons	Craftsmen (Master)	10	4, 6
	Journeymen (his men)	6	3
	Apprentices	4	/
Joiners	Craftsmen (Master)	10 or 12	6
	Journeymen (his men)	6 or 8	/
	Apprentices	2 or 3	/

Sources: A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part I], *Continuity and Change*, 4.1 (1989), Appendix 2, 37-42; Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012), Table 8.3, p. 229; LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9.

A comparison of daily wage rates for thatchers further supports the conclusion that the Shuttleworths provided low wage rates for their workers. While Bacon paid a thatcher and his server 10d and 6d per day respectively, with meat and drink, in 1582-97, and the Le Stranges paid thatchers 6d or 8d per day in 1615-24, thatchers hired by the Shuttleworths only received 3d or 4d per day in 1600-

21.⁷⁶

The discussion of wage rates shows that, compared with the wage rates received by agricultural labourers and servants, building craftsmen hired by the Shuttleworths received higher daily and quarterly wage rates, despite the fact that their daily wage rates were never more than 6d per day. Building labourers who worked for the Shuttleworths shared similar daily wage ranges with agricultural labourers. In addition, the available evidence shows that the daily wage levels recorded in this rural gentry household were less than that in northern towns, and also less than those in southern England, and the gap is particularly apparent among skilled building craftsmen. Lastly, as building craftsmen and labourers received low wage salaries with or without food and drink when working for the Shuttleworths, it implies that, instead of being discouraged by the provision of food and drink when working away from home, as Smith argues, the demand from the labour market played a more important role in the employment of building workers by the Shuttleworths.

The building tasks at Smithills and Gawthorpe provided extra employment opportunities for building workers in Lancashire during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The building of Gawthorpe Hall in 1600-06 not only attracted skilled or semi-skilled building craftsmen who came from outside of Gawthorpe, but also attracted some local male labourers. The changes in the distribution of labour left more employment opportunities to local female agricultural labourers. Regarding the number of working days, the evidence shows that most building workers hired by the Shuttleworths were unlikely to reach 250 working days per year, the figure that many economic historians have used, even when the contribution from agricultural tasks is included. Nevertheless, it is possible that they found other waged work in addition to their employment by the Shuttleworths.

Although wage rates received by building labourers in the Shuttleworth accounts were less than their southern counterparts and those who worked in northern towns, labourers who participated in both building and non-building tasks were paid within a similar range of wage levels. Despite the fact that building craftsmen apparently enjoyed lower wage rates than their counterparts in southern England

⁷⁶ Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 41; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, p. 229.

and northern towns, their relatively higher wage rates compared to other employees of the Shuttleworths mean that they should be regarded as a type of better-paid wage earner. Given the uneven and overlapping categories among skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled craftsmen, we need to think carefully about the question: to what extent can these building craftsmen represent all wage earners in early modern England? The evidence in the Shuttleworth accounts shows that wage rates received by building craftsmen should represent the best-paid group of wage workers who received higher daily wage rates in the countryside, rather than all wage-earners.

4.4 Non-building workers and other specialists

Non-building workers and specialists are defined here as those specialists who worked in non-building apprenticed crafts and other specialist workers who did not work in apprenticed crafts. Compared with building workers, these two types of workers appeared less frequently in the accounts, making it difficult to analyse them systematically. However, as they appeared intermittently over a relatively long period, it is possible to track some changes among them and then make some comparisons with their building-worker counterparts. And thus, this section discusses these non-building workers and other specialists separately.

4.4.1 Non-building workers

The non-building specialist workers hired by the Shuttleworths included the occupations of butcher, carocheworker, cutler, cooper, miller, shoemaker, smith, saddler, tinker, tanner, wheelwright, ploughwright, millwright, and turner.⁷⁷ These workers are grouped here according to their different types of wage salaries, despite the fact that they worked with different skills.

The first group is composed of workers who were paid solely by tasks, including butchers, tanners and tinkers. Butchers were described with the word 'gelder' in the accounts and their tasks were mainly concerned with killing animals or beasts, and *libbing* [gelding] sheep and pigs. The butcher Charles Holme maintained a stable connection with the Shuttleworths, as he was paid for *libbing* animals from 1619 to 1621. Tanners dealt with the skins of horses or cows and tanned them into white leather. One specific tanner was Richard Brigge's wife who came from

⁷⁷ Wheelwrights, ploughwrights and millwrights are separated from those wrights who worked in building projects.

Sawley. She was paid 5s for tanning one ox on 3 May 1606.⁷⁸ This was not the first time that she appeared in the accounts. On 26 February 1604/5, she paid 33s to the Shuttleworths for two oxen *hyeddes* [hides] and 28s 6d for three *kyneddes* [cows' hides].⁷⁹ Tinkers were mainly paid for mending kitchen utensils, including pans, pots and milk vessels.

Cutlers and millers are the second group of workers, who were paid for longer periods. Thomas Marche was one cutler recorded with a clear occupational title in the Shuttleworth accounts. He received 20d every half year for dressing the armour at Smithills from at least 1588 to 1595. Before that time, John Horrabin, a labourer from Bolton, was probably another cutler as he was paid 5s 4d for dressing and scouring the horse armour on 20 January 1583/4, although John did diverse other tasks in the 1580s and 1590s. In addition, Thomas was paid for dressing the harness and guns, and mending garden shears at Smithills between 1586 and 1598. The payment records about millers are scarce. Richard Cowper was a miller hired in the 1590s and he was paid 10s per quarter. Another miller appeared on 19 November 1616, when he received 13s 4d as his half-yearly wage.⁸⁰ He worked at Barton and the cost of providing food and drink for him in addition to his salary was £1 6s 8d per half-year.⁸¹ Another miller was paid £3 12s on 10 September 1617, which might be a delayed payment to him.⁸²

The third group includes daily wage workers, although some of them were paid by task occasionally. Shoemakers were not only paid for making or mending shoes and garden mittens, but were also paid for other types of tasks. For example, When James Wilkinson and another unnamed shoemaker were paid for mending and making garden mittens in 1602 and 1605/6 respectively, Robert was paid for dressing the *horse-litter* [A litter hung on poles, carried between two horses, one in front and the other behind], and dressing and oiling the hides for the *caroache* [carriage] in 1620.⁸³ The only shoemaker who received a daily wage rate appeared in May 1588, when Richard Morres was paid 8d for working 2 days.⁸⁴ Saddlers were mainly paid by tasks as well, despite several entries recording their daily wages. William Patefeld, for example, was a saddler who

⁷⁸ LA DDKS 18/7 p. 79.

⁷⁹ LA DDKS 18/7 p. 4.

⁸⁰ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 5.

⁸¹ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 5.

⁸² LA DDKS 18/9 p. 36.

⁸³ LA DDKS 18/5, 7, 9 *passim*.

⁸⁴ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 75.

received 6d per day when working at Gawthorpe from 1617 to 1620. His son received the same payment when working together with William.

Coopers are a type of craftsmen who make and repair wooden vessels. When the Shuttleworths were living at Smithills during the late sixteenth century, Richard Kersley and Thomas Pomfret were the main coopers who appeared in the accounts. Richard and Thomas were normally paid 4d per day. Sometimes, they would work with their men whose daily wages ranged from 3d to 4d per day. Richard Kersley's two sons appeared in the accounts as coopers as well and were paid 3d per day in 1591. When the Shuttleworths were building Gawthorpe Hall, John Smith and his man, John Wilkinson of Padiham, Henry Ingham and two unnamed coopers were paid for making and mending vessels between 1600 and 1606. Two unnamed coopers worked in February 1608/9 and April 1610 respectively. At least six coopers, Henry Cook, John Lawe, Henry Cowper and his man, and two unnamed coopers, worked at Gawthorpe from December 1616 to February 1620/1.⁸⁵ Most of these coopers hired in the seventeenth century received 4d per day; John Smith's man received 2d per day, while the highest wage rate was 6d per day, which was paid to unnamed coopers.

A smith is someone who worked skilfully with iron or other metals. Although several examples show that smiths participated in building project in the 1600s, most smiths hired by the Shuttleworths were paid for mending ploughs and locks, or shoeing horses and oxen. The mixed wage payments, either by days or by tasks, make it hard to quantify the wage levels received by smiths, but the scattered records provide some information. While the wage rates received by smiths in the Shuttleworth accounts ranged from 4d to 8d per day in the late sixteenth centuries, most smiths received 6d per day or above. Skill levels would have played an important role in setting different levels of wage rates. However, the simplified descriptions about tasks make it impossible to work out if these wages contained the cost of materials used in the task. When turning to the seventeenth century, as discussed in the chapter on servants, the Shuttleworths paid some smiths quarterly wages and categorised them as work servants at Gawthorpe. George Hayhurst, for example, received 10s per quarter when he served the Shuttleworths in the 1600s. John Hayhurst was another smith hired in

⁸⁵ Four unnamed coopers were recorded between 1618 and 1620. As they were either paid 4d per day or 6d per day, the assumption is that at least two unnamed coopers were hired during this period.

1604 and was paid 5d per day. To earn the same amount of money as George received per year, it would only take John 96 days to work at smith-related tasks, which would leave him abundant time to participate in other tasks or to carry out work for other customers.

Wheelwrights, ploughwrights and millwrights are listed separately from the wrights who participated in the building of Gawthorpe Hall. In contrast to millwrights who were hired to work at the mills, wheelwrights and ploughwrights in the accounts undertook tasks related to maintaining ploughs. For example, John Celler, a ploughwright, worked at ringing a pair of wheels and mending a plough on 20 March 1619/20.⁸⁶ Similar to other craftsmen, wheelwrights and ploughwrights received mixed payments from the Shuttleworths, either by day or by task. However, their daily wage ranged from 3d to 4d per day. Millwrights received higher wage levels, which ranged from 4d to 6d per day in the 1580s and 90s. The *caroche-workers* who were paid 6-7d per day in 1620 were hired to either repair or decorate the *caroche* (a coach or chariot of a stately or luxurious kind, comparable to a 'carriage' for town use), which was bought by the Shuttleworths in 1620.⁸⁷

The last example is a specific occupational title recorded in the accounts, a *dish-thrower* or turner. James Shuttleworth and his man worked at 'throwing dishes and basins' in November and December 1604, when their daily wage rates were 4d per day. The wage rate received by James rose to 6d per day when he worked at making chairs and throwing dishes, basins and cheese-vats in March 1604/5 and June 1605. As discussed in Chapter 2 on servants, another James Shuttleworth worked as a servant for the Shuttleworths at Smithills from 1596-1599 and was paid £1 13s 4d per year. Lawrence Shuttleworth bequeathed him £5 in his will of 1608.⁸⁸ James continued to work as a senior servant at Gawthorpe Hall from at least September 1607, and his yearly wage rose to £2 6s 8d per year between 1610 and 1612.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, it is hard to identify whether they were the same person or not.

⁸⁶ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 117.

⁸⁷ John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithills and Gawthorpe, from September 1582 to October 1621*, Part III (Chetham Society, 1858-9), p. 493.

⁸⁸ PROB 11/112/10, Lawrence Shuttleworth (1608).

⁸⁹ James Shuttleworths received 5li on 10 December 1609, which was the sum of his wages for two years and a quarter.

The employment of non-building workers shows that, although these craftsmen had a flexible employment pattern, they could be employed by the Shuttleworths for a longer period with a fixed contract. Regarding their daily wages, similarly to rural building craftsmen, non-building craftsmen were normally paid at a higher rate than labourers.

4.4.2 Other specialists

Those non-building specialist workers who did not work in apprenticed crafts appeared more occasionally in the Shuttleworth accounts than the non-building apprenticed workers discussed above. According to the records, the following two types of specialists were hired by the Shuttleworths over time: rat-catcher and fisher.

During the late sixteenth century, Thomas Hodson was a rat-catcher hired regularly by the Shuttleworths in the 1590s, while another rat-catcher from Preston was paid 3s for laying bates on 30 November 1598.⁹⁰ Another example is a sadler who came from Whalley. Although his occupational title is sadler, he did the same task as rat-catchers and was paid for laying bates to kill mice and rats on 23 March 1592/3.⁹¹

Although the accounts show that the fish consumed by the Shuttleworths was mainly bought at various fairs, several entries record that they also paid people for fishing. Among five fishers who were recorded in the accounts, James Cocket and John Park were paid 5s 4d (4d per day per person) for fishing over eight days at Hoole in February 1588/9.⁹² James Cocket was a thatcher as well as agricultural labourer working at Hoole, while John Park worked with other agricultural labourers *shearing* [harvesting] beans in October 1593. As the west boundary of Hoole is the River Douglas, the carriage of fish from Hoole continued after the Shuttleworths moved to Gawthorpe.

The regular and irregular demands from this wealthy family provided extra employment opportunities for local skilled workers, and some of them maintained a long-term relationship with this employer, which contributed to their family incomes. Importantly, many of these diverse non-building craftsmen and specialist workers could also be defined as small businessmen. For example,

⁹⁰ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 100.

⁹¹ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 279.

⁹² LA DDKS 18/2 p. 99.

when shoemakers were paid for making the shoes, it could be regarded as a kind of transaction. This is reinforced by the fact that their workplaces were not limited to the Shuttleworths' households. To have a better understanding of these skilled workers, focusing on their origins, the last section explores their geographical connections with the Shuttleworths.

4.5 The origins of skilled workers

As discussed in previous sections, some skilled workers hired by the Shuttleworths travelled some distance to work at Smithills and Gawthorpe. In fact, it was common for skilled workers, particularly building craftsmen, to move around to seek employment opportunities.⁹³ For example, Thomas Beighton, a carpenter, worked in Sheffield in 1575, and later worked at Chatsworth from 1580 and at Hardwick from 1588.⁹⁴ Since the wage salaries provided by the Shuttleworths were low, it is necessary to explore the origin of these rural skilled workers to understand regional economic connections. When Smith analyses the workers hired by the Bacon family, he reconstructs the community of Stiffkey, Norfolk, and presents a detailed picture of people's lives during the late sixteenth century.⁹⁵ However, Smith's methods were extremely labour-intensive and could not be used here. To explore the connection between skilled workers and the Shuttleworths, wills, parish registers and other secondary sources are combined together with the Shuttleworth accounts to track the origins of the skilled workers.

Before analysing the records about skilled workers, it is important to note that they were sometimes listed clearly with both their place of origin and workplace. A standard example is: a smith from Westhoughton [Deane] was paid 3s for working at Lostock, [Bolton-le-Moors], in May 1589.⁹⁶ However, it is more common to find 'incomplete' records. For example, Thomas Marche, a craftsman from Halliwall, was paid 14d for making a grater on 24 December 1597.⁹⁷ As the estates owned by the Shuttleworths were located in different places during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, table 4.10 presents some skilled workers with both the origins and workplaces recorded in four periods, 1582-99,

⁹³ See for example, Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Medieval Mason: An Economic History of English Stone Building in the Later Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (Manchester, 1967), pp. 142-4; Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, pp. 147-54.

⁹⁴ Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 151.

⁹⁵ A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part II], *Continuity and Change*, 4.3 (1989), 367-94.

⁹⁶ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 105.

⁹⁷ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 80.

1600-06, 1608-13 and 1616-21.

Table 4.10 Travelling distance of skilled workers

Names or occupations	Occupation	Places where they came from	Workplace	Distance (miles)
1582-99				
Thomas Astelaye and his two men	Waller	Little Bolton	Smithills	1.6
Oliver Stones	slater	Smithills	Smithills	/
Sadler	sadler	Bolton	Smithills	1.8
Humfrey France	plumber	Wigan	Smithills	9.6
Houlme	butcher	Bolton	Smithills	1.8
Glazier	glazier	Blackburn	Smithills	12.6
Oliver Stones	slater	Sharples	Smithills	1.9
Smith	smith	Eccleston	Smithills	14
Smith	smith	Lostock	Smithills	2.9
Smith	smith	Westthoughton	Lostock	2.3
Smith	smith	Windiate [Wigan]	Lostock	7.5
Smith	smith	Eccleston	Eccleston	/
John Tomson	carpenter	Eccleston	Tingreave [Eccleston]	/
1600-06				
James Smith	smith	Padiham	Gawthorpe	0.3

John Wood and his man	smith	Billington [Blackburn]	Gawthorpe Hall	6.5
Thomas Copeley	paver	Burnley	Padiham	3.5
Roger Yate	paver	Bolton	Gawthorpe	19.7
Thomas Dobson	smith	Wiswell	Gawthorpe	5.3
James Wilkinson	shoemaker	Padiham	Gawthorpe	0.3
Thomas Dugdell	waller	Burnley	Scole Bank barn [Padiham]	3.5
John Grymshaw	smith	Padiham	Gawthorpe	0.3
1608-13				
Smith	smith	Heyhouses [Sabden]	Gawthorpe	2.8
Smith	smith	Hargreave [Padiham]	Gawthorpe	0.3
1616-21				
Thomas Rothwell	glazier	Garstang	Gawthorpe	25.4

Notes: There is an unidentified place – Kockye in 1582-99. A smith from Kockye was paid for mending a lock on 29 September 1592.

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-9.

Among the twenty-four examples listed in table 4.10, sixteen were employed from local or surrounding parishes within five miles, accounting for 67 per cent of the workers listed. For those who lived close to the estates owned by the Shuttleworths, the relatively higher payments would contribute extra money to their family incomes. For example, most smiths earned 6d per day between 1582

and 1599. Only four skilled workers travelled over ten miles to work for the Shuttleworths: a glazier from Blackburn was paid for mending windows at Smithills on 16 November 1593 (12.6 miles); a smith of Ecclestone worked at Smithills on 30 March 1595 (14 miles); Roger Yate, a paver from Bolton, worked at paving at Gawthorpe on 21 June 1605 (19.7 miles); Thomas Rothwell, a glazier from Garstang, worked at Gawthorpe in December 1617 and June 1620 (25.4 miles).

As discussed in the first part of this chapter, a large number of building craftsmen were hired when building Gawthorpe Hall between 1600 and 1606. Instead of tracking every craftsman employed in this period, here we concentrate on the main building craftsmen who were recorded with exact names, including masons/wallers, wrights, joiners and plasterers, to explore their connection with this gentry household. Among 97 named building craftsmen of these four types recorded in the accounts, 89 appeared between June and October in 1600-06.

For those craftsmen who had to travel a long distance to work for the Shuttleworths and work during the harvest time, it is reasonable to assume that they had a higher dependence on the market for a living, and if they had land, it is possible that they would hire other workers to work in their farmland. The findings here support Foster's opinion that many people in Lancashire were 'principally craftsmen and traders who did a little farming if they had time'.⁹⁸ In fact, based on building workers' wills in the Colne area, northeast Lancashire, Swain has argued that building workers who were involved in farming were more likely to be subtenants, and perhaps a number of building workers had no inheritance of land.⁹⁹ For these families, wage salaries earned by their specific skills were the main part of their family income.

The origins of building craftsmen hired in the early 1600s can be deduced from the Shuttleworth accounts as well. Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 3, some married women were employed by the Shuttleworths in the early 1600s when working at harvest tasks. As it was their husbands' names that appeared in the accounts, a further comparison can be made between their husbands' names and craftsmen' names. The findings indicate that at least four building craftsmen were

⁹⁸ Charles Foster, *Seven Households: Life in Cheshire and Lancashire 1582-1774* (Arley Hall Press, 2002), pp. 8-9.

⁹⁹ John Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution: North-East Lancashire, c. 1500-1640* (Manchester, 1986), p. 185.

local people as their wives worked at harvest seasons for the Shuttleworths in 1604 and 1605.

Secondly, it is not uncommon to find that some building craftsmen appeared occasionally due to the variable needs of the Shuttleworths. John Jakes the elder and younger, two plasterers, participated in decorating Gawthorpe Hall from 1603 to 1605. John Jakes and his men appeared again between 1609 and 1610, when they were paid daily wages at Gawthorpe. George Jakes was another plasterer who worked for the Shuttleworths in 1603, 1610-13 and 1617-8. John Hacking, a waller, worked for the Shuttleworths when building Gawthorpe Hall in the early seventeenth century. He was paid 2.5d per day for dressing stone in 1600. Later, John Hacking was recorded as a mason who worked for seven days flagging in the Great Barn, Gawthorpe, in 1604 and received 1s 9d. John Hackinge and his apprentices were paid 4d and 3d per day in September 1621. Henry Milner, the leading wright who worked at Gawthorpe Hall in 1600-06, had been employed by the Shuttleworths since 1598. Although the missing volume and incomplete records make it impossible to identify if Henry worked for the Shuttleworths in 1607-8, he and his men appeared again between November 1609 and April 1610. It remains to be explored how these craftsmen found out about the different building projects taking place and moved around, while one possibility is that these long-term connections were maintained as these skilled workers did not live far away from Gawthorpe.

In addition, it is possible to track some building craftsmen with wills, parish registers and other sources. Anthony Whythead, the leading mason of Gawthorpe Hall, later worked on Haigh Hall, near Wigan, and died at Emmott, near Colne, in January 1607/8.¹⁰⁰ The distance between Colne and Gawthorpe Hall is 8.2 miles. Francis Gunby, the leading plasterer at Gawthorpe Hall, was from Leeds in Yorkshire. He and his brother Thomas worked at Gawthorpe at least until 1606. After Thomas Gunby died at Hatfield near Doncaster, Yorkshire, in 1620, his brother Francis Gunby worked on several buildings located in other places in the 1620s and 1630s: these included Sheriff Hutton Hall, near York, which was completed in 1622; Temple Newsam House, near Leeds, in 1626-9; and Wakefield Cathedral (1634).¹⁰¹ Francis Gunby was buried in Leeds when he died

¹⁰⁰ *Gawthorpe Hall*, p. 42; WCW/Supra/C40/64.

¹⁰¹ Bostwick, 'The Jacobean plasterwork', 24; *Gawthorpe Hall*, p. 43.

in 1656.¹⁰² The distance between Leeds and Gawthorpe hall is around 36.5 miles. Combined with the parish registers of Padiham and Burnley, probably 18 out of 97 building craftsmen employed by the Shuttleworths between 1600 and 1606 were local inhabitants who lived locally or close to Gawthorpe, while 20 craftsmen would have had to travel longer distances to work for the Shuttleworths. Although the origins of most craftsmen are difficult to identify, the majority of building craftsmen who worked for the Shuttleworths in 1600-06 seem to have moved around to work at different places after they finished their tasks at Gawthorpe. In fact, the mobility of craftsmen was not uncommon in early modern England. Woodward presents evidence of the exchange of labour among some northern towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰³ When Anthony Whythead and the rest of the workers went away on 13 November 1602 at the end of the building season, they were given 10s as a reward by the appointment of Lawrence Shuttleworth.¹⁰⁴ Among 19 building craftsmen and labourers recorded on that day, only two masons, John Swayne and his apprentice John Haworth, did not return back to Gawthorpe Hall for work in the following years. Although the 1563 Statute of Artificers ordered that artificers and labourers who left their work unfinished would face one month's imprisonment and a £5 fine, it is possible that these two masons received permission from their employer to leave as the main part of exterior construction of Gawthorpe Hall had finished in the summer of 1602.¹⁰⁵

The examples of skilled workers discussed in this section show that the ordinary daily needs of the Shuttleworths could be fulfilled by local or nearby workers. Focussing on the early 1600s, we can see that there was a group of craftsmen composed of skilled and semi-skilled workers who relied on building projects for a living in rural Lancashire. For these skilled or semi-skilled craftsmen, the wage salaries earned by their skills were their principal income. And this explains why, although the monetary wages they could earn from the Shuttleworths were low, craftsmen who lived far away could be attracted to work at Gawthorpe.

Conclusion

In contrast to the long-term employment patterns of servants and the seasonal

¹⁰² *British and Irish Furniture Makers Online*, <https://bifmo.history.ac.uk/entry/gunby-francis-1600-1656>.

¹⁰³ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 163.

¹⁰⁴ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 130.

¹⁰⁵ Tawney and Power (eds.), *Tudor Economic Documents*, Vol. 1, p. 342.

employment of agricultural labourers, rural craftsmen and specialists worked in a more flexible way, and were hired only when needed, although these craftsmen and specialists were generally well-paid. Those who lived close to the Shuttleworths' estates were able to maintain a long-term connection with the gentry household, and some could participate in both agricultural and non-agricultural tasks, which contributed additional income streams to their family economy.

Looking at building workers hired by the Shuttleworths in the early seventeenth century, there are several important implications of this analysis. Firstly, most building workers employed by this gentry household were unlikely to work for the Shuttleworths for 250 days per year, even when the conversion of quarterly wages as well as the combination of building and non-building tasks are taken into consideration. It is possible that they either worked on their own farmland or that they moved around to seek other employment opportunities during the same year. If so, their actual working lives cannot be fully presented by the wage series.

Secondly, although the daily wage rates received by both building craftsmen and labourers hired by the Shuttleworths were lower than those received by their counterparts in southern England and northern towns, a comparison of wage rates within the household indicates that building craftsmen can be used to represent a well-paid group of wage-earners in early modern England. While building craftsmen were paid at a higher rate than building labourers by the Shuttleworths in the early 1600s, the best-paid building craftsmen received the same wage rates as the best-paid agricultural labourers.

Thirdly, the different wage rates paid to apprentices, journeymen, and servers or servants of craftsmen support the opinion that a group of semi-skilled workers existed among building workers in early modern England. Considering their different levels of skills, different wage rates and the change of their occupational titles over time, it is inappropriate to use only skilled/unskilled categories to divide building workers. Semi-skilled workers need to be discussed separately.

The low wage rates received by craftsmen and specialist workers hired by the Shuttleworths lead to the final point: the high dependence of skilled workers on the labour market in Lancashire. The attraction of building tasks with such low wage levels reflects the existence of a group of Lancashire building craftsmen who relied heavily on the building labour market for a living in the early

seventeenth century. A detailed discussion of the cost of living is made in the next chapter. Their demand for employment opportunities seems to have exceeded any preference for receiving cash wages over having food and drink provided by employers. For those who had to travel a long distance to work at different building sites, it is more likely that their primary occupations were related to their skills rather than the land.

5. Wage labour and living standards in early modern England

Living standards have always been an important issue in economic history, as it is an important aspect of economic growth. Although real wage series have some weaknesses, the mainstream studies still rely on the purchasing power of monetary wages to measure living standards.¹

As detailed discussion of current studies of living standards has been presented in the introduction of this thesis, this section explores them briefly. Focusing on daily wage rates, scholars adopt different proxies to collect the data. For example, E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, and Donald Woodward select either representative ones or a range of daily wage rates to create the wage series of building workers.² When Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf analyse the wages of female workers, they concentrate on non-harvest data.³ All these differences have the potential to substantially influence the wage rates presented in the series. The engagement of the labour force and the gender division of labour remain to be explored before analysing their wage levels.

In addition, although in-kind payments have been taken into consideration, task wages and piece rates have long been ignored. For example, when Humphries *et al.* present the annual incomes of unskilled male workers, they focus on day labourers who were paid daily or yearly.⁴ Task wages would not influence the estimation of the money incomes earned by wage workers if the labour output of wage workers was valued by employers under the same standard. However, when wage workers were paid with diverse wage rates, the difficulties of evaluating their working days and annual wage incomes have been ignored.

Another important question related to the real wage series is, how many days would wage earners work per year? This is crucial when evaluating the purchasing power of annual wage income. In addition to some scattered calculations of actual working days, current discussions can be divided into two

¹ See Introduction fn. 6.

² E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', *Economica*, 22.87 (1955), 195-206; Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450-1750* (Cambridge, 1995).

³ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850', *Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), 405-47.

⁴ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Unreal Wages? Real Income and Economic Growth in England, 1260-1850', *The Economic Journal*, 129 (2019), 2867-87.

approaches: the possible annual working days calculated according to annual incomes and daily wage rates; the estimation of fixed numbers of working days per year, such as 250/260 days per year. However, both approaches ignore the changing demand from the labour market. For instance, people could not work more days if paid work was not available. This is further complicated when the income distribution within the household is taken into consideration as women's work was highly seasonal and little paid work was available for children.

Contrary to the traditional real wage rates and income-based measures of GDP per head, Broadberry *et al.* present an output-based estimation and argue for a more positive picture of long-term economic growth in Britain.⁵ However, the argument that the increasing labour input over time could reconcile the divergence between real day wage rates and output-based measures of GDP per head lacks the support of firm evidence. It remains to be seen how many days wage earners worked per year during the early modern period.

Wage series can help to explore economic changes over a longer period, and recently, scholars have moved from single wage workers to the family unit, exploring the influence of life-cycle conditions and the structure of families on family standards of living. However, the issues related to wage series remain. In addition, the ignorance of local social and economic backgrounds and the exact efforts made by wage-earners and their family members to make ends meet mean that it is still unclear how these people made a living during the early modern period, and the evidence is not enough to support some important debates such as those concerning the gender wage gap.

The cost of living is another important issue. For wage earners, the cost of living has been calculated according to the prices of basic necessities, including food, fuel and shelter. Among these, the expenditure on food is particularly complex as it varied not only in proportions but also in compositions. Currently, the main sources of prices used by economic historians such as Robert Allen to calculate the composites of consumables are from Thorold Rogers' and William Beveridge's work, which were mainly taken from southern England. Woodward collects local data from Lincoln and Hull when discussing living standards of

⁵ Stephen Broadberry, Bruce M. S. Campbell, Alexander Klein, Mark Overton and Bas van Leeuwen, *British Economic Growth, 1270-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

building workers in northern towns, although he does not take the consumption of drink into his calculations.⁶

Although calories played an important role in the work performance of wage earners, again, scholars use different proxies. Allen, for example, provides two valuable baskets of consumables - the 'respectability budget' and 'bare bones subsistence budget', while discussing the annual real wage rates of London building workers with those in other countries.⁷ The respectability budget provided a male worker 2,500 calories per day, and the subsistence budget provided a male worker 2,100 calories per day. However, Muldrew assumes that a labouring man would consume 5,306 calories per day, which was much higher than those estimated by Allen.⁸

As the actual diet would range widely, it is problematic to use the same proxy to assume wage workers' cost of living in the whole nation. And this would be further complicated when some wage workers' wage rates excluded the cost of their diets as they were fed by their employers.

While the declining living standards of wage earners during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have been a mainstream opinion based on the evidence of the purchasing power of building workers and agricultural labourers in wage series during that period, some scholars further this discussion with different sources and approaches.⁹

Focusing on farm labourers, both Alan Everitt and Craig Muldrew use inventories to explore their living standards, although they apply different definitions.¹⁰ The term 'peasant labourers' used by Everitt includes 'those workers whose livelihood was based partly on their holdings and who were wealthy enough to leave

⁶ Woodward, *Men at Work*.

⁷ The discussions on the baskets of consumables see Introduction, fn. 32.

⁸ Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 214-5.

⁹ The comparison between wage series and prices, see, for example, C. G. A. Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700, Volume I, People, Land and Towns* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 29-52; Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (Langman, 1988); D. C. Coleman, *The Economy of England, 1450-1750* (Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 12-30. The data on the building workers' purchasing power is collected from Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', 312. The data on prices and agricultural labourers purchasing power is collected from Peter Bowden, 'Statistical Appendix' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 851-55, 857, 861-2 and 865. The discussions on economic growth before 1640 see, for example, Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects* (Oxford, 1978); Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).

¹⁰ Alan Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 396-465.

inventories'. When further selecting around 300 probate inventories of labourers, Everitt used inventoried wealth to identify people he thought were labourers: under £5 before 1570, under £10 during the 1590s, and under £15 during 1610-40.¹¹ Muldrew uses 942 inventories and adopts the occupational label, 'labourer', recorded in the inventories to identify which inventories to analyse. He matches inventories left by labourers with hearth-tax entries for Cambridgeshire, Hampshire and Kent between 1664 and 1678, examining the general representativeness of these inventories.¹² However, these two methods have some problems. In addition to the wealth bias of inventories, it is possible that some labourers who worked as wage workers during their life cycle would be too poor to leave inventories.¹³ It is possible some labourers were either not given occupations in their inventories or were labelled with other occupations.

In contrast to traditional methods of the estimation of living budgets, in their case study of Terling, a village in Essex, Keith Wrightson and David Levine use the payments recorded in overseers' accounts to reconstruct the living budget for a poor labourer's family with five persons in the later seventeenth century.¹⁴ The budget is then compared with the possible maximum annual wage incomes earned by male labourers and craftsmen. Although this estimation relies solely on the purchasing power of male breadwinners, this data would be closer to wage earners' real lives than that calculated according to wage rates and 'baskets of consumables'. Ian Archer adopts a similar method with surveys of the poor and constructs the budget for a widow's household of London in the 1580s and 1590s.¹⁵ Unfortunately, no such overseers' accounts survived for Lancashire before the 1630s and so could not be used in this study.¹⁶

However, the Shuttleworth accounts recorded the costs of *tabling* different types of wage workers, making it possible to investigate the changing cost of living. In

¹¹ Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', pp. 412-3, 431.

¹² Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, Chapter 4.

¹³ The discussion on probate inventory's limitations, see, Margaret Spufford, 'The limitations of the probate inventory', in *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk*, ed. by John Chartres and David Hey (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 139-74. Studies on household production or consumption by using probate inventories, see, Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (Routledge, 2004); Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Clarendon, 1990); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (Cambridge University Press, 1988).

¹⁴ Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village, Terling, 1525-1700* (New York, 1995), pp. 39-42.

¹⁵ Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 190-4.

¹⁶ Discussion on poor relief in Lancashire, see, Jonathan Healey, 'The development of poor relief in Lancashire, c. 1598-1680', *The Historical Journal*, 53.3 (2010), 557-9.

addition, as shown in the previous three chapters, the annual wage salaries earned by three types of wage workers can be calculated accordingly without selecting unskilled workers or making assumptions about the number of working days per year as well as the prices of food and drink.

Regarding inventories, it is not uncommon to find scholars use inventories of wage workers in their studies.¹⁷ However, no systematic comparison has been made between wage workers' money wages and their wealth levels recorded in inventories to explore their life-cycle changes of living standards. Instead of depending on occupations recorded in inventories or making selections according to their inventoried wealth, this chapters takes a different way and tracks inventories left by wage workers who were hired by the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Thus, concentrating on wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this chapter explores their living standards as follows: the first part discusses the costs of living recorded in the accounts; the second part discusses actual annual wage incomes earned by three types of wage workers; based on inventories, the final part explores wage workers' wealth.

5.1 Cost of living

Regional differences in diet have long been recognised. When describing food consumed by the poorest labourers in the north of England, Scotland and Wales, Eden said that they ate a variety of dishes which 'are wholly unknown to the southern inhabitant of this island'.¹⁸ While wheat was consumed in the south, oats and barley were more commonly consumed in the north-west. Table 5.1 lists an example on the daily food provided the by workhouse in Bury, Lancashire, in the 1790s.¹⁹ *Hasty-pudding* is a typical northern dish, which Eden commented is 'extremely nutritious'.²⁰ It is a kind of porridge made of oatmeal, water and salt, and it is often eaten with milk, beer, cold butter, or treacle. The most usual

¹⁷ For example, John Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution: North-East Lancashire, c. 1500-1640* (Manchester, 1986), pp. 182-92; Woodward, *Men at Work*, pp. 237-43; Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 226-7.

¹⁸ Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor: Or, An History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period*, Vol. 1 (London, 1797), p. 497.

¹⁹ Eden, *The State of the Poor: Or, An History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period*, Vol. 2 (London, 1797), p. 297.

²⁰ Eden, *The State of the Poor*, Vol. 1, p. 497.

proportion of this dish is: a quarter of water, a small quantity of salt, and 13 oz. of oatmeal, which Eden thought this amount is sufficient for a meal for two labourers. In this food menu provided by the workhouse at Bury, there were some slight changes over seasons: in the summer, milk was eaten with *hasty-pudding*; in the winter, treacle replaced milk. In addition, *hasty-pudding* was sometimes replaced by bread and boiled milk.²¹

Table 5.1 Eighteenth-century workhouse diets in Bury, Lancashire

Breakfast	Oat-meal pottage, or hasty-pudding, bread and beer
Dinner	Bread, broth, beef, potatoes, &c. /Bread, butter, and potatoes.
Supper	Hasty-pudding, as at breakfast.

Source: Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor: Or, An History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period*, Vol. 2 (London, 1797), p. 297.

Different diets have a direct impact on the cost of living. Muldrew argues that the annual cost of living in the north would have been £2-3 cheaper than that in the south, because more oatmeal was eaten.²² Instead of estimating a basket of consumables, the Shuttleworth accounts recorded the cost of feeding different types of wage workers, making it possible to track and compare these costs over time. In contrast to Robert Loder's accounts, which provided information on the average cost of diet within the household, the Shuttleworth accounts recorded the payments to local inhabitants who prepared food and drink for employees when they worked away from the main house. Between 1582 and 1599, payments were mainly made to people who lived at Tingreave (Ecclestone), Lostock and Hoole, where the Shuttleworths owned farmland; while in the early 1600s, payments were mainly made at Mitton Wood, where workers collected timber for building Gawthorpe Hall. As shown in table 5.2, 176 entries of 'tabling fees' are collected from the accounts. Combined with some scattered evidence in the 1610s, and the daily costs of diet calculated from daily wage rates, the costs of diet for tabling servants in husbandry, casual labourers, and building workers are discussed separately.

²¹ Eden, *The State of the Poor*, Chapter II, Of the Diet, Dress, Fuel, and Habitation, of the Labouring Classes.

²² Craig Muldrew, 'What is a money wage? Measuring the earnings of agricultural labourers in early modern England', in *Seven Centuries of Unreal Wages: The Unreliable Data, Sources and Methods That Have Been Used for Measuring Standards of Living in the Past*, ed. by John Hatcher and Judy Z. Stephenson (Palgrave, 2018), p. 180.

Table 5.2 Examples of tabling fees, 1582-1606

	Servants in husbandry ^a	Casual labourers ^b	Craftsmen and building labourers	Total no. recorded
1582-99	89	40	12	141
1600-06	4	--	31	35
Total no. recorded	93	40	43	176

Notes: a) As some servants were recorded in the same entry with craftsmen or agricultural labourers, they are only counted once, either in the category of servants in husbandry, or in other two categories.

b) Casual labourers include agricultural labourers and day labourers who worked at carrying tithe corn or those who did unknown tasks.

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-7.

5.1.1 'Tabling' servants in husbandry

When the Shuttleworths were living at Smithills between 1582 and 1599, the farmland owned by this gentry family were mainly located at Tingreave (Eccleston), Lostock and Hoole. The distance between Lostock and Smithills is around two to three miles, while that between Smithills and Tingreave or Hoole ranges from twelve to eighteen miles. Among 141 entries related to the costs of tabling fees between 1582 and 1599, 89 were about feeding servants in husbandry, accounting for 63 per cent; the records declined to 4 and accounted for only 11 per cent of the total examples in 1600-06.

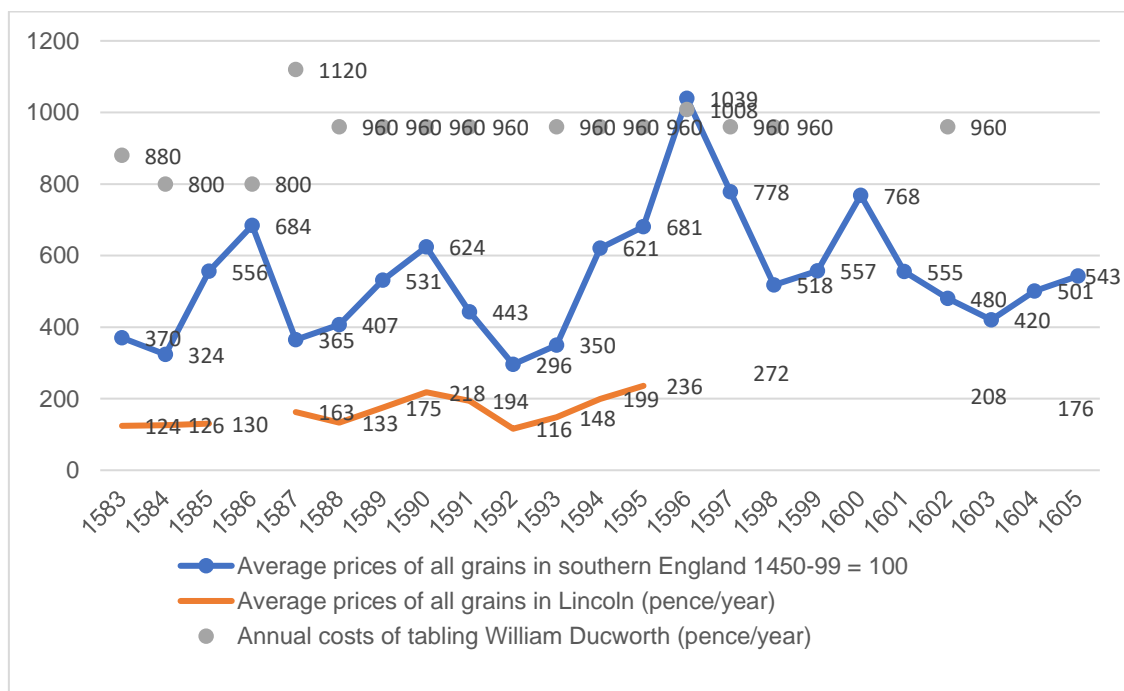
Among eight named servants who were recorded with tabling fees between 1582 and 1599, William Duckworth was the one who appeared the most frequently. William Duckworth was a servant who lived at Tingreave, Eccleston. His annual wage salary was £1 6s 8d. He worked for the Shuttleworths from 1582 to 1599, and his service may have lasted until 1602 when there was an entry showing that 40s were paid for 'Duckworth's last half year's table'.²³ When he worked at Hoole, it was Robert Stones' wife and Hugh Tomsonne who were responsible for his diets. When working at Tingreave and Eccleston, at least five persons, Thomas Dicconsone, Henry Dicconsone, William Ecclestone, Thomas Eccleston and James Waddsworth, provided his annual *tabling* at different times. Four entries

²³ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 104.

recorded from December 1597 to May 1599 did not name the person who tabled Duckworth.

Based on quarterly and yearly payments, figure 5.1 compares the annual costs of feeding William Duckworth from the 1580s to the 1600s, and the changes in average prices of all grains in southern England and Lincoln during the same period. There are two peaks in the annual costs of diet, 1587 and 1596, which were not always consistent with the peaks in grain prices: it seems that the high grain prices only influenced the cost of the tabling fee in 1596. In fact, the high cost of diet in 1587 corresponds with Appleby's observations about the delayed influence of harvest failure in 1586 in northern England. While the poor harvests of the 1590s led to near-famine conditions in some parts of the north, they did not influence Duckworth's annual cost of diet significantly, as the yearly cost of feeding William Duckworth maintained a relatively stable level in the 1590s.²⁴

Figure 5.1 Yearly costs of tabling William Duckworth and the comparison with average prices of grains, 1580s-1600s



Sources: Annual costs of tabling William Duckworth see LA DDKS 18/1-3, 5; average prices of all grains in southern England see Peter Bowden, 'Statistical Appendix', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 819-20; average prices of all grains in Lincoln see Sir Francis Hill, *Tudor and Stuart Lincoln* (Stamford, 1991 (first published in 1956)), p. 224.

²⁴ Andrew Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (Liverpool University Press, 1978), pp. 135-7.

John Pinnington was another servant who was catered for annually. John started serving the Shuttleworths from February 1589/90 and stayed until May 1598. He was catered for by William Houlden for one whole year until February 1590/91. After that, he was fed by William Houlden for another 10 weeks and may have become a live-in servant later. When John Pinnington was tabled by William Houlden for one whole year, his annual wage was £1 7s, and the yearly cost of feeding him was £2 13s 4d, which was the same as that spent on feeding a miller for one whole year at Barton in 1616.²⁵ The actual annual income (wage and food) of Pinnington was £4 4d in 1590, which was less than that of William Duckworth, £5 6s 8d per year. The tasks undertaken by these two servants could be an important reason for this difference. Nevertheless, the comparison shows that the cost of diet for feeding William Duckworth could be regarded as an example to represent farm servants who were provided with enough calories when working for the Shuttleworths. Compared with his yearly wage salaries, £1 6s 8d, the cost of diet constituted a higher proportion of Duckworth's *actual* annual wages, 75 per cent.

Unsurprisingly, this tabling fee was much less than that provided by Robert Loder. The cost of each adult's consumption in Loder's household, including live-in servants, ranged from £9 to £11 per year in Berkshire in 1610-1620.²⁶ Regional differences in the cost of diets are an important reason for this consumption gap. Perhaps a more important reason is that Loder's data included the part consumed by the employers' family members, which might be higher than that consumed solely by a servant such as William Duckworth. Nevertheless, this should not be used to support the opinion that agricultural workers in northern areas were less well catered. In fact, the diets prepared by local inhabitants should have ensured that Duckworth was provided with enough food as well as energy to work efficiently at farmland.

This can be further supported by the comparisons with other scholars' research on annual cost of living. Table 5.3 lists four annual consumption budgets for different localities for feeding an adult man in the 1590s. The data of Lancashire

²⁵ The accounts recorded the half-year payment for tabling this miller in 1616 was 26s 8d. LA DDKS 18/9 p. 5.

²⁶ G. E. Fussell (ed.), *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610-1620* (Camden Society, 1936). For detailed analysis of servants' consumption, see Jane Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England c. 1450-1650', in *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain 1400-1900*, ed. by Maria Ågren and Amy Louise Erickson (Ashgate, 2005), pp. 95-6.

are collected from figure 5.1. The average annual cost of feeding William Duckworth was 966d between 1590 and 1598. The data of Hull and Lincoln from 1590 to 1599 are from Woodward's basket of diets.²⁷ Since the cost of beer would not exceed 30 per cent of the whole cost of food, it is reasonable to assume that the annual costs of diet for feeding a single man in Hull and Lincoln were less than that provided by the Shuttleworths in Lancashire.²⁸

The data in the fourth row are collected from Muldrew's estimation of a Berkshire labouring family budget in 1597.²⁹ This family was composed of six persons: father, mother and four children, and the cost of diet for this family in 1597 was £37 14s. When calculating the proportions of daily calories consumption, Muldrew assumes that the wife would consume 80 per cent as much as her husband, and the four children would consume 60 per cent as much as their father respectively. Based on these proportional distributions, a single adult male labourer's yearly consumption of diet was 2154d in 1597.³⁰ Based on Allen's basket of respectable consumables which offers a man 2,500 calories per day, the final row collects the decadal data summarised by Humphries and Weisdorf.³¹ The actual cost of annual consumption on food would be lower than the data, 872d, used here, as this basket contained costs on other things such as clothing, fuel and rent. Although the annual cost of feeding a male labourer based on the data from Berkshire labourer's family was over twice as that provided by the Shuttleworths in the 1590s, the annual cost of diet for feeding a male adult was higher than that provided in London, Hull and Lincoln.

²⁷ Woodward, *Men at Work*, Appendix 2.5, p. 282.

²⁸ The argument that the consumption of beer would not exceed 30 per cent of food is estimated according to scholars' budgets: Phelps Brown and Hopkins' basket shows that beer would account for around 28 per cent of food; Gregory Clark's budget assumes that beer accounted for 6.44 per cent of food and drink before 1869; Robert Allen's basket of consumables shows that beer should account for around 24 per cent of food and drink. See, Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', 297; Clark, 'The Long March of History', 107; Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution*, p. 36.

²⁹ The weekly amount of consumables was originally abstracted from Eden's budget for a Berkshire family of nine in the eighteenth century. The prices are collected from Thorold Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*. The father was fifty years old and the youngest three sons were out of service. Among the rest four children, the two elder sons who aged fourteen and twelve drove the plough for neighbouring farmers, and the younger two children did not work. Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p. 215.

³⁰ The actual figure would be higher as Muldrew assumed that the man and his two eldest sons shared the strong beer.

³¹ Robert Allen's data on London, see [Allen - Research Pages - Nuffield College Oxford University](#); the decadal data calculated by Humphries and Weisdorf, see Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', Table A2.

Table 5.3 Annual cost of living for a single man in the 1590s

Places of data	Dates	Costs (pence/year)	Calories/day
Lancashire	1590-98	966	
Hull and Lincoln	1590-99	638.8 ^a	2,850
Berkshire ^b	1597	2,154	5,306
London	1590-1600	872 ^c	2,500

Notes: a) The costs of diet provided by Woodward does not include the cost of drink;
b) the data on the yearly consumption of an adult man is calculated according to a family of six in Berkshire. As Muldrew assumes that the daily calories consumed by wife would be 80 per cent as much as a man, four children would consume 60 per cent as much as their father respectively, the cost of feeding an adult man is calculated according to these proportional distributions;
c) This budget contains not only food but also the expenses on other stuff such as soap, linen and candles.

Sources: Data of Lancashire, see LA DDKS 18/2-3; data of Hull and Lincoln, see Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450-1750* (Cambridge, 1995), Appendix 2.5, p. 282; data of Berkshire, see Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2011), Table 5.3, p. 215; Data of London, see Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages? Real income and economic growth in England, 1260-1850', *the Economic Journal*, 129.623 (2019), Table A2. Yearly prices and wages see Robert Allen's website, [Allen - Research Pages - Nuffield College Oxford University](#).

In addition to the annual payments, servants were also paid by weeks, days or meals.³² The weekly tabling rates increased gradually from 20d per week to 22d per week between 1582 and 1599, although two dates recorded relatively higher weekly wage rates: on 18 April 1587, Henry Dicconsone received 20s 2d for the tabling of William Duckworth 10 weeks, that is 24.2d/week; on 5 December 1597, the cost of tabling William Duckworth for six weeks was 14s, that is 28d/week.³³ When servants worked with wrights at getting timber in the 1600s, one entry recorded that their weekly cost of tabling was 3s 4d (40d) per person per week on 11 July 1601.³⁴

The daily cost of diet for servants fluctuated irregularly, but normally ranged from 3d to 5d per day between 1582 and 1599. The highest daily cost, 5d per day, was paid in February 1590/91, when Robert Aspeden went to Blackrod where the tithe corn was threshed.³⁵ Only three entries recorded the cost of each meal for servants during this period, which was around 1 – 1.5d per meal. One specific

³² As some entries recorded more than one servant, average costs of diet are calculated accordingly.

³³ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 41; LA DDKS 18/3 p. 77.

³⁴ LA DDKS 18/5 p. 5.

³⁵ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 174.

example is William Birchall. The cost of every meal for him was 3d in April 1591 when he helped to 'strike to the wheels'.³⁶ Although there were no records of the daily cost of tabling servants in the 1600s, the accounts recorded the cost of meals for servants, which had increased to 2-3d per person per meal.

Were casual labourers and building workers fed with similar weekly or daily costs? Could these tabling fees represent the basic cost of diet for all labourers? These questions are discussed in the following sections.

5.1.2 'Tabling' casual labourers

Similarly to servants, casual labourers were provided diets by the same group of people when working at different places. John Yate and Ferdinando Heaton, for example, were in charge of tabling labourers who worked at Heaton during the later sixteenth century. Although only 40 entries related to feeding casual labourers between 1582 and 1599, and they worked more flexibly and were mainly fed by days, weeks or meals, some comparisons can be made with calculated daily costs of diet in relation to labourers' wages.

If we assume that casual labourers worked six days per week, the changes in the weekly and daily costs of feeding these labourers can be tracked accordingly: the implied daily cost of feeding a casual labourer ranged from 3d to 5d per day, and the average cost of daily diet was 4d per day between 1582 and 1593. This was close to that provided by Nathaniel Bacon in Norfolk for his employees as the average cost of feeding an adult worker was 5d per day in his household from 1592 to 1596.³⁷ Of the 40 entries on the costs for casual labourers, half related to feeding threshers. In fact, it was also threshers whose daily cost of diet reached the highest level, 5d per day, in 1586 and 1587. The cost per meal showed a similar trend: when the costs of per meal ranged from 1 to 1.5d per meal from 1584 to 1591, it reached the peak, 2d per meal, in October and November 1586 for labourers who were paid for carrying tithe corn at Heaton.

Although the records of feeding female workers were fewer, the available data showed high costs of diet for them during the late sixteenth century. When Robert Stones' wife was paid 2s 9d for tabling 11 women for one-day *dighting* hemp in August 1588, the average daily cost of diet was 3d per day per woman.³⁸ But the

³⁶ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 182.

³⁷ A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk' [Part I], *Continuity and Change*, 4.1 (1989), 24. Bacon and his family were excluded from the calculation.

³⁸ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 84.

average daily cost of diet was 4d per day on 27 August 1586, when six women were catered by the same person for the same task.³⁹ This was the same as the daily cost of diet provided for feeding four day-labourers who were ditching at Hoole in May 1591.⁴⁰ The labour strength needed for ditching and *dighting* hemp would have been quite different. One possible explanation is the high prices of grains in 1586 resulted in the increased cost of living.

In fact, compared with the annual cost of tabling fees listed above, these relatively high daily costs of tabling fees in 1586 and 1587 were consistent with the changes in grain prices recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts, and reacted more quickly to these changes. Although the data were incomplete, the prices of wheat and barley provide some clues. When the price per bushel of wheat increased from 6s 4d - 7s 6d in June and July 1585 to 11s - 13s 6d in July and September 1587, the prices per bushel of barley showed a similar rising trend during the same period, increasing from 3s 4d- 4s 8d per bushel to 5s 4d – 7s per bushel.⁴¹

Since labourers were paid with or without food and drink when working for the Shuttleworths, comparisons can be made between the implied cost of diet from daily wage rates and the recorded tabling fees. When adult male threshers were not provided food and drink, their average daily wage rates were 6.1d per day; when they were provided food and drink, their average daily wage rates were 2.3d per day.⁴² And thus, the implied daily cost of diet would be 3.8d per day, which was similar to the average daily cost of tabling fees, 4d per day. However, the comparison between the daily tabling fee for ditching and the daily cost of diet from daily wage rates leads to different conclusions. When the daily tabling fee for a ditcher was 4d per day in May 1591, the average daily cost of diet based on daily wage rates was around 3d per day at the same time.

It is not uncommon to find labourers whose daily costs of diet were less than the recorded daily tabling fees, 3–5d per day. For example, when John Horabine was paid 3d per day with food and drink for ditching at Hoole, his daily wage rates ranged from 4d to 5d per day without food and drink for ditching at Lostock. John Dowsone was a thresher who perhaps lived at Tingreave. His daily wage rates

³⁹ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 21.

⁴⁰ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 187.

⁴¹ Charles Foster, *Seven Households: Life in Cheshire and Lancashire 1582-1774* (Arley Hall Press, 2002), p. 62.

⁴² Nicholas Yate and Christopher Walker were excluded as they were two child labourers.

for threshing were 3d and 5d per day when working at Hoole and Tingreave in June 1589. The daily costs of diet for both John Horabine and John Dowsone were less than 3d per day. Skills and ages might play an important role in these different daily wage rates and implied daily costs of diet. But if we assume the tabling fees recorded in the accounts fulfilled the basic caloric needs of wage workers and ensure the output of labour, it is understandable that the daily cost of tabling fees recorded in the accounts could be higher than that calculated by daily wage rates, as the latter one may not cover meals for a whole day.

Compared with annual cost of living for servants, the daily and piecemeal payments reacted more quickly to grain market changes, both of which increased in 1586. Despite some fluctuations over time, the daily costs of tabling casual labourers and servants normally ranged from 3d to 6d between 1582 and 1599. These daily costs were higher than the estimated daily cost value for feeding an annual servant, 2.6d per day in 1580s-90s, and were not always consistent with the daily cost of diet calculated from daily wage rates.⁴³

When Humphries *et al.* calculate the monetary value of in-kind payments of annual workers, they adopt the basket of consumables created by Allen, whose data are mainly collected from southern England.⁴⁴ It is fair to assume that these workers might choose to spend less on diet when they wished to save money. And the cost would be lower when the labourers' family members prepared food for them. But for some annual labourers whose in-kind payments were provided directly by their employers and casual labourers who were catered by their employers, their *actual expenses* on diet would be higher than that assumed by the 'standard' basket.

If employers wished to ensure the labour output, providing enough calories to their employees would be an important strategy. For example, when female labourers were paid 1d per day for 'dighting hemp' at Hoole in 1580s, their daily cost of diet ranged from 3d to 4d per day per person. Although daily wage rates provided by the Shuttleworths were lower than that provided by southern employers, and the turnover rates of agricultural labourers hired by the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth centuries were high, being tabled by this

⁴³ 2.6d per year was calculated by dividing the annual tabling fee by 365.

⁴⁴ See for example, Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women', 405-47; Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', 2867-87; Horrell, Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Family Standards of Living', 87-134.

household meant that, similarly to live-in servants, these casual workers did not need to worry about their daily diet (or at least one of their daily meals) when they were experiencing hard times, and could save the money they earned.

5.1.3 'Tabling' craftsmen and building labourers

Craftsmen and building labourers were mainly catered by days, weeks and meals as well, although there is an example showing that the miller at Barton was catered half yearly for £1 6s 8d in November 1616.⁴⁵ When the Shuttleworths were living at Smithills, it was Jeffrey Astelay and William Birchall who were mainly responsible for feeding craftsmen who went to work at Lostock; when building Gawthorpe Hall between 1600 and 1606, it was James Grime's family, Alexander Hogson's family and Richard Dewhurst's family who were mainly in charge of the tabling.

Comparing the costs of tabling fees over these two periods, the most apparent change is the increased costs of diet. While 6d per day was the highest cost of tabling fee between 1582 and 1599, which was only paid for catering Henry Roggers who worked at mending ploughs at Lostock, this cost level became common in the 1600s. The same increase is found in the weekly costs. While the average weekly cost of tabling a slater at Tingreave was 24d per week in January 1584/5, and that of tabling a thatcher, David Marche, at Hoole was 22d per week on 1 November 1590, the minimum weekly cost of tabling building workers in 1600-06 was 25d per week.⁴⁶ In fact, the cost of feeding most building workers in the later period was at least 36d per week, that is 6d per day or 2d per meal.

When concentrating on the 1600s, although the weekly costs of diet were generally higher than those in previous period, there was a declining trend, reducing slowly from 40d per week in 1600 to 36d per week in 1605. Another feature was related to occupations. Among 35 records found in 1600-06, 24 were paid for tabling wrights, and 2 were paid for John Bowden, a wheelwright. In contrast to the wage levels assessed by skills, it seems that their occupational titles did not give them any privilege as these craftsmen were tabled at similar levels as men with no stated occupations but did the same task at Mitton Wood.

Although the records were fewer, scattered evidence can be found about daily costs of feeding building workers when they worked at building Gawthorpe Hall

⁴⁵ LA DDKS 18/9 p. 5.

⁴⁶ LA DDKS 18/1 p. 39; LA DDKS 18/2 p. 165; LA DDKS 18/5 p. 162.

in the early seventeenth century. As discussed in the previous chapter, some building craftsmen and labourers were paid with or without food and drink during their employment. Regardless of seasonal changes in the daily wage rates, the ranges of the daily costs of diet calculated from daily wage rates of building craftsmen and labourers were 3.5-5d and 2-4d per day respectively, which were close to the daily costs of diet regulated by 1595 Lancashire wage assessments, 3-4d per day, but less than the daily cost of tabling fee, 6d per day.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, these daily costs of diet were much higher than the daily cost of feeding a single man at Hull and Lincoln, 1.62d per day, as calculated by Woodward for the 1600s.⁴⁸

For these building workers, the 'basket of consumables' used by historians does not reflect the actual cost of living among those tabled workers. Both the skills and labour strength demanded by the tasks would influence the cost of the diet. Similar to the tabling of casual labourers, the high costs of diet provided by the Shuttleworths for building workers was a direct result of pursuing higher work efficiency, although, again, this means that workers could only take a small amount of money back home.

These comparisons show that the actual costs of diet among wage workers were more complicated than current estimations allow. In contrast to the fixed annual tabling fees, which were paid for feeding farm servants, the costs of diet among casual labourers, craftsmen and building labourers varied from one to another. When the tabling fees for casual labourers and servants who were fed by the day normally ranged from 3d to 5d per day in the late sixteenth century, the tabling fees for building workers increased to at least 6d per day in the early seventeenth century. These daily costs of diet were not always consistent with those calculated either from daily wage rates recorded in the accounts or from 1595 Lancashire wage assessments. Instead, they were influenced by diverse factors, such as the changing grain prices, and the demand for labour strength and skills owned by the wage workers, and ranged widely. Regarding the gendered differences, although the evidence was rare, there was no apparent difference between the daily costs of feeding male and female labourers who were hired by the Shuttleworths and did different tasks in the late sixteenth century. As the

⁴⁷ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. III, The Later Tudors (1588-1603)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 149-50.

⁴⁸ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 282.

provision of food to workers in northern England lasted at least until the nineteenth century, how these northern wage workers lived their lives cannot be fully explained or represented by the wage data, which rely solely on those without food and drink.⁴⁹

5.2 Annual wage income

How much money could wage workers earn per year in early modern England? The answer is influenced by many factors, such as daily wage rates, skills, workplaces and days worked per year. As the chapters on casual labourers, rural craftsmen and specialists have discussed daily wage rates and annual working days, this part concentrates on empirical evidence on wage workers' annual wage incomes. Since wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths were paid with or without food and drink over time, based on the cost of diets recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts, task wages and piece wage rates, the discussion is divided into three sections and explores the actual annual wage incomes of three types of wage workers. Instead of focusing only on single 'occupations', particular attention is paid to those wage workers who participated in dual-employment.

5.2.1 Annual wages of farm servants

As discussed in Chapter 2, some servants hired by the Shuttleworths maintained a longer relationship with this household and worked as casual labourers before and after they worked in service. Although we cannot track every farm servant's daily tasks, the accounts recorded some servants who received extra income by doing some agricultural tasks during their service, making it possible to discuss the annual incomes of servants in husbandry. The first section focuses on servants who were tabled by local inhabitants, exploring their annual incomes by adding the in-kind payments; the second section discusses the servants who might be tenant labourers and did not live with the Shuttleworths and received both fixed annual incomes and daily wages or task wages during their service. It shows that the long-term wage series of 'unskilled' servants based on their *annual* wages were incomplete, and the conditions of servants need to be considered carefully before using their annual wage data.

Farm servants who were employed by the Shuttleworths and participated in agricultural tasks were normally paid within £2 per year. This can be further

⁴⁹ Gregory Clark excluded those day wage data which contained food and drink, see Clark, 'Farm Wages and Living Standards', 480.

supported by evidence about the costs of diet. Among seven named servants who were tabled by local inhabitants between 1586 and 1598, four received wage rates of less than £2 per year. As discussed in the first section, William Duckworth and John Pinnington were the only two servants who were recorded clearly with annual tabling fees. So, their actual annual incomes can be calculated accordingly. When Duckworth received £1 6s 8d per year from 1582 to 1599, the average yearly cost of tabling him was £4 per year, thus his actual annual income was £5 6s 8d per year; when Pinnington received £1 7s in 1590, the cost of tabling him in that year was £2 13s 4d (13s 4d per quarter), and thus his actual annual income was £4 4d in 1590.

Since some servants in husbandry were catered for by the day and week, it is possible to estimate their *actual* annual incomes as well. Robert Aspeden, a senior farm servant, received £2 per year from 1583 to 1596. When he went to supervise the threshing of tithe corn at Middle Hulton, Hoole, Eccleston and Blackrod, the average cost of feeding him was 4d per day (£6 1s 8d per year). Based on these figures, his implied annual income would be £8 1s 8d per year. William Wood was another servant who lived at Tingreave. He served the Shuttleworths for over ten years, and his annual wage salary increased from £1 13s 4d (8s 4d per quarter) between 1588/9 and 1599 to £2 per year in the 1600s. When the Shuttleworths lived at Smithills, Wood went to supervise the gathering and threshing of tithe corn at Hoole, and it was Robert Stones' wife who provided food and drink for him. As the average cost of tabling Wood in the 1590s was 3.2d per day (£4 17s 4d per year), his implied annual incomes were £6 10s 8d per year during the late sixteenth century.

Table 5.4 lists these four examples of annual incomes earned by male farm servants who were hired by the Shuttleworths between 1582 and 1599. While Robert Aspeden and William Wood were paid higher wage salaries, their implied annual incomes were higher as well. Regarding John Pinnington and William Duckworth, their implied annual incomes are not identical with those calculated by Humphries and Weisdorf. Combined with Allen's basket of consumables, their data show that the annual incomes of unskilled male workers were £3 15s 2d in the 1580s and £4 17s 6d in the 1590s.⁵⁰ When selecting the wage data of farm workers from the Shuttleworth accounts, they concentrate on those whose annual

⁵⁰ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', Table A2.

wages ranged between £1 and £1 13s 4d per year.⁵¹ However, due to the different costs of diet, the actual annual incomes earned by these ‘unskilled’ farm servants could range widely.

Table 5.4 Examples of male servants’ annual income, 1582-99

	Robert Aspeden	William Wood	John Pinnington	William Duckworth
Employment period	1583-96	1588/9-99	1589/90-98	1582-99
Annual wages	£2	£1 13s 4d	£1 7s	£1 6s 8d
Years recorded diets	1585/6- 1590/91	1590-98	1589/90- 90/1	1583-99
Implied annual cost of diet	£6 1s 8d	£4 17s 4d	£2 13s 4d	£4
Implied annual incomes	£8 1s 8d	£6 10s 8d	£4 4d	£5 6s 8d

Source: LA DDKS 18/1-3.

Although the evidence is scattered, some servants who lived with the Shuttleworths were paid extra money for doing agricultural tasks during or outside of their service. In contrast to those servants mentioned above, Richard Longworth’s annual wages increased from 19s in 1584 to £1 14s in 1595. In fact, he had worked for the Shuttleworths from the summer of 1583. The comparisons of his wage rates show that he participated in both annual and daily tasks in 1590-91 and 1594, when his occupations changed between ‘servant’ and ‘labourer’. Peter Stones was another servant who received £1 11s 8d per year between 1583 and 1592. The accounts recorded that he had been paid for some daily tasks such as ditching in 1582 and 1583 before he started his service. He received extra 7.5d in 1591 when threshing the tithe corn at Bolton with John Pinnington.⁵² After he finished his contract in April 1592, he worked as a casual

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 2872, note 10.

⁵² LA DDKS 18/2 p. 205.

labourer and did diverse tasks, including mowing, holding the plough, shearing and carrying corn at Smithills.

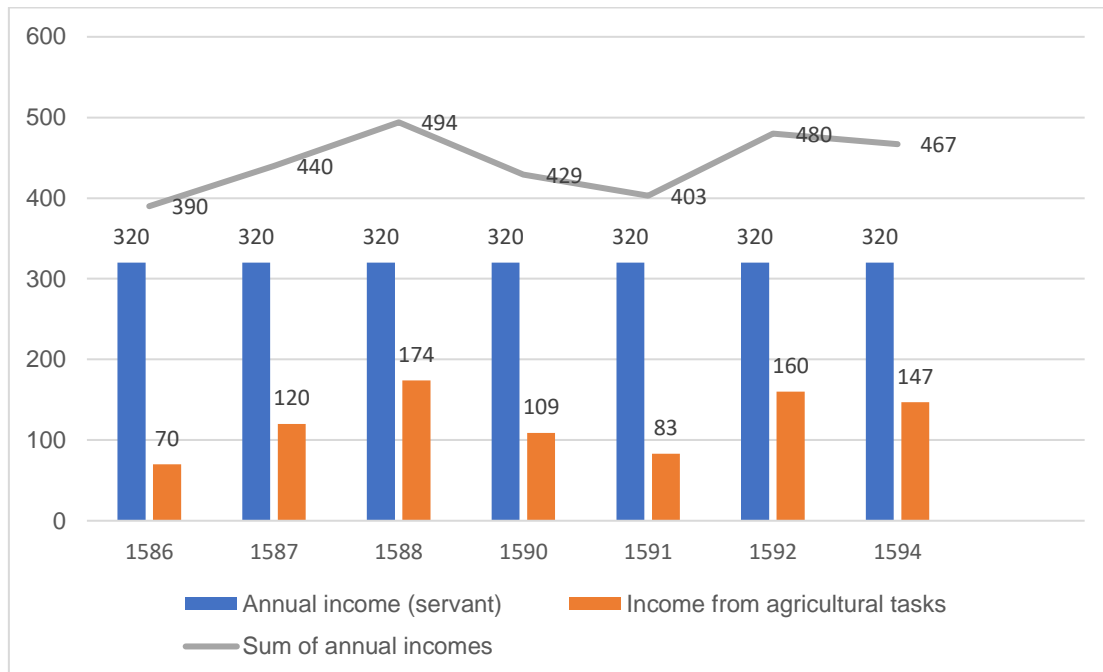
In addition, as farmland owned by the Shuttleworths were located at several places, there was another group of adult farm servants who did not live with their employer. William Birchall and Jeffrey Astelay were two typical examples. Figures 5.2 and 5.3 list their actual annual income over time. William Birchall was a married servant who lived at Lostock. His annual wages stayed at £1 6s 8d per year from 1582 to 1599. Birchall and his wife were paid for tabling other wage workers who went to work at Lostock during the late sixteenth century. In addition, task wages were an important type of income for this family. William Birchall was paid for shearing oats and barley at Lostock from 1586 to 1594, when the piece wage rates increased from 2s to 3s 4d per acre. Jeffrey Astelay was another servant who served the Shuttleworths from 1582 to 1584. He was a local inhabitant at Lostock as well, and his annual wages were £1 13s 4d during this period. He was not only paid for tabling labourers who worked at Lostock, but also earned extra money by working during the harvest time. His wife also appeared in February 1584/5 when she was paid 18d for winnowing corn at Lostock.⁵³

Although their actual annual earnings were less than the implied annual income calculated by Humphries and Weisdorf, £3 15s 2d in the 1580s and £4 17s 6d in the 1590s, and the basic cost of feeding a single man at Hull and Lincoln, £2 13s 2.8d in the 1590s, this cannot support the conclusion that they lived under the poverty line.⁵⁴ In fact, considering both of them were paid with similar wages as live-in servants, and were not recorded with annual tabling fees and did not live with the Shuttleworths, it is reasonable to assume that they were tenant farmers for whom these money payments were just a supplement to their main income from farming.

⁵³ LA DDKS 18/1 p. 40.

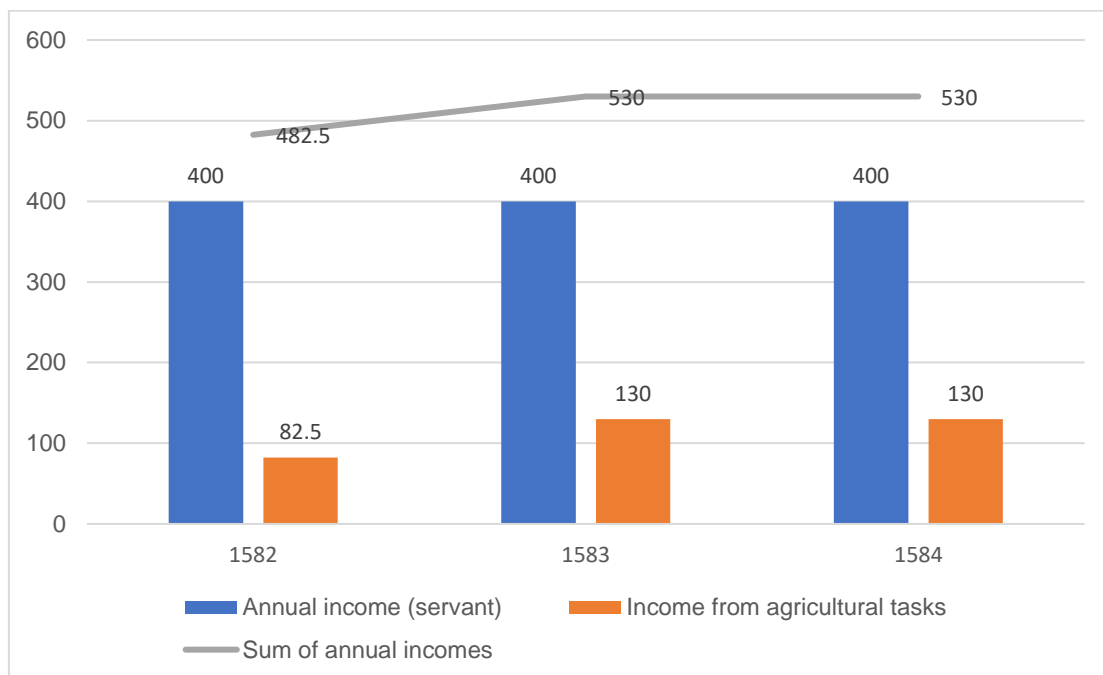
⁵⁴ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal Wages?', Table A2; Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 282.

Figure 5.2 Annual earnings of William Birchall, 1586-94 (d/year)



Source: LA DDKS 18/2-3.

Figure 5.3 Annual earnings of Jeffrey Astelay, 1582-4 (d/year)



Source: LA DDKS 18/1.

For those servants who worked in husbandry but were provided with food and drink either by local inhabitants or by their employers, servants could not only be fed well but also save all their money wages during the service. In addition, agricultural tasks undertaken by some servants indicate that they could earn extra

money when working for the Shuttleworths. The yearly service also contributed to their connection with the Shuttleworths, as their credit or good performance could support their conversion of *occupations* between servants and labourers. Regarding married servants, although it is unclear if these farm servants hired by the Shuttleworths lived in the accommodation provided by their employer, as Smith finds about some married older men who lived in the places provided by Bacon in Norfolk, their low annual wage income indicates that they were tenants of the Shuttleworths and relied on their own farmland for a living.⁵⁵ These complexities, however, cannot be fully presented by the simple wage series based on their annual wage salaries.

5.2.2 Annual wages of casual labourers

As discussed in Chapter 3, casual labourers include agricultural labourers, building labourers and some daily labourers who did diverse tasks such as ditching, hedging and transporting goods during their employment. Although casual labourers were paid with different wage rates, either by days or by tasks, economic historians concentrate on daily, weekly and annual wages to construct wage series. Instead of selecting daily wage data from the accounts, this section concentrates on two periods and tries to present a whole picture of annual wages earned by male labourers who lived in northwest rural England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Table 5.5 shows the distribution of 301 named male casual labourers who worked for the Shuttleworths during two periods, 1586-1598, and 1600-02, 1605. As some building labourers hired in the early 1600s worked exclusively on the building project, their annual incomes are discussed together with building craftsmen in the next section and are excluded here. The proportion of casual labourers who were paid solely by days show contrasting trends in these two periods. Among 209 named male casual labourers hired by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598, 72 of whom were day-wage labourers, accounting for 34.5 per cent. This proportion rose to 66.3 per cent in 1600-02 and 1605, when 61 of 92 male casual labourers were employed exclusively with daily wages.

⁵⁵ Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England' [Part I], 15.

Table 5.5 The distribution of male casual labourers with different wage rates, 1586-1598, 1600-02 and 1605

	No. of casual labourers (1586-1598)	No. of casual labourers (1600-02, 1605)
Day-wage labourers	72 (34.5%)	61 (66.3%)
Task-wage labourers	83 (39.7%)	14 (15.2%)
Day and task – wage labourers	54 (25.8%)	17 (18.5%)
Sum	209	92

Note: Labourers who participated exclusively in the building project during the early 1600s are excluded and will be discussed in the next section with building craftsmen.

Source: LA DDKS/1-3.

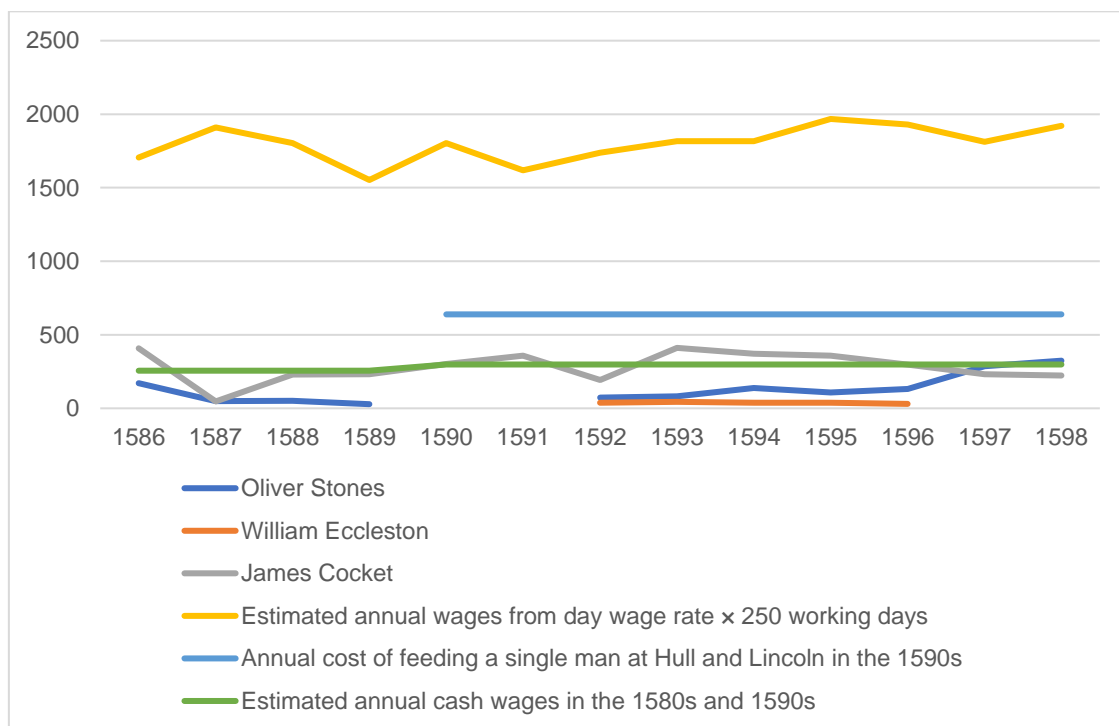
How much money could be earned by those labourers who received task wages partly or wholly? Some examples can be selected to make comparisons. Among the 83 task-wage labourers who were hired between 1586 and 1598, six labourers who lived at Heaton, Blackrod and Much Hoole were paid regularly for collecting the tithe corn between 1582 and 1599.⁵⁶ The highest annual wage salaries received by them for this task were 50s per year, although not everyone was paid at this level. Ferdinando Heaton, for example, received 13s 4d per year for 'leading half of the tithe in Hetone [Heaton]' between 1588 and 1592. He was paid for storing the tithe corn of Heaton in his barn, and he maintained a good relationship with the Shuttleworths as the accounts recorded that Ferdinando borrowed £2 from the Shuttleworths on 19 October 1590 and was required to pay back on the next Saint Margaret Day.⁵⁷ Although it is unknown whether these tasks were undertaken by themselves or by workers hired by them, as these fixed annual wage salaries probably contain the payment for men's labour as well as the cost of using carts and horses, they could only be regarded as a supplementary activity to these task-wage labourers' overall earnings.

⁵⁶ LA DDKS 18/1-3.

⁵⁷ LA DDKS 18/2 p. 163.

Another three labourers who received fixed annual wage salaries between 1586 and 1598 were paid for doing extra tasks over time. Figure 5.4 lists their yearly earnings from the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598 and compares these wage incomes with current estimations. William Eccleston was an agricultural labourer who lived at Tingreave, Eccleston. He may have been a tenant of the Shuttleworths as his family was paid 2s 6d per year for winnowing corn at Eccleston or Tingreave from January 1591/2 to January 1596/7.⁵⁸ Also, William Eccleston worked extra two days per year between 1592 and 1595 when ‘driving the plough’ and ‘filling dung’ at Much Hoole and Tingreave. In addition, William Eccleston was paid continuously for tabling William Duckworth from 1587 to 1596, although the tabling fee would have involved expenditure as well as income. The sum of his wage salaries was 15s 8d for these five years.

Figure 5.4 Annual earnings of Oliver Stones, William Eccleston and James Cocket, 1586-1598 (d/year)



Sources: Wage data of three labourers are collected from LA DDKS 18/2-3; Day wage rates, see Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review*, 60.1 (2007), Table A2; Estimated annual cash wages in the 1580s and 1590s, see Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages? Real income and economic growth in England, 1260-1850', *the Economic Journal*, 129 (2019), Table A2; Annual cost of feeding a single man at Hull and Lincoln in 1590s see Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450-1750* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 282.

⁵⁸ LA DDKS 18/2-3.

James Cocket was another labourer who lived at Much Hoole. He served as a shepherd and was paid 15s 3d per year from 1588 to 1598 for looking after lambs during winter, making or repairing hedges, and making hay during this period. When concentrating on his daily wages, he worked 87 days and received £2 1s 10d from 1586 to 1598. After adding his annual wages and task wages, his average annual income was £1 3s 6d during the same period. Although Cocket's wife worked at 'dighting corn' in 1590 and winnowing oats, barley and beans from 1593 to 1598, their annual earnings were always less than £2 per year.

The example of Oliver Stones was much more complicated. He was a slater who came from Sharples, a township close to Smithills. He started working for the Shuttleworths in November 1583. During his employment, he received 2s 3d per quarter from 1592 to 1598, when his main tasks were to repair houses at Smithills and Lostock with slate.⁵⁹ Although his occupational title was slater in the accounts, he did some agricultural tasks over time. For example, he was paid 18d per acre when 'tenting' and getting hay in 1597 and 1598. Oliver was paid with and without food and drink during his employment. He received £1 1s 11d when doing day-wage tasks in the 1580s and 1590s. As he did not appear in the accounts between 1590 and 1591, focusing on the period of 1592-98, combining his daily wages with the sum of task wages as well as his annual wages for slating, his average annual income was only 13s 7d.

Unlike the former five workers who received annual wages for collecting tithe corn, the fixed annual wage salaries earned by William Eccleston, James Cocket and Oliver Stones functioned more likely a guarantee to ensure that they could fulfil their tasks when needed. As shown in figure 5.4, combined with their daily and task wage rates, their annual earnings were always less than that estimated by multiplying daily wage rates with 250 working days, and the annual cost of feeding a single man at Hull and Lincoln in the 1590s.⁶⁰ While the annual incomes received by James Cocket fluctuated and were sometimes higher than the estimated annual cash wages, 256d in the 1580s and 298d in the 1590s, William Eccleston's annual earnings were not enough to reach the level of cash wages in the 1590s.⁶¹ They must have worked in other tasks, or had access to land to fulfil

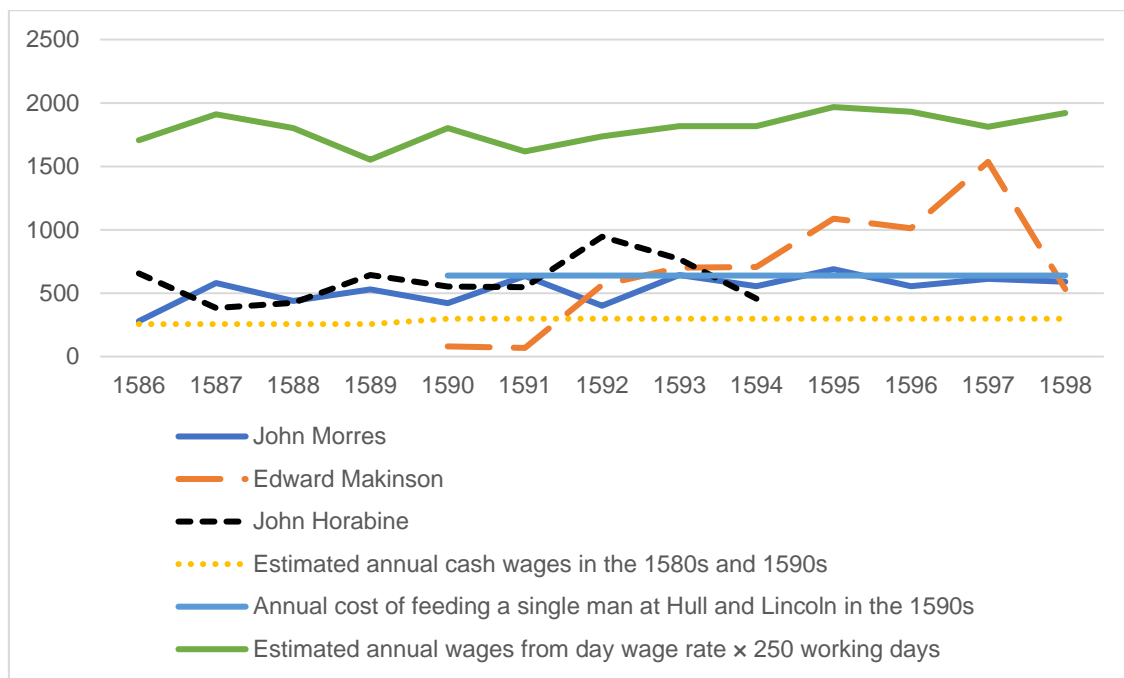
⁵⁹ The accounts lacked one-quarter wage paid to Oliver Stones between March 1593 and September 1593.

⁶⁰ Day wage data are collected from Clark, 'The Long March of History', Table A2; Annual cost of feeding a single man at Hull and Lincoln in 1590s sees, Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 282.

⁶¹ Annual cash wages in 1580s and 1590s see, Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', Table A2.

their basic needs. Since Oliver Stones was catered when he did both daily and annual tasks, it could help him alleviate the pressure and save some money. However, he must have worked more days to support his family. In fact, Oliver Stones' children worked for the Shuttleworths as well. They were normally paid 1d per day and did diverse tasks, such as 'getting in turves and mosse', 'driving out and filling the dung' and 'scappeling of slate at Heaton'. However, these children's earnings were only 3s 7d in total.

Figure 5.5 Annual earnings of John Morres, Edward Makinson and John Horabine, 1586-98 (d/year)



Sources: As in figure 5.4.

When casual labourers worked in a flexible pattern, some of them who had no fixed annual incomes maintained a long-term relationship with the Shuttleworths, making it possible to track their annual incomes over time. Figure 5.5 presents annual incomes of three casual labourers who worked at least nine years for the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth century. John Morres was a labourer who lived at Lostock, and he mainly worked on local farmland owned by Shuttleworths from September 1582 to April 1599. Among eighty-eight entries about his wage earnings between 1586 and 1598, only thirteen entries were about his daily wage data, and he was only 'tabled' when getting turves and working at hay at Smithills. When concentrating on his daily wages, John Morres worked 59.5 days and received 19s in total between 1586 and 1598. However, when taking task wages into calculation, his annual income fluctuated over time. Compared with 638.8d,

the cost of feeding a single man at Hull and Lincoln between 1590 and 1599, he could only support himself with basic necessities in 1593 and 1595, when his annual income was 642.5d and 689d respectively.⁶²

Edward Makinson and John Horabine were another two labourers who lived at Lostock as well. They appeared frequently in the accounts and sometimes did tasks such as threshing, mowing and ditching together during their employment. The comparisons between their annual earnings and the basic cost of diet for feeding a single man per year in the 1590s, 638.8d, show that, while John Horabine only had a surplus in 1592 and 1593, Edward Makinson could save more money from 1593 to 1597. Although their actual annual earnings (the long dash line and square dot line) were higher than the estimated annual cash wages calculated by Humphries and Weisdorf (the round dot) in most years of the late sixteenth century, neither of them earned enough money to reach the same level as the estimated annual wages by multiplying day wage rates with 250 days (the top solid line).

Regarding male casual labourers hired in the early seventeenth century, among five labourers who appeared every year in 1600-02 and 1605, four of them were paid both by days and tasks. John Cockshot was the only one who received daily wage rates during these four years. Table 5.6 lists the proportions of daily wages and task wages earned by these four labourers in 1600-02 and 1605.

Table 5.6 Proportions of wage income earned by four labourers, 1600-02 and 1605

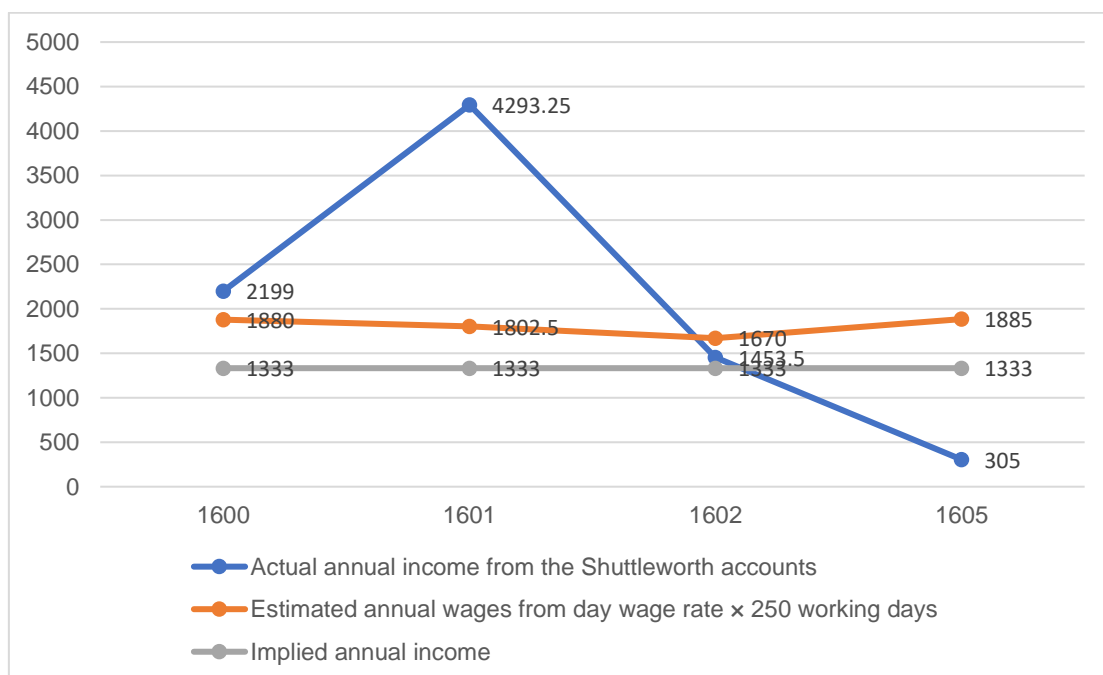
	Sum of daily wages (pence)	Sum of task wages (pence)	Sum of wages (pence)
Thomas Willasill	714(9%)	7536.75	8250.75
James Wilson	631(84%)	118	749
Hugh Cockshot	1012(81%)	244	1256
Roger Cockshot(young)	601.75(59%)	423	1024.75

Note: To separate from the salaries earned by Roger Cockshot the senior, the data on Roger Cockshot contain the part earned by Roger Cockshot young.
Source: LA DDKS 18/4-7.

⁶² Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 282.

Whether they were provided food and drink or not, the table shows that the proportions of daily wages ranged widely from one to another. While the proportions of daily wages earned by James Wilson and Hugh Cockshot exceeded 80 per cent, that earned by Roger Cockshot accounted for 59 per cent of his whole income, and the proportion of daily wages earned by Thomas Willasill only accounted for 9 per cent. Thomas Willasill appeared frequently in the accounts. He was a labourer who came from Scole Bank and mainly worked at getting stone at Scole Bank and Riccliffe. Among 106 entries about his wages, only 25 were daily wage rates: Thomas Willasill received 6d or 7d per day without food and drink. The records in the accounts and the comparisons of wage data make it reasonable to argue that Thomas Willasill was not provided food and drink when he was paid with task wages. And thus, a simple comparison, as shown in figure 5.6, can be made between the actual annual incomes which could be earned by Thomas Willasill and the estimated annual incomes of labourers used by other scholars.

Figure 5.6 Annual earnings of Thomas Willasill, 1600-02 and 1605 (d/year)



Notes: Three entries about Thomas Willasill's daily wage rates which contained food and drink were converted into the rates without food and drink based on the assumption that the daily cost of diet was 3d per day. One payment to Thomas Willasill was missing in 1605.

Sources: LA DDKS 18/3-5, 7-8; implied annual income sees, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Unreal Wages? Real Income and Economic Growth in England, 1260-1850', *The Economic Journal*, 129 (2019), Table A2; Day Wage Rates see, Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review*, 60.1 (2007), Table A2.

Although the data on Thomas Willasill's annual earnings were partly missing in 1605, leading to a particular low sum of incomes in that year, his actual annual earnings were quite different from current estimations on annual incomes earned by male labourers in early modern England. When Thomas Willasill's annual income reached the peak in 1601, 4293.25d, it is over twice than that estimated annual income based on multiplying day wage rates with 250 working days per year, and over three times than the estimated annual income from annual work as well.⁶³ Only in 1602 did Thomas earned a similar level of annual incomes as current estimations.

Regarding daily wages, the evidence shows that male casual labourers did not work long for the Shuttleworths, regardless of whether they were provided food and drink or not. When focusing on the sum of working days between 1586 and 1598, Christopher Walker and Nicholas Yate were the only two labourers who worked over 200 days during these thirteen years: Christopher Walker worked 203 days for the Shuttleworths at Smithills between 1590 and 1596; Nicholas Yate, a ploughboy, worked 287.5 days between 1593 and 1595.⁶⁴ In the early seventeenth century, James Fouldes and John Cockshot, two labourers who did both building and agricultural tasks, worked the sum of 694 and 670.5 days in 1600-02 and 1605.

Limited working days per year can be further supported by the high turnover rates of casual labourers hired by the Shuttleworths during these two periods. Based on their frequency of appearances, among 72 male labourers who were paid solely by days between 1586 and 1598, 55 of them appeared only in one year, accounting for 76.4 per cent; among 61 male day-labourers in 1600-02, and 1605, 45 of them appeared only in one year, accounting for 73.8 per cent. Although the missing volume and exclusion of building labourers would influence the result, the high turnover rates during the late sixteenth century indicate that these rural labourers had to seek other available employment opportunities, or live on their own farmland; otherwise, they would fall under the poverty line and faced miserable lives in rural Lancashire.

⁶³ Annual wage data see, Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal Wages?', Table A2; Day Wage Rates see, Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History', Table A2.

⁶⁴ The working days are calculated by assuming that the weekly working days were six. In addition, Nicholas Yate was employed for two quarters between November 1593 and May 1594. Here we assume the length of quarterly employment was 78 working days.

In addition, the sum of wages earned by day labourers was less as well. There were only three male labourers, Christopher Walker, David Marche and Nicholas Yate, whose wages exceeded a total of £1 when working as casual labourers between 1586 and 1598. Christopher Walker and Nicholas Yate were paid daily wages with food and drink, and earned £1 5s 9d (309d) and £1 9d (249d), respectively. David Marche was a thatcher who did diverse tasks when he worked for the Shuttleworths from 1589 to 1592. Among 11 entries on his salaries, only one entry was recorded with detailed information showing that he was 'tabled' when ditching four days at Hoole in 1591. His daily wage rates for thatching ranged from 4.5d to 7d per day, leading to the assumption that he was paid both with and without food and drink during his employment. However, he only worked 55.5 days in these four years and received £1 5s 3d (303d) in total.

One-third of male day labourers hired in 1600-02 and 1605 were paid for doing both agricultural and building tasks, and their highest wage salaries were much higher than that received by day labourers who were hired between 1586 and 1598. Among five labourers whose total wages exceeded £2, James Fouldes who worked the most, 694 days, received the highest wage salaries, £7 8s 6d (1782d). Christopher Cockshot was the only one who received over £2 but was paid with and without food and drink. The sum of his wage salaries was £2 12s 11d for working 156.5 days for the Shuttleworths.

When working for the Shuttleworths, wage incomes earned by these casual labourers show a complicated picture. For male labourers who were paid solely or partly by tasks, their actual wage incomes were either not enough to cover their basic needs or fluctuated more than current wage series indicate. Combined with the high turnover rates among daily labourers, it is reasonable to assume that most casual labourers either had other employers or were not dependent on wage money for a living. In addition, it does not suggest a high-pressure labour market where workers were desperate for employment, but rather an economy where waged work was a supplement to other activities. This is reinforced by the following analysis of probate inventories. How people made a living during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was much more complicated than the picture presented by real wage series. The fluctuation of living standards and life-cycle working experiences are unavoidably hidden behind the wage series built on daily or yearly wage data. The provision of food and drink further

complicate these comparisons as some labourers were paid with or without diet during their employment.

If 'irregularity' was one feature of the casual labourers who worked a short period for the Shuttleworths, the wage workers hired for building Gawthorpe Hall are more likely to be regarded as 'full-time' workers. Thus, the following part turns to discuss these building workers hired in the early seventeenth century.

5.2.3 Annual wages of building workers

When analysing the wage salaries of building workers, instead of selecting daily wage data of summer months and excluding task wage data as other scholars do, this section concentrates on the whole wage incomes earned by building workers in the early seventeenth century.⁶⁵ As discussed in table 4.2, 173 building workers were hired in 1600-02 and 1605. Since pavers, plumbers, slaters and smiths only accounted for a small proportion and worked for short periods, they are not included here. The comparison concentrates on 89 building craftsmen, including masons/wallers, wrights, joiners and plasterers. As some of their apprentices or journeymen were paid together with their masters, these apprentices or journeymen are included even when some of them were unnamed. In addition, after excluding unnamed building labourers, 69 of 73 building workers are selected to make further comparisons. In all, the following discussion focuses on 158 building workers hired in 1600-02 and 1605.

Before calculating their annual incomes, it is important to distinguish diverse wage rates recorded in the accounts. Among 89 building craftsmen who worked for the Shuttleworths during these four years, 19 were paid partly or wholly by tasks: 18 masons/wallers and 1 wright. This is further complicated by the fact that some payments did not include food and drink. To have a better understanding on their annual wage incomes, those masons/wallers paid with diverse incomes are separated from other craftsmen who were paid solely with daily wage rates. Table 5.7 lists the calculated average annual income of 70 building craftsmen who were paid exclusively with daily wage rates, and were provided food and drink by their employers during the same period.

⁶⁵ See for example, Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 169; Boulton, 'Wage labour in seventeenth-century London', 272.

Table 5.7 Average annual income of building craftsmen, 1600-2, 1605

Avg. annual wage income (£/year)	No. of masons and wallers	No. of wrights	No. of joiners and plasterers	No. of building craftsmen
Over £4	1(3.5%)			1(1.4%)
£3-£4	1(3.5%)	5(18.5%)	3(20%)	9(12.9%)
£2-£3		3(11.1%)		3(4.3%)
Less than £2	26(93%)	19(70.4%)	12(80%)	57(81.4%)
	28	27	15	70

Note: servants and 'men' of master craftsmen are included.

Source: LA DDKS 18/4-7.

Among these seventy building craftsmen, Anthony Whythead was the only one whose average annual income exceeded £4 per year. As a leading mason, his average annual income was £6 per year, which was higher than that received by leading wright, Henry Mylner, at £3 16s 3d per year, and the leading joiner/plasterer, Francis Gunby, at £3 1s 6d per year. William Bankes, a man of John Chivell, was the only apprentice or journeyman mason/waller whose average annual income exceeded £3 per year. In addition to these relatively high wage incomes, 57 building craftsmen, including servants and 'men' of master craftsmen, who were paid solely with daily wage rates and were provided food and drink received on average less than £2 per year in the early seventeenth centuries, accounting for 81.4 per cent of this type of craftsmen.

The rest of the eighteen masons/wallers who were paid with mixed wage rates were more complicated. In addition to daily wage rates with or without food and drink, there were two types of tasks wage rates: wages paid for a large amount of tasks and wages paid for piece tasks. The latter are tasks that can be finished by oneself, and the accounts show that craftsmen were normally not provided food and drink by the Shuttleworths when they did these piece tasks. However, it is unclear how the former type of task was finished. For example, William Whythead and John Whythead were paid £35 14s 10d together on 17 October 1605 for walling parts of the stable's walls at Gawthorpe.⁶⁶ It is possible that they

⁶⁶ LA DDKS 18/7 p. 45.

employed another group of building workers to finish the task. Tables 5.8 and 5.9 present masons/wallers who were paid more than one type of wage rate.

The first table presents fourteen masons/wallers who received both daily wage rates with food and drink, and task wages. Three out of fourteen craftsmen were paid solely by tasks: Hugh Jonnes, and Gilbert Stubbes and his son. Hugh Jonnes was paid for 'hewing window stuff' between 1600 and 1601, and his average annual income from the Shuttleworths was £4 16s 3d per year. Gilbert and his son worked at 'dighting wall stone' and received less than £2 per year. The adjustments of the data show a redistribution of annual wage income earned by masons/wallers. When focusing on the average annual wage income calculated from daily wages of masons/wallers, the wage distribution shows that 81 per cent of them earned less than £3 per year. When taking task wages into calculation, the proportion of masons/wallers whose average annual income was less than £3 per year declined to 51 per cent.

Table 5.8 Average annual income of masons/wallers paid by the day and task, 1600-02, 1605

Avg. annual wage income (£/year)	No. of masons/wallers paid by days (with food and drink)	No. of masons/wallers paid by days and/or Tasks
Over £4	1(9%)	6(43%)
£3-£4	1(9%)	1(7%)
£2-£3	4(36%)	4(29%)
Less than £2	5(45%)	3(21%)
	11	14

Source: LA DDKS 18/4-7.

Table 5.9 Sum of wage income earned by masons/wallers, 1600-02, 1605

	Sum of wage income based on daily wage rates with food and drink	Sum of wage income based on daily wage rates without food and drink	Sum of task wages	Sum of wage income
Michael Hindley	£2 9s 6d (60.3%)	9s 4d (11.4%)	£1 3s 3d (28.3%)	£4 2s 1d
John Cockshot	£5 2s 5d (48.3%)	19s 8d (9.3%)	£4 9s 10d (42.4%)	£10 11s 11d
William Whythead	£8 3s 1d (28%)	2s 3d (0.4%)	£20 17s 8.5d* (71.6%)	£29 3s 0.5d
Luke Whythead	£1 10s 6d (14%)	£7 11s 4d (69.2%)	£1 16s 7.5d (16.8%)	£10 18s 5.5d

Note: (*) This figure may contain the payment for a group of workers.

Source: LA DDKS 18/4-7.

Further comparisons can be made among the other four masons/wallers who received three types of wage rates. Table 5.9 compares the sum of wage incomes earned by Michael Hindley, John Cockshot, William Whythead and Luke Whythead. William Whythead was the only one whose task wages accounted for over 50 per cent of earnings, although this figure may contain the payment for hiring another group of workers. John Cockshot was another craftsman whose task wages accounted for a high proportion, 42.4 per cent, while the proportions of task wages earned by Michael Hindley and Luke Whythead were less than one third of their sum wages. The diverse wage rates make it hard to evaluate the purchasing power of their sum wages. Combined with their limited working days per year and the possible group workers 'hidden' behind task wages, it is reasonable to assume that their actual wage income would range more widely than current single wage series indicate.

Similarly, some building labourers hired by the Shuttleworths in the early 1600s were paid by days and tasks as well, either with or without food and drink. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 4, some building labourers participated in agricultural tasks during their employment. Thus, this part takes all types of labour into calculation.

Among 69 named male building labourers who were hired by the Shuttleworths in 1600-02 and 1605, 51 labourers were paid solely by daily wage rates. Thomas Hee was the only labourer whose daily wage rates did not contain food and drink. He worked at getting stone at Scole Bank for 42.5 days in 1600 and earned the sum of £1 1s 3d. Christopher Cockshot and John Hartley were two labourers who were paid with and without food and drink during their employments. Christopher Cockshot worked 156.5 days and earned £2 12s 11d in these four years, while John Hartley worked 125 days between 1600 and 1601, and earned the sum of £1 8s 9.5d. Since both of their daily wage rates indicate that the daily cost of diet was 3.5d per day, if we assume they were always fed with this standard, the sum of their implied annual wages could be calculated accordingly. Christopher Cockshot and John Hartley could earn the sum of £3 18s 10.5d and £3 2s 4d respectively, after adding the daily costs on diet.

Due to their short working periods, unsurprisingly, the average *annual wage* income earned by Thomas Hee, Christopher Cockshot and John Hartley from the Shuttleworths were less than both the implied nominal income of annual work earned by male labourers in the 1600s, £5 11s 1d (1333d), and the annual cost of feeding a single man at Hull and Lincoln in 1600s, £2 9s 3.3d (591.3d).⁶⁷ Although it is unknown what John Hartley did for a living after he finished the work for the Shuttleworths in 1601, his wife was paid 2d per day for shearing hay during the harvest seasons from 1601 to 1605.

As forty-eight daily building labourers were provided food and drink during their employment, it is possible to analyse them systematically. Table 5.10 presents the distribution of average annual wage incomes earned by these building labourers who worked for the Shuttleworths in 1600-02 and 1605. These average annual incomes earned by building labourers were less than that earned by building craftsmen. James Fouldes, Robert Smith, Michael Thorpe and Richard

⁶⁷ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Unreal wages?', Table A2.

Haworth were the only four labourers whose average annual incomes exceeded £1 10s per year. Fouldes and Smith did both building and non-building tasks, and their average annual incomes were £1 17s 1.5d and £1 10s 2d, respectively. Thorpe and Haworth were two carters hired to transport stones in the early 1600s. Although their calculated average annual incomes were less than £2, when they were paid quarterly, both of them received £2 per year. Forty-one building labourers earned on average less than £1 per year, accounting for 85.4 per cent of labourers who were paid solely by days and were fed by the Shuttleworths.

Table 5.10 Average annual income of building labourers with food and drink provided, 1600-02, 1605 (£/year)

Avg. annual income (£/year)	No. of building labourers paid solely by day wage rates with food and drink provided
Over £1.5	4 (8.3%)
£1 - £1.5	3 (6.3%)
£0.5 - £1	11 (22.9%)
Less than £0.5	30 (62.5%)
	48

Source: LA DDKS 18/4-7.

Among eighteen building labourers who were paid partly or wholly by task wages, six of them were paid solely by tasks, although it is unclear whether they were fed or not. The highest annual wage earnings, £3 9s 8d, were paid to William Houghton, who came from Padiham and worked at getting stone in 1600.⁶⁸ Regarding the rest twelve labourers, James Roe, a building labourer who normally worked together with Thomas Willasill, earned the highest average annual incomes in these four years, £9 11s 6d, despite the fact that this figure contained daily wage rates with and without food and drink, as well as task wages. If we select his daily wage data, his average annual income during the same period was only £1 9s 4.5d. In fact, such gaps between actual annual wage incomes and the sum of daily wages existed among every labourer who was paid with mixed wage rates. When the assumed daily wage rates are multiplied by the

⁶⁸ Since one entry on William Houghton's wage was missing, this was the minimum wage salary, which Houghton could earn in 1600.

assumed working days, what we get is an artificial annual income. Evidence in the Shuttleworth accounts shows that most wage workers were unlikely to earn that amount of money.

In summary, among 158 named building workers hired by the Shuttleworths in 1600-02 and 1605, 105 of whom earned on average less than £2 per year when they were provided food and drink during their employment, accounting for 66.5 per cent. Although it is unclear how those building workers arranged their accommodation, they might have lived at Gawthorpe Hall when building it in the early seventeenth century. Considering the fact that they were provided at least one meal during their employment, it is reasonable to assume that they could save most of their earnings, which is similar to the casual labourers who were hired by the Shuttleworths and were provided diet. Regarding those building workers who were paid wholly or partly with task wages, their actual incomes ranged more widely due to the unknown distribution of wage tasks.

The empirical evidence found in the Shuttleworth accounts show the complicated working lives of wage workers in rural Lancashire during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The cost of diet provided by the Shuttleworths composed an important part of their wage salaries, although the main purpose might have been improving work efficiency, the influences of which were different over time. On the one hand, the provision of food and drink helped to reduce the cost of living for labourers, especially during hard times in the late sixteenth century; on the other, the relatively low daily wage rates might be a reason why labourers like John Hartley only worked a short period while building Gawthorpe Hall in the early seventeenth century. Both building workers and casual labourers worked fewer days per year than current estimations, and labourers did diverse tasks during their employment. However, most agricultural tasks were undertaken by farm servants during the late sixteenth century, leaving fewer opportunities for other casual labourers. The consideration of task wages shows that current estimations present a distorted picture of wage workers' working lives. What happened in rural Lancashire during the early modern period could not be represented by the real wage series. So far, the first two parts of this chapter have explored what wage workers could get from the labour market. The final part turns to explore the household economy of wage workers by using evidence from probate inventories.

5.3 Levels of wealth

As an important source that listed goods owned by people, probate inventories have been used widely to study household production and consumption in early modern England.⁶⁹ Regarding labouring people, being identified as the 'meaner sort' does not mean that they were not consumers.⁷⁰ Since the analysis of 'farm labourers' made by Alan Everitt, studies of the probate inventories of agricultural labourers have long been included in a larger sample of inventories, which mainly aimed at studying consumption. Lorna Weatherill, for example, used 28 labourers' inventories out of 2,902 inventories in her study on consumer behaviour.⁷¹ The sample of inventories collected from Kent and Cornwall, and examined by Mark Overton *et al.* totalled 8,098, but labourers' inventories accounted for less than two per cent.⁷² In the latest research on the Consumer Revolution, Sear and Sneath include 353 labourers' inventories, which accounted for five per cent of whole samples (7,440) dating from 1551 to 1800.⁷³ Focusing on agricultural labourers alone, Craig Muldrew uses the largest sample, 972 inventories, which were collected from six counties to analyse their household goods over time.⁷⁴

As discussed earlier in this chapter, it is important to know the extent these labourers' inventories are representative of all labourers who lived in early modern England. Matching inventories with taxation records is a good way to

⁶⁹ See for example, Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer*; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*; Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (Routledge, 2004). The latest research, see Joanne Sear and Ken Sneath, *The Origins of the Consumer Revolution in England: from Brass Pots to Clocks* (Routledge, 2020); Joseph Harley, 'Domestic production and consumption in English pauper households, 1670-1840', *Agricultural History Review*, 69.1 (2021), 25-49.

⁷⁰ The discussion on 'better sort' and 'meaner sort' sees, Keith Wrightson, 'Sorts of people in Tudor and Stuart England', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550-1800* ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (Macmillan, 1994), pp. 28-51; Craig Muldrew, 'Class and Credit: Social Identity, Wealth and the Life Course in Early Modern England' in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, ed. by Henry French and Jonathan Barry (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 149; Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 49.

⁷¹ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*, p. 168.

⁷² Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, pp. 22, 179-80.

⁷³ Sear and Sneath, *The Origins of the Consumer Revolution in England*, p. 258. Among these 7440 samples of inventories, 7183 were collected from sixteen counties, which covered the whole period. A further 257 inventories for Kent were recorded between 1750 and 1800. Detailed introduction on inventory sample, see Sear and Sneath, *The Origins of the Consumer Revolution in England*, pp. 47-56.

⁷⁴ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, pp. 163-207. In his recent research, Muldrew supplements the findings about these labourers with a smaller sample of wills from Cambridgeshire to explore the reasons why labourers have been probated. Craig Muldrew, 'Little to leave: Labourers' Goods and the Probate Process in Early Modern England' in *Negotiations of Gender and Property through Legal Regimes (14th-19th Century): Stipulating, Litigating, Mediating*, ed. by Margareth Lanzinger, Janine Maegraith, Siglinde Clementi, Ellinor Forster and Christian Hagen (Leiden, 2021), pp. 311-344. Other studies about labourers' inventories, see for example Leigh Shaw-Taylor, 'The Nature and Scale of the Cottage Economy', <https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/occupations/outputs/preliminary/paper15.pdf>.

discuss the relationship between those who left inventories and the total population. Muldrew uses Hearth Tax to measure representativeness.⁷⁵ The hearth tax was established in the 1660s and was designed to charge wealthier people based on the number of hearths in their households. However, we do not have tax records to examine the representativeness of probate inventories in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Lancashire.

Instead of relying solely on occupations, particularly 'labourers', as recorded in probate inventories, this section connects wage workers recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts with their inventories, discussing these wage workers' material wealth. These inventories are examined in the context of a general view of 380 inventories collected from Blackburn Hundred, Leyland Hundred and Salford Hundred in Lancashire, dating from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The analysis focuses on two aspects: the background of local household production and consumption, and the 34 employees of the Shuttleworths who left inventories, exploring their wealth and living conditions.⁷⁶ The findings show that, in an area where pastoral farming was the main type of agriculture, although wage rates could indicate the purchasing power of an individual during a specific period of their life cycle, they had no clear relationship with living standards.

5.3.1 Overview of the inventory sample

As discussed in Chapter 1, the farmland owned by the Shuttleworths were located in various places in Salford Hundred, Leyland Hundred and Blackburn Hundred, Lancashire, between 1582 and 1621. To have a better understanding of the social backgrounds of the wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths during this period, 380 inventories were collected from these three Hundreds.⁷⁷ Tables 5.11 and 5.12 show the distribution of the inventories analysed, and the occupations and status of the testators. Only 5 per cent of the inventories date from 1600 or earlier, because very few survive for this period, while those from between 1601 and 1620 accounted for 95 per cent. Regarding the occupations and status of

⁷⁵ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, pp. 187-92.

⁷⁶ As John Longworth's inventory was recorded in 1623/4, his inventory is only discussed in the part about wage workers.

⁷⁷ These inventories are identified from J. P. Earwaker (ed.), *An Index to the Wills and Inventories now preserved in The Court of Probate, at Chester from A. D. 1545 to 1620* (the Record Society, 1879). In addition, years of inventories have been adjusted according to the dates when the inventories were recorded.

testators, 51 per cent of inventories did not provide this information, including those of 10 women and 185 men.

Table 5.11 Regional distribution of inventories, 1580-1620

Hundred	1581-90	1591-1600	1601-10	1611-20	Sum
Blackburn	1	5	37	66	109
Leyland	0	2	31	42	75
Salford	1	10	68	117	196
Sum	2(0.5%)	17(4.5%)	136(36%)	225(59%)	380

Source: LA.

Table 5.12 Occupations and status of testators, 1580-1620

Occupations/Status	No.	Occupations/Status	No.
Bachelor	1	Linen weaver	1
Blacksmith	1	Linen webster	2
Butcher	2	Linnenman	1
Carpenter	2	Mercer	1
Clerk	3	Miller	1
Clothier	1	Rough waller	1
Dyer	1	Tailor	1
Esquire	7	Tanner	1
Freemason	1	Turner	1
Fuller	1	Wheelwright	1
Gentleman	16	Whittawer	1
Glazier	1	Wright	1
Husbandman	63	Yeoman	42
Innkeeper	2	Women	25
Labourer	4	Untitled	194
		Sum	380

Source: LA.

To identify the inventories left by wage workers who were employed by the Shuttleworths, several comparisons are made here. First, the names of workers recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts were compared with the printed index of wills and inventories.⁷⁸ In addition, the years of employment, dates of inventories and locations recorded in inventories are taken into consideration to make a further classification. For example, Thomas Sharples, a labourer who worked at Hoole 'upon his own table' in 1591, was unlikely to be the same person who left

⁷⁸ LA DDKS 18/1-7, 9. Two printed indexes of wills and inventories, see J. P. Earwaker (ed.), *An Index to the Wills and Inventories*; J. P. Earwaker (ed.), *An Index to the Wills and Inventories now preserved in The Court of Probate, at Chester from A. D. 1621 to 1650* (the Record Society, 1881).

inventory at Blackburn in 1623, as the distance between these two places is over 15 miles. Sometimes, the Shuttleworth accounts recorded the places where labourers came from, which can be used to support identification. John Prescott, for example, a labourer who came from Ecclestone, and worked at diverse tasks for the Shuttleworths between 1591 and 1594, such as 'leading hay and corn', threshing and thatching, was assumed to be the same person who left inventory at Heskin, Ecclestone, in 1616. In all, the inventories of 34 wage workers, including servants, agricultural labourers and building workers, are identified and are assumed to relate to individuals with the same names hired by the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Tables 5.13 and 5.14 present the regional distribution, and the occupations and status of their inventories. Detailed analysis of these wage workers is made in the final part of this section. Before that, it is necessary to discuss household production, consumption and the value of the inventories in the larger sample.

Table 5.13 Regional distribution of inventories left by the Shuttleworth employees

Hundred	1591-1600	1601-10	1611-20	1621-30	Sum
Blackburn	1	3	6		10
Leyland	1	4	4		9
Salford	2	5	7	1	15
Sum	4	12	17	1	34

Source: LA.

Table 5.14 Inventoried occupations and status of the Shuttleworth employees

Occupations/Status	No. of inventories
Yeoman	6
Husbandman	13
Carpenter	1
Freemason	1
Labourer	1
Waller	1
Untitled	11
Sum	34

Source: LA.

5.3.2 Household production

In early modern England, most production activities were conducted in the household. Occupations or status recorded by appraisers in probate inventories support the identification of household production activities, while the main information related to household production activities can be identified according to the goods recorded in the inventories, such as production equipment, crops and livestock. However, this kind of identification is influenced by several factors. Firstly, it is not uncommon to find inventories that were broken or damaged, making it impossible to read the detailed description of certain items. Secondly, not every single item was recorded clearly, even in complete inventories. Some small or cheap items were not always recorded. In addition, sometimes, people used equipment they did not own, but had rented or borrowed from someone else. Also, some specific items which were not recorded in inventories cannot be used to indicate that certain tasks were not undertaken in the household. For example, some inventories that did not record spinning wheels, but wool and yarn can be used to indicate spinning. It is also important to note that the goods in inventories relate to the work activities undertaken by all household members, including wives, children and servants, as well as the heads of households. This part adopts the production categories used by Overton *et al.* to analyse 342

inventories, to illuminate the potential production activities, including livestock, crops and textile activities, in Lancashire during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁷⁹

Table 5.15 presents the percentage of inventories that recorded livestock between 1580 and 1620. Cattle were the most commonly owned types of livestock, found in 83.9 per cent of inventories. Robert Walmsley, a gentleman who left inventory in June 1612, owned the highest number of cattle, 170.⁸⁰ In fact, cattle maintained the dominant role in all three Hundreds, but ownership was highest in Blackburn Hundred where the proportion of cattle exceeded 90 per cent.

Horses were the second most frequent type of livestock owned, at 75.1 per cent. The maximum number of horses owned was 19, recorded in the 1617 inventory of Rowland Mosley, an esquire at Hough in Salford Hundred.⁸¹ As the inventories also recorded horse furniture, it is reasonable to assume that horses were used for riding and transport. The Shuttleworth accounts show that horses were also used for ploughing. James Morres, for example, was paid 10d for 'driving the horse plough five days after two pence the day at Smithills' on 6 April 1595.⁸²

The proportion of inventories recording pigs and poultry, such as geese, hens and ducks, was over half of the whole sample as well. Bacon was one type of meat that appeared frequently in the inventories, and some inventories recorded swine grease or lard. Regional comparisons show that the inventories from Leyland Hundred had higher proportions of pigs and poultry than those of Blackburn and Salford.

The proportion of inventories recording sheep was less than that of other types of clearly specified livestock. The number of sheep owned varied dramatically, ranging from one to one hundred eighty. Edward Rothwell owned the largest number of sheep, 180, which were valued at £41 16s, although he had no occupation in his inventory left at Walmersley, Bury, in January 1619/20.⁸³ In

⁷⁹ Detailed introduction on their production categories, see Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, Appendix 2, pp. 181-4. The sum includes John Longworth, a husbandman who left inventory in February 1623/24.

⁸⁰ WCW/Supra/C54C/16.

⁸¹ WCW/Supra/C67D/32.

⁸² LA DDKS 18/3 p. 14.

⁸³ WCW/Supra/C74A/25.

addition, it was not unusual to find terms such as ‘beast’, ‘pullen’ and ‘cattell’ used in the inventories, which normally represent a mixed group of livestock.

Table 5.15 The percentage of inventories recording livestock, 1580-1620

	Blackburn	Leyland	Salford	Sum
Beast	7.2	5.7	13.8	10.3
Sheep	44.3	54.3	36.8	42.5
Cattle	92.8	87.1	77.6	83.9
Horse	78.4	84.3	69.5	75.1
Pig	50.5	75.7	55.8	58.4
Poultry*	54.6	81.4	44.8	55.1
No. of inventories	97	70	174	341

Note: * poultry contain goose, duck, hens, chicken and cock.

The importance of pastoral farming in Lancashire can be further supported by other findings from inventories. In the Shuttleworth accounts, agricultural labourers were normally hired to make hay during harvest season. As a type of fodder, hay was used to feed cattle, sheep or horses. The proportion of inventories recording hay was 65.7 per cent. In addition, dairy houses and equipment such as churns, cheese-vats and cheese presses were recorded in inventories, indicating that some testators and their families made cheese and butter themselves, although the proportion was only 16.7 per cent.

Before the wide use of sugar, honey was the main sweetener that appeared in inventories. Among 341 inventories, 3 recorded honey, and 30 recorded either bees or hives. Richard Pownall was the only one whose inventory listed sugar: the value of 8.5 pounds ‘sugar with comfetts and a boxe’ was 11s.⁸⁴ In addition, his inventory contained one firkin of honey, which valued 26s 8d. Another example is John Whitehead, a labourer of Little Marsden, Whalley. He appeared to specialise in keeping bees, as his inventory recorded ‘14 hives of bees with

⁸⁴ WCW/Supra/C38/27.

three quarters of honey', which valued £7 4s in 1618. His will showed that his hives were situated at others' houses and were normally shared with others.⁸⁵

Regarding the ownership of cattle, a comparison can be made between the inventories of the Shuttleworth employees and the wider inventory sample. As not every inventory listed the number and value of each type of cattle, some inventories are excluded. For example, in the inventory of Nicholas Richardson, a husbandman of Coppull, Standish, the value of cattle was recorded together with 'pullen', geese and a hog, which was £24 19s 4d.⁸⁶ Without further information on cattle, his inventory is excluded. Table 5.16 compares the median and mean numbers of cattle owned by five groups. As only one labourer's inventory in the wider sample listed the number of cattle, it is difficult to know how representative it is. It is notable that both the median and mean numbers of cattle owned by Shuttleworth employees were 7.3 and 8.4. This was less than the numbers owned by yeomen, but higher than that owned by both husbandmen and building workers. The maximum number of cattle owned by a wage worker hired by the Shuttleworths was 21, which was recorded in John Hartley's inventory in March 1616/17. John Hartley was a husbandman of Huncoat, Whalley. In addition to cattle, his inventory recorded 32 sheep, 1 horse, 1 pig and poultry.⁸⁷

Table 5.16 The number of cattle owned by different groups, 1580-1620

No. of cattle	Yeomen	Husbandmen	Building workers ^a	Labourers	Shuttleworth employees ^b
Median	12	6	7	9	7.3
Mean	12.9	7.2	6.2	9	8.4
No. of inventories	33	40	5	1	26

Notes: (a) The building worker category includes carpenter, rough mason, waller and wright; (b) the number of wage workers includes John Longworth who left inventory in 1623/24.

⁸⁵ WCW/Supra/C71C/7.

⁸⁶ WCW/Supra/C34/36.

⁸⁷ WCW/Supra/C67B/12.

Table 5.17 The percentage of inventories recording arable crops

(a) Percentage of inventories recording arable crops in Blackburn, Leyland and Salford

	Blackburn	Leyland	Salford	Sum
Wheat	18.6	21.4	9.2	14.4
Barley	45.4	57.1	32.8	41.4
Oats	37.1	55.7	23.6	34
Rye	3.1	1.4	3.5	2.9
Peas	4.1	8.6	4.0	5
Beans	10.3	42.9	6.9	15.3
No. of inventories	97	70	174	341

(b) Percentage of inventories recording arable crops among different groups

	Yeomen	Husbandmen	Building workers	Labourers	Shuttleworth employees
Wheat	22.5	17.7	/	/	11.8
Barley	60	38.7	16.7	100	35.3
Oats	42.5	35.5	33.3	50	23.5
Rye	/	3.2	/	/	/
Peas	12.5	6.5	/	/	5.9
Beans	17.5	17.7	/	/	11.8
No. of inventories	40	62	6	2	34 ^a

Note: (a) the number of wage workers includes John Longworth who left inventory in 1623/24.

Many inventories recorded arable crops as well. Since inventories were made at different times of the year, the crops were recorded at different stages as sown,

threshed, unthreshed or 'windowed' [winnowed]. Table 5.17 presents the percentage of arable crops in the three Hundreds, and the percentage among different groups. The comparisons show that, barley and oats were the two main types of arable crops found in the three areas, the proportions of which were 41.4 per cent and 34 per cent respectively. They were followed by beans and wheat, both of which were found in around 15 per cent of inventories. The lowest proportions were of rye and peas, both of which occurred in less than 10 per cent. Regarding regional differences, the samples from Blackburn and Salford showed that barley, oats and wheat were the three main types of crops, although proportions were less than 50 per cent; the samples collected from Leyland showed that barley, oats and beans were the three main crops, among which, the proportions of barley and oats exceeded 50 per cent.

When comparing arable crops recorded in inventories of different groups, as shown in table 5.17(b), barley and oats maintained the dominant role. The crops grown by the workers employed by the Shuttleworths were similar in profile to those grown by husbandmen.

The proportions of arable crops recorded were influenced by the terms used in the inventories. The term 'corn' was used widely in the inventories, although sometimes it appeared together with other types of crops such as oats, barley and wheat. Among the 341 inventories, 177 recorded corn, with or without other types of crops (51.9 per cent). Ann Abbott, a widow of Clayton le Dale, Blackburn, was the only person whose inventory recorded the value of 'crops'.⁸⁸ In addition, some inventories recorded ground grain, particularly 'groats and meal', which might be made from oats and sometimes appeared together with barley and malt. The proportions of groats and meal were 5 per cent and 18.2 per cent respectively. Also, some barley, either purchased or grown by testators, appeared together with malt, which would be used for brewing.

Agricultural equipment is also an important indicator of arable farming. The proportions of inventories recording ploughs and harrows were 53.7 per cent and 55.1 per cent, respectively. As some inventories used 'husbandry tools' to cover the whole value of agricultural tools and equipment, the actual proportions of ploughs and harrows were probably higher. Nevertheless, compared with the

⁸⁸ The value of turves and crops recorded in her inventory was 3s 4d. WCW/Supra/C66A/1.

high proportions of cattle listed in table 5.15, it is clear that arable farming was less important than pastoral farming in these three areas during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

As well as farming, textile production was an important economic activity in this part of Lancashire. Sixty-five inventories (19.1 per cent) recorded either hemp or flax, used to make linen cloth. The cultivation of hemp was labour intensive. It could be grown 'in small crofts on peasant holdings', contributing to family income.⁸⁹ Table 5.18 lists the percentage of inventories that contained evidence of textile processing. Cards and/or combs are used to identify the preparation of textiles, and spinning wheels to identify 'spinning'. When wool and yarn were recorded together without the spinning wheel, they are used to indicate spinning as well.⁹⁰ Looms and 'knitting boards' are used to identify weaving.⁹¹ In all, 183 inventories (53.7 per cent) recorded items related to textile processing. Among these three places, Blackburn Hundred had the highest proportion of textile processing, accounting for 60.8 per cent of local inventories, followed by 54.3 per cent in Leyland Hundred and 48.9 per cent in Salford Hundred. In fact, since woollen manufacture had been established in Blackburn Hundred by the fifteenth century, the cloth industry in Lancashire developed rapidly in the seventeenth century.⁹² According to the report of the Royal Commission on the cloth industry in 1640, Lancashire towns, including Manchester, Rochdale, Colne, Bolton, Blackburn and Bury, were involved in clothing trade.⁹³ Spinning was the most commonly recorded textile activity in these three areas, as we would expect. Despite its low numbers, weaving was more likely to be found in Salford Hundred than the other two places.

⁸⁹ Joan Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture: A History from the Black Death to the Present Day* (Oxford, 2000; online edn, Oxford Academic, 3 Oct. 2011) <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198208136.001.0001> p. 64.

⁹⁰ This follows what Overton *et al.* used in their categories.

⁹¹ Knitting board is a form of fixed loom. This information is provided by Mr John Rogan, searchroom manager of Lancashire Archives.

⁹² Edward Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, III, 1348-1500* (Cambridge University of Press, 1991), p. 559; John Swain, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution: North-East Lancashire c. 1500-1640* (Manchester, 1986), pp. 108-62.

⁹³ 'The Royal Commission on the cloth industry suggests remedies, 1640', in *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, ed. by Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 249-50.

Table 5.18 The percentage of inventories containing evidence of textile processing

	No. of inventories	Preparation (%)	Spinning (%)	Weaving (%)	Textile processing (sum, %)
Blackburn	97	36.1	55.7	8.3	60.8
Leyland	70	7.1	52.9	1.4	54.3
Salford	174	14.4	40.8	18.4	48.9
Sum	341	19.1	47.5	12	53.7

Regarding the wage workers employed by the Shuttleworths, textile processing was an important part of their household production as well. Among 34 inventories left the Shuttleworths' employees, 20 inventories recorded items related to textile processing. Of these, sixteen recorded items related to spinning and six recorded items related to weaving. These six wage workers were not all poor people: they included three husbandmen, one yeoman, one labourer and one without occupation/status.

5.3.3 Consumption

Domestic goods listed in inventories have long been used to discuss consumption and consumer behaviour. Before we analyse household goods recorded in the inventory sample, it is important to discuss some limitations of the inventories. Inventories often fail to record domestic goods in detail, for instance, failing to record the number of particular items or using general terms such as the 'hustlement of household', which may include chairs, stools and other items. These are similar to the problems faced when analysing the production activities, and the value of individual items cannot be estimated accurately from this type of entry. When Overton *et al.* compare the number of household goods, they exclude inventories of these types in their sample.⁹⁴ A similar method is adopted here. As this section concentrates on comparisons of some specific items owned by yeomen, husbandmen, building workers, labourers, and the Shuttleworths'

⁹⁴ Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 89.

employees, more attention is paid to categories of goods rather than numbers or values.

Table 5.19 presents the percentage of inventories recording thirteen types of household goods, comparing the five different social groups between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Regarding the categories, some of them contain a wide range of objects. The category of 'bed', for example, included not only feather beds, which are also listed separately in the table, but also other types of beds recorded in inventories, such as 'chaffe bed', 'truckle bed' and 'standing bed'. The category of 'chest and box' included 'coffer', 'box', 'chest' and 'ark'[chest] as recorded in the inventories. As the category of 'candlestick' contains candlesticks made of pewter and brass, these are also counted in the category of 'brass' or 'pewter', accordingly.

Figure 5.7 allows a more direct comparison of the percentages recorded in table 5.19. The comparisons show that looking glasses were only recorded in the inventories of building workers. In fact, among six building workers, William Sorocold, a glazier of Manchester, was the only one whose inventory listed a looking glass.⁹⁵ As fewer inventories were left by building workers and labourers, it remains unclear how typical these inventories were. It seems unlikely that labourers were generally more likely to own cushion/pillows, coverlets, coverings and blankets than yeomen and husbandmen.

Among the other categories, chimney, a fire-grate or fire-pan, was the only item that the percentage of which owned by the Shuttleworth employees was higher than that owned by both yeomen and husbandmen, while differences in the percentages of other items owned by yeomen, husbandmen and the Shuttleworth employees varied. While the percentages of chests and boxes, and brass and pewter owned by husbandmen were slightly higher than that owned by yeomen and the Shuttleworth employees, the percentages of featherbeds, silver spoons and glassware owned by yeomen were higher than that owned by both husbandmen and the Shuttleworth employees.

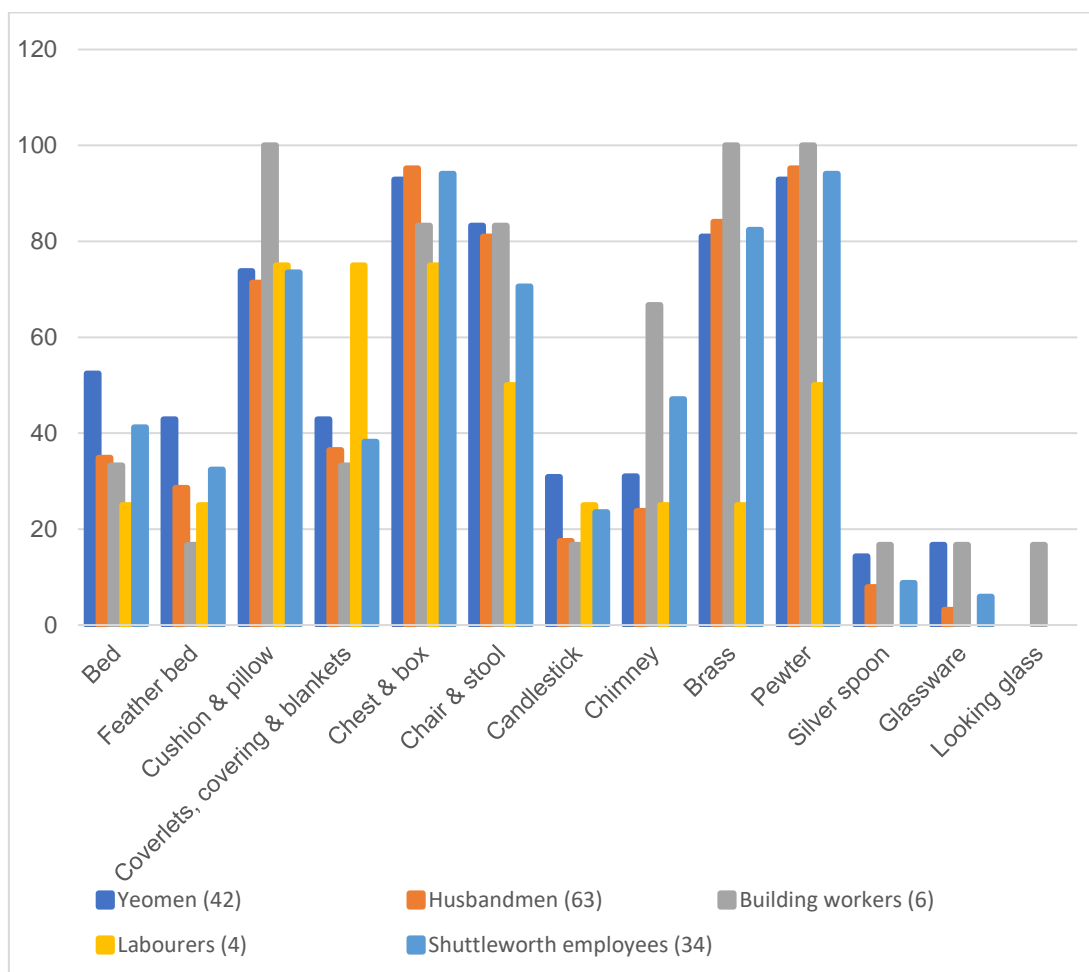
⁹⁵ WCW/Supra/C40/42.

Table 5.19 The percentage of inventories containing household goods, 1580-1620

	Yeomen	Husbandmen	Building workers	Labourers	Shuttleworth employees
Bed	52.4	34.9	33.3	25	41.2
Feather bed	42.9	28.6	16.7	25	32.4
Cushion & pillow	73.8	71.4	100	75	73.5
Coverlets, covering & blankets	42.9	36.5	33.3	75	38.2
Chest & box	92.9	95.2	83.3	75	94.1
Chair & stool	83.3	81	83.3	50	70.6
Candlestick	30.9	17.5	16.7	25	23.5
Chimney ^a	31	23.8	66.7	25	47.1
Brass	81	84.1	100	25	82.4
Pewter	92.9	95.2	100	50	94.1
Silver spoon	14.3	7.9	16.7	/	8.8
Glassware	16.7	3.2	16.7	/	5.9
Looking glass	/	/	16.7	/	/
No. of inventories	42	63	6	4	34 ^b

Note: (a) chimney: a (portable) fire-grate, fire-pan, stove. (b) John Longworth, a husbandman who left inventory in 1623/24, is included in wage workers.

Figure 5.7 The percentage of household goods, 1580-1620



Note: (*) John Longworth, 1623/24 is included in wage workers.

Since wealth conditions played an important role in the categories of goods owned by testators, the next section turns to explore the value of these inventories.

5.3.4 Inventory values

There are many difficulties involved in using inventories to analyse levels of wealth. One problem with probate inventories is the omission of debts.⁹⁶ In some cases, inventories contain debts owed to the testators, but it is less likely to find debts that the testators owed to others. In fact, it is more common to find records of debts owed by testators in wills or probate accounts. The failure to record debts owing can have a significant influence on the calculation of wealth. For example, the value of Thomas Lussell's inventory was £172 16s 8d in 1619, while his

⁹⁶ See for example, Spufford, 'The limitations of the probate inventory', pp. 139-74.

probate account shows that the sum of debts he owed to others was £185 8s.⁹⁷ After deducting other expenses, the net value of his inventory was -£18 12s! When comparing the measures of wealth, Keibek and Shaw-Taylor argue that material wealth adopted by Overton *et al.* is the most useful measure to reflect the deceased's wealth.⁹⁸ Material wealth excludes the value of leases and debts, and only includes household goods, work-related goods and cash. To have a better understanding of the wealth levels of wage workers and others who left inventories, this section concentrates on two aspects: the total value of probate inventories and the material wealth of testators.

As some inventories were broken and incomplete, after excluding those damaged records, 354 inventories are selected to make comparisons of their values.⁹⁹ The average value of these 354 inventories was £115 7s 2d. As shown in table 5.20, among these complete inventories, 179 contained debts owed to the testators, while only 79 contained debts owed by the testators, accounting for 22 per cent.

Table 5.20 Number of inventories recording debts, 1580-1620

Hundred	No. of inventories	No. of inventories with debts owed to	No. of inventories with debts owed by
Blackburn	101	56	36
Leyland	72	33	10
Salford	181	90	33
Sum	354	179	79

Tables 5.21 and 5.22 compare the total value and material wealth of the inventories of Shuttleworth employees with those of the larger sample of yeomen, husbandmen, building workers and labourers who left inventories between 1580 and 1620. Among these, building workers include a carpenter, glazier, rough waller, wright and freemason. The findings show that the Shuttleworth employees

⁹⁷ WCW/Supra/C73B/22.

⁹⁸ Sebastian A. J. Keibek and Leigh Shaw-Taylor, 'Early modern rural by-employment: a re-examination of the probate inventory evidence', *Agricultural History Review*, 61. 2 (2013), 279-81.

⁹⁹ As some incomplete inventories contained information on household production or consumption, the number of samples selected in section varies accordingly.

were wealthier than the four labourers and had a similar level of wealth to husbandmen and building workers. Yeomen were always the wealthiest group.

Table 5.21 Total value of inventories, 1580-1620

	No. of inventories	Mean value of Inventories	Median value of inventories
Yeomen	40	£121.98	£92.83
Husbandmen	59	£68.16	£59.68
Building workers	6	£78.21	£52.25
Labourers	4	£41.71	£37.42
Shuttleworth employees	33 ^a	£60.13	£56.22

Note: a) This figure includes John Longworth who left inventory in 1623/24. The inventory of William Houlden is excluded as the value was largely missing.

Table 5.22 Material wealth of inventories, 1580-1620

	No. of inventories	Mean value of Inventories	Median value of inventories
Yeomen	40	£89.42	£80.99
Husbandmen	59	£57.44	£50.33
Building workers	6	£53.43	£45.29
Labourers	4	£29.4	£24.7
Shuttleworth employees	33 ^a	£54.35	£51.97

Note: a) This figure includes John Longworth who left inventory in 1623/24. The inventory of William Houlden is excluded as the value was largely missing.

Table 5.23 Comparison on the total value of labourers' inventories

Muldrew				
Period	No. of Inventories	Mean	Median	Max
1550-99	114	£14.72	£9.4	£143.48
1600-49	181	£21.3	£15	£154.12
Sneath				
Period	No. of Inventories	Mean	Median	
1600-1794	254	--	£17.26	
Agricultural labourers hired by the Shuttleworths, 1586-98				
Period	No. of Inventories	Mean	Median	Max
1590-99	1	£14.77	£14.77	£14.77
1600-25	13	£43.15	£50.33	£85.58
Sum	14*	£41.13	£48.93	£85.58

Note: William Houlden's inventory is excluded as it was damaged.

Sources: Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2011), Table 4.7, p. 184; Joanne Sear and Ken Sneath, *The Origins of the Consumer Revolution in England: from Brass Pots to Clocks* (Routledge, 2020), Table 8.4, p. 250.

Although the actual meaning of 'labourer' in inventories is unclear, scholars have agreed that this title indicates that the testator worked for others during their life cycle. Since labourers' inventories have been analysed separately by other scholars, a further comparison can be made between those who were labelled as 'labourer' in their inventories and 14 of 34 Shuttleworth employees who did agricultural tasks during their employment.¹⁰⁰ Table 5.23 compares my data with that of Muldrew and Sneath. Muldrew collects labourers' inventories from Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Hampshire, Kent, Lincolnshire and Norfolk.¹⁰¹ Sneath

¹⁰⁰ William Houlden's inventory was damaged and it is impossible to calculate the value.

¹⁰¹ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, pp. 163-207.

collects data from Huntingdonshire.¹⁰² John Horabine was the only labourer hired by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598, who left an inventory before 1600.¹⁰³ The total value of his inventory was £14.77, which was similar to the mean value of labourers' inventories analysed by Muldrew. The comparisons of the value of inventories after 1600 show a significant difference. Although the maximum value of labourers' inventory (£85.58) among those hired by the Shuttleworths remained lower than that found by Muldrew (£154.12), both the mean and median values of inventories left by labourers hired by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598 were much higher than those analysed by Muldrew and Sneath.

One important reason for these differences is that the agricultural labourers hired by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598 were not all marked as 'labourers' in their inventories. In fact, among fifteen labourers, eight were labelled as 'husbandmen', four were 'yeomen', and the other three people, including John Horabine, were recorded without status or occupations in their inventories. This is similar to what Muldrew finds in his sample. Among his 972 inventories of labourers, 18 were also titled as 'husbandman', and 4 were also marked as 'yeoman'.¹⁰⁴ It is important to note that these occupations or statuses were not fixed for wage workers, and the actual range of wealth among people working as labourers would be larger than that reflected solely in the inventories of 'labourers'.

Since previous three sections have compared the Shuttleworths' employees with other groups in Lancashire, the final section turns to the discussion on the wealth level of wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

5.3.5 Wealth level of wage workers

Before analysing these wage workers' inventories, it is important to discuss occupational titles once more. Firstly, not every worker had a status or occupation recorded in their inventories. As shown in table 5.14, 11 persons who are assumed to have worked for the Shuttleworths were not recorded with status or occupations in their inventories, accounting for 32 per cent of wage workers who left inventories. Among these, perhaps the most surprising example is Anthony

¹⁰² Sear and Sneath, *The Origins of the Consumer Revolution in England*, pp. 249-50.

¹⁰³ WCW/Supra/C20/78.

¹⁰⁴ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p. 166.

Whythead. As discussed in Chapter 4, Anthony Whythead was the leading mason who worked for the Shuttleworths from March 1600 to June 1603. He received 30s per quarter and was recorded as both 'mason' and 'servant' in the Shuttleworth accounts. According to his inventory, recorded on 28 January 1607/8, the sum value of his household goods was £35 12s 8d. After adding the sum of debts owing to him, £185 10s, the total value of his inventory rose to £221 2s 8d.¹⁰⁵ Another problem is that, for those who were recorded with occupational titles in both household accounts and inventories, their occupations were not always the same. In fact, there were only two wage workers, John Baxsenden, a waller, and Richard Ryeley, a mason, whose occupational titles were the same in both two types of sources. Christopher Hodgson was titled as both waller and carpenter. In addition, the will of Richard Ryeley recorded the debts owed to him by the Shuttleworths, making it clear that they had employed him.

When analysing the inventories left by people described as 'labourers', Muldrew explains that 'working for wage was something that individuals designated as "labourers" on documents did, or had done, and thus, using their inventories does give us a unified sample of labouring families'.¹⁰⁶ However, this does not mean that all labourers were poor people. In fact, some evidence recorded in Shuttleworth accounts shows that not all labourers hired by the Shuttleworths were struggling around the poverty line. A number of these households seem to have employed servants. For example, the wife of James Cocket and her maid were paid for winnowing wheat on 28 February 1594/5.¹⁰⁷ Maids of other Shuttleworths' employees did diverse tasks, including washing sheep, shearing sheep and 'tenting hay'. Although maids could be used as an alternative to 'girl' or 'daughter' as well as female servant, when they were recorded for doing different tasks during the employment, they could earn extra money. For those families who allowed their maids to work for the Shuttleworths, such kinds of labour helped to maintain a stable relationship with the Shuttleworths. When we consider the servants employed by the Shuttleworths, it is important to note that, as Kussmaul discussed, it was not uncommon for the children of farmers to work as farm servants.¹⁰⁸ These workers might then go on to inherit land and become

¹⁰⁵ WCW/Supra/C40/64.

¹⁰⁶ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁷ LA DDKS 18/3 p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), Chapter 5.

husbandmen or yeomen themselves. Thus, as shown in table 5.24(a), those titled 'yeoman' and 'husbandman' are not excluded from the list of wage workers.

Table 5.24 lists the wage rates, either daily or yearly wage rates, earned by thirty-four Shuttleworth employees whose inventories have been identified and the material wealth of these people. As some labourers were paid by both days and tasks, and some wage rates contained the cost of food and drink, the maximum daily wage rates are selected for comparison. Where wage workers were supposed to cover the cost of food and drink themselves, they are marked with 'own table' in brackets. The inventory of William Houlden was severely damaged and cannot be used to calculate the material wealth. In all, six servants, sixteen labourers and twelve building craftsmen are listed separately in table 5.24 (a), (b) and (c).¹⁰⁹

Table 5.24 Wage rates and material wealth of the Shuttleworth employees

(a) Servants

Name	Year of leaving service	Yearly wage rates	Year of inventory	Occupation/Status in inventory	Material wealth
Peter Ashton	1595	£2 16s 8d	1615		£50 18s 2d
Richard Grenehalghe	1598/9	£2 8s	1602/3		£4 12s
John Hey	1593	£2	1595	yeoman	£28 5s
Richard Longworth	1596	£1 14s	1617		£71 3s 2d
Richard Stones	1599	£1 13s 4d	1605/06	husbandman	£57 11s 9d
Thomas Longworth	1591	£1 3s	1609	husbandman	£60 4s 10d

¹⁰⁹ Two wage workers recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts shared the same name, William Browne. In June and July 1584, he was paid for slating. Another William Browne, a rat-catcher, was paid 12d for taking rats on 25 July 1594.

(b) Labourers

Name	Daily wage rates (max.)	Occupations/Status in inventory	Material wealth
Randall		husbandman	£70 11s
Haworth	1.7d/day		
John Horabine	3d/day (max.)		£14 15s 4d
William			/
Houlden	4d/day		
James Hunt	5d/day (own table)	Husbandman	£51 19s 4d
John Hunt	4d/day (own table)	Husbandman	£47 10s 9d
Thomas		husbandman	£71 1s
Johnson	task wage		
William		yeoman	£62 9s
Johnson	6d/day (own table)		
Richard Leighe	3d/day	yeoman	£49 10s 10d
John		Husbandman	£79 4s 2d
Longworth	4d/day (max.)		
James Morres	2d/day		£37 17s 8d
William Morres	2d/day (max.)	Husbandman	£44 2s 6d
John Prescote	8d/day (own table, max.)	Husbandman	£69 11s 3d
William		Yeoman	£70 7d
Prescote	8d/day (own table)		
John Stones	task wage	Husbandman	£43 17s 6d
Thomas Walton	4d/day (own table)	Yeoman	£106 7s 10d
John Hartley	2.5d/day	Husbandman	£105 1s 8d

(c) Building craftsmen

Name	Occupation in the Shuttleworth accounts	Daily wage rates (max.)	Occupation/Status in inventory	Material wealth
William Browne	Slater	4d/day		£72 6d
James Pendlebirie	Wright	4d/day		£69 9s 6d
John Rygbie	Wright	4d/day (max.)	Yeoman	£106 14s 11d
John Rothwell	Mason	4d/day (max.)	husbandman	£34 19s 8d
Anthony Whythead	Mason	£6/year		£35 12s 8d
John Baxsenden	Waller	5d/day	Rough waller	£29 4s 10d
Christopher Hodgson	Waller	20d/week (max.)	Carpenter	£45 8s 6d
Richard Ingham	Wright	4d/day		£5
John Rishton	Slater	4d/day (max.)		£72 10s 10d
Richard Ryeley	Mason	5d/day (max.)	Freemason	£17 10s
James Wood	Wright	4d/day	Husbandman	£62 8s
John Whythead	Mason/Waller	5d/day (max.)	Labourer	£45 16s

The servants listed in table 5.24(a) were hired by the Shuttleworths between 1586 and 1598. The comparisons of their wage rates and material wealth show that the living standards of wage workers would fluctuate dramatically over time. Among six servants listed here, Peter Ashton, Richard Grenegalge and John Hey were paid at least £2 per year, while Richard Longworth, Richard Stones and Thomas Longworth were paid less. However, their material wealth showed opposite trends: after excluding debts and leases, the values of lower-paid servants' inventories exceeded that of better-paid servants' inventories. Even if we exclude those servants with status in their inventories, the rest of the examples still indicate that servants with low wage rates could leave more wealth.

Detailed analysis of servants' inventories and wills indicates that their level of wealth was determined by different factors. Among those examined, cash only played an important role in the wealth of Richard Longworth, as his inventory recorded a large sum of money, £40, which accounted for over half of his material wealth. The other two lower-paid servants, Thomas Longworth and Richard Stones, did not leave cash in their inventories. Instead, the wills of Thomas Longworth and Richard Stones recorded bequests of land to their children. The inventory of Thomas Longworth listed the value of one *closse* [close, or piece of land], 13s, and his will recorded the bequest of two and a half acres of land to Ralph Longworth, son of Thomas Longworth. Richard Stones' will recorded the bequests of leasehold land as well as husbandry implements. Combined with the records on crops and cattle, two stages of life-cycle wealth can be summarised here: for those servants, monetary wages, board and lodging decided their standards of living during service. However, after leaving the service, access to land, either inherited from their families or rented from others, was the main factor that determined levels of wealth. Inventories left by agricultural labourers and building workers further support this point.

Regarding the agricultural labourers in table 5.24 (b), fifteen of them were hired between 1586 and 1598, and only one labourer, John Hartley, was employed in the early 1600s. John was also the only one whose occupation, labourer, was listed clearly in the accounts. Perhaps the most striking point is that most of them were yeomen or husbandmen when they died. When discussing the working days of agricultural labourers in Chapter 3, it is apparent that the majority of agricultural labourers hired by the Shuttleworths were unlikely to work 250/260 days per year.

John Hartley only worked 125 days between 1600 and 1601. Although we cannot track each labourers' life-cycle employment conditions, one reasonable explanation would be that these labourers had access to land themselves. Their low number of days per year working for wages was a consequence of both needing to work on their own farm and the fact they did not rely on money wages earned from the Shuttleworths for a living.

Among twelve building craftsmen listed in table 5.24 (c), William Browne, James Pendlebirie and John Rygbie were hired in the late sixteenth century, while the other nine craftsmen were hired in the early seventeenth century. Although their daily wage rates were similar, there were large differences in their material wealth levels: the lowest was just £5 (Richard Ingham), while the highest was £106 14s 11d (John Rygbie). Since several building craftsmen were recorded with building-related occupations in their inventories, further comparisons can be made. While Anthony Whythead, the leading mason, received the highest annual wage rates, £6 per year, the maximum weekly wage rate received by Christopher Hodgson was 20d per week. However, the material wealth of Whythead's inventory (£35 12s 8d) was less than that of Hodgson's inventory (£45 8s 6d). The comparison between John Baxsenden and Richard Ryeley's wage rates and material wealth shows different characteristics. While Baxsenden was paid 5d per day during his employment and the material wealth of his inventory was £29 4s 10d, Ryeley's daily wage rates ranged from 3d to 5d per day, and the material wealth of his inventory was £17 10s. In all, the comparisons show that the material wealth recorded in the probate inventories of building craftsmen did not always correlate with the wage levels of these building craftsmen.

Table 5.25 presents a direct comparison of material wealth among these three types of Shuttleworth employees. The mean and median values of material wealth recorded in inventories of labourers hired by the Shuttleworths ranked the highest when compared with that recorded in inventories of servants and building craftsmen hired by the Shuttleworths. In addition, the median value of material wealth recorded in servants' inventories was higher than that recorded in building craftsmen's inventories.

Table 5.25 Material wealth of the Shuttleworth employees

Occupations in the Shuttleworth accounts	No. of examples	Mean value of material wealth	Median value of material wealth
Servants	6	£45.5	£54.3
Labourers	15	£61.6	£62.5
Building craftsmen	12	£49.7	£45.6

While it is impossible to be sure that all the 34 inventories identified were made by employees of the Shuttleworths, due to the recurrence of common names in particular communities, it is nonetheless clear from this study that wage levels recorded in household accounts from this period cannot be used to indicate living standards. When selecting samples from the Shuttleworth accounts, Humphries and Weisdorf exclude those whose yearly wages over £2 as they wanted to focus on ‘unskilled’ workers.¹¹⁰ Previous chapters on labourers and craftsmen have already shown that there was an unclear boundary between skilled and unskilled wage workers, and it was not uncommon to find ‘unskilled’ labourers who did diverse tasks during their employment. And here, the comparisons of inventories left by wage workers who had been hired by the Shuttleworths with different wage levels show that being a well-paid wage worker did not mean that they would live a better life later in their life cycle. Combined with their limited working days per year and low daily wage rates, it is reasonable to assume that many wage workers must have had access to land.

Conclusion

The comparison with probate inventories indicates that monetary wages could only be used to measure the purchasing power of wage workers during a specific period of their life cycle, but they did not have a positive correlation with wage workers’ living standards measured using inventories. In fact, the change of status has been discussed by other scholars. For example, John Hajnal suggested that servants’ social class could be the same as their master’s before

¹¹⁰ Humphries and Weisdorf, ‘Unreal wages?’, 2872.

and after the service.¹¹¹ It is also possible that the children of the poor would be more likely to enter service or work as day labourers. For these wage workers, their living standards would fluctuate over time. This leads to the reconsideration of their dependence on wage incomes. Earning money is important for these wage workers during their employment, but current evaluation of their living standards is built on the assumption that these wage earners relied solely on working for others for a living. However, not every labourer was landless. After tracking the probate inventories left by different types of wage workers, it is clear that money earnings did not determine their standards of living, instead, it was supplementary. In addition, access to land played such a key role that even 'unskilled' agricultural labourers could live better lives during hard times if they had access to land.

Money wages in account books and occupations recorded in inventories are valuable sources to discuss the lives of wage workers. However, both of them should be used cautiously as neither of these types of wage workers in early modern England can be understood as equivalent to modern full-time wage workers, nor were the occupations in probate inventories identical to those in account books. Although not every wage worker left inventory in early modern England, the combination of these two types of resources provides an important perspective to present a more accurate picture of wage workers' lives.

¹¹¹ John Hajnal, 'Two Kinds of Pre-Industrial Household Formation System', in *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, ed. by Richard Wall (Cambridge, 1983), p. 97.

Conclusion

When exploring the wage labour in early modern England, Keith Wrightson argues that the final quarter of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth century witnessed the emergence of a larger and more wholly wage-dependent labouring population, which probably constituted at least half the English population by the mid-seventeenth century.¹ Wage series demonstrate that, for those who relied on wage labour for a living, their living standards declined when the costs of living rose. However, this does not represent the experience of all types of wage workers hired during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as wage labour remained a life-cycle choice, and early modern wage workers were not the same as full-time workers in modern world. Detailed exploration on the working lives of different types of wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths from 1582 to 1621 shows that studies of both wage labour and living standards have underestimated the complexity of these issues in early modern rural England society.

The detailed analysis of the Shuttleworth accounts and other local documents provides a new perspective on life-cycle changes of living standards in early modern England. It challenges existing assumptions in four main areas and argues: first, that historians need to pay more attention to the variety of forms of wage labour; second, that women might be paid the same as men, but followed different patterns of work; third, that the priorities of employers need to be reconsidered; and finally that the relationship between wages and standards of living were often not what we might expect.

Who were the wage workers of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century England? Four important issues need to confront here: regional differences; varied types of workers; life-cycle changes; and varied work tasks undertaken by particular workers in any year. The Shuttleworth accounts reveal how northern rural wage earners lived their working lives during their employment. While wages, some details of employment practices, and some work tasks varied by region, the

¹ Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2000), p. 197.

broad contours of employment were shared between northern and southern England.

Regarding the categories of wage workers, they can be grouped broadly into three types: servants, casual labourers, and craftsmen. This classification, however, is mainly supported by their task descriptions and forms of wage payments, as not every wage worker was recorded with clear occupations. Although HISCO/HISCLASS system has been used by scholars to separate skilled from unskilled workers, the lack of terms makes it hard to identify wage workers recorded in early modern household accounts. In fact, evidence recorded in the Shuttleworth accounts shows that some wage workers did not follow one single type of employment during their whole working lives, nor did labourers work exclusively on 'unskilled' tasks.

As shown in Chapters 2 and 3, some male wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths during this period were paid for working as servants and casual labourers at different stages of their life cycle. For younger wage workers, earlier connections with this gentry family provided a link that enabled them to enter service in the household. John Haslom, for example, was a child labourer who was paid 1d per day for getting turf in 1594.² He was employed in service as a kitchen boy for the Shuttleworths in 1597 when his quarterly wage was 4s.³ Christopher Walker worked as a labourer and did diverse tasks, such as getting turves, working at hay and threshing for the Shuttleworths between 1590 and 1596.⁴ He started working as a servant for the household on 22 October 1596, and his service lasted at least until 10 May 1599.⁵

For mature male servants, their connection with the employer was more complicated. On the one hand, it is not uncommon to find records about the extra wage incomes earned by servants for doing agricultural tasks. William Birchall, for example, was a married servant who lived at Lostock. His annual wages stayed at £1 6s 8d per year between 1582 and 1599. He was paid for shearing oats and barley at Lostock from 1586 to 1594, when the piece wage rates increased from 2s to 3s 4d per acre.⁶ On the other hand, some servants would

² LA DDKS 18/3 p. 3.

³ LA DDKS 18/3 pp. 76, 82.

⁴ LA DDKS 18/2 *passim*.

⁵ LA DDKS 18/3 *passim*.

⁶ LA DDKS 18/1-3 *passim*.

return to work as casual labourers after they left their service. Peter Stones was a servant who received £1 11s 8d per year between 1583 and 1592. The accounts recorded that he had been paid for some daily tasks such as ditching in 1582 and 1583 before he started his service. In addition, after he finished his contract in April 1592, he worked as a casual labourer and did diverse tasks, including mowing, holding ploughs, shearing and carrying corn at Smithills.

The evidence shows both how earning opportunities varied across the life cycle, and how an establishing a connection with an employer might shape employment opportunities. The actual economic contribution made by these male wage workers to their family incomes would vary from one to another. Unfortunately, wage series did not capture these changes and the nature of wage labour in early modern England remains to be explored.

In addition, evidence from the Shuttleworth accounts shows that workers did not necessarily specialise in particular types of work. A group of labourers worked as both building and agricultural labourers in the early seventeenth century when the Shuttleworths were building Gawthorpe hall. There is also evidence showing that some specialist workers did general agricultural tasks when extra labour was needed. For example, David Marche, a thatcher, was employed by the Shuttleworths between 1589 and 1592. He was not only paid for thatching houses at Hoole and Lostock, but also paid for ditching and mowing. These findings indicate that current simple wage data cannot capture the complexities of agricultural day labour, where workers earned different amounts for different tasks and different times of the year.

When turning to female wage labour, the findings challenge some mainstream opinions as well. Firstly, current studies of female servants and female labourers tend to concentrate on their paid outdoor wage work, but the records in the Shuttleworth accounts show that, as a type of labour, some traditional domestic tasks could also generate profits. The 'tabling fees' were good examples. Cooking has been defined as a type of women's domestic work, although some male cooks were paid for serving this gentry family. The location of different workplaces meant that the Shuttleworths paid some local inhabitants, probably the tenants of this gentry family, to provide food and drink for their wage workers who travelled to work away from the main household. Although some entries were recorded with male names, it is reasonable to assume that food and lodgings were mostly

furnished by women. The money was paid for women's labour as well as the cost of food. This 'hidden' contribution would not be recognised if we ignored the value of women's housework. For these families, the 'tabling fees' were an important source of income.

Women's participation of agricultural tasks is another important issue. Household and farm accounts provide valuable records for us to explore agricultural tasks undertaken by male and female labourers in early modern England. Although scholars have acknowledged that the employment patterns showed regional differences, this study of the Shuttleworth accounts contributes particularly to the exploration of gendered division of labour in northwest England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Female labourers shared some types of tasks, such as weeding, getting turves and making hay, with their male counterparts when working for the Shuttleworths, despite the fact that this household had a clear preference for male labourers, and male labourers did a wider range of tasks. In particular, the accounts show that there was a high participation of female harvesters in the early seventeenth century. The building of Gawthorpe Hall between 1600 and 1606 provided work for male labourers, and at the same time the proportion of women employed to do harvest work increased greatly. These female labourers were paid the same as their male counterparts during the harvest season. As local population was increasing steadily during this period and no evidence to support the influence of war on the Shuttleworths' employment of labourers, it is reasonable to conclude that the demand from labour market played a key role in the employment of harvest workers.

Regarding the wage levels, no clear gendered daily wage gap was found when men and women worked at the same tasks for the Shuttleworths during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This is different from what we know about average wage rates: Judith Bennet points out that women's average wages in the English economy have fluctuated at levels between one third and two thirds of male wages from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.⁷ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf indicate that the gender wage gap fluctuated over time and reached one peak in 1580-90.⁸ It is also different from the payment conventions

⁷ Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 102-3; Joyce Burnette, *Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain* (CUP, 2008) p. 73.

⁸ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850', *Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), 431-32.

used by other gentry households where female workers normally received less than their male counterparts. In addition to the fluctuating gender pay gap, scholars have provided different explanations on this wage gap, including the patriarchal prejudices, differences in physical strength and market demand.⁹ However, the Shuttleworth accounts recorded equal daily wage rates to male and female labourers when they did harvest work, leading to the conclusion that it was the types of tasks and the amount of labour devoted to tasks that influenced the gender wage gap.

What was the meaning of wage labour from an early modern employer's perspective? Ann Kussmaul argued that when wages were low and food prices high, the economic logic for employers was to switch to labourers rather than servants, as they were cheaper to employ.¹⁰ However, evidence in the Shuttleworth accounts indicates that, in contrast to the fluctuating number of male agricultural labourers hired per year, the number of male servants increased steadily from 1586 to 1598. Male servants in husbandry constituted the main farm labour force of this gentry family during this period. When facing the rising cost of labour in Lancashire, the main strategy that the Shuttleworths adopted was to reduce the employment of male day labourers. This conclusion does not change even when the number of male task-wage labourers is taken into consideration.

This employment pattern did not follow the logic that employers would reduce the cost of labour by hiring more day labourers than servants when the cost of living was high. From the employers' perspective, perhaps the most important benefit of hiring a servant was that the long-term service provided a guaranteed workforce, although it was not uncommon to find some servants broke the contract and left earlier. In addition, large numbers of servants were also a mark of social status. The long-term contract functioned well for the Shuttleworths when there were demographic crises in Lancashire during the late sixteenth centuries. However, for short-term wage workers, when the Shuttleworths allocated more tasks to servants in husbandry, the available wage work left for casual labourers would be severely limited. And this is connected with another

⁹ See for example, Sandy Bardsley, 'Women's work reconsidered: gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 165 (1999), 3-29; John Hatcher, 'Women's work reconsidered: gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 191-198; Sandy Bardsley, 'Reply', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 199-202; Burnette, *Gender, Work and Wages*, pp. 72-135.

¹⁰ Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

important topic of this thesis, the living standards of wage workers in early modern England.

Although economic historians have acknowledged the contribution made by wives and children to family income, and have considered the life-cycle changes, it is still the purchasing power of money wages (including the conversion of the monetary value of board and lodging) that has been used to analyse living standards. However, the evidence from the Shuttleworth accounts challenge this method from three perspectives: cost of living, working days per year and the actual wage income. This thesis shows that the mainstream method does not reflect a whole picture of rural wage workers' living standards in early modern northern England.

Based on data collected from southern England, the cost of living, either for agricultural labourers or building workers, rose between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹ When calculating the consumption of wage workers, scholars have adjusted the composition as well as the proportion of different items within the 'basket'. This calculation becomes more complicated when the needed calories are taken into consideration. However, these estimations are built on the assumption that wage workers were self-catered people who relied solely on wage money to cover their basic needs. But one typical feature of the Shuttleworth accounts is that most wage workers employed by this household in Lancashire were provided food and drink during their employment. Some building craftsmen who travelled a long distance to work at Gawthorpe were also probably provided lodging in the early seventeenth century. The cost of diet varied for different reasons, such as changes in grain prices, types of tasks and the skills of wage workers. Being fed by their employers indicates that these wage workers should have consumed enough calories to work efficiently as employers needed to take this into consideration, although it also means that they would have brought less cash money back home. In addition, when northern employers covered the expenses of fluctuated grain prices, the 'standard' basket of consumables cannot be used to reflect or evaluate the actual costs of diet spent by these employees.

¹¹ Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review*, 60.1 (2007), 97-135; Hopkins E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage-Rates', *Economica*, 23.96 (1956), 296-314.

The number of the working days per year plays an important role in the discussion of living standards as well. Both 250/260 and 300 working days per year have been used to calculate the annual wage incomes of wage workers. However, the tracking of working days per year undertaken by agricultural labourers, building craftsmen and building labourers shows that wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths in Lancashire were very unlikely to work 250/260 days per year. The limited amount of farm labour left for agricultural labourers (as opposed to servants) is an important reason why this number of days' work was not available. Regarding the building workers who were employed to build Gawthorpe Hall between 1600 and 1606, they would only have reached 250/260 days a year if they were employed somewhere else for the rest of the same year. For both agricultural labourers and building workers, the question is, did they actually have to work for money all year round? Obviously, for landless people, the answer is yes. But not all wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths were landless people. The analysis of inventories left by the Shuttleworths' employees shows that for some wage workers who did 'unskilled' agricultural tasks, the cash money they earned from the Shuttleworths was just a supplementary part of their income.

Regarding wage income, the comparison of daily wage rates shows that northern wage workers hired by the Shuttleworths were normally paid less than their southern counterparts during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Combined with their limited working days per year, it is fair to summarise that the actual annual income earned by male wage workers in Lancashire was low. Although there was a high participation of female labourers in agricultural tasks in the early seventeenth century, women were rarely employed by the Shuttleworths at other times of the year, leading to the assumption that their off-season day wage rates as used by Humphries and Weisdorf had limited relevance to family income. Some children of wage workers appeared occasionally in the accounts and earned extra money for their families, but their contribution was very limited as well. When Horrell, Humphries and Weisdorf discuss family standards of living, it is the assumed number of working days that have been used to estimate annual family income.¹² But living in Lancashire

¹² Sara Horrell, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Beyond the male breadwinner: Life-cycle living standards of intact and disrupted English Working families, 1260-1850', *Economic History Review*, (2021), 1-31; Sara Horrell, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Family Standards of Living over the Long Run, England 1280-1850', *Past and Present*, 250 (2021), 87-134.

where the employment opportunities were rare, the actual annual family income of local wage workers cannot be represented accurately in this way. There is no evidence that male or female workers paid by the day or task worked such a high number of days per year for wages.

Instead of making any assumption about the purchasing power of wage workers or their whole families' income, this thesis traces probate inventories left by the Shuttleworths' employees and analyses the wealth levels of these wage workers. The findings show that a group of male labourers hired by the Shuttleworths in the late sixteenth century did not rely mainly on money wages for a living. Although they did 'unskilled' agricultural tasks and were paid low wage rates, access to their own farmland provided their main income and source of wealth. In addition, the comparison between the money wage levels and the material wealth of inventories provides a different perspective to analyse life-cycle living standards of wage workers in early modern Lancashire. The evidence shows that the level of money wage did not correlate with the level of their material wealth: being a well-paid or skilled wage worker did not mean that they would enjoy better living standards over a lifetime. This is particularly the case among servants who inherited land after they left service. Access to land played a key role in their changing living standards and was a more important factor.

This case study of the Shuttleworth household accounts discusses the working lives of wage workers hired in Lancashire from 1582 to 1621, which contributes to current studies on different employment patterns, the gender division of labour and the gender wage gap. Living in a county where employment opportunities were limited, wage work provided by the Shuttleworths should have been attractive to local inhabitants. However, the records of the Shuttleworth accounts show that this was only really the case for male servants. The turnover rates of day labourers employed during this period were high. Why would this happen? The limited amount of farm work available for day workers was an important factor. After tracing these early modern wage workers' inventories, this thesis further concludes that access to land made it unnecessary for some 'unskilled' labourers to work full-time to earn money. Earning low wage rates and working a short-term period per year did not mean that these wage workers lived lives of poverty. Instead of relying on wage data and making many assumptions, this thesis provides a different way to explore the life-cycle living standards of wage workers

based on household accounts, probate inventories and parish registers. Since most employees were not full-time workers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this method could be applied to examine those employed in other parts of England, leading to a better understanding of wage labour and living standards in early modern England.

Appendix 1. Types of tasks undertaken by casual labourers

Types of tasks	1583	1586-98	1600-02	1605	1617-20	Total no. recorded
Building-related	0	75	1041	121	23	1260
Hay harvest	18	134	108	87	27	374
Grain processing						
Dressing and drying corn	0	1	15	6	3	25
Threshing	4	119	12	40	76	251
Winnowing	1	44	0	0	22	67
Corn harvest	3	172	51	59	34	319
Hedging and ditching						
Hedging	0	11	29	21	13	74
Ditching	3	125	30	13	41	212
Mowing	1	91	46	25	26	189
Ploughing, harrowing and sowing						
Ploughing	5	70	3	9	40	127

Harrowing	5	36	3	2	5	51
Sowing	0	0	3	0	2	5
Textile-related	0	108	8	5	62	183
Turf-related	6	139	0	0	0	145
Farm transport	4	90	12	2	3	111
Animal husbandry						
Animal rearing	0	12	3	1	4	20
Driving beasts	1	4	0	0	1	6
Sheep husbandry	0	65	4	5	3	77
Servers of clippers	0	2	0	0	0	2
Maintaining land						
Gripping	0	14	0	0	0	14
Guttering	0	11	0	0	0	11
Stubbing	0	1	4	10	5	20
Dighting or feeing meadows	0	2	1	7	4	14
Stirring fallows	0	2	0	0	3	5

Spreading lime	0	0	0	0	2	2
keeping land	0	10	0	0	0	10
Weeding and other labour in garden						
Weeding	9	2	8	2	19	40
Other labour in garden		5	2	0	16	23
Dung-related	0	25	4	5	18	52
Husbandry work	0	0	38	9	4	51
Transport	0	36	6	0	5	47
Calling	0	0	19	6	19	44
Malting and brewing	1	0	0	0	0	1
Miscellaneous tasks	1	12	12	1	4	30
Unspecified	36	224	37	6	52	355
Total no. recorded	98	1642	1499	442	536	4217

Appendix 2. Miscellaneous tasks undertaken by causal labourers

Types of tasks	1583	1586-98	1600-02	1605	1617-20	Total no. recorded
Driving thatch	1	6	0	0	0	7
Looking corn	0	0	4	0	0	4
Watchman	0	1	3	0	0	4
Getting moss	0	3	0	1	0	4
Bird scaring	0	0	2	0	1	3
Working in the kitchen	0	1	0	0	0	1
Watching the hawk's nest	0	0	0	0	1	1
Washing clothes	0	0	0	0	1	1
Removing the shoe	0	0	1	0	0	1
Finding a bottle	0	0	1	0	0	1
Getting stripes	0	0	1	0	0	1
Binding beans	0	1	0	0	0	1
Taking up of coal	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total no. recorded	1	12	12	1	4	30

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WCW/Supra/C13/59	John Erlam	1590
WCW/Supra/C15/102	Robert Riley/Rilay	1591
WCW/Supra/C15/62	William Holcroft	1591
WCW/Supra/C15/1	William Abbott	1591
WCW/Supra/C17/51	James Pyccup	1592
WCW/Supra/C19/84	John Withington	1593
WCW/Supra/C19/10	Thomas Nelson	1593
WCW/Supra/C18/35	James Crompton	1593
WCW/Supra/C20/78	John Horabine	1594
WCW/Supra/C22/61	John Hey	1595
WCW/Supra/C22/132	William Wood	1595
WCW/Supra/C23/28	Edmund Haslom	1596
WCW/Supra/C24/50	William Houlden	1597
WCW/Supra/C26/45	Henry Grundeye	1598
WCW/Supra/C26/47	William Halliwell	1598
WCW/Supra/C27/35	John Rothwell	1598
WCW/Supra/C28/50	Jane Bretherton	1600
WCW/Supra/C29/11	John Cuerden	1601

WCW/Supra/C30/67	Hugh Royle	1602
WCW/Supra/C29/83	James Chrawshay	1602
WCW/Supra/C30/36	John Marler	1602
WCW/Supra/C30/64	John Robinson	1602
WCW/Supra/C30/69	John Sharrock	1602
WCW/Supra/C29/87	John Cowpe	1602
WCW/Supra/C30/5	Nicholas Grymshawe	1602
WCW/Supra/C29/100	Robert Fouldes	1602
WCW/Supra/C29/90	William Dandye	1602
WCW/Supra/C30/25	William Jackson	1602
WCW/Supra/C31/49	Ann Eversfied	1603
WCW/Supra/C32/51	George Scholes	1603
WCW/Supra/C31/64	John Hartley	1603
WCW/Supra/C32/74	John Tipping	1603
WCW/Supra/C31/85	Margaret Hough	1603
WCW/Supra/C31/60	Richard Handforth	1603
WCW/Supra/C31/71	Richard Haworth	1603
WCW/Supra/C31/56	Richard Greenhalgh	1603
WCW/Supra/C32/26	James Morres	1603
WCW/Supra/C33/65	Edmund Heap	1604
WCW/Supra/C34/61	Edward Walmsley	1604
WCW/Supra/C33/31	Elizabeth Cuerden	1604
WCW/Supra/C33/19	Francis Buckley	1604
WCW/Supra/C33/57	Henry Hardie/Hardye	1604
WCW/Supra/C34/37	Peter Rigbie	1604
WCW/Supra/C34/1	Richard Ingham	1604

WCW/Supra/C34/39	Thomas Robinson	1604
WCW/Supra/C34/36	Nicholas Richardson alias Wills	1604
WCW/Supra/C33/20	Richard Buckley	1604
WCW/Supra/C33/64	Randall/Randle Haworth	1604
WCW/Supra/C34/62	Thomas Walton	1604
WCW/Supra/C35/31	Anne Claiton/Cleyton	1605
WCW/Supra/C35/43	Edward Dicconson	1605
WCW/Supra/C36/49	Gilbert Tompson	1605
WCW/Supra/C36/38	Henry Scofelt/Scolefield	1605
WCW/Supra/C36/55	Richard Walton	1605
WCW/Supra/C35/29	Robert Chadwick	1605
WCW/Supra/C36/37	Robert Sandiforth junior	1605
WCW/Supra/C36/33	Rodger Rodley	1605
WCW/Supra/C36/61	Thomas Whitehead	1605
WCW/Supra/C35/13	William Bentley	1605
WCW/Supra/C36/28	William Prescote	1605
WCW/Supra/C38/23	Anne Ogden	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/14	Christopher Marsden	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/7	Edward Linney	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/39	Edward Scholfield	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/12	George Lyon	1606
WCW/Supra/C37/39	Henry Grimshay	1606
WCW/Supra/C37/20	James Clegg	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/21	John Mosse	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/54	John Stones	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/77	John Wright	1606

WCW/Supra/C38/15	Miles Marsden	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/27	Richard Pownall	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/47	Richard Shorrocke/Sharrock	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/49	Richard Smethurst	1606
WCW/Supra/C37/52	Robarte Hindley	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/20	William Morres	1606
WCW/Supra/C38/55	Richard Stones	1606
WCW/Supra/C39/37	Arthur Crompton	1607
WCW/Supra/C39/80	Dorothy Heywood	1607
WCW/Supra/C39/11	Edward Bayley	1607
WCW/Supra/C40/30	Edward Rydinge	1607
WCW/Supra/C39/16	Henry Bound	1607
WCW/Supra/C39/54	James Fletcher	1607
WCW/Supra/C40/11	John Nelson	1607
WCW/Supra/C39/43	John Devias	1607
WCW/Supra/C39/19	Laurence Bradshaw	1607
WCW/Supra/C39/35	Richard Critchlowe	1607
WCW/Supra/C39/4	Robert Astley	1607
WCW/Supra/C40/45	Thomas Starkie	1607
WCW/Supra/C40/42	William Sorocold	1607
WCW/Supra/C40/64	Anthony Whythead	1607
WCW/Supra/C46A/1	Alexander Radcliffe	1608
WCW/Supra/C41/39	Elizabeth Chadderton	1608
WCW/Supra/C42/76	Jeffrey Pendleton	1608
WCW/Supra/C41/20	George Birch	1608
WCW/Supra/C42/27	Gilbert Holden	1608

WCW/Supra/C46B/5	Henry Walmsley	1608
WCW/Supra/C46A/45	Hugh Taylor	1608
WCW/Supra/C46A/42	James Swayne	1608
WCW/Supra/C46B/22	Jennett Woodruffe	1608
WCW/Supra/C41/44	John Clayton	1608
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WCW/Supra/C42/20	John the elder Hesmondhalgh	1608
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WCW/Supra/C46A/3	John Ranshall	1608
WCW/Supra/C41/61	Peter Edge	1608
WCW/Supra/C42/49	Robert Leeche	1608
WCW/Supra/C46B/13	Robert Whittaker	1608
WCW/Supra/C46A/2	William Radcliffe	1608
WCW/Supra/C46B/25	William Wright	1608
WCW/Supra/C41/49	Margaret Cowper	1608
WCW/Supra/C42/5	Richard Hanson	1608
WCW/Supra/C46A/8	John Rishton	1608
WCW/Supra/C48A/29	Alice Massey	1609
WCW/Supra/C48C/7	Arthur Sharples	1609
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WCW/Supra/C47B/43	George Howarth	1609
WCW/Supra/C47B/32	George Hollende	1609
WCW/Supra/C47B/14	James Grunedie	1609

WCW/Supra/C48A/20	James Lord	1609
WCW/Supra/C48A/36	James Moss	1609
WCW/Supra/C48C/13	James Soundiforth	1609
WCW/Supra/C47B/4	John Fish	1609
WCW/Supra/C47B/39	John Hough	1609
WCW/Supra/C48C/37	John Yeate	1609
WCW/Supra/C47A/25	Mary Sharples, alias Charneley	1609
WCW/Supra/C48C/24	Nicholas Walker	1609
WCW/Supra/C48A/24	Peter Makinson	1609
WCW/Supra/C48B/3	Richard Nugent	1609
WCW/Supra/C47A/1	Robert Almond	1609
WCW/Supra/C48C/35	Robert Wilkinson	1609
WCW/Supra/C47A/40	Thomas Edge	1609
WCW/Supra/C48B/12	Thomas Pollett	1609
WCW/Supra/C47A/19	William Brooke	1609
WCW/Supra/C47A/34	William Cross	1609
WCW/Supra/C47B/2	William Fisher	1609
WCW/Supra/C48B/1	William Nabb	1609
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WCW/Supra/C89C/33	John Longworth	1624

The National Archives

PROB 11/112/11 Will of Sir Richard Shuttleworth, 1599

PROB 11/112/10 Will of Rev. Lawrence Shuttleworth, 1608

Borthwick Institute for Archives

PROB 51/39 Will of Col. Richard Shuttleworth, 1668

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