Material Culture in Early Modern England: The Role of Goods in the Creation of Social Identities in Three Yorkshire Communities, 1660-1780

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Dedication

To my father, without whom I would have never started...

And to my beloved husband, without whom I would have never finished...

Abstract

This thesis studies in detail the transmission of social values in early modern England through a statistical study of material culture in three Yorkshire communities: South Cave, Halifax and York. The study focuses on surviving wills and inventories in these three communities, using an adaptation of the seriation technique developed by Vivian Brodsky-Elliot. Through this technique we chart ownership patterns, allowing a partial reconstruction of the social networks within the three communities.

The results show that whilst consumpion did rise in the period 1660-1780, this was not to the extent commonly assumed up till now. At the same time it is also shown that a wide range of social values were attached to material goods within these communities: not only with respect to the new populuxe goods that appeared during this period, but also with respect to more traditional goods. The results also show a high degree of cohesiveness of consumption within certain occupation/status groups, and that this was not gender specific. The transmission of goods, however, does highlight that gendered social values were attached to certain items.

These then provide a foundation for a more detailed study of the importance of material culture to the creation of social status within these communities, within certain economic, geographical and time boundaries.

Contents

List of Figures v

List of Tables vii

Acknowledgements xiii

Declaration xv

Chapter 1. Material Culture in Early Modern England: The First Consumer Society? 1

Material Culture in Contemporary Thought 1

Material Culture, Reputation, and the Social Order 10

Production and Consumption 15

Modern Understandings of Material Culture in the Early Modern Period: Two Approaches 30

Methods of Analysis and Sources 32

Chapter Outline 50

Chapter 2. The Economy and Society of South Cave, Halifax and York ... 53

South Cave 53

Halifax 62

York 74

Conclusion 90

Chapter 3. Social Interaction, Status, and Occupation Amongst the Middling Ranks of South Cave, Halifax and York 91

Understanding the Social Order in Early Modern England 91

Occupation/Status and Social Rank in South Cave, Halifax and York 107

South Cave 107

Halifax 112
York 118
Conclusion 125
Appendix 126

Chapter 4. 'Front' or 'Back' Space? Populuxe Goods in Inventories and the Negotiation of Social Status 135
Populuxe Goods in Inventories 135
The Utilisation of the House as a Space for Articulating Social Status 156
Conclusion 174

Chapter 5. Populuxe Goods, Kinship and the Articulation of Social Networks in Wills 175
Methods of Analysis 175
Populuxe Goods in Wills 181
Bequests, Kinship and Social Status 188
Conclusion 201
Appendix 203

Chapter 6. 'Invidious Consumption': Women and Populuxe Goods 213
Women and Material Culture 215
Populuxe Goods in Women's Inventories 219
Gender and Consumption 229
Populuxe Goods in Women's Wills 236
Gender and the Articulation of Social Networks 246
Conclusion 255
Appendix 257

Chapter 7. Conclusion 279

Bibliography 293
Unpublished Primary Sources 293
Borthwick Institute for Archives, York 293
York University Library 293

York City Archives 293

York Minster Library 294

East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Beverley 294

Published Primary Sources 294

Published Secondary Sources 299

List of Figures

2.1 Histogram Showing the Distribution of Recorded Assets in South Cave, 1660–1780 59

List of Tables

1.1 Estimated Sample Coverage for the Population of Halifax and York..... 41

1.2 Numbers of Surviving Inventories and Wills from Halifax and York..... 42

2.1 Numbers of Hearths per Household in the Town of Halifax, 1664..... 71

2.2 Numbers of Men Admitted to the Freedom of the City in Various Trades in the Seventeenth Century..... 77

3.1 Categories of English Society Produced by Gregory King, 1698..... 95

3.2 Massie's Categories of the English Population in 1759..... 96

3.3 Lawrence Stone's Reconstruction of the Social Order of Early Modern England..... 101

3.4 Distribution of Occupation/Status Terms Recorded in Wills and Inventories in South Cave, 1660–1780..... 108

3.5 Specialisation of Occupations in the Textile Trade in Halifax, 1660–1780. 113

3.6 Place of Residence of the Bondsmen of the Yeomen, Clothiers, Weavers and Shalloon Weavers..... 115

3.7 Place of Residence of the Bondsmen of the Gentlemen and Men of 'Low Status' Trades..... 120

3.8 The Rank of the Bondsmen Appointed for the Gentlemen/Esquires and Those With 'Low Status' Trades, York 1690–99..... 122

3.9 The Rank of the Bondsmen Appointed for the Gentlemen/Esquires and Those With 'Low Status' Trades, York 1730–39..... 123

3.10 The Rank of the Bondsmen Appointed for the Gentlemen/Esquires and Those With 'Low Status' Trades, York 1760–69..... 124

A3.1 Occupations of the Men of South Cave, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1660–1780..... 126

A3.2 Occupations of the Men of Halifax, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1690–1699 127

A3.3 Occupations of the Men of Halifax, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1730–1739 128

A3.4 Occupations of the Men of Halifax, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1760–1769 129

A3.5 Occupations of the Men of York, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1690–1699 130

A3.6 Occupations of the Men of York, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1730–39 131

A3.7 Occupations of the Men of York, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1760–1769 132

4.1 Numbers of Usable Inventories for South Cave, Halifax And York, 1660–1780 137

4.2 Number of South Cave Inventories that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780 137

4.3 Numbers of South Cave Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 138

4.4 Number of South Cave Yeomen Who Owned at Least one Populuxe Good, and Their Wealth, 1660–1780 139

4.5 Number of Halifax Inventories that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, Halifax, 1660–1780 141

4.6 Number of Halifax Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 142

4.7 Number of Halifax Inventories Listing at Least one Populuxe Good by Occupation 144

4.8 Number of Halifax Yeoman Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 145

4.9 Number of Halifax Clothier Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 146

4.10 Median Inventoried Wealth of Various Occupations, Halifax, 1660–1780 . 147

4.11 Number of York Inventories that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780 149

4.12 Number of York Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 . 150

4.13 Number of York Inventories of Gentlemen/Esquires and Men With 'Low Status' Trades that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780 151

4.14 Median Inventoried Wealth of the York Inventories of the Gentlemen/Esquires and Men With 'Low Status' Trades, 1660–1780 153

4.15 Frequency of Populuxe Goods by Location in the South Cave, Halifax and York Inventories, 1660–1780 163

4.16 Frequency of Inventories Recording Silver Kept in the Main Living Spaces in South Cave, Halifax And York, 1660–1780 165

4.17 Frequency of Inventories Recording Beds Kept in the Main Living Spaces in South Cave, Halifax And York, 1660–1780 168

5.1 Numbers of Surviving Men's Wills from South Cave, Halifax and York used in this Analysis, 1660–1780 182

5.2 Numbers of South Cave Men's Wills that Recorded Various Different Bequests, 1660–1780 184

5.3 Numbers of Halifax Men's Wills that Recorded Various Different Bequests, 1660–1780 185

5.4 Numbers of York Men's Wills that Recorded Various Different Bequests, 1660–1780 187

A5.1 Legacies left by South Cave Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1660–99 203

A5.2 Legacies left by South Cave Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1700–39 204

A5.3 Legacies left by South Cave Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1740–80 205

A5.4 Legacies left by Halifax Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1690–99 206

A5.5 Legacies left by Halifax Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1730–39 207

A5.6 Legacies left by Halifax Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1760–69 208

A5.7 Legacies left by York Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1690–99 209

A5.8 Legacies left by York Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1730–39 210

A5.9 Legacies left by York Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1760–69 211

6.1 Numbers of Women's Inventories used from South Cave, Halifax and York, 1660–1780 220

6.2 Numbers of Inventories of South Cave Women that Recorded the Various Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 221

6.3 Number and Percentage of Halifax Inventories that Recorded at Least one of the Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 222

6.4 Numbers of Inventories of Women from Halifax that Recorded the Various Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 223

6.5 The Number and Quality of the Populuxe Goods Owned by Women in Halifax 225

6.6 Number and Percentage of York Inventories that Recorded at Least one of the Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 226

6.7 Numbers of Inventories of Women from York that Recorded the Various Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780 227

6.8 The Number and Quality of the Populuxe Goods Owned by Women in York 228

6.9 Numbers of Surviving Wills Utilised from South Cave, Halifax and York, 1660–1780 238

6.10 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, South Cave 1660–1780 239

6.11 Number and Percentage of Halifax Wills that Recorded at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780 241

6.12 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Populuxe goods and Clothing in their Wills, Halifax 1660–1780 242

6.13 Number and Percentage of York Wills that Recorded at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780 243

6.14 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, York 1660-1780 245

A6.1 Location of the Populuxe Goods Within the Household in South Cave, 1660–1780 257

A6.2 Location of the Populuxe Goods Within the Household in Halifax, 1660–1780 258

A6.3 Location of the Populuxe Goods Within the Household in York, 1660–1780 259

A6.4 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, South Cave 1660–1780 260

A6.5 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, South Cave 1660–1780 261

A6.6 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, South Cave 1660–1780 262

A6.7 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, Halifax 1660–1780 263

A6.8 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, Halifax 1660–1780 264

A6.9 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, Halifax 1660–1780 265

A6.10 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, York 1660–1780 266

A6.11 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, York 1660–1780 267

A6.12 Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, York 1660–1780 268

A6.13 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in South Cave, 1660–1780 269

A6.14 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in South Cave, 1660–1780 270

A6.15 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in South Cave, 1660–1780 271

A6.16 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in Halifax, 1660–1780 272

A6.17 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in Halifax, 1660–1780 273

A6.18 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in Halifax, 1660–1780 274

A6.19 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in York, 1660–1780 275

A6.20 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in York, 1660–1780 276

A6.21 Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in York, 1660–1780 277

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Declaration

I declare the research work reported in this thesis is original work conducted by the author between October 2001 and September 2006 as a research student in the Department of History at the University of York. No portion of this thesis has been previously published in any media.

CHAPTER 1

Material Culture in Early Modern England: The First Consumer Society?

THIS THESIS EXPLORES the spread, use, and social significance of material culture in Restoration and Georgian England, by focusing on three places in Yorkshire.[1] These provide examples of how regional and urban/rural differences affected material culture in areas outside London, and allow an examination of how their inhabitants reacted to the sustained growth in the production and distribution of material goods in this period. The thesis builds upon, and extends, the body of research undertaken over the last twenty-five years on clothing and other types of material culture in early modern England. Before introducing the methods employed to conduct this investigation, we will provide a brief overview of this research. We will conclude the chapter with an outline of the core aims and objectives of this thesis.

Material Culture in Contemporary Thought

> The truth is, that citizen's and tradesmen's tables are now the emblems, not of plenty, but of luxury; not of good housekeeping, but of profusion. A tradesman dressed up fine, with his long wig and sword, may go to a ball when he pleases, for he is already dressed up in the habit; like a piece of counterfeit money, he is brass washed over with silver, but no tradesman will take him for current...[2]

[1]This thesis builds on my masters thesis. In *Clothing Honour and the Social Order in Early Modern England*, 1660–1760 (York, MA, 2001), I focused on clothing and its importance in the creation of social identities in early modern England. Through this I was able to show that clothing played an integral part in the creation of social identities in this period, but not necessarily with the consequences assumed by many contemporary commentators. People might well have emulated their betters, but more often than not they were seeking to be seen as respectable by their neighbours and peers, rather than those to whose position they could in reality never really aspire.

[2]Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman*, (Vol. 1), (1724), *The Novels and Miscellaneous Works of Daniel Defoe*, Vol. 17, (London, 1841), p. 79.

The writer Daniel Defoe was just one of many commentators in Restoration and early Georgian England lamenting the excessive and inappropriate consumption of material goods. For the modern historian, this long series of complaints has raised four key questions. Firstly, who was actually consuming these goods? Secondly, were groups such as tradesmen really consuming luxuries in increasing quantities, or was this consumption simply in the minds of contemporary commentators? Thirdly, was the production of goods actually increasing during this period? And finally, even if production was increasing, was the availability of goods wide enough to justify such expressions of concern?

When seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commentators discussed increasing consumption, they often did so while expressing concern over the moral standing of their social inferiors. So looking at the above quotation from Defoe, we find that far from condemning the consumption of luxuries outright, he was concerned with the consumption of such items by those who could not afford them, and by those whose social position did not warrant such outward display. In 1754, the *London Magazine* reiterated the point stating:

> When the tables of the shopkeeper, the mechanick and artificer are replenished with cakes and dainties unbecoming their rank: their rooms furnished in a sumptuous manner, and themselves and their families appear cloathed in costly garments... then it is that luxury and extravagance not only prejudices them... [but is also the cause of] frequent bankrupting...[3]

Magazines such as the *London Magazine*, and previously *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*, devoted many column inches to the discussion of these issues. In 1711 the author of *The Spectator* ridiculed the emulation of city fashions by country people. Not only were many of these fashions above their wearers' social station, but being mere plain country folk and living far from the metropolis, the fashions followed were often hopelessly out of date, and incorrectly worn at that. Thus a certain gentleman lawyer 'wrote' to *The Spectator* saying:

[3]*London Magazine*, No. 23, quoted in James Raven, 'Defending conduct and property. The London press and the luxury debate', in John Brewer and Susan Staves (eds.), *Early Modern Concepts of Property*, (London, 1995), p. 314.

> One of the most fashionable Women I met with in all the Circuit was my Landlady at Stains... Her Commode was not half a Foot high, and her Petticoat within some Yards of a modish Circumference.[4]

This description had a sting in its tail for fashionable city ladies as well, poking fun, implicitly, at the size of such women's hairstyles and skirts. A couple of years previously, *The Tatler* set out to explain how to train a 'Spruce Mercer' who had been bequeathed £1000, to become a 'Fine Gentleman'. In the end the author felt there were so many pitfalls in such an enterprise, as 'a Gentleman's Life is that of all others the hardest to pass through with Propriety of Behaviour', it was best not to be attempted. For he felt that 'a spruce Mercer is farther off the Air of a Fine Gentleman, than a downright clown'.[5]

The printer and novelist Samuel Richardson complained in *The Young Man's Pocket Companion* that:

> You shall now hardly step, in any Shop, but you shall see a starch'd powder'd Youth, that, but for his Station behind the Counter, your Fathers would have address'd to rather as the Son of a Man of Condition, than a Servant put to learn a Trade for his future Subsistence.[6]

His novel, *Pamela*, attacked this kind of 'excess' in the lower orders, extolling the virtues of remaining within the social group one was born into, and not trying to 'emulate' one's social betters. His novel had an interesting twist, however, which actually cancelled out this social message. His heroine, by remaining virtuous and true to her calling and position in life, was in the end elevated to the gentry through her marriage to the reformed son of her mistress.[7] This ending caused quite a stir and gave birth to satirical responses, in particular Henry Fielding's book *An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*. This derided the virtues of

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[4]No. 129, July 28th 1711, Donald Bond (ed.), *The Spectator*, (1711–14), (5 vols, Oxford, 1965), Vol. 2, p. 13.
[5]No. 66, September 9th 1709, H. Bohn (ed.), Joseph Addison, *The Tatler*, (1710–12), in *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison*, Vol. II, (London, 1888), pp. 458–59.
[6]Samuel Richardson, *The Young Man's Pocket Companion*, (1734), Part II, in *The Augustan Reprint Society*, Nos. 169–70, (1975), pp. 33–34.
[7]Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, (1740), (London, 1985).

Richardson's heroine as falsehoods, and set the record straight through the revealing of Pamela's own 'letters' sent to her mother. In these she was portrayed as an immoral, scheming, servant, with one aim in life: namely to be able to live and consume like the elite.[8] The *Female Tatler*, earlier in the century, had been equally blunt. It scathingly described 'inferior' women who acted 'above' their station, as wearing 'tawdry painted calicoes, wash'd gloves, and steel crosses'.[9] It was not just in written works that this type of discussion appeared, but also in paintings. The work *Taste A-La-Mode* (1745) by Louis Phillipe Boitard, for example, is populated by a group of fashionable women who at first glance all look alike. But as the historian Mark Hallett has pointed out, on the left hand side of the picture there is a prostitute, identifiable only by the way she is lifting her skirts in order to give an inviting glimpse of her ankle.[10]

This commentary was not, of course, restricted to this period, but was just the latest expression of an age-old discourse. In the later sixteenth century, the nonconformist divine Arthur Dent in *A Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* had lamented that 'poor men and women, poor hired servants, milk-maids, and such like, go quite beyond their abilities.'[11] In 1583, Philip Stubbes advocated that every person should be forced to dress according to their rank, but complained that at the present time, even poor labourers wore silks and satins 'notwithstanding that they be bothe base by birth, mean by estate and servile by calling'.[12] Aileen Ribeiro's work *Dress and Morality* is a veritable historical compendium of such moral lamentations, about the perceived misuse of clothing from the early middle ages to the modern period.[13]

Given the biases of contemporary commentators, it is not always easy to establish whether the 'misuse' of goods condemned by these men was a social practise or a trope. Nonetheless, authors between 1660 and 1780 were all agreed that a variety of material goods such as clothes, wigs, china, silver trinkets and

[8]Henry Fielding, *An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*, (1741), (Berkeley, 1953), pp. 9–17.
[9]Morgan Fidelis (ed.), *The Female Tatler*, (1709), (London, 1992), p. 10.
[10]Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference*, (New Haven, 1999), p. 173.
[11]Arthur Dent, *A Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, (1599), (Pittsburgh, 1994), pp. 42–43.
[12]Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses: contayning a discoverie, or briefe summarie of such notable vices and imperfections as now raigne in many Christian countreyes of the worlde*, (London, 1583), p. 34, quoted in Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: a new history of fashion*, (Manchester, 1995), p. 54–55.
[13]Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, (London, 1986).

so forth, were becoming more common and more easily available. The problem in their eyes, was that this increasing availability was not restricted to the elite. Indeed, as Dent had stated, this produced a situation in which 'every Jack will be a gentleman, and Joan is as good as my lady'.[14] Men like Defoe saw their well ordered world in threat of meltdown, and becoming a society in which:

> The poor will be like the rich, and the rich like the great, and the great like the greatest, and thus the world runs on to a kind of a distraction at this time.[15]

Defoe neatly illustrated the consequences of such a trend in the following, seemingly harmless, encounter:

> I was once put very much to the blush, being at a friend's house, and by him required to salute the ladies, I kissed the chamber-jade into the bargain, for she was as well dressed as the best. But I was soon undeceived by a general titter, which gave me the utmost confusion; nor can I believe myself the only person who has made such a mistake.[16]

The blurring of the sartorial social order of society had here led Defoe to assume the maid to be of equal social status as her mistress, because of her outward appearance, and so fall into the trap of greeting her in the manner he would a social equal. But whilst Defoe appeared to have enjoyed this little 'harmless' incident (even to the point that we might suspect he knew full well she was a servant), he was pointing to a much more serious underlying problem. If he could be 'duped' by a mere maid, then how many others might be taken in by their inferiors, for more sinister purposes? The eighteenth century rake and biographer of Dr. Johnson, James Boswell, on one occasion noted in his diary, that he was able to purchase a sword (the accoutrement of the gentleman) on credit from the London swordsmith Mr. Jeffrys, solely on the basis of his genteelness of apparel and demeanour (he had come out without any money on him).[17] And

[14]Dent, *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, p. 43.
[15]Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman*, Vol. 1, pp. 73–74.
[16]Daniel Defoe, *Every-body's Business is No-body's Business; or, Private Abuses, Publick Grievances*, (London, 1725), p. 5.
[17]Francis Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal, 1762–3*, (London, 1950), p. 60.

although it might have been fairly easy for Boswell to 'mimic' an elevated social position, as he was himself of a certain social rank, this might not stop others from playing the same game, to a much more deleterious effect. The fear that poor people might try to trick honest tradesmen and other wealthier persons through the strategic use of certain goods, in particular clothing, was central to such thinking. Such anxieties were borne out in a court case, from 1584, in which the Cambridge tradesman John Jeepe deposed that he had been tricked out of some money by a poverty stricken inmate of the town prison, whom he had taken to be an able and 'sufficient' man because the latter was wearing a decent cloak and a sword.[18] Lists of clothing stolen during the eighteenth century in London, compiled by Beverly Lemire from contemporary court records, show the high value of certain items of apparel owned by artisans and servants. For instance, the milkman David Macquire and his wife lodged in one room in a house in Great Swan Alley. Yet in 1758 the following items were stolen from them: one linen gown worth 10s.; one cotton gown worth 10s.; one callimanco petticoat (skirt) worth 10s.; one linen petticoat (skirt); three linen shirts; one silk handkerchief; one pair of stays; and two linen shifts. In another instance, in 1743, Mary Stinson, who lived in Marsh Yard, Wapping, had a suit of clothing stolen worth 5s. She later identified it being worn by another woman.[19]

These incidences and comments suggest that there was a commonly understood 'hierarchy' of consumption, in which the ownership of a number of goods was 'properly' the preserve of certain social groups. The wearing of a sword, for example, was the prerogative of the gentleman. As Dent further argued:

> That is not seemly for one that is seemly for another: that becomes not one man's place that becometh another's: for that is not meet for poor men which is meet for rich men: nor that meet for mean men which is meet for men of note and great place.[20]

[18]Alexandra Shepard, 'Manhood and credit and patriarchy in early modern England, c. 1589–1640', *Past and Present*, No. 167, (2000), p. 89.
[19]Beverley Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800*, (Oxford, 1991), Appendix 2, pp. 205–206.
[20]Dent, *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, pp. 42–43. Similar opinions are voiced, for example, in a homily on dress first printed in 1547 and subsequently reprinted many times, John Griffiths (ed.), *The Two Books of Homilies*, (Oxford, 1859), p. 310; in John Evelyn, *Tyrannus Or the Mode*, (1661), Guy De La

The more conservative religious moralists of the period, such as the Royalist divine Richard Allestree, decried all 'excessive' consumption, with little regard for the social standing of the consumer. Thus Allestree lamented in *The Gentleman's Calling*:

> To all these Excesses [gluttony, drunkenness and such like], that of their Apparel does perfectly correspond: so much cost, so much business goes to it, that one may almost as cheaply and easily rig out a Ship, as get set out a Gentleman in his compleat Equipage.[21]

The poet and non-conformist divine Nicholas Billingsley went so far as to emphasise that goods, in this case clothing, had been intimately connected to the sinfulness of mankind since the fall of Adam, because as he explains in his poem *On Apparel*:

> Adam he sins, as soon as he perceives this shame, he makes him breeches of fig-leaves and afterwards he clothes with coats of skins his nakedness, but could not hide his sins. This man at first for need did clothes invent, which since are us'd for pomp and ornament.[22]

This 'luxuriant growth' of consumption was, in these authors' opinions, leading such men away from their calling as prudent and virtuous leaders of society, towards becoming things of pleasure, interested only in the further consumption of material goods,[23], as they succumbed ever more to the 'feminising' effects of certain items, such as foreign silks and tea. John Sekora has highlighted a whole swathe of negative commentary from the eighteenth century concerned with the vices excessive consumption, in particular 'luxury' goods, was conceived to bring with it, including extravagance, idleness and misery.[24] And as Roy Porter has

Bédoyère (ed.), *The Writings of John Evelyn*, (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 169; and in Richardson, *The Young Man's Pocket Companion*, pp. 33–34.
[21]Richard Allestree, *The Gentleman's Calling*, (London, 1668), pp. 81–82.
[22]Nicholas Billingsley, *A Treasury of Divine Raptures*, (1667), (Cambridge, 1992), p. 24, lines 1–6.
[23]Allestree, *The Gentleman's Calling*, preface.
[24]John Sekora, *Luxury*, (London, 1977), chapter 2.

succinctly highlighted, many moralists perceived the strength of the nation literally being washed away amidst the copious consumption of 'luxury' foods and drink.[25]

Crucially, some 'luxury' goods were indeed coming onto the market, and in much greater numbers, between 1660 and 1780. Burgeoning industries and increasing commercialisation enabled more and more of the population to acquire goods that had previously been beyond their reach, or at least a cheaper equivalent.[26] Thus, for example, colourful, printed cloth became available to the masses for the first time, a visible shift from their previous drab palette.[27] So social emulation was now perceived to be even easier, which as a consequence could facilitate a visual levelling of the social hierarchy. Interestingly enough, the previous lack of reasonably priced goods had not stopped such moralists assuming that these were still being somehow obtained by the 'lower orders'.

The introduction of new commodities thus both caused and fed into these debates on luxury and consumption, and reveal a shift in consciousness amongst wealthy urban groups towards new ways of articulating their position in society, in opposition not just to the lower orders, but also to the traditional county elite. At the forefront of this change we find the magazines *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. Although they ridiculed the excessive consumption of backward country folk, and the poorer urban masses, their authors did not feel fundamentally threatened by the expanding economy and the ensuing possibilities this provided the consumer. Instead they focused on how a *'gentleman'* might relate to this changing economic reality, proposing a middle way between completely decrying, or embracing, the increasing commercialisation of society, which was to be founded on a new concept of outward conduct called 'politeness'. Centred on polite conversation, this allowed the participants to draw back slightly from their personal involvement in the world and to try and understand other points of view more objectively, thus developing a healthy interest in a variety of opinions. This,

[25]Roy Porter, 'Consumption: disease of the consumer society?', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London, 1993), pp. 63–64.
[26]Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: consumer culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, (Manchester, 1999), p. 67.
[27]Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce*, (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 6.

Joseph Addison concluded in the first issue of *The Spectatator* in March 1711, had enabled him to become a 'Spectator of Mankind':

> I am very well versed in the Theory of an Husband, or a Father, and can discern the Errors in the Oeconomy, Business and Diversion of others, better than those who are engaged in them.[28]

Goods could play a significant role in this. Lawrence Klein and Anna Bryson have suggested that the consumption of tea and all the trappings associated with the 'ritual' of the tea table, for example, contributed to a refinement of manners and the rise of 'politeness', in particular amongst the male members of elite society.[29] The introduction of these goods coincided with a rise in attempts to 'reform' male manners, and the growth of coffeehouses, clubs and assemblies in London and other large urban areas, where 'polite' conversation took place.[30] There was a deeper understanding behind this movement, however, that transcended such outward expressions of refinement and consumption, as understood by contemporary commentators. As Christopher Berry has pointed out, a number of these commentators, including Addison and Douglas Hume, perceived such interactions and consumption as conducive to the furtherance of good trade and commerce in this rapidly changing economy.[31]

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[28]March 1st 1711, Bond, *The Spectator*, Vol. I, pp. 4–5.

[29]Lawrence Klein, 'Gender, conversation and the public sphere in early eighteenth century England', in Judith Still and Michael Worton (eds.), *Textuality and Sexuality*, (Manchester, 1993), pp. 109–110, Lawrence Klein, 'Property and politeness in the early eighteenth century Whig moralists. The case of The Spectator', in Brewer and Staves, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, pp. 29–30, as well as Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, (Oxford, 1998), pp. 3–4.

[30]Robert Shoemaker, 'Reforming male manners: public insult and the decline of violence in London, 1660–1740', in Michele Cohen and Tim Hitchcock (eds.), *English Masculinities, 1660–1800*, (London, 1999), pp. 137–38. See also Klein's article on the rise of 'politeness' as an urban phenomenon, partially constructed through the growth of coffee houses as a place for such conversation, Lawrence Klein, 'The polite town', in Tim Hitchcock and Heather Shore (eds.), *The Streets of London: from the Great Fire to the Great Stink*, (London, 2003), p. 38. The response to this quasi 'feminising' of men was by no means always seen in a positive light. Various different responses to this social shift are discussed in Phillip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800*, (London, 2001). These studies have focused in the main on the metropolis, as Shoemaker has noted. Work done on provincial towns by Peter Borsay, Mark Hallett and Jane Rendall also record a growth in the physical trappings of polite sociability amongst the wealthy industrial and gentry classes of such areas. Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, (London, 1989), Peter Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, (London, 1990), and Mark Hallett and Jane Rendall, *Eighteenth Century York: Culture, Space and Society, Borthwick Texts and Calenders*, No. 30, (2003).

[31]Christopher Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: a conceptual and historical investigation*, (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 127–52.

Material Culture, Reputation, and the Social Order

The above quotes have focused on the possible and actual 'misuse' of material goods, revealing their importance for establishing a person's reputation. As Craig Muldrew has emphasised, virtually all financial transactions in the country were performed on credit, because of a lack of coinage. So it was extremely important for families and individuals, whatever social and occupational group they belonged to, to be seen by their communities as possessing a good financial standing, in order to obtain the credit they needed for everyday life. Outward appearance and the correct household trappings played a fundamental role in this. And Muldrew has found evidence that, rather than encouraging self-interest and an erosion of such credit relationships, the expanding economy in early modern England actually reinforced them, as there was no rise in the circulation of money in proportion to this growth.[32] The debt litigation cases and other sources studied highlight, that for many people of not dissimilar status, other factors such as an unsullied financial standing were also key for reputation and differentiation, explaining people's touchiness when these were questioned.

The importance which individuals placed upon reputation, and their consciousness of their station within the social order, can be seen in diverse sources and contexts. Wills, for example, often included insistent references to the social position of the deceased and his or her family. The York tanner John Yeoman stated in his will that he wished 'to be buryed according to my quality', and the wealthy Halifax widow Mary Mawde asked for her grandsons John and Jonathan to be maintained and educated for the next 12 years according to their 'degree and quality'.[33] Numerous court cases reveal the dishonour plaintiffs felt had been inflicted on their person and position in society when their use of space and material culture was attacked. In one example, from the later seventeenth century,

[32]Craig Muldrew, 'Interpreting the market: the ethics of credit and community relations in early modern England', *Social History*, Vol. 18, (1993), pp. 163-83, and *The Economy of Obligation: the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England*, (Basingstoke, 1998). The study of litigation in Cambridge in the late sixteenth century by Alexandra Shepard looks at respectability and credit before the Restoration, with similar results, 'Manhood, credit and patriarchy in early modern England, c. 1580–1640', *Past and Present*, No. 167, (2000), pp. 75-106.

[33]The Borthwick Archives, York, Probate Records, York deanery, John Yeoman, York, tanner, will written 21st December 1691, inventory appraised 4th March 1691 and worth £1,022 6*s*. including household goods; and Pontefract deanery, Mary Mawde, Halifax, widow, will written 28th July 1688, inventory appraised 29th & 30th October 1688 and worth £314 11*s*. 11½*d*. including household goods.

a Thomas Snowdon, of Bridlington, was called 'a poor and indignant fellow and of a loose life and Conversation' during a pew dispute, leading to a defamation suit being filed against those who said this, a Robert Greame and a John Coates.[34] As the position of a parishioner's seat in their church was a visible sign of their social standing in that community, by trying to sit in what seems to have been the family pew of Robert Greame, a wealthy farmer with a mansion house and considerable estates in the parish, Thomas Snowdon, described as a man of little worldly wealth and who never attended church, affronted Greame considerably. Whether intentionally or not, it would seem that on this rare occasion when he came to church, Snowdon sat in the wrong pew. Snowdon then probably baulked at being told to sit elsewhere, possibly in a less advantageous seat becoming his inferior position, leading to the ensuing argument and defamatory words being spoken. Diaries provide the most explicit references to the importance placed on reputation and social standing within society. Samuel Pepys's journal reveals him to be preoccupied by notions of the correct conduct and outward trappings for his 'degree' or 'quality'. This was on occasion fraught with difficulty, as he was the archetypal upwardly mobile individual so disliked by contemporary moralists, rapidly gaining the wealth and contacts which enabled him to enter the elite. Even so, Pepys was acutely aware of the need not to appear to act above his station. Thus when on May the 1st 1669 he put on his first summer suit of the year, this:

> Was not my fine one of flowered tabby vest and coloured camelott tunic, because it was too fine with the gold lace at the hands, that I was afeared to be seen in it...

His wife, however, persuaded him to don this outfit for their ride in their recently acquired coach that afternoon.[35] But when a few days later Pepys heard from his friend Povy, that his gold-lace sleeves had been noticed 'this vexed me also, so as to resolve never to appear in Court with it, but presently to have it taken

[34]BIA, Ecclesiastical Court Cause Papers, CP.H/5202. The exact date is not recorded, but it dates from the Restoration period. The scribe who wrote the document, Henry Squire, wrote many others during the later seventeenth century.
[35]Robert Latham (ed.), *The Shorter Pepys*, (1660–69), (London, 1993), p. 1015.

off, as it is fit I should',[36] and so he did. Pepys was understandably averse to the idea that he might be classed as more interested in fashion than his job. This same thought dogged the young student of the Middle Temple, Dudley Ryder, 50 years later. The ambitious son of a draper, like Pepys, Ryder filled his diary with comments on his appearance and manners. He was very conscious that he was dressing and acting slightly above his current social position. At the same time, he felt keenly, as many of the contemporary commentators did, that undue interest in material goods and 'luxuries' was not really becoming a man aspiring to be a good gentleman. So he was often 'vexed... to find that my mind is too apt to be affected with such trifles'.[37] Dudley also regularly rebuked his family for the same failing. Worried that his brother was dressing too expensively, he on one occasion lamented:

> Bother William had to-day a pair of lace ruffles... his gloves, his shoes and stockings are all of the finest sort and must cost a great deal of money... I ventured to tell my brother of the extravagance and the folly and ridiculousness of his wearing lace ruffles in Mr. Swain's company and in general spoke against that vain foolish way of going fine as he does, but I don't find it had any influence upon it at all...[38]

The journal written in the mid eighteenth century by the young apprentice mercer Roger Lowe, of the small Lancashire town of Ashton-in-Makerfield, provides a rare example of the opinions held by those lower down the social scale. Like the other diaries, Lowe's was also filled with entries concerning his social position, including on one occasion his annoyance at not receiving the clothing he felt were accorded to him:

> Lord's day. I went to Leigh, and as soone as I came there my Master and Dame both said I must have measure taken of me for a suite of clothes and a coate, and Taylor came att night to take

[36]Latham, *The Shorter Pepys*, p. 1019.
[37]William Matthews (ed.), *The Diary of Dudley Ryder*, (1715–16), (London, 1939), p. 119. Many years later, in 1740, Ryder was knighted, and attained the highest of offices, becoming the Attorney-General and Lord Chief Justice of England, in the 1750s.
[38]Ryder, *The Diary of Dudley Ryder*, p. 151.

> measure of me. But my Master would let me have nothinge but a coate, soe I would have none and parted with greefe.[39]

His anger at this snub is compounded by the message this could send to the rest of the community, suggesting his work and diligence did not merit a whole new suit of clothes, merely a coat that could cover up a worn suit for another year or two.

But while such wills, court cases and diaries indicate that people had a strong sense of their position in society, they rarely tell us exactly what this was, nor do they describe explicitly how they perceived the social order.

Historians are thus left trying to piece together a coherent reconstruction of the social order of early modern England, and how material culture might have been used as a vehicle to articulate a person's position within it. One common approach has been to rely on the theoretical models of contemporary analysts such as Gregory King. King produced exhaustive calculations of the state of the nation in the 1680s and 1690s, including a social structure of English society according to the occupation of the head of the family, gleaned from the Lady day Hearth Tax of 1690. Some of his other tables included estimates of the average incomes of such occupational groups.[40] But these can never be more than the subjective estimates of individuals, relying on limited knowledge.[41] In particular there is a tension here between how contemporaries conceived of the social order in abstract, as laid out by King, and how they saw and experienced their position

[39]William Sachse (ed.), *The Diary of Roger Lowe, 1663–74*, (New Haven, 1938), p. 50, 15th February 1664.
[40]Gregory King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the state and Condition of England*, (1696), in Peter Laslett (ed.), *The Earliest Classics*, (Farnborough, 1973), p. 48. At the time King was writing, England was at all out war with France. Although his results were never published by him, it could well be that he conceived they could be of use to the government, for taxation purposes or such like. What we know is that King had a fascination for numbers and went to great lengths to calculate the economic worth of the country. His *Scheme* was reproduced within the work of Charles Davenant in 1698. But most of his other estimates and tables were strewn throughout his notebooks and never compiled together. One of his notebooks has also been reproduced by Laslett in *the Earliest Classics*. The other analyst whose model has been extensively utilised is Joseph Massie. Produced half a century later, his model differs little from King's results on the face of it, giving the impression that England's social structure and distributional wealth was static and monolithic, and had not changed in 50 years. Joseph Massie, *A Computation of the Money that hath been exorbitantly Raised upon the People of Great Britain by the Sugar Planters, in One Year from January 1759 to January 1760; shewing how much Money a Family of each Rank, Degree or Class hath lost by that rapacious Monopoly, after I laid it open...*, (London, 1760).
[41]For critiques of King's and Massie's numbers see Peter Lindert and John Williamson, 'Revising England's social tables', 1688–1812, *Explorations in Economic History*, Vol. 19, (1982), pp. 396–97, and D. V. Glass, 'Two papers on Gregory King', in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in History: essays in historical demography*, (London, 1965), pp. 159–220.

within their community and society as a whole. This becomes most apparent when analysing the material culture of two persons with seemingly the same social position, according to their occupation. Peter Lindert has rightly flagged up the problem of whether two people labelled 'yeoman' were really of exactly the same status, for example, or if other factors had a role to play.[42]

Nevertheless, John Smail has studied the consumption patterns of a group of wealthy merchants and manufacturers in the parish of Halifax, and has found these to be relatively homogeneous: from the goods they bought to the houses they built.[43] Peter Earle has found a similar cohesion in the consumption patterns of the wealthy London merchants and manufacturers.[44] And the goods this group were buying, were precisely those 'luxuries' the contemporary moralists believed should have been reserved for the elite. As they consolidated their social position, through the increased incomes that many of these could command, then goods and services previously unobtainable, were now freely available to them. These wealthy men were not solely occupied with acquiring new smart houses for themselves and their families, either, but also with the supporting of various religious and charitable institutions, creating a sense of social cohesion that went beyond outward similarities, leading to these historians labelling them as the precursors of the Victorian 'middle class'.

Maxine Berg has found that gender also played a role. She has focused on similar occupational groups in Sheffield and Birmingham, categorised by her as the 'industrial classes'. And her results have revealed differences in the goods owned by women, in contrast to men. Amanda Vickery has analysed the creation of gender identities and the world of women from the surviving letters of the minor Lancashire gentry, and has noted similar disparities. Furthermore, both have noted that these women were more likely to give certain specific items to their female, rather than male friends and relatives, suggesting that such gifts can give us an insight into the social relationships these women cultivated.[45]

[42]Peter Lindert, 'English occupations, 1670–1811', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XL, (1980), p. 689.
[43]John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*, (Ithaca, 1994).
[44]Peter Earle, *The Making of The Middle Class*, (London, 1991).
[45]Maxine Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 30, (1996), pp. 415-34, and Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, (New Haven, 1998). Marcia Pointon has further noted how certain goods were specifically produced to reflect kinship and other relationships. For example funeral rings, from her sample of 89 wills of

As a consequence, certain goods had gendered meanings attributed to them. This has been suggested by Stana Nenadic, from her study of the household consumption of the 'middling sort' of Edinburgh and Glasgow, recording how objects could reflect changing social dynamics within the family. Thus the mid eighteenth century saw predominantly 'male' status items such as mahogany dining tables and crystal decanters in the dining room, for example, whilst by the the 1840s 'female' ones such as china tea sets and a piano, were much more prevalent.[46]

This thesis will, therefore, look at how far people with the similar occupation/status designations shared a common material culture. It will then analyse how people might have used material goods to construct and present their social position to the outside world. More specifically, it will focus on how far and how people utilised certain of the new commodities produced between 1660 and 1780 to do this, and to what extent these goods produced a 'new' society.

Production and Consumption

That the production of goods was increasing dramatically during the early modern period in England is beyond doubt. Joan Thirsk has highlighted, for example, how the lack of government regulation of rural industries, enabled a wide range of manufacturing enterprises to exist all over the country, producing such items as lace, threads, incle and pins in varying patterns, qualities and prices, already by the early seventeenth century.[47] Beverly Lemire, furthermore, has shown how the need for cheap uniforms to clothe the many sailors press ganged into fighting the wars of the late seventeenth century, then kick-started the 'mass' production of cheap ready-made garments that benefited large swathes of the population.[48] The question historians have had to ask themselves, however, is whether this was just an increase in general production, or whether there was also an increase in the production and availability, to larger sections of society,

aristocratic women from all over the country, written between 1711 and 1760, *Strategies for Showing*, (New Haven, 1993), p. 44.

[46]Stana Nenadic, 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720–1840', *Past and Present*, No. 145, (1994), pp. 141–53.

[47]Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 106–108.

[48]Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce*, pp. 9–20.

of certain 'luxuries' such as wigs, silver trinkets, china and so forth, which so worried contemporary moralists.

Historians have found that there was indeed substantial growth in the latter, with London at the centre of much of this production, just as it was at the centre of the new 'polite' culture, and indeed of the life of contemporary moralists. In 1725, the visitor César De Saussure waxed lyrical in a letter to his family, about the beauty of the shops in the Strand, Fleet Street, Cheapside and Cornhill, remarking that they were where:

> ... The choicest merchandise from the four quarters of the globe is exposed to the sight of the passers-by. A stranger might spend whole days, without ever feeling bored, examining these wonderful goods...[49]

And he was unlikely to run out of shops to look at, as the numbers of retail outlets recorded by tax officials increased throughout the eighteenth century, reaching 21,603 by 1759.[50] Some of the most famous names in the history of shopping and consumption began their life in London during this period. Although Josiah Wedgwood had his pottery works in Stoke, he opened a showroom at 5 Charles Street, Grosvenor Square, in 1766, to attract such visitors and the elite inhabitants at the forefront of fashion, to his wares. For their dillection he proposed to:

[49]César De Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II*, Madame Van Muyden (ed.), *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II: the letters of Monsieur César De Saussure to his family*, (London, 1902), p. 81. See, for example, also comments in contemporary magazines such as the following from *The Female Tatler*, in this case with more than just a hint of satire, describing London shops as 'perfect guilded theatres', where a lady could easily 'pass away three or four hours in', being served by men who were 'the greatest fops in the Kingdom', Morgan Fidelis (ed.), *The Female Tatler*, (1709), (London, 1992), No. 9. But as Betty Ramsden and her friends knew, it was still the best place for shopping. A box of elaborately patterned silks she sent to Lancashire from London were described as '... in the very politest Fash[ion]', Betty Ramsden, Charterhouse, to Elizabeth Parker, Alkincoats, Lancashire Record Office, Preston, DDB/72/179 (1764), quoted in Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 164.

[50]John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, (Chicago, 1997), p. xxvii. This is a conservative estimate, as many shops will have been too small to have been assessed for such tax purposes, as Hoh-Cheung and Lorna Mui have found, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, (London, 1989), p. 181. See also Helen Berry's discussion of shopping in eighteenth century England, in particular London, and how it was identified as a 'polite' pastime, with all the positive and negative connotations that definition encapsulated, as defined by the likes of Addison. Helen Berry, 'Polite consumption: shopping in eighteenth century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, Vol. 12, (2002).

> ... show various Table & desert services, completely set out on two ranges of Tables, six or eight at least such services are absolutely necessary to be shown in order to do the needfull with the Ladys in the neatest, genteelest & best method. The same, or indeed a much greater variety of setts of vases should decorate the Walls, & both these articles may, every few days, be so alter'd revers'd, & transform'd as to render the whole a new scene, Even to the same Company, every time they shall bring their friends to visit us...[51]

His vision proved so popular that he outgrew these modest premises within a year, and relocated shortly afterwards to Portland House, owned by the Dukes of Portland, in Greek Street.[52] Here he could command the 'fine prices' he wanted for his high quality goods.[53] In the same year a former midshipman, James Christie, opened a small auction house in Pall Mall, the modest beginnings of what was to become an internationally famous establishment.[54] Thus London was indeed 'a kind of Emporium for the whole Earth', as Joseph Addison described her.[55]

The size of just a handful of industries is enough to show the scale of production in London. The silk weaving industry in Spitalfields, for example, supported by 1750 around 500 master weavers, had around 15,000 looms at work, and a dependent local population of 50,000.[56] Watch and clock making had also become one of the great London trades by the end of the seventeenth century.[57] By this period, owning a watch had become so commonplace amongst the Metropolitan elite and wealthy middling sort, it was duly noted by the French traveller Henri Misson, who observed in 1698 that 'almost every Body has a Watch, and

[51]Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston, Etruria Collection (letters), E25-18141, 31 May 1767, quoted in Robin Reilly, *Josiah Wedgwood, 1730–95*, (London, 1992), p. 94.
[52]Reilly, *Josiah Wedgwood*, pp. 120–21.
[53]Roy Porter, *London: a Social History*, (London, 2000), p. 161.
[54]Porter, *London*, p. 173.
[55]No. 69, Saturday May 19, 1711, Bond, *The Spectator*, Vol. I, p. 293.
[56]M. Reed, 'London and its hinterland 1600–1800: the view from the provinces', in Peter Clark and Bernhard Lepetit (eds.), *Capital Cities and their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe*, (Aldershot, 1996), p. 52. See also M. Dorothy George's exhaustive study on London in the eighteenth century, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, (Harmondsworth, 1965), chapter 4 'The people and trades of London'.
[57]George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 173.

but few private Families are without a Pendulum'.[58] Not only had a new way of setting clock workings been discovered, making them both less bulky and more accurate,[59] but also new tools which enabled a division of labour that foreshadowed the factory system of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There were, for example, tradesmen, often women, who made nothing but watch springs, chains, caps and studs. This resulted in a virtual mass production of inexpensive watches and clocks, that could be acquired by a large section of the population.[60] Indeed Adam Smith noted in 1776 that 'a better movement of a watch, that about the middle of the last century could have been bought for twenty pounds, may now perhaps be had for twenty shillings'.[61] By the 1750s 120,000 watches a year were being manufactured in Clerkenwell, of which some 50,000 were for the domestic market.[62] By 1695 over 1,000 people were also employed in London's 24 glasshouses, producing mirrors, as well as glasses and window panes.[63] And the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, which had restricted the printing trade to 20 master printers in the capital, enabled printing to flourish as well.[64] By the 1720s there were more than 75 master printers in London alone. This rose to over 120 by the 1760s. The author of the novel *Pamela*, Samuel Richardson, had one of the biggest printing businesses in the capital in the 1750s, with a total of nine presses, approximately 40 journeymen, and a handful of apprentices.[65]

The importing of foreign luxuries was an equally important trade at this time. Tea, although a relative latecomer compared with coffee and chocolate, proved a hit. By 1760 duty was being paid on around 5,000,000 lb. of tea annually. Such was the demand for it, that it is estimated that at least the same amount was

[58]J. Ozell (trans.), *Misson's Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England with some Account of Scotland and Ireland*, (London, 1719), p. 37, quoted in Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time*, (London, 1996), p. 110. For a further discussion of London as a centre of such consumption see for example F. Fisher, 'The development of London as a centre of conspicuous consumption in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, Vol. 30, (1948), pp. 40–41.
[59]Lisa Jardine, *Ingenious Inventions*, (London, 1999), chapter 4.
[60]George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 173–74.
[61]Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, (1776), (London, 1937), p. 243., quoted in Carlo Cipolla, *European Culture and Overseas Expansion*, (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 144–45.
[62]George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 174.
[63]John Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: sensibilities & design in early modern Britain & early America*, (London, 2001), p. 128.
[64]Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 130–31.
[65]Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 137.

being smuggled into the country at that time.[66] This love of tea sparked the need for new utensils just to consume it, and china was one of these, not only because of its obvious attractions, but also because it had a practical use, pewter being unsuitable for drinking hot beverages out of.[67] By the early eighteenth century china warehouses already existed in London, and it was being avidly collected. The *London Gazette* in 1705, for example, reported the auction of the estate of a deceased man of quality, which included a considerable quantity and variety of fine old china ware.[68] Earle has noted, that if the probate samples he had collected were anything to go by, china was common in the houses of the London 'middle class' by the reign of Queen Anne.[69] Furthermore, as B. Sprague Allen has pointed out, a whole raft of new words came into the English language, including 'tea-spoon' in 1686, 'tea-kettle' in 1705, and 'tea-house' in 1789.[70]. The word 'tea table', around which the new culture of 'polite' male and female interaction was constructed, based on women 'ruling' the tea table,[71] came into the language in 1688 and the word 'tea party', the extension of this, in 1778.[72] Lorna Weatherill's inventory samples from the London Orphans' court also show the quick rise in the ownership of these items amongst the London elite. No reference to utensils for hot drinks was found in her 1675 sample. By 1725, however, 96% of her inventories recorded such goods.[73]

As a consequence, those living in the provinces who could afford to do so, had their 'luxuries' imported from the capital. The following items were just a few of many goods Sir Walter Calverley of Calverley in Yorkshire bought in London, in 1701, 'I and my mother gave my sister Neville a bed, hangings, etc. which I bought at London, cost upwards of £60, besides bedding and some other odd things'.[74] Other northern gentry and aristocrats acquired such luxury goods in

[66]Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, (Harmondsworth, 1986), pp. 112–13.
[67]Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire*, (New York, 1992), p. 18.
[68]B. Sprague Allen, *Tides in English Taste*, (2 vols, New York, 1969), Vol. 1, pp. 196–200.
[69]Earle, *The making of the English Middle Class*, p. 295.
[70]Allen, *Tides in English Taste*, Vol. 1, pp. 189–91.
[71]Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: women, shopping, and business in the eighteenth century*, (New York, 1997), pp. 19–23.
[72]Allen, *Tides in English Taste*, pp. 189–91.
[73]Lorna Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain, 1660–1760*, (London, 1996), p. 27, table 2.2.
[74]February 1700/1, Samuel Margerison (ed.), *Memorandum book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart.*, (1663–1749), *Surtees Society*, Vol. 77, (Leeds, 1886), p. 95. Sir Walter came from an old family of mixed

this way. In November 1718, for example, the Marquis of Annandale purchased a set of pewter dishes, plates, mugs and other pieces, with his coat of arms engraved on them, from Robert Nicholson, a pewterer on the corner of Catherine's Street, the Strand, London.[75] In November 1696, Sir Thomas Haggerston, of Haggerston, near Berwick upon Tweed, recorded the payment of £26 14*s*. for clothes bought for his wife, by his cousin Plowden in London.[76] And in 1704, the lord of the manor of Little Crosby in southwest Lancashire, Nicholas Blundell, wrote a letter to a Mrs. Berry, King Street, St. James Park, London, noting that 'my Wife has received her Mantue and Pettycoat 'tis Much to her liking especially considering the price'. He also noted in his 'Disbursement Book' the price for the dress 'payed by Walter Thelwall to Mr. Houghton at Ormeskirk by orders of Mrs. Ann Berry for a Callico Mantew and Peticoat Bought at London, £3'. Carriage from London was 1*s*. 3*d*.[77]

Production and retailing of such wares was not restricted solely to London, with apprentices from London and the provinces setting up on their own around the country as a consequence of growing demand. A biographical dictionary produced by Christopher Pickford, lists all the clock and watchmakers that that had existed in Bedfordshire between 1352 and 1880, for example. This included the clockmaker and watch mender Jonathan Brampston of Bedford, who lived and worked in a house in Angel Street- now Harpur Street- at the turn of the eighteenth century.[78] And a well known family of clock makers, the Listers, resided

fortunes, that he and his father were able to restore, through prudent economy and judicious marriages, Peter Roebuck, *Yorkshire Baronets*, (Oxford, 1980), pp. 292–93.

[75]John Walker (ed.), *Hackness Manuscripts and Accounts, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, Vol. 95, (1938), p. 59. The marquis had married a daughter of John Van de Dempde, who owned the Hackness estate in Yorkshire. A wealthy merchant family already during the time of Henry VIII, they had acquired the estate off Sir Sidney Sydenham in 1707 for 31,000, whose family fortunes had failed (pp. 1–8).

[76]Ann Forster, *The Disbursement Book of Sir Thomas Haggerston*, (1691–1709), *Surtees Society*, Vol. 180, (1965), p. 35. From a recusant family, Sir Thomas Haggerston had supported James II in 1688 and as a consequence had been in prison, but his life at the time of the entries in this book was relatively quiet.

[77]J.J. Bagley and Frank Tyrer (eds.), *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, (1702–28), (3 vols), *The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 110, (1968), p. 59, in footnote. The letters Vickery has analysed to and from various Lancashire gentlewomen during the eighteenth century are full of requests for fashionable goods to be sourced and sent from London, *The Gentleman's Daughter*.

[78]Christopher Pickford *The Bedfordshire Clock & Watchmakers, 1352–1880, The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, Vol. 70, (1991), p. 89. Further provincial and national studies have been produced by amongst others Bernard Mason, *Clock and Watchmaking in Colchester*, (London, 1969); Iorwerth Peate, *Clock and Watch makers in Wales*, (Cardiff, 1960); Leonard Weiss, *Watch-making in England, 1760–1820*, (London, 1982); and G.H. Bailie, *Clocks and Watches: An Historical Bibliography*, (London, 1951).

in Halifax in the later eighteenth century.[79] It was the same story with printers.[80] *The Harleian Miscellany*, issued by the well known London publisher Thomas Osborne, listed 249 country printers when it was published in the 1740s. Amongst these was a Richard Chandler who not only had an establishment in London, but also retail outlets in Scarborough and York.[81] Interestingly, the provincial printers did not print books in any great number until the end of the eighteenth century, restricting themselves instead to the publishing and printing of local pamphlets, sermons, handbills and newspapers,[82] with much of the content of the latter being excerpts of news published in London papers. But as Hannah Barker has argued, the popularity of these papers came from their mix of both up-to-date international and national, as well as local, news, making them different enough to be able to compete against the large metropolitan based papers.[83] By the middle of the century, such material was being diffused throughout the country, through a network of some 400 bookshops, located in nearly 200 towns.[84] And whilst the Stamp Duty, introduced in the early eighteenth century, doubled the price of newspapers in many cases, it has been calculated that in 1760 alone, over nine million metropolitan and provincial news sheets were produced.[85] The advertising potential of these provincial newspapers, pamphlets and handbills, was not lost on the printers, with London businesses making extensive use of such material to advertise their books, and other wares.[86] Virtually every paper carried adverts for books from London printers, including in July 1775, in the *Leeds*

[79]They moved to Bull Green, Halifax from Warley in 1765, and later built a row of houses in nearby Lord Street, C. Rycroft,'The Thomas Listers' clock makers', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1973–74), pp. 1–18.
[80]Michael Harris, 'Periodicals and the book trade', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Development of the English Book Trade, 1700–1899*, (Oxford, 1981), p. 67.
[81]William Todd and Peter Wallis (eds.), *Provincial Booksellers C. 1744: The Harleian Miscellany Subscription List*, (Oxford, 1974), p. 429.
[82]John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth Century England*, (Cambridge, 1985), p. 109.
[83]Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Later Eighteenth-Century England*, (Oxford, 1998), pp. 95–97.
[84]Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 137.
[85]Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, 1987), p. 105.
[86]C. Ferdinand, 'Constructing the frameworks of desire: how newspapers sold books in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, (London, 1999), pp. 165–66.

Mercury, a notice that the eleventh edition of *English Housewifery* had just been published and was ready for purchase.[87]

Numbers of provincial retail outlets rose accordingly. Relatively scarce until the early modern period, with many more specialised purchases previously being made at local markets,[88] shopkeepers were so ubiquitous by the beginning of the eighteenth century, Defoe was able to muse that 'I have endeavoured to make some calculation of the number of shop-keepers in this kingdom, but I find it is not to be done- we may as well count the stars'.[89] Most shopkeepers ordered metropolitan wares either directly from the London warehouses, or through one of the myriad middlemen who specialised in this trade. The goods were then sent either by overland carriers, who by the beginning of the eighteenth century were fairly dependable and regular, leaving London from set places at set times,[90] or they were shipped from one of London's 19 specially designated quays.[91] Yet other shopkeepers bought their wares from the many chapmen plying their trade along the increasingly upgraded road and waterways of the country.[92] Some groups of salesmen even had specific names given to them according to the wares they carried with them, 'Manchester' men specialising in linen and cotton textiles produced in Manchester and London, for example.[93] However it was done, the majority of local shopkeepers tried to maintain at least some links with London styles and fashions well into the eighteenth century. Thus James Sharpe has

[87]*Leeds Mercury*, Tuesday 11th July 1775, G.D. Lumb (ed.), 'Extracts from the Leeds Intelligencer and the Leeds Mercury, 1769–76', *Thoresby Society*, Vol. XXXVIII, (1938), p. 155.
[88]Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America*, (Oxford, 1990), p. 197.
[89]Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman, in Familiar Letters: Directing him in all the several parts and progressions of trade*, (London, 2nd ed., 1727), p. 329, quoted in Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, 1990), p. 190. John Rule has noted how the 'grocer' was amongst the most common of all shop keepers, the same title being used for the trader of general merchandise in small towns and villages, as for the specialist trader of the new dry good 'groceries' such as tea, sugar and spices in bigger urban centres. The spectacular rise in numbers of this trader, to be found in most towns and villages by the beginning of the eighteenth century, is a good illustration of the general rise in shop-keeping, *Albion's People*, (Harlow, 1992), pp. 77–8.
[90]Reed, 'London and its hinterland 1600–1800', p. 65.
[91]Earle, *The making of the English Middle Class*, p. 41.
[92]Peter Tillott (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, (London, 1961), p. 224.
[93]Earle, *The making of the English Middle Class*, p. 44.

concluded that 'the provincial shop, selling a host of small wares, notably non-perishable goods, was one of most important factors in the formation of a national economic system'.[94]

Important changes in the production of the goods themselves, such as in the clock and watchmaking touched on above, made them marketable to the masses. Silverware underwent a similar transformation. Traditionally silver had always been a popular 'luxury' item amongst those who could afford it, because it was both decorative and retained its intrinsic monetary worth over time, unlike the majority of consumables. By the mid eighteenth century, the decoration and style in which silver was fashioned was fast becoming the most important feature of this good, leading to the amount paid for the decoration outweighing that of the actual silver content in many cases. Innovations in production and design paved the way for the mass production of small decorative silver trinkets with little actual silver content. And the introduction of silver plate opened the way for such large items as silver tea sets to become a more common sight in less wealthy families.[95] Many other goods made this same transition, in some cases most spectacularly. Thirsk, in her aptly named article 'The fantastical folly of fashion', followed the rise of stockings, which in the sixteenth century were rare silk luxuries in England, but by the beginning of the eighteenth century had become universal woollen necessities, being churned out by their millions.[96] Sidney Mintz has charted this change in particular for sugar, which went from being the luxury that the elite conspicuously consumed in the form of large and intricate sculptures in the sixteenth century, to a 'necessity', eaten by everyone including

[94]James Sharpe, *Early Modern England: a social history, 1550–1760*, (London, 1987), p. 142.
[95]Helen Clifford, 'A commerce with things: the value of precious metalwork in early modern England', in Berg and Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury*, pp. 147–68.
[96]Joan Thirsk, 'The fantastical folly of fashion; the English stocking knitting industry, 1500–1700', in Negley Harte and K. G. Pointing (eds.), *Textile History and Economic History*, (Manchester, 1973). Other goods where changes in production enabled them to be produced in large numbers at a reduced price include such diverse items as textiles, books, prints, clocks, and even kitchen and eating utensils. Their production, distribution and impact on the lives of people in early modern England have been analysed by, amongst others, Beverley Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800*, (Oxford, 1991); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, (Cambridge, 1981); Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, in particular part II; Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550–1850*, (London, 1999); Mason, *Clock and Watchmaking in Colchester*; Cipolla, *European Culture and Overseas Expansion*; Jardine, *Ingenious Inventions*, chapter 4; George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 173–74; and Sara Pennell, 'Pots and pans history': the material culture of the kitchen in early modern England', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 11, (1998), pp. 201-16.

the poor. The latter often used it as a substitute for more healthy foods by the late eighteenth century, because it is high in energy and soothing.[97]

On the face of it, it would seem, therefore, that the mass of the population were now indulging in the consumption of 'luxury' goods. Jan De Vries has analysed how overall household consumption in early modern England fluctuated according to what was bought. In certain instances, poorer householders even curtailed necessary expenditure, in order to purchase a more expensive 'luxury' item.[98] Michael Riley has also noted the rise in numbers of such goods in the surviving inventories from the four rural Yorkshire farming communities he studied, between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[99] Margaret Spufford has, furthermore, argued that there was a veritable 'great reclothing of rural England' in the late seventeenth century, as chapmen peddled 'luxuries' to the mass of the population living in the countryside.[100] The lure of the outward trappings of wealth was believed by Defoe to be so great, his conduct book for tradesmen and shopkeepers included a whole section on the evils of luxurious living.[101]

However, research by modern historians has shown that economic growth, product innovation and increased imports, can — and did — lower the prices of these 'luxuries'. Weatherill has found that by the turn of the eighteenth century small inexpensive pieces of china were being recorded in the inventories of modest provincial families, valued at an average of *6d.* each.[102] The discovery of how to make fine porcelain led to the domestic production of this previously imported good, with the establishment of the Staffordshire potteries culminating in an outpouring of cheap imitation china wares by the late eighteenth century.[103] Tea is another example of a former 'luxury' item that became a cheap good (and thus

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[97]Mintz, *Sweetness and Power.*
[98]Jan De Vries, 'Between purchasing power and the world of goods: understanding the household economy in early modern England', in Brewer and Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London, 1993), pp. 85–132. See also Shammas's important study *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America*, where she has noted this interplay between income and expenditure on goods that were necessary, and those that were classed as 'luxuries', (chapter 4).
[99]Michael Riley, 'Families and their Property in Early Modern England: a study of four communities on the Yorkshire Ouse, 1660-1760', (Unpublished Ph. D, York, 1990), pp. 114–20.
[100]Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, (London, 1984).
[101]Defoe, *The Compleat English Tradesman*, pp. 73–98.
[102]Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, p. 159.
[103]Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, (Oxford, 1992), p. 69.

no longer an indication of an elevated social status) by the late eighteenth century. This was much to the dismay of social reformers such as Jonas Hanway.[104] Hanway's fears neatly illustrate the national importance placed by some on the mass consumption of former 'luxuries'. He felt tea was unpatriotic, because it not only had to be imported, but was also associated with the 'feminising' tendencies of the tea table. The consequence of such consumption, could in his view lead to a disastrous reduction in a man's prowess — which was particularly worrying as this was a time of war. So such goods entered national debate.[105]

But as I have already touched on earlier in this chapter, and as the above examples show, these new 'luxuries' were often very different from those consumed by the elite. Rather than expensive silks, ordinary people bought the new and cheaper printed and flowered calicoes, earthen wares rather than porcelain, gilt, silver plate and ormolu rather than solid silver or gold, and imitation Japanned tinware and papier maché instead of imported lacquer wares.[106] And the packs carted around the country by the many travelling salesmen as Spufford has emphasised, were comprised mostly of cheap bits of lace, cotton gowns and stoneware, not the refined silks and porcelain tea services bought by the elite.

Nonetheless, these were not just cheap imitations churned out to satisfy the masses. As in the case of Wedgwood, many of these goods were produced in a variety of qualities, as well as styles and finishes. Consequently, historians have often described them as semi-luxuries or 'populuxe' goods, in order to distinguish them both from the traditional expensive luxuries only affordable by the elite and also from everyday essentials.[107] Furthermore, evidence would suggest they were not being consumed indiscriminately either. A closer study of a surviving sets of accounts from a modest farmer, the Lancashire yeoman Richard Latham, reveals a level of prudence on the part of less wealthy consumers, that belies what the moralists believed of them. These accounts have, furthermore, enabled Lorna Weatherill to deconstruct the consumption patterns of a whole

[104]Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, pp. 116–17.
[105]Kowalesky-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, (New York, 1997), pp. 31–32.
[106]Berg, 'New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth century England', in Berg and Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury*, pp. 67.
[107]For example by Berg in 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', p. 416, and Carole Shammas in 'Changes in English and Anglo-American consumption from 1550 to 1800', in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, p. 178.

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family, for a large part of their life. With this she has shown how consumption was kept in careful bounds, fluctuating according to the income generated by the family. At the beginning of their marriage, Latham and his wife purchased their household furniture and obtained a mortgage for farmland. They then spent the next years repaying this significant outlay, resulting in a curtailment of other expenditure. The arrival of children placed a further burden on their income, keeping expenditure on non essentials to a minimum. However, as their children reached working age, and contributed to the income of the household, the family found themselves able to afford certain luxuries, such as silk handkerchiefs, or new nicely trimmed bonnets. Latham was even able to afford a clock. But this did not mean they conspicuously wasted their hard earned income. Instead of buying the subscription to the newspaper he read outright, for example, Latham clubbed together with a group of friends to purchase it, and then waited his turn to read it.[108]

Even wealthy families and members of the provincial elite were careful in their expenditure on luxuries, for which Vickery has found good evidence in the accounts left by the Lancashire gentlewoman Elizabeth Shackleton,[109] as well as the surviving letters from Shackleton and her friends and relatives in Lancashire, Yorkshire and London. Using furniture as an example, Vickery has pointed out that instead of buying Chippendale, the gentry patronised Gillows of Lancaster, which produced pieces that were neither vulgar nor ultra fashionable. In Vickery's words 'these mahogany objects embodied the social distinctions of provincial gentility'.[110] Furthermore, those Lancashire women who did follow the newest (London) fashions assiduously, and paraded them in provincial towns, were often ridiculed mercilessly, as in this letter from Anne Parker of Cuerdon to Shackleton:

> Miss Wall... [had] such an Enormous Quantity of Wool False Hair &c upon her Head that I Coud not help thinking if it was

[108]Lorna Weatherill (ed.), *The Account Book of Richard Latham, (1724–67), The British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History*, New Series, Vol. 15, (1990). The first reference to a subscription for a newspaper is recorded in 1746, where he paid 6d, (p. 63).
[109]Amanda Vickery, 'Women and the world of goods: a Lancashire consumer and her possessions, 1751–81', in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods*, pp. 274–301.
[110]Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 161.

cut off t'woud Serve instead of a Wool Pack in the House of Peers for one of the Bishops to sit upon...[111]

Importantly the ownership of such goods did not necessarily denote a desire to emulate the elite. Peter Roebuck has pointed out the difficulties of finding ways to invest surplus income, in the absence of banking facilities or even adequate amounts of bullion in circulation. Thus the buying up of land by wealthy merchants and tradesmen, was not just for reasons of emulation, but was also a sound financial decision.[112] The accumulation of 'luxury' wares can be understood in a similar manner, although without the obvious monetary gains that could be had from land rents and such like. Expensive clothing, usually recorded together with a deceased person's ready cash in surviving inventories, was just another way of storing money. The first line of the inventory taken of the assets of the yeoman John Ryall of Halifax, reads 'Inprimis all his apparell and money in his purse 4li'.[113] It is no coincidence that contemporary moralists decried the amount of money spent on decent cloth and accessories. However, even expensive and supposedly 'superfluous' accessories such as silver lace, could be melted down for its silver content if needed, which is exactly what Pepys recorded that he would do, in 1664: 'going to Stevens the Silversmith's to change some old silver lace and to go buy new silk lace for a petticoat', a most graphic way of 'objectifying' actual money.[114] It is likely that some other luxury and populuxe goods were used in a similar manner. Even the less wealthy could then invest in small purchases of silver, pewter, brass, even a small clock or watch, all items that retained some intrinsic monetary value over time.

Furthermore, as Colin Campbell has argued, these wares created a whole new perspective on the concept of what constituted a 'luxury' good, and how it was to be used by its owners. This is because such semi-luxuries were not just decorative wares to be conspicuously consumed, as many previous luxuries

[111]LRO, DDB Ac 7886/24 (no date), Anna Parker, Cuerdon, to Elizabeth Shackleton, Alkincoats, quoted in Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 173–75.
[112]Roebuck, *Yorkshire Baronets*, pp. 330–42.
[113]Reproduced in Peter Brears (ed.), *Yorkshire Probate Inventories, 1542–1689, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, Vol. 134, (1972), p. 145, MD213.
[114]August 12th 1664, Latham, *The Shorter Pepys*, pp. 414–15.

were, but in many instances had a practical use as well.[115] They also enabled the large section of society who could afford them, to articulate an understanding of 'decency' and 'utility' in the domestic environment, previously debarred them, as Berg has suggested.[116] And, I would argue, their widespread introduction heralded changes in society that went much deeper than the mere possibility of emulation so feared by contemporary commentators. In fact such goods had the capacity to change the mental world of the population. The growth in affordable clocks is an obvious example. No longer reliant on church bells to regulate their days, and with innovations making timepieces more accurate, people in early modern England were exposed for the first time on a large scale to a way of dividing their time, and thus their life, that was substantially different to previous centuries. The seasonal and religious cycles they were used to, were now being superseded by time periods based on the hours and minutes of the clock. And such change was brought to the heart of people's lives through the time piece kept in their houses. This was, however, a slow process, only the beginnings of which can be charted in the period 1660–1780. For as E. P. Thompson has pointed out, whilst we might now regulate our life according to the clock without any thought, there was much grumbling amongst mercantalist moralists in the eighteenth century as to the lack of time discipline of the mass of the population.[117] Nevertheless this change brought about a revolution in the way people structured their working lives in particular, and contributed in no small measure to the making of the modern world, as David Landes has suggested.[118] For as Dr. Johnson stated in the later eighteenth century 'In a commercial country... time becomes precious...'.[119] Mirrors had a similar impact on people's lives, if in a less overt manner. Before this period, the mass of the population will not have possessed a mirror in their houses, so will have rarely seen their own reflection in detail, thus having little real idea of what they looked like. The difference a humble

[115]Colin Campbell, 'The meaning of objects and the meaning of actions', *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 1, (1996), pp. 93-105.
[116]Berg, 'New commodities', pp. 65–70.
[117]E. P. Thompson, 'Time, work-discipline, and industrial capitalism', in Anthony Giddens and David Held (eds.), *Classes, Power and Conflict: classical and contemporary debates*, (Basingstoke, 1982), p. 306.
[118]David Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World*, (London, 1983), chapter 5.
[119]James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D.*, (New York, 1931), p. 408, quoted in Roy Porter *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, 1990), p. 282.

mirror must have made to their perception of themselves and their relationship to their wider community, cannot be underestimated. It must have been the same with books, pamphlets and prints. Although little concrete evidence survives, Spufford has shown from the analysis of rare examples of autobiographies written by men from poor rural families, that the chapbooks and pamphlets they read, or had read out to them, coloured their perception of the world around them.[120] And Adam Fox has noted that chapbooks were widely available even before the period under discussion, and played an integral part in the everyday life for the majority of the population, thus making them an ideal vehicle for the dissemination of new ideas and perceptions of the world around them.[121]

Furthermore, not only did this increasingly literate society[122] have the possibility of reading about other cultures and societies, and looking at maps and prints of these countries,[123] but they could now acquire items that came from such 'exotic' places as well, for example china. With its translucency and delicacy, so different from heavy delft and stoneware, china seemed to herald from a different world. And the beauty, lightness and intricacy of its decoration, and varied colour palate, provided a welcome alternative to buyers.[124] The reasons for consumption, in particular of 'luxuries', cannot therefore be simply dismissed as emulation of 'the elite'.

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[120]Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, (London, 1981), chapter 1.
[121]Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700*, (Oxford, 2000), pp. 8–10.
[122]It has been estimated that by 1750 over half of the male population was literate, to around 40% of the female population. This, however, conceals the discrepancy between the literacy rates of the elite, the vast majority of which were literate by this time, and that of the mass of labourers, for example, who were not, Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 167–68.
[123]Many of the chapbooks in particular concentrated on either biblical texts, or tales of adventures in far off lands and fairy stories, not necessarily providing much real information of such places and peoples. But just the possibility of being able to read at all must have affected their life, as Spufford has noted. For a taste of the kinds of reading pursued by the wealthy middling classes and the elite in particular, see for example Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, (London, 2001), and Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, chapter 4. These show that amongst other subjects history, botany and geography, were popular, enabling the readers to gain a greater and more diverse knowledge of the world around them.
[124]At least so Allen has stated, who sees the baroque as somewhat ponderous and feels the rococo was influenced by the lighter oriental designs. The novelty of such goods and their decoration is also bound to have played a role, *Tides in English Taste*, Vol. 2, pp. 100–14.

Modern Understandings of Material Culture in the Early Modern Period: Two Approaches

Two works in particular have emerged in the last 25 years that encapsulate the research done in this field, and have tried to distill the various strands of desire and prudence into one coherent pattern and understanding of consumption. Their differing approaches and use of sources, however, has produced two different understandings of material culture in early modern England. Neil McKendrick has provided a unified model of the workings of consumption based on market forces and the assumption that emulation was the driving force behind the acquisition of goods during the long eighteenth century. Focusing on aspects of product innovation and distribution networks in two trades, the clothing industry, and the Staffordshire potteries of Josiah Wedgwood, he has been able to show how the growing economy and population, together with better communications, enabled a fashion that was first taken up by the Queen and court, from the later seventeenth century onwards in particular, to disseminate via the leading fashion makers and London elite, to the middling classes and into the provinces. This in turn created the desire and demand for more fashions, prompting by the mid eighteenth century the introduction of fashion plates and commentary on the latest styles in newspapers. Entrepreneurs such as Wedgwood harnessed this growing demand, by producing both bespoke luxury pieces for the elite, as well as cheaper copies for the growing middling sort. To do this Wedgwood utilised the new inventions in production and design, to create a virtual factory-like output, whilst still retaining a reasonable level of quality. This enabled him to tap into the market and quickly meet, as well as feed, the desire for different fashions. More importantly, as a consequence of such a 'trickle down' effect, the elite was forced to constantly seek new styles to differentiate themselves from the rest of society who were trying to copy them using the ever growing numbers of cheap imitations or second-hand wares.[125] Evidence for such emulation lay all around them, because as McKendrick has pointed out:

[125]Neil McKendrick, 'The commercialization of fashion', and 'Josiah Wedgwood and the commercialization of the potteries', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the commercialization of eighteenth century England*, (Bloomington, 1982), pp. 34–99 and pp. 100–145.

> Who bought the cottons, woollens, linens and silks of the burgeoning British textile industries? Who bought the crockery which poured from the Staffordshire potteries? Who bought the buckles, the buttons, the pins and all the minor metal products on which Birmingham fortunes were built? Who bought the Sheffield cutlery, the books of the booming publishers, the women's journals, the children's toys? Which families purchased the products of the early consumer industries? For it was in these industries that the Industrial Revolution began.[126]

It was this increased buying power of the masses, coupled with the phenomenal growth in the production and distribution of consumer goods, that led McKendrick to describe early modern England as the 'first consumer society'.

A decade later Lorna Weatherill approached this same subject, but came to a different conclusion. Whilst McKendrick had focused on production and distribution, and from that created his hypothesis about consumption, Weatherill analysed surviving probate inventories to see what goods people actually owned. In order to cover as broad a spectrum of society as possible, she collected documents from eight dioceses, chosen for their good coverage of the country. Slimming this down in order to make the analysis more manageable, inventory samples were taken in ten year intervals, from 1665 to 1725, so covering a shorter time period than McKendrick was focusing on. Then for each of these years Weatherill randomly picked 60 inventories from every diocese in her collection. This pool gave her enough material from which to be able to analyse consumption patterns, both on a national scale, and over a fairly significant period of time. Then in order to establish whether the consumption of 'luxuries' was indeed on the rise as suggested, and becoming more common amongst the less wealthy sections of society, she chose 20 goods that were either the novel populuxe items, or everyday necessities, and which were consistently recorded in the inventories. This allowed her to chart the diffusion of populuxe goods, in contrast to everyday necessities,

[126]Neil McKendrick, 'Home demand and economic growth: a new view of the role of women and children in the industrial revolution', in Neil McKendrick, *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society*, (London, 1974), p. 171.

around the country, and any growth in uptake rates during this period. Weatherill's research has revealed that the consumption of populuxe goods did rise between 1675 and 1725: for instance, mirrors from 22% to 40% and china from 0% to 9%,[127] substantiating McKendrick's overall findings. Significantly, however, she has shown that this was not a uniform process, or based purely on the concept of emulation. Consumption fluctuated according to whether the deceased had resided in a rural or urban location, for example. So whilst In 1725 74% of inventories surveyed from towns recorded mirrors, and 11% china, in contrast only 28% of the inventories analysed from rural areas recorded mirrors and 4% china.[128] The ease with which an area was accessible from London, was another important factor. As a consequence, whilst 28% of the inventories studied from East Kent recorded books, only 15% of those from Cumbria did so.[129] Furthermore, just as in previous periods, both occupation and wealth played a significant role as well. A modest farmer from a rural part of the diocese of Durham was unlikely to own any of the new consumer goods, even in 1725, whereas by this date many wealthy Londoners did.[130]

Methods of Analysis and Sources

When we look at these two studies, however, we find they each have their limitations, both in the methods employed and in the sources they utilised. This means we cannot use either Weatherill, or McKendrick's, work directly to understand the spread, use, and social significance of material culture in Restoration and Georgian England. Before discussing the method of analysis I will be employing, I will briefly set out the limitations of these two important works, and examine various significant studies of consumption that have been produced in the social sciences. These findings will inform the methods of analysis used in this thesis.

[127]Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, p. 26, table 2.1.
[128]Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, p. 88, table 4.4.
[129]Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, p. 49, table 3.3.
[130]For this Weatherill took a sample of the inventories that were kept by the London Orphan Court, which relate to the assets left wealthy city orphans by their intestate fathers, produced in order to protect the interests of such vulnerable children. Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, p. 27, table 2.2.

The limitations of McKendrick's work are essentially already highlighted in Weatherill's study. The most obvious is that he has not actually charted consumption patterns at all, but has assumed on the evidence of increased production, that there was increased consumption across the board. This is not a complete fallacy, but as Weatherill's research has shown, rather simplistic. The model McKendrick has produced in order to explain how fashions were diffused into the provinces and down from the elite to the mass of the population, has some validity. But whether such consumption was purely due to emulation, as I have already suggested, is debatable. Weatherill's work, therefore, has sought to rectify the generalisations of McKendrick's work, whilst still pointing out that his primary findings concerning the growth in consumption were correct.

However, Weatherill's study is not without its problems. It has provided a national 'pattern of consumption', at most regionally specific; one that does not discuss in detail differences that might have occurred at a very local level. Thus her work is important for the understanding of large-scale patterns, including differences in consumption between rural and urban areas, for example, but is limited if we wish to study the small scale motivations and social movements of a particular town or village. More importantly, the model of the social structure Weatherill produced in order to study the consumption patterns of various occupational and wealth groups, was based in large part on the structure Vivian Brodsky Elliot created from an analysis of London apprenticeship bonds.[131] This metropolitan social status hierarchy does not necessarily reflect how different occupational groups perceived themselves in the rest of the country, leaving open the possibility that the links found by Weatherill between occupation, social position and material culture, might be flawed. And Weatherill has not discussed in great detail the possible reasons for the rise in the consumption of both luxury and everyday items throughout the country, that she has found revealed in the records she has studied. On the one hand, she has highlighted how location and wealth could play a significant role in the acquisition of goods, but not why yeomen were purchasing clocks but not teapots, for example. On the other hand,

[131] Vivian Brodsky-Elliot, 'Mobility and Marriage in Pre-Industrial England', (Unpublished PhD, Cambridge, 1978).

she has noted that many populuxe goods were being displayed in the main room of the owner's house, where visitors were most likely to be entertained, but has only fairly briefly alluded to why.

A fruitful way of tackling these important issues, is by further developing Weatherill's line of argument concerning the social implications of the display of populuxe goods in the main room of a house. She has noted that the hypothesis of the sociologist Erving Goffman concerning the importance of physical space and settings, such as the drawing room, and crucially material goods, to the creation of the correct identity of the self and one's family or group,[132] might be of relevance to early modern social interactions.[133] The implications of such room use and the goods displayed within them, has been tackled recently in the important work *Production and Consumption in English Households*, by Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann. However, in their study of inventories from Kent and Cornwall, they have not found populuxe goods being displayed predominantly in the main room of the households: in fact quite the reverse.[134] Consequently, they have argued that the dichotomy between the 'front stage' public rooms seen by the visitor, and the 'back stage' private areas, is too 'crude to capture the usages of rooms and their contents'.[135] If such goods were acquired primarily for social display, then I would argue that they would be located prominently within the household. Whether this overlapped with the main 'front' rooms of the house, and if not what this might say about room layouts and about the populuxe goods in question, will be analysed in Chapter 4.

There is a whole group of social scientists who have been working in parallel to historians in the last 25 years, aiming to understand the mechanisms behind the relationship between social and material cultures. What these sociologists have found is that consumption was based as much on a desire of the individual to 'shine' within his own social circle, as on a wish to emulate his social superiors. This would explain the comments made in diaries such as those of Pepys,

[132]Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (London, 1990), p. 20.
[133]Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, p. 9.
[134]Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750*, (Abingdon, 2004), pp. 126–36.
[135]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, pp. 135–36.

Ryder and Lowe. The effect material goods can have on a person's social position within his society is revealed in an example cited by Arjun Appadurai. He has found that in the Kula culture of the western Pacific (off the eastern tip of New Guinea), the more decorative necklaces and arm shells a person owned, the greater their social and political eminence within their family or tribe, leading to an avid trade in such items.[136] Pierre Bourdieu's work on 1960s French culture and class, describing the diverse and complex structure of society and the aims of those living within it, has revealed many other nuances. Rather than purely a case of upwards mobility, he has shown that there were common 'consumption patterns' within certain social circles, where the ownership of particular goods, manners, or cultural knowledge, became a badge of identification. Indeed, adherence to these common patterns seem for many to have been more important than slavishly following the latest elite fashion, with some groups explicitly underscoring their '*distinction*' from the elite, in order to construct their own sense of self worth.[137]

Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, on the other hand, have researched the same discussion from a different angle, often overlooked because so difficult to pin down: the personal attachments of people to goods. Examining families from two diverse social groups, the poor working class and the aspirational middle class, in 1980s Chicago, they have tried to discern patterns of attachment and behaviour that might span both different types of families and the different generations within the respective families. In order to do this they have concentrated on the type of good and the sentiments about that good, that their study subjects mentioned. Thus they have found, for example, that the oldest generation have tended to attach more importance to family photographs, which reminded them of past events and their family, whereas children were more interested in the present and goods that gave them instant entertainment, such as the television. In another instance, which went more to the core of their field of interest, that is seeing how goods reflect family social relationships, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton discovered that in families showing signs of

[136]Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 118–21.
[137]Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, (London, 1984), pp. 260–317.

strained marital relationships, the husband would be more interested in goods and activities that gave him personal pleasure. Conversely, in families where husband and wife perceived themselves to be in a healthy relationship, it was the goods and activities that reminded the husband of his family, even to the sacrifice of personal hobbies, that he was more likely to name as the most special to him.[138] In such situations, goods become signs of a person's wishes, aspirations and identity, despite the obvious constraints on choice thrown up by poverty and geography.[139]

In the important work *The World of Goods*, Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood have provided us with a sociological theory for understanding the mechanisms of consumer behaviour. In one section, they have focused on goods in the form of gifts, and how these reflect the social dynamics of a given group. And they have shown that the type of gift presented to a member of the group often highlighted that person's position within their circle of friends, their community and even their class, with the most important individual generally receiving the biggest share, the most gifts, and so on.[140] Furthermore, those who are at the pinnacle of such a group, are able through the prestige this conveys to them, to control the opinions of that group, even to the extent of deciding which goods are more desirable than others. In order to reach that position, a person needs to understand the culture and interests of the dominant persons within the group, which in its turn means they have to be seen to acquire the relevant goods. And not only that, as these groups do not act in a vacuum, but function within the wider network of society, the members within the group have also to try and understand the social dynamics of the other groups as well, whilst at the same time creating their own group identity.[141]

Weatherill is not the only historian to have utilised this body of research. Vickery has pointed to Bourdieu's conclusions in particular, as an explanation for why the minor Lancashire gentry were not mindlessly emulating London, or even the provincial elite, when it came to the purchase of large pieces of household

[138]Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: domestic symbols and the self*, (Cambridge, 1987).
[139]Campbell, 'The meaning of objects and the meaning of actions', pp. 97–98.
[140]Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, (London, 1996), pp. 74–76.
[141]Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, pp. 81–98.

furniture. Instead they tended to buy from Gillow's, creating their own visual and cultural group.[142] However, it has to be remembered that these sociological studies are analyses of various different 'archaic' and modern cultures, all distinct to their geographical area and time period. As such they cannot be imposed wholesale onto early modern English society. Even the language used to define certain concepts, such as the main 'entertaining' space so central to Goffman's thought, for example, is specific to the culture and time period in which a study was produced. The concept of 'privacy', for example, was totally different in early modern England to what it was in the 1950s when Goffman used it. What such models do, however, is provide us with a basic concept and approach from which we can begin to understand and analyse consumer behaviour in early modern England.

I have, therefore, chosen a number of populuxe goods, based on Weatherill's selection, which I will track over the early modern period, specifically 1660–1780: namely silver, books, pictures and prints, mirrors, clocks, china, and utensils for hot drinks. This last category includes tea, coffee and chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons, tea tables and tea boards. I have selected this group of goods for two reasons.

Firstly, Weatherill has shown that they were all fairly consistently recorded in inventories. This was on the one hand because of their novelty, apart from silver. Obviously the latter had long been associated with elite display, but as I have already discussed, silver, with both its intrinsic and decorative worth, was reworked in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Birmingham and Sheffield (the centres of the silver 'toy' production), to churn out boxes, spoons, Christening cups and other relatively inexpensive trinkets. Not a 'new' good as such, unlike china or tea, its transformation from being an expensive luxury to a populuxe item that could be afforded by many, still meant that it was a newly available good to the latter. Thus silver can be described as one of the 'new consumables' of the age. On the other hand, most of the goods in this group

[142]Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 161–64. Other studies, such as those by Pennell and Nenadic utilised such models of understanding consumer behaviour, although they did not explicitly mention these sociologists, Pennell, 'Pots and pans history', and Nenadic, 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow'.

were still relatively expensive to acquire. Books and mirrors were an exception. Much of the output produced by printers around the country was in the form of small, cheap chapbooks, that were affordable to the mass of the population, to read for themselves, or at least to have read to them. It has been shown that enough almanacs were being produced already in the 1660s, for one family in three to be able to buy one.[143] Large-scale London chapbook publishers such as Charles Tias even had enough chapbooks in stock for nearly one family in 15 in the land. And this was before the lapse in the Licensing Act.[144] However, due to fact that they were cheap, costing around 2–3*d*. each, and that paper was a very useful commodity, which could be sold, used for packaging, pie lining or the privy, for example, chapbooks are seldom if ever recorded in inventories.[145] Only the larger, more expensive books were listed. It is, therefore, the consumption of such books that will be charted in this thesis. Prints, on the other hand, although equally cheap to acquire, survived better, and were recorded in substantial numbers.[146] Inexpensive mirrors, by contrast, have been recorded in a substantial number of surviving inventories. Samples from both Yorkshire and elsewhere in the country indicate that by the first half of the eighteenth century, the ownership of mirrors was widespread. Riley has noted that of a sample of 380 inventories that remain from the town of Selby for the period 1660–1759 a third had mirrors listed amongst their contents.[147] Indeed Weatherill has found that they were one of the few goods under discussion, the ownership of which more than doubled throughout the country between 1675 and 1725.[148] Their estimated monetary value was less than a shilling, so they were thus within reach of the purchasing powers of modest householders, even when new.[149]

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[143]Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 2.
[144]Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 101–102.
[145]Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 48–49. Furthermore, books did not have to be purchased outright in order to be read, but could be borrowed from one of the circulating and subscription libraries that were becoming more common by the mid-eighteenth century. It is estimated that nearly 1,000 such libraries existed by the end of the century, including one in Halifax from 1768, for example. Arthur Porritt, '18th and 19th century clubs and societies in Halifax', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1964), p. 67
[146]Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, pp. 110–11.
[147]Riley, 'Families and Their Property in Early Modern England', p. 115.
[148]Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, p. 30.
[149]Riley, 'Families and Their Property in Early Modern England', p. 115 and Weatherill, *Material Culture and Consumer Behaviour in Britain*, p. 111.

As a consequence, unlike many other goods that were frequently lumped together under one subheading, such as 'all the linen',[150] these populuxe goods were usually listed on their own, with their estimated monetary value.[151] This observation has been substantiated by other historians, including Nenadic and Riley, in their material culture studies using other probate samples.[152] Such general consistency allows me, therefore, to chart the uptake and popularity of these goods in South Cave, Halifax and York, in the confidence that the level of recording of such goods should be good. But it has to be remembered that a margin of error is still likely to exist, resulting in a slight under-recording of the numbers of these goods owned, particularly amongst the wealthier sections of society most able to acquire such items. But this does not adversely affect the outcome of my research, as it merely serves to reinforce the ownership rates of these objects.

Secondly, as I have already noted, these goods indicate a change in the mental world of a substantial section of English society during this period.

I will, therefore, chart ownership rates during this period by collating the number of times the above mentioned goods were recorded in the surviving probate material from three areas in Yorkshire: South Cave, Halifax and York. Their popularity, and possible social importance to their owners, should be evidenced in uptake rates, especially if these increased over the period. Then again following Weatherill, I will construct a 'social hierarchy' in order to see whether different social groups had varying patterns of consumption, keeping in mind sociologists findings, concerning the role of goods in the creation of social identities.

I am focusing extensively on such surviving probate material, as Weatherill has done, because this is one of the few sources providing access to the ownership patterns, and even personal opinions, of a large section of people (although

[150]This could include both table and bed linen, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, pp. 206–207.

[151]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 3.

[152]Nenadic sampled inventories from Edinburgh and Glasgow for the period 1720–1840, for her analysis in 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow', whilst Riley sampled inventories from the parishes of Cawood, Riccall, Selby and Wistow in Yorkshire, for the period 1660–1759, in his study 'Families and their Property in Early Modern England'. Smail also utilised inventories in his social and cultural study of Halifax, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, and found such goods being recorded separately, as did Earle in his sample of inventories taken from the London Orphans Court for his work *The Making of The English Middle Class*.

it does exclude the masses of labourers and the poverty stricken).[153] Limiting the geographical scale of the study also allows for a greater depth of analysis than Weatherill was able to provide. At the same time, the study of three distinct communities provides the relevant breadth and diversity. South Cave, Halifax and York have been selected for a number of reasons. Firstly work has already been done on all three. Jennifer Kaner has described the economic and social life of South Cave in the Middle Ages and transcribed many inventories and wills from that period, providing the background on which I will build.[154] John Smail has produced a comprehensive study of the social and cultural life of an emerging group of wealthy manufacturing families in Halifax during the eighteenth century.[155] And many studies have been written about York, with a focus on the entertainment, culture and 'luxury' shops and goods provided for the gentry who flocked there for the 'season' during the eighteenth century.[156] Secondly, these three places each possessed different economic structures, so I can explore

[153]Other sources such as diaries and household accounts only survive in limited numbers, if ever written in the first place. And goods are only mentioned implicitly, if at all, in the numerous surviving court cases. This has not stopped historians from utilising these sources for such research, however. Pepys' diary in particular has been widely quoted, mined not just for inferences on how he perceived goods to reflect a person's social standing in society, but also for his extensive sartorial commentary, for example. In the biography of his life written by Claire Tomalin, she is able to give an example of the kind of social milieu the aspiring middling sort lived in, from such descriptions, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*, (London, 2002). The down side of such important sources is in this subjective nature, only ever providing examples of how life was like for a certain family, in a certain place, and at a certain time. In no other diary, not even in Lowe's, quoted in the text above, is the author's relationship with the goods he owned described in quite so detailed a manner as with Pepys. Surviving diaries of Yorkshiremen and women include James Cartwright (ed.), *The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, (London, 1875); J. Horsfall Turner (ed.), *The Rev. Oliver Heywood...: his autobiography, diaries, anecdote and event books*, (1630–1702), (London, 1885); Rev. Joseph Hunter (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, (1677–1724), (London, 1830); Charles Jackson (ed.), *The Autobiography of Mrs. Alice Thornton of East Newton, Co. York, Surtees Society*, Vol. 62, (London, 1875); Margerison, *Memorandum book of Sir Walter Calverley* and C. E. Whitling (ed.), *Two Yorkshire Diaries*, (1730–46), *The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, Vol. CXVII, (Gateshead-on-Tyne, 1952). Of the few surviving household accounts of the period, I have already mentioned Weatherill's study of Richard Latham earlier in this chapter. In *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, she also describes the outgoings of three other (fairly wealthy) families, from their surviving household accounts, charting when and how they purchased both everyday necessities and one off pieces of furniture or occasional luxuries. The few accounts from Yorkshire that have survived include Walker, *Hackness Manuscripts and Accounts*, and Margerison, *Memorandum book of Sir Walter Calverley*. Numerous different types of court cases, from defamation suits, to marriage formation suits, to testamentary and pew disputes remain. Those pertaining to Yorkshire can be found in York, in the Borthwick Institute for Archives, indexed under Cause Papers CP.H. 2372-CP.I. 1918, and also under Dean and Chapter Cause Papers 1660/1–1779/2, Deanery Court Cause Papers DY.CP. 1671/1–1780, and Deanery Court Testamentary Test.CP 1700/1–1780.

[154]Jennifer Kaner (ed.), *Goods and Chattels*, (Hull, 1994).

[155]Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*.

[156]For example Hallett and Rendall, *Eighteenth Century York*, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, J. Jefferson Looney, 'Cultural life in the provinces', in A.L. Beier, David Cannadine and James Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society: essays in English history in honour of Lawrence Stone*, (Cambridge, 1989), and Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in eighteenth Century England*.

1690s

Area	Estimated Population	Record Leaving Group	Percentage (%) of The Population
Halifax	25,000	291	1·2
York	12,000	333	2·8

1730s

Area	Estimated Population	Record Leaving Group	Percentage (%) of The Population
Halifax	30,000	458	1·5
York	12,000	388	3·2

1760s

Area	Estimated Population	Record Leaving Group	Percentage (%) of The Population
Halifax	41,000	394	1·0
York	12,000	370	3·1

Table 1.1: Estimated Sample Coverage for the Population of Halifax and York

how such factors influenced the consumption of goods in those areas. South Cave was a rural agricultural parish, whilst Halifax was a burgeoning textile one, and York was the main county town with a service sector catering to both the people from its hinterland and a gentry population that came for its 'season'. These local differences are lost by larger studies, such as Weatherill's. And as Yorkshire is one of the few counties not included in Weatherill's study, this thesis will both complement her work and provide a regional example with which to compare her countrywide findings.

Due to the numbers of wills and inventories that have survived from the period, I have restricted my analysis to three decades: the 1690s, 1730s and 1760s shown in Table 1.1. There are not enough surviving wills and inventories in South Cave, Halifax and York to make a viable sample for any one year. Taking three sample decades spread out over a longer time period, allows me to follow changes in consumption patterns that occurred between 1660 and 1780. Weatherill only collected samples as late as 1725, because the records become increasingly rare after this date.[157] I have found, however, enough material to be able to extend the period I am looking at into the 1760s, although there is a marked reduction in

[157]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 2.

1690s		
Area	Wills	Inventories
Halifax	185	261
York	214	213

1730s		
Area	Wills	Inventories
Halifax	315	298
York	264	215

1760s		
Area	Wills	Inventories
Halifax	331	124
York	311	108

Table 1.2: Numbers of Surviving Inventories and Wills from Halifax and York

the numbers of surviving inventories for that latter decade. This has potentially important implications for the discussion of ownership patterns for that period, in comparison to those in the former two, as the samples from the 1760s might well be comparably less representative of the sections of society under discussion. An overall total of 3068 wills and inventories have survived from these three decades, covering 2414 people.[158] On the face of it, this is a large number of records. But when we break them down into decades and areas, the numbers are much smaller. In all they only represent around a couple of percent of the population of Halifax and York, in any one of these decades.

Even less material survives for the parish of South Cave, so I have transcribed all the surviving wills and inventories kept amongst the Peculiar Court records, from 1660 to 1780. Ecclesiastically, South Cave was within the archdeaconry of the East Riding, in the deanery of Harthill.[159] But the living was one of a small number which belonged to a prebendary of York Minster, making it a 'Peculiar'.

[158]The records are stored at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research in York. The Halifax records are filed with the probate records for Pontefract Deanery under the respective year and month probate was granted, and the York records are filed with the probate records for York Deanery under the respective year and month. Some of the York records are listed under the files of the York Dean and Chapter for the relevant year, on microfilm in the peculiar court section. As South Cave was also under the jurisdiction of a peculiar court, its records are also kept in the peculiar court records section of the microfilm library. If a testator owned land in more than one county, his probate records usually ended up in the prerogative courts of York or Canterbury, depending where the majority of his estate was. So some of my sample are also to be found filed with the probate records of the prerogative court, under the relevant year and month probate was given.

[159]David Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, (Harlow, 1986), pp. 5-6.

By the sixteenth century the ownership had passed into private hands, run by the vicar who oversaw the peculiar court. So its probate records were stored separately,[160] rather than amongst the records of the respective deanery. In all there are surviving records for 181 people. Furthermore, in many cases only one of the records of the deceased has survived leaving us with a partial picture of that person's assets. Table 1.2 lists the numbers of wills and inventories that have survived from each sample decade. For South Cave there are 116 wills and 135 inventories for the whole period. So even the best available sources are less than representative of the whole population in terms of the numbers that have actually survived. But they are still the largest single source available.

The one time an ordinary person might be recorded in the official records, apart from at his baptism, marriage and burial, or the occasional court record — if the records were diligently kept — was when his will and inventory were registered. More importantly, as wills were written in order to divide the deceased's assets according to their wishes, whilst inventories listed their movable goods, often grouped together under the title of the room they were found in, these sources are a reservoir of information concerning the spread, use and social significance of material culture.[161] But just a brief glance at either source, already

[160]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 1.

[161]This is by no means the only way in which this source has been studied and analysed. Wills in particular have provided fruitful information, for example about literacy rates. By analysing the numbers who were able to sign their wills, as well as other legal documents, and then extrapolating the percentage who were completely literate, compared to those who could read but solely write their own name, for example, David Cressy has estimated, that from 1650–1750 the overall percentage of the male population who could be described as literate, rose from around a third to over 40%. Female literacy rates, in contrast, increased from only c. 15% to just over a third, *Literacy and the Social Order*, (Cambridge, 1980). Riley has checked the numbers who could sign their wills in Selby, and found 58·9% of his sample could do so. The percentage amongst the bondsmen, for example, was even higher at approximately 80%. He has attributed this discrepancy to both the higher social status of the general bondsman, and the fact that wills were usually written just before a person died, so they were often too unwell to be able to write properly, even if they could do so. This is still substantially above the national level found by Cressy, reflecting, Riley argues, the growth in literacy in urban areas, in contrast to rural parts, 'Families and their Property in Early Modern England', pp. 120–21. Margaret Spufford has linked this data with the occupation/status recorded in wills, and has shown that in the three parishes she sampled in Cambridgeshire, 33% of yeomen could sign their name in the seventeenth century, but only 10% of others could (not including gentlemen). Her local study highlights how literacy rates could differ from parish to parish. In Milton, for instance, 40% of yeomen signed, in contrast to 19% in Orwell, *Contrasting Communities: English villagers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (Stroud, 2nd ed. 2000), p. 202.

tells us that these records have their limitations. They are, for example, considerably more formulaic than we might have assumed, raising the question as to whether they actually captured the wishes of the deceased or not.

Legally, anyone during the Restoration and early Georgian periods who died owning £5 or more, had to have their estate recorded.[162] By the 1730s, however, this was no longer compulsory, resulting in a notable decline in the production of inventories.[163] The probate laws had been introduced in order to regulate the distribution of the deceased's assets to their legatees. It was hoped these would lessen any squabbles as to who should inherit what, and ensure the executors did not defraud the legatees.[164] As a consequence, inventories were to be made of their possessions, but this only included movable goods and not their real estate. So inventories cannot be used as an indicator of overall wealth.[165] These inventories were then registered and stored by the ecclesiastical courts, after a fee had been paid, and bondsmen appointed by the court to oversee the distribution process.[166]

As those with less than £5 of inventoried wealth were not required to go through this legal process, and would not have wanted to pay the fee in any case, this has resulted in only the wealthier sections of society to be well represented in the inventories.[167] A number of inventories with little recorded wealth, however,

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[162]This has resulted in surviving probate records from every parish in the country. A number of these probate collections have been edited and published. A sample of the Yorkshire records include: Elizabeth Berry (ed.), *Swaledale Wills and Inventories, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, Vol. 152, (1998); Peter Brears (ed.), *Yorkshire Probate Inventories, 1542–1689, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, Vol. 134, (1972); John Clay (ed.), 'Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills, 1665–66', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, Vol. 9, (1890); F. Collins (ed.), *Selby Wills, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, Vol. 47, (1912); and Hartley Thwaite (ed.), 'Abstracts of Abbotside Wills, 1552–1688', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Record Series*, Vol. 130, (1968).

[163]Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640*, (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 367–73.

[164]Jacqueline Bower, 'Introduction to probate accounts', in Peter Spufford (ed.), *Index to the Probate Accounts of England and Wales*, (2 vols, London, 1999), Vol. 1, p. 26. The act of 1671 for 'better Settling of Intestates' Estates' produced a formal formula to follow, (p. 21.). This did not, however, stop relatives contesting the wills of the deceased, nor the way their estates were managed by the executors. Numerous such cases have survived in the York ecclesiastical court records, a couple of which will be mentioned later in this chapter.

[165]Assets to be included in an inventory were primarily household goods, the tools of the deceased's trade, domesticated livestock (but not pets), hay, corn and other produce that had already been collected in, as well as corn and other crops that were still growing on the land. Not all crops still growing were to be included, however: only those designated as grown by the 'industry and manurance of man'. So standing timber, fruit from fruit trees and grass growing on meadows, for example, were not to be recorded. Overton and others *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 14.

[166]Bower, 'Introduction to probate accounts', p. 19.

[167]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 26.

were registered and have survived from South Cave, Halifax and York, including that of the copperas maker Elias Robinson, of Elland, whose movable assets were worth a mere £1 10*s.* 2*d.*[168] We have also to remember that as only their movable wealth was recorded, the majority of these men and women were actually wealthier than what was stated in their inventory.

Inventories were a relatively uniform and formulaic document. Appraisers made a list of all the movable goods owned by the deceased. They firstly recorded the deceased's name, place of residence and the date the inventory was being made. Then came the list of the deceased's assets, and finally the signatures or marks of those who had produced it. The deceased's occupation was routinely omitted, however. This makes the division of inventories according to the occupation of the deceased, in order to track the consumption patterns of various different groups, correspondingly more difficult. In many cases, though, the goods listed in the document give a good indication of the probable occupation of the deceased, large numbers of husbandry tools and livestock indicating a farmer, for example. However, the occupation was usually recorded in the accompanying will, if one has survived.

The main part of the inventory is of most interest to historians of material culture, listing as it does the deceased's goods and chattels and their estimated monetary worth. Not all inventories are of equal value for such an analysis, though. In a fair number of examples, the goods are just lumped together under a single heading, with no mention of what they were. The inventory made of the assets of William Slather of South Cave is one such example. In this case the numbers and titles of the rooms in his house were recorded, a 'house', a 'parlour' and a 'chamber', but not the goods found inside.[169] Nevertheless even these inventories still provide an overall monetary value of the movable assets of the deceased, so can be included when gauging the average wealth in movables of a certain occupational group.

[168]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Elias Robinson, Elland, Halifax, copperas maker, no will, inventory appraised 27th October 1731 and worth £1 10*s.* 2*d.*

[169]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, William Slathers, Broomfleet, South Cave, no occupation given but his assets suggest he was a fairly wealthy farmer, no will, inventory appraised 24th October 1724 and worth £132 10*s.* including household goods.

However, the majority of inventories do record the deceased's assets in some detail. A fair number listed each item and its value separately, and even included the name of the room in which the various items were found. So in many instances we can find out not only what a person possessed, but also where they kept their goods, and how big their houses were. The inventory of the tailor John Turner of Knapton, in the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate, indicates that he resided in a two-roomed cottage. His bed stood in the 'parlour', whilst his dresser, two tables, pewter ware and other household oddments were kept in the 'housestead'. He also owned a croft with a potato crop, as well as a cow and some hay and corn.[170] The downside to this style of recording, is that only rooms containing goods belonging to the deceased were likely to be included.[171] It is also likely that many small goods, and those of little value, were omitted.[172] Furthermore, widow's dowers and in particular their clothes, a bed, and a few other essential items, were generally left out of their deceased husbands' inventories.[173]

Wills too are not an unproblematic source. Although seemingly recording the 'authentic' wishes of the deceased, there were in fact various external factors that affected the choices the deceased made. However, they are still a hugely important source, complementing the material recorded in inventories, in those cases where both a will and inventory have survived from the same person. Such wills tell us to whom the goods listed in the inventories were to be given. Furthermore, they include any real estate the deceased had owned, and who was to inherit it.

But common tradition dictated that wills preferably be written only when a person was close to death, for fear of otherwise tempting it. As a consequence, many more died before writing a will, than those who actually wrote them.[174] This sense of impending death is especially apparent in the few surviving 'oral' wills, where a testator either managed to write something themselves — and this could be without the requisite witnesses — or they conveyed their wishes orally

[170]BIA, York deanery, John Turner, Knapton in Holy Trinity Micklegate, York, will written 9th July 1763, inventory appraised 12th October 1764 and worth £94 19s. including household goods.
[171]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 15.
[172]Weatherill notes this in her analysis of material culture in early modern Britain, in *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, appendix 1, p. 203.
[173]Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, pp. 39–40. This was so that the widow was not left destitute whilst her husband's assets were being divided up, Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, pp. 14–15.
[174]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 5.

to their friends, who then testified in court concerning the deceased's last wishes. One surviving example was spoken by the yeoman Joseph Dymond, of Brearly, and written down shortly afterwards by one of the witnesses. In this particular case, the testator left a substantial legacy to his one daughter, Fanny, but to his other daughter Betty merely 5*s*. — and this only if she was good to her mother. Any more money was to be given solely on condition that Betty 'do what is meet', whilst the rest was left to his widow and his son. A friend was also bequeathed a few shillings.[175] These oral wills might seem to be as close as we can get to the actual 'voice' of such people. However, wills were not necessarily verbatim descriptions of what was actually said, as what has survived are the accounts of what the witnesses could remember. And there is the added danger that such witnesses might have falsified their statements, for whatever reason.

In the vast majority of cases where the will was written in advance, it was a scribe who wrote the document in the testator's stead, due to the testator's illiteracy or illness. As a consequence, even though they were written in the first person, this was purely a literary device to make the document sound as if it were verbatim. The authentic voice of these testators was thus filtered through the pen and judgement of the scribe. More importantly, male testators in particular, could in reality exercise little real choice in deciding who was to be a beneficiary of their will, as legally any dependents had to receive the bulk of their assets.[176] Common custom also dictated that a widow should receive a third of her deceased husband's estate as her dower, until her death or remarriage,[177] as well as that the eldest son receive the largest share of the estate overall.[178] Furthermore, it would

[175]BIA, Pontefract Deanery, Joseph Dymond, Brearly, Halifax, yeoman, will written 19th July 1693, inventory appraised 27th July 1693 and worth £316 15*s*. 4*d*. including household goods.
[176]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 5.
[177]Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550–1720*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 40. Although ancient, the right to a third of her husband's estate was later revoked by Parliamentary statute in 1833, Donna Dickenson, *Property, Women and Politics: subjects or objects?*, (Oxford, 1997), p. 85.
[178]If no offspring resulted from the marriage, a women was also entitled to the one-third share reserved for the children by testamentary law, and the husband may also have bequeathed her the final third, Dickenson, *Property, Women and Politics*, p. 85. Under the principle of coverature in operation during this period all property owned by the marriage belonged to the husband. Thus the intent of probate law during this period was to ensure a minimum distribution of property to the widow to ensure her maintenance: not to ensure her independent wealth. Although ecclesiastical courts (and some husbands) often entrusted the widow with more property than legally required, in general the wealthier the husband, the smaller the proportion of the estate left to the widow, Amy Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, (London, 1993), pp. 17–20.

hardly be in the interests of the family, to adversely affect their social position and the level of respect bestowed on them by the rest of society, by passing the bulk of the family assets away from the close family, and if there was none, then away from nephews, nieces, grandchildren or even cousins. Thus any other notion would have hardly been tolerated, even if the male testator had wished to leave his assets to someone other than his family.

And in reality, wills are even more formulaic documents than inventories. In some cases researchers have been able to ascribe different wills to the same scribe, due to their turns of phrase. This 'stylisation' is apparent from the start.[179] Wills normally began with 'In the name of God Amen' or a similar preface, and then the name of the testator, the date the will was being written, their place of residence, and occupation, followed in the majority of cases by a standard religious preamble.[180] The next sentence that was invariably in all the wills was

[179]In her study of the Cambridge village of Orwell, Margaret Spufford has noted the influence of the village scribe on the final form of the will. At any one time only a few scribes were responsible for recording the majority of wills in a village, and each scribe often had personal formula for laying out the will, *The Scribes of Villagers' Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and Their Influence, Local Population Studies*, No. 7, (1971), pp. 28–43. While Spufford's study focused on rural Cambridge, evidence from other areas of the country shows wills were increasingly adopting a standard pattern during the seventeenth century. This adoption of a customary stereotype was particularly apparent in the towns, where by the end of the seventeenth century professional lawyers were responsible for writing the majority of wills, R. C. Richardson, *Wills and Will-Markers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Some Lancashire Evidence, Local Population Studies*, No. 9, (1972), pp. 33–42.

[180]Although testators probably chose scribes of similar religious convictions, very few seem to have adjusted the customary choice of words their scribe used for the preface, Spufford, *The Scribes of Villagers' Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and Their Influence*, p. 29. Nonetheless, the divine William Assheton in his *Theological Discourse of Last Wills and Testaments* (1696) enjoins his readers to:

> ... commend your soul to God in such a manner as may declare your Christianity; give them *a reseason of the hope that is in you*; especially if your religion is suspected (either as having none at all, or as being heretical and corrupt) then vindicate yourself by making a short but pathetic profession of your faith and hope in the beginning of your will.
>
> And that you may better apprehend what I design, you may commend your soule in this or the like form: First and principally I commend my soul into the hands of almighty God as of a faithful creator which I humbly beseech him most mercifully to accept. Looking upon it not as it is in itself (infinitely polluted with sin) but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only son and my most sweet saviour Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and meditation alone it is that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins and the hopes of eternal life.(quoted in R. C. Richardson, *Wills and Will-Markers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Some Lancashire Evidence, Local Population Studies*, No. 9, (1972), pp. 39)

More prosaically, cheap almanacs of the period frequently contained specimen forms for legal documents such as bonds, bills, apprenticeship indentures, etc. In *Fly. An Almanacke* a specimen will was regularly included from 1658 onwards, which included the preface:

> First I bequeath my Soule into the Hands of Almighty God my Maker, hoping that through the Meritorious Death and Passion of Jesus Christ my onely Saviour and Redeemer to receive free pardon and forgiveness of all my sinnes;

of more practical importance. This was the assertion that the testator was of 'perfect mind and memory', without which a will would have been legally null and void.[181] Indeed the assertion of insanity was a viable reason for contesting the contents of a will in court. In one case that came before the ecclesiastical courts in York, Elizabeth Justice claimed that Christopher Justice of Doncaster was suffering from dementia, brought on by old age, by the time he made his will. The scribe and the two male witnesses of the will, on the other hand, claimed that Justice had been completely sane at that time. One of them did, however, subsequently admit that the testator had occasionally acted a bit strangely, but argued that he was not 'senseless'. These answers were understandable as the witnesses' integrity and standing within their community was being called into question by such allegations. They did, however, state further that the testator did in fact go senile, but that this occurred shortly before his death, whereas the will had been made about three years beforehand.[182] No more of the case has survived, but it does highlight how such innocuous stock phrases were integral to the validity of legal documents.

Then came the main part of the text, which on the face of it did vary from person to person, stating who was to receive what. As I have already pointed out, however, even here the wills were less personalised than we might have expected. In the first instance, most of a testator's assets were left to his immediate family, or wider kinship network in the absence of the former. Secondly, the testator's goods were not often mentioned individually, but instead lumped under the heading of 'rest and residule' of the estate. In the will of the York merchant taylor Matthew Williamson, for instance, the remainder of his estate was left to his daughter Jane Spacye.[183] Finally at the end of the document, one or more people mentioned whom the testator wished to be his executors. The signature or mark of the testator was then recorded, together with those of the witnesses.

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and as for my Body to bee buried in Christian buriall at the direction of my Executrix... (Bernard Capp, *Will Formularies, Local Population Studies*, No. 14, (1975), p. 49)

[181]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 5.
[182]BIA, Testamentary Cause Papers, CP.H/4176 and CP.H/4177, 1689.
[183]BIA, York deanery, Matthew Williamson, York, merchant taylor, will written 5th November 1696, inventory appraised 12th November 1696, (he died 8th November 1696), and worth £33 17*s*. 4*d*.

Nonetheless, with careful analysis we can still find enough glimpses of personal preference and choice, and examples of the use of goods, to acknowledge both friendship networks and to underscore the testator's social position in society. The oral will cited above is one such example. Rather than just dividing his assets amongst his widow and children, Dymond specifically stated that his one daughter was only to receive a few shillings unless she better her conduct. Whilst not cutting his daughter out completely, which was not legally possible,[184] this testator was making his feelings very clear. In other instances, specific goods were mentioned, such as the gold snuffbox and punch bowl that William Lumley gave his brother Ralph Lumley.[185] Such a gift not only tells us about the testator's consumer behaviour, but also his closeness to the chosen relative. Such a good may have held many personal memories for the testator, and as often as not have been in continuous use. Here it is not the monetary value that is important, but the personal one.[186] Yet other wills record gifts of money and goods to friends and acquaintances, which provide an indication of the social circle the deceased and his family moved in.

Chapter Outline

In the early modern period, contemporary commentators attributed a general rise in consumerism to the increasing emulation of the rich by the poor, leading to a potentially disastrous blurring of the social order. In this thesis I will analyse this assumption, through a study of wills and inventories, looking both for evidence of an increase in the ownership of various goods, and whether goods were used as markers of specific social identities, and so also possibly for emulation purposes, in three distinct provincial communities: South Cave, Halifax and York.

In Chapter 2, therefore, I begin by providing an outline of the economy and society of each of these three places, and the diffusion and availability of the

[184]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 5.
[185]BIA, York deanery, William Lumley, York, gentleman, will written 5th June 1739, no inventory.
[186]Ann Jones and Peter Stallybrass have argued, in relation to personal clothing, that such gifts act not only as a symbolic memory of the previous owner, but also a physical one. The constant use of such goods during the life of their owner leaves behind an imprint of that person, that is then transferred to the new owner. So in a sense a part of the deceased remains alive within such goods, Anne Jones and Peter Stalleybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 3–7.

populuxe goods there. An in-depth discussion and analysis of wealth, occupation and social status amongst the record-leaving sections of society in each of these three places follows in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 then ties these two strands together by charting the ownership rates of the populuxe goods under discussion amongst these groups, in order to reveal the social importance attached to such items, if any, and how this might have differed depending on the wealth, occupation and social status of the owner. The role of these goods in the articulation of kinship and friendship, as heirlooms and symbols of affection, is discussed in Chapter 5. And Chapter 6 looks at the importance of gender in the use of goods to articulate social status, kinship and friendship, through a comparison with the surviving wills and inventories left by South Cave, Halifax and York women. Finally, I will draw together my results in the conclusion in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2

The Economy and Society of South Cave, Halifax and York

CHAPTER 1 LOOKED BRIEFLY at the evidence for an increase in the production of goods during the early modern period, and explained how this thesis will examine the diffusion of material goods to three communities in Yorkshire, as part of its wider study of the role of material culture in the creation of social identities. The present chapter will focus on the economies of these three communities, in order to be able in later chapters to analyse the effect this might have had on the consumption patterns of the inhabitants.

South Cave

The first area under scrutiny is the rural and agricultural parish of South Cave, situated in the East Riding of Yorkshire, within the administrative area of the Wappentake of Harthill and the Hunsley Beacon Division.[1] Located between the High Wolds, a range of chalk hills that runs from the Humber up to the Vale of Pickering, and the Humber estuary,[2] South Cave had a dispersed pattern of settlement, with habitations dotted around large areas of open common land, including on its western side the large marsh land of Wallingfen. The parish comprised not just the village of South Cave itself, but also the smaller hamlets of Broomfleet, Faxfleet and Weedley.

Despite its rural location, South Cave was not remote, for it was in fact situated on the main arterial road in the area, Humberstreet, between the large conurbations of York and Kingston upon Hull, each only around 10 miles away.[3] As a consequence, South Cave village had more than its fair share of inns and

[1]William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Yorkshire*, (7 vols, London, 1925), vol. 3, p. 492.
[2]David Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, (Harlow, 1986), introduction.
[3]Eleanor Reader, *Broomfleet and Faxfleet*, (York, 1972), p. 32

alehouses to accommodate the many travellers passing between the two large towns,[4] with eight such licensed places recorded in 1750.[5] Furthermore, the village had hosted weekly markets for the surrounding area since the early Middle Ages,[6] as well as yearly fairs, including for example the horse and sheep fair held on Trinity-Monday.[7] Thus it served as a small regional centre. By the time of the national census of 1801 only around a quarter of the male inhabitants of the village were recorded as chiefly employed in agriculture. About the same proportion were artisans or tradesmen, including innkeepers, maltsters, furriers, millwrights, weavers, peddlers, even an apothecary. The others were probably labourers and servants.[8] All will have catered for the needs of the parish and beyond, indicating that a small 'service' sector had emerged.[9] Thus an examination of this community offers a case study of how long, and how far, the new material goods of the long eighteenth century had diffused into and were used in a mixed agricultural parish with a small middling, artisan and service sector.

During the period under discussion, 1660–1780, the number of households or families in the parish grew by approximately a quarter. The Hearth Tax assessment of Lady Day 1672, listed 161 households in the parish, of whom 110 lived in South Cave village, 36 in Broomfleet, 13 in Faxfleet, and a couple in Weedley.[10] This number had decreased slightly by the 1740s, when a mere 145 families were recorded in the parish in the returns compiled for Archbishop Herring's Visitation of 1743,[11] but rose considerably to 195 families, by the time the returns

[4]Reader, *Broomfleet and Faxfleet*, p. 32.
[5]K.J. Allison, 'South Cave', in C.L. Elrington (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Yorkshire, East Riding*, (7 vols, Oxford, 1979), vol. 4, p. 42.
[6]Jennifer Kaner (ed.), *Goods and Chattels*, (Hull, 1994), p. 1.
[7]Kenneth McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the end of the Eighteenth Century, Thoresby Society*, Vol. XXXIX, (1940), p. 164. This particular fair was instituted in 1291.
[8]Allison, 'South Cave', p. 53.
[9]*Abstract of the Answers and Returns*, (Part 1, Enumeration), (London, 1802), p. 406. The census recorded the economic sector the male members of the population worked in. As a consequence, it gives us a basic description of the occupational structure of the parish at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the village of South Cave itself, 26·5% of the 339 recorded men were chiefly occupied in agriculture, whilst another 22·4% were chiefly employed in a trade, handicraft or manufacture. The other half of the male population in the village itself, worked in an unspecified occupational sector, the majority of whom were probably employed as agricultural labourers and servants. The number working in agriculture was higher in the rest of the parish, as all of the 65 male inhabitants of Broomfleet were recorded as chiefly occupied in agriculture, as were over 80% of the 68 men recorded as living in Faxfleet.
[10]J.D. Purdy, *Yorkshire Hearth Tax Returns*, (Hull, 1991), p. 58.
[11]S.L. Ollard and P.C. Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns*, (1743), *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, Vol. 71, (1928), p. 161.

for Archbishop Drummond's Visitation were collected in 1764. (The Visitations do not record the the distribution of families across the different hamlets and village itself).[12] These records only give the numbers of families or households present in the parish, not the actual number of inhabitants. Research by Peter Laslett suggests that there was an average of just over 4·5 persons per household in England for the whole of the early modern period, whilst Richard Wall has calculated a figure of 4·6 for Yorkshire pre-1750, and a figure of 4·67 for the period 1751–1800.[13] From these two studies we can thus estimate that there were around 730 inhabitants in the parish in 1672, 650 in 1743, and 890 in 1764. The census of 1801 is the first record to list the number of inhabitants. It aimed to count every adult and child resident in the country, but in fact omitted certain groups, including travellers and seafarers. The latter possibly affected the numbers of people recorded in the parish of South Cave, as its proximity to the the Humber estuary may have encouraged a number of them to become sailors. (Such possible underrecording might explain the drop in numbers of families recorded in the 1743 Visitation). But it still provides the most accurate assessment of the population size to date. 972 men, women and children were recorded as living in this parish in that year.[14] So after a period of relative stability, the numbers of inhabitants in the parish rose substantially, between 1743 and 1801, from around 650 to around 970, with the greatest growth apparently occurring between 1743 and 1764.

[12]Cressida Annesley and Phillipa Hoskin (eds.), *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns*, (1764), *Borthwick Texts and Calenders*, Vol. 26, (1997), pp. 111–12. The religious Visitations ordered by Archbishops Herring and Drummond in 1743 and 1764, were compiled in order to assess the state of the Anglican church. They were to record the numbers of Anglican communicants, and, in particular, the numbers of dissenting families. They show that even this rural parish had a nonconformist, Presbyterian, presence, with a working licensed chapel from at least 1764. For a detailed study of the state of church and society in mid-eighteenth century Yorkshire from such records, see Judith Jago and Edward Royle, *The Eighteenth-Century Church in Yorkshire: Archbishop Drummond's Primary Visitation of 1764*, *Borthwick Papers*, No. 95, (1999).

[13]Laslett studied surviving material from 100 communities, none of which were located in Yorkshire, whilst Wall only included 11 communities in his regional study. Peter Laslett, 'Mean household size in England since the sixteenth century', in Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time*, (Cambridge, 1972), p. 126, and Richard Wall, 'Mean household size in England from printed sources', in Laslett and Wall, *Household and Family in Past Time*, p. 192.

[14]*Abstract of the Answers and Returns*, p. 406.

But while it was not separate from the rest of the country, South Cave lagged far behind when it came to agricultural and industrial change.[15] It sustained itself predominantly from agricultural production in the mid-eighteenth century, just as it had done in the fifteenth century, as research by Jennifer Kaner shows.[16] The Wolds were still used predominantly for sheep farming, whilst the lowlands around the Humber estuary sustained arable, mainly fields of wheat and barley. A few new crops such as potatoes and turnips, were being cultivated by the later seventeenth century, and by the early eighteenth century cattle driven from Scotland were being fattened on the pastures around Faxfleet.[17] Non-food crops, in particular flax, were also grown and sold to supplement income. Few industries were to be found here throughout the early modern period, however, apart from a number of small chalk quarries dotting the Wolds. The chalk was utilised for rubble walls, road surfaces, and burnt in kilns to make lime for agriculture.[18] In Broomfleet and Faxfleet there was a small brick-making industry, making use of the clay loam by the Humber.[19]

Those surviving inventories that list any husbandry and other farming implements reveal little change in the tools used during this period.[20] Indeed, during his 1770 tour of the north of England to assess the advantages of new farming technologies (including large-scale enclosures), Arthur Young noted the lack of 'improvement' in land use and cultivation methods in this part of Yorkshire. To give an example: the leaving of land uncultivated in order to maintain rabbit warrens, was a complete economic waste in his opinion.[21] It was another 10 years before any large scale enclosures and other improvements occurred in this parish,

[15]By the 1760s around 75% of land in England had been enclosed, though the majority of this had been done in a localised and piecemeal fashion, at the behest of local landowners, James Sharpe, *Early Modern England: a social history, 1550–1760*, (London, 1987), p. 134.
[16]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, pp. 26–30.
[17]Allison, 'South Cave', p. 51.
[18]K.J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, (London, 1976), pp. 199–200.
[19]Allison, 'South Cave' pp. 48–53.
[20]So inventories from the mid-eighteenth century recorded waines and ploughs, sythes, flails, hay crooks, rakes, forks and weeding hooks, just as those in the later seventeenth century had, with no obvious new implements mentioned. BIA, peculiar court probate records, (South Cave microfilm), Mary Jubb, South Cave, widow, no will, inventory appraised 18th June 1768 and worth £56 1*s.* 6*d.* including household goods, and Jeremiah Carhill, South Cave, occupation not given but inventory suggests a wealthy farmer, no will, inventory appraised 24th February 1747 and worth £201 11*s.* 6*d.* including household goods, amongst others.
[21]William Page (ed.) *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Yorkshire*, (7 vols, London, 1912), vol. 2, p. 455.

with the draining and enclosing of Walling Fen in 1781, of which several thousand acres were allotted to South Cave parish.[22] This was followed at the end of the century with the building of a dike along the Humber, and the construction of a canal up to Market Weighton, which lay a few miles north-west of the parish, also on the main highway between York and Kingston upon Hull. These improvements considerably lessened the drainage problems that had always affected farming in the area, allowing for more intensive arable cultivation of large tracts of fertile land previously only usable as common land for grazing.[23] The building of the Market Weighton canal had the added bonus of opening up the hamlet of Faxfleet to trade with the nearby towns such as Beverley, and even York.[24] A similar improvement in communications was achieved with the turnpiking of Humberstreet in 1771, for it considerably reduced travelling times by road between South Cave, York and Kingston upon Hull.[25]

This will have enabled material goods to reach the parish more quickly than in previous periods, making metropolitan fashions available sooner to those who wished and could afford them. The parish's position as the hub of the immediate surrounding area will have further guaranteed that it was within reach of chapmen and other carriers and sellers. South Cave parish had a couple of resident shopkeepers in its village throughout this period, in addition to the market. Amongst the surviving probate material from this period, are inventories of five shopkeepers selling groceries and mercery wares, enabling us to see what goods were available throughout that time in this small rural area. It is very possible that the village of South Cave could only support one such shopkeeper at any one time, and so these inventories may reveal the whole history of its shopkeepers during this period. Unfortunately only one inventory, that of Mr. John Blackshaw, who died in 1762, lists stock in any great detail. The inventory of the mercer John Chappilow, on the other hand, inventoried in 1674, does not list any goods at all, solely providing an overall monetary value of his shop goods.[26]

[22]Allison, 'South Cave', p. 39.
[23]Reader, *Broomfleet and Faxfleet*, p. 31.
[24]Reader, *Broomfleet and Faxfleet*, p. 37.
[25]Allison, 'South Cave', p. 39.
[26]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, John Chappilow, South Cave, mercer, will written 30th December 1674, inventory appraised 17th March 1674, and valued at £194 1*s*. 5*d*. including household goods.

So we have no idea what might have been available to the residents at that time. However, the inventory taken in 1670 of the wealthy vicar Richard Remmington's assets, for example, records books, a clock and pocket watch, two mirrors, and five silver bowls, one salt and seventeen spoons.[27] So at least the wealthiest inhabitants of South Cave could acquire the populuxe goods by the end of the seventeenth century, if not from shopkeepers and chapmen in the parish itself, then from the nearby city of York or such like. The mercer Richard Marshall's inventory from 1706 records his stock in trade in a little more detail. It includes tobacco, which had become popular during the seventeenth century, as well as 'Manchester wares', probably brought there by travelling chapmen, but none of the populuxe goods under discussion.[28] The shop wares stocked by the mercer William Atkinson, inventoried in 1728, are again not listed in any detail. But amongst Atkinson's own household goods are recorded four silver teaspoons worth 6*s.*, a teakettle worth 5*s.* and a clock worth £1. He also owned a shop in the nearby town of Beverley, showing himself to have been a successful tradesmen.[29]

It is only in the inventory of the linen draper Mr. John Blackshaw, appraised in 1762, that we find any of the populuxe goods available to purchase in the parish itself. His stock in trade included various fashionable wares, from tea, sugar and books, to leghorn hats made of 'Leghorn' straw from Livorno in Italy, and 'Persian' silks.[30] So by the mid-eighteenth century at least, a few of the populuxe goods were definitely being stocked in the parish. As Blackshaw's inventory does not record the price of his cloth per yard, or per single hat or pair of gloves, it is impossible to say with any certainty who could actually afford all these goods.

[27]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Richard Remmington, South Cave, vicar/clerk, will written 4th May 1670, inventory appraised 19th [illegible] 1670 and worth £472 4*s.* 10*d.* including household goods.

[28]His shop was continued by his wife Catherine, who died in 1713. The shop inventory, taken after her death, was relatively modest, but did include tobacco and lace amongst other goods. BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Richard Marshall, South Cave, mercer, will written 8th December 1705, inventory appraised 1nd October 1706, and valued at £128 17*s.* including household goods. Catherine Marshall, South Cave, widow/mercer, will written 3rd June 1708, inventory appraised 14th March 1712/13 and valued at £22 15*s.*, it only included shop goods and her purse and apparel.

[29]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, William Atkinson, South Cave, mercer, no will, inventory appraised 7th June 1728, and valued at £418 16*s.* 6*d.* including household goods.

[30]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Mr. John Blackshaw, South Cave, linen draper, no will, inventory appraised 17th April 1762, and valued at £287 1*s.* 6*d.* including household goods.

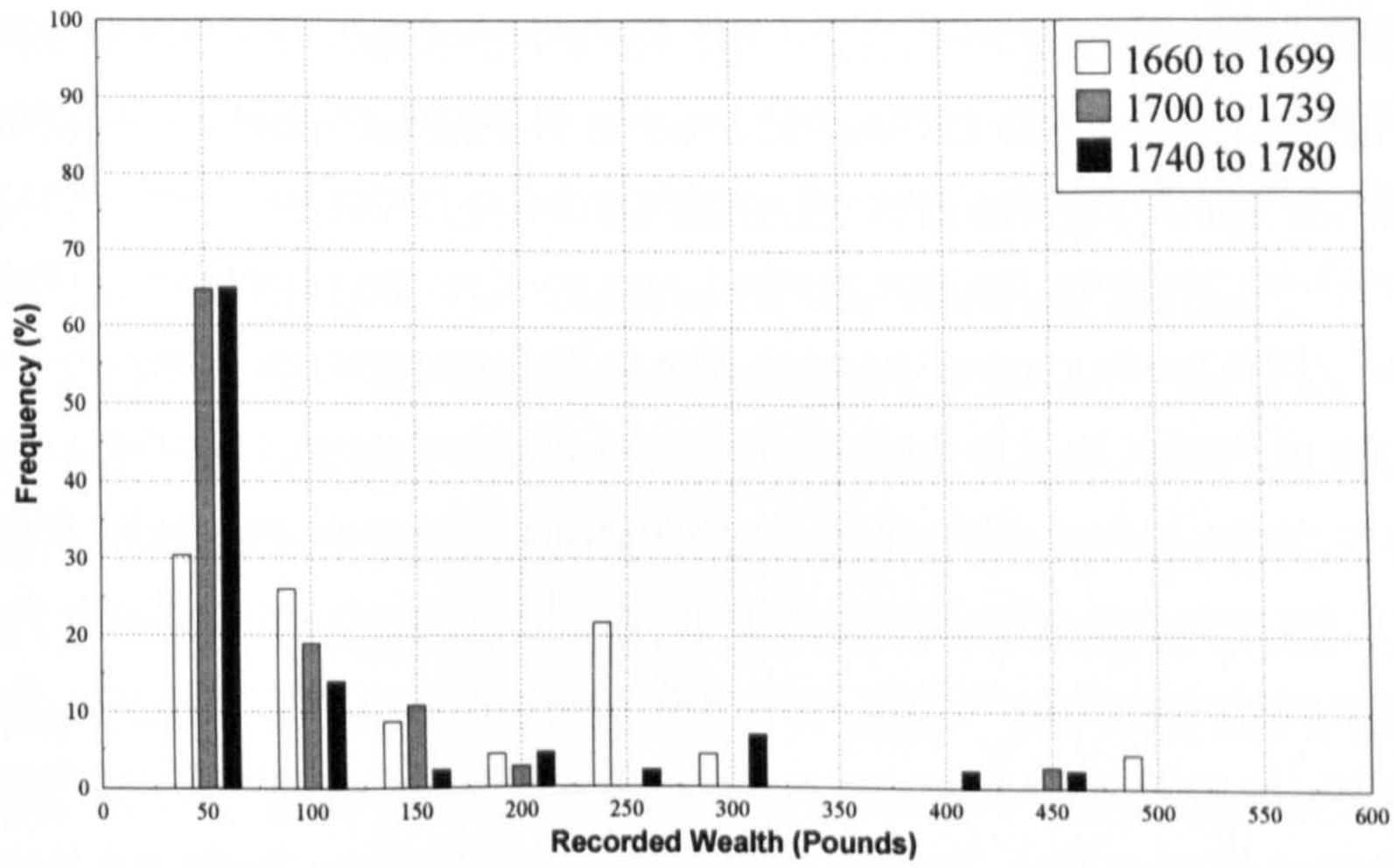

Figure 2.1: Histogram Showing the Distribution of Recorded Assets in South Cave, 1660–1780

But the variety of goods stocked is evident, one entry including not only leghorn and silk hats, but also the much cheaper chip ones. As these hats were valued at only £1 15*s*. together, we can assume that even the smart ones were not beyond the abilities of a fair section of South Cave society to buy.

However, the surviving inventories from the period, 1660–1780, as well as the Hearth Tax and other records, suggest a fairly proletarianised social structure, where the majority of the population were amongst the ranks of the poorer masses, and just a few amongst the wealthy, with very little in between. The histogram laid out in Figure 2.1 shows how the majority of inventories recorded assets worth under £50. And whilst between 1660 and 1699 around a third of the inventories recorded estates worth up to £250, very few are recorded after this period.

This could just be the vagaries of survival of records, but equally these wealthier persons might have moved away, or their family fortunes might have wained. The Hearth Tax assessment of 1672 paints a similar picture. Introduced

first in 1662, the Hearth tax obliged the head of every household to pay 4*d*. a year per hearth, in bi-annual instalments. Exempt from the tax were those households too poor to pay other taxes such as the poor rates, and those whose houses were not worth more than 20*s*. a year if rented and who did not own more than £10 in movable goods or real estate.[31] Whilst only twelve households were exempt from paying the tax altogether, nearly three quarters of the parish paid for only one hearth. 11% of households assessed were recorded as having over two hearths, although Mr. Harrison, the local landlord, was taxed on the substantial number of 14.[32] These results suggest, therefore, that in the later seventeenth century the majority of families lived in one-hearth cottages and farmhouses, comprising two or three rooms. In the traditional layout, the hearth was located opposite the front door in the main part of the house: aptly called the 'housebody', or 'hall' after the wealthy residences of the Middle Ages, with a second room to the one side: the 'parlour'. In some cases there was a complete second floor, or at the very least a loft space to store food. The few houses with two hearths normally had three ground floor rooms, the second hearth being situated in the kitchen at one end of the house. Larger dwellings had a fourth room tacked on behind the kitchen: the back kitchen. This would then have its own room above for the male farmhands who lived in, and might well have included another hearth.[33]

Few other records exist that recorded, even indirectly, the wealth of the population. In the eighteenth century taxes were raised on windows and land, rather than on hearths. These have not survived for South Cave until 1792,[34] but the

[31]The latter needed an exemption certificate to qualify. Generally the records listed each of these two groups separately, Tom Arkell, 'A student's guide to the hearth tax: some truths, half-truths and untruths', in Nick Alldridge (ed.), *The Hearth Tax, Problems and Possibilities*, (London, 1984), pp. 23–24.
[32]John Hebdon (ed.), *The Hearth Tax List for the Town and County of Hull and Harthill Hunsley and Harthill Bainton Beacon Wapentakes, East Riding of Yorkshire, Lady Day 1672, Ripon Historical Society*, (no vol. numbers), (1996), pp. 34–35.
[33]Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 195. A description of the layout of one of the two manor houses of the parish has also survived. In the 1690s, the Danby family tried to regain what they saw as their estate, which included the two houses and grounds in South Cave village: the West Hall and the East Hall. During the ensuing court case, a description of the East Hall was given, as it was in the 1650s. It included four turrets, a back kitchen, stable and other outhouses and gardens, and was described as a sumptuous abode, Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, pp. 357–58.
[34]The land tax assessment of 1792 recorded a quota of £130 3*s*. 11*d*. for the township of South Cave, with 81 paying households, Noble, M., 'The land tax assessments in the study of the physical development of country towns', in Michael Turner and Dennis Mills (eds.), *Land and Property: The English Land Tax, 1692–1832*, (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 96+106.

record of the tax levied on male servants in 1780 has. Essentially a tax on a 'luxury' good, because having a male house servant rather than a maid or male farm hands was a sign of very considerable wealth, this source reveals the lack of any great wealth in the parish in the late eighteenth century. Only one family, the Barnards, the main landowners of the area, paid this tax, in their case for two servants.[35] Their estate incorporated the centre of South Cave village, on which they built the impressive Cave Castle in the early nineteenth century.[36]

The surviving churchwardens' accounts give us some indication of the levels of poverty in the parish, from the yearly poor rates received, and provide evidence of a growth in the number of poverty stricken families during this period. In 1701 the rates received amounted to £11 10*s.* 11½*d.*, rising to around £20 by 1740, where they remained for a number of years.[37] The 1760s saw a further leap, resulting in an annual expenditure in South cave village alone of around £65 by 1775, with Broomfleet contributing a further £40 or so annually. In the 1780s a work or poorhouse was established in South Cave village, and two others in the centre of Broomfleet, for the resident poor.[38] The doles distributed from these funds ranged from one off payments to wandering beggars, such as the few shillings given to a distressed seaman and a child, with a pass, in 1702, to the allowance paid Ann Hardyes of 3*s.* a time, between 1766 and 1769. In 1768 a total of £7 17*s.* 4*d.* was paid to her. By this point she was being employed by the churchwardens as a seamstress.[39]

South Cave was not an isolated case. It has been estimated that national institutional expenditure on the poor rose around three fold in the first half of the eighteenth century. This was not solely a result of rising poverty, but also due to a growth in the numbers deemed to be 'recognisably' poor, and so eligible for aid, as well as a widening of the range of benefits given to such persons, including

[35]J. Cartwright (ed.), 'List of persons in Yorkshire who paid the tax on male servants in 1780', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 14, (1898), pp. 65-80.
[36]Allison, 'South Cave', p. 37.
[37]East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Beverley, *South Cave Churchwardens Accounts*, (no page numbers). The South Cave parish records also record more 'tinkers', 'travellers' and 'poor' having their children baptised, or being buried in the parish from the 1740s onwards, such as the poor male traveller who was buried here in 1776, BIA, microfilm records, (South Cave peculiar), *South Cave Parish Register*, (no page numbers). The vagaries of registering could also account for this, however.
[38]Allison, 'South Cave', p. 54.
[39]East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, *South Cave Churchwardens Accounts*, (no page numbers).

fuel allowances and school fees.[40] So the actual level of poverty had probably risen less than the figures would indicate, it now being recorded differently.

These findings suggest that it is doubtful that new material goods played any significant role in South Cave during the period under discussion, for not only did a large segment of the population only possess modest inventoried wealth (and this is not including the poorest segment of South Cave society for whom no records were written in the first place), but the upgrading of land and waterways allowing easier access to new goods and fashions, were only just starting in the 1770s. The stock in trade of the mercer Mr. John Blackshaw does indicate, however, that some smart and fashionable goods were available in South Cave by the mid-eighteenth century, probably brought there by chapmen and other itinerant tradesmen. So there must have been a market for such items, at least from the few wealthy families residing both in South Cave itself, such as the Barnard's, and in the surrounding parishes. And there will have been no need for more than one such tradesman living in the parish at any one time, as any goods they did not stock such families would be able to purchase from Kingston upon Hull, York, or even just Beverley.

Halifax

The economic change and population growth which Halifax experienced in the eighteenth century was on a totally different scale to South Cave. Located at the other end of the county, in the West Riding, and within the Wappentake of Morley, this sprawling parish was estimated by Daniel Defoe to be around twelve miles in diameter. It was thus the largest in the country[41] and incorporated 23 autonomous townships.[42] At first glance it might seem strange that a parish straddling the Pennine hills, with its main township nestled at the bottom of the steep narrow valley of the Calder river, became the centre of one of the largest

[40]Peter Rushton, 'The Poor law, the parish and the community in North-East England, 1600–1800', *Northern History*, Vol. XXV, (1989), pp. 142–43.
[41]Phillip Furbank and W.R. Owens (eds.), Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, (1724), (London, 1991), p. 256.
[42]These townships were: Barkisland, Elland cum Greetland, Erringden, Fixby, *Halifax*, Heptonstall, Hipperholme, Langfield, Midgley, Norland, Northowram, Ovenden, Rastrick, Rishworth, Shelf, Skircoat, Southowram, Sowerby, Soyland, Stainland, Stansfield, Wadsworth and Warley.

cloth producing areas of the world, by the mid-eighteenth century.[43] Indeed, in 1724 Defoe recorded that he found it a struggle to get to Halifax, as one had to travel over hills so steep that carriages could only traverse them with difficulty.[44] Furthermore, the Calder was not easily navigable, so the wares produced in the parish had to be hauled by road the ten miles or so to Bradford and Leeds, until the second half of the eighteenth century.[45]

However, already by the late fifteenth century, Halifax was second only to York in England in its output of woollen broad cloths. A century later and kersies had become the distinctive product of the Upper Calder valley, and were being exported all over Europe.[46] But by the seventeenth century Halifax was overtaken as principal cloth producing and marketing centre by Leeds. An early shift into worsted production[47], using long wools imported from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire,[48] sustained its fortunes, though, and Halifax remained a major service centre for the marketing of such cloth into the late eighteenth century.[49] Indeed, by 1770 around 50% of England's cloth exports came from this parish.[50] The early stages of this momentous change were captured in considerable detail by Defoe. In 1724 cloth was already being produced on an industrial scale. According to his *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, around 100,000 pieces of worsted

[43]Page, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Yorkshire*, (Vol. 2), pp. 418–19.
[44]Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, p. 256.
[45]Arthur Rastrick, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, (London, 1970), p. 141.
[46]Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, p. 96.
[47]Kevin Grady, 'The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding', *Thoresby Society Vol. LXII*, (1989), p. 5.
[48]McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, p. 143.
[49]Grady, 'The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding', p. 5.
[50]John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*, (Ithaca, 1994), p. 51. This phenomenal growth in the textile trade has been the subject of many detailed studies, from Herbert Heaton's exhaustive analysis of production in the whole of Yorkshire, with detailed descriptions of state regulation of the industry, how the trade in cloth was organised, and the relationships between the workers and the manufacturers and merchants, in *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*, (Oxford, 1965), to the study of personal documents such as the memorandum books of the cloth Frizzier John Brearley of Wakefield, edited by John Smail in *The Woollen Manufacture in Yorkshire*, (1758–62), *Yorkshire Archaeological Society*, Vol. 155, (2001). Others include William Crump, 'The Leeds Woollen Industry, 1780–1820', *Thoresby Society*, Vol. XXXII, (1929), pp. 1-58; Patricia Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: A Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry c.1750–1850*, (Cambridge, 1986); and David Jenkins, *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry 1770–1835: A Study of Fixed Capital Formation, Pasold Occasional Papers*, (no vol. number given), (1975). Patricia Hudson has also compiled a comprehensive list of the surviving business records of many West Riding manufacturers, including for example the account books of the clothier Jonathan Ackroyd of Lane Head in Ovenden, Halifax, from 1770–1802, in *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry: A Catalogue of Business Records from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century, Pasold Occasional Papers*, Vol. 3, (975).

shalloon were being made a year, not including all the other types of cloth being churned out, such as cheap kersies.[51] The reasons for this output were, in his opinion, twofold. Firstly, the location was, in fact, peculiarly suited to textile production. The hill areas had long been used for sheep grazing, and this wool helped fuel production. In the dales arable and mixed dairy farming produced food for the textile workers, and a network of rivers played an important role in the cloth dyeing and finishing processes. (They would also facilitate the introduction of water powered textile machinery towards the end of the eighteenth century, and when improved allow for the rapid bulk transport of cloth all the way to Kingston upon Hull).[52] And secondly, Defoe believed the inhabitants to be extremely industrious in this area, for during his whole time there he found there was hardly a soul sitting around 'idly', all being employed productively, as far as he could tell. The hills surrounding the town of Halifax were dotted with cottages. And in amongst them were slightly larger dwellings, each with a few acres of land, a cow or two and chickens, and with looms inside the houses and a tenter outside in the yard for the cloth. These small manufacturing establishments employed as weavers the men who lived in the surrounding cottages, whilst their wives and children carded and span wool. Bigger establishments had dyeing houses and scouring shops, and piped the necessary water to these from their gutters. Afterwards, the water, full of dye, oil, tallow, soap and so forth, was put out on the fields.[53] This picture seems to have changed little over the century. One of the few documents to have survived from such men is a small diary for the years 1782–83, written by Cornelius Ashworth, of Wheatley who was both a weaver and a small scale farmer. The sparse entries reveal a never-ending cycle of work, at the loom or on the small holding, the religious services he attended and the sermons given, as well as trips to Halifax to sell his cloth.[54] Ashworth was an independent worker, not producing cloth for a local manufacturer, and his diary bears out the industrious nature of the inhabitants of this area as Defoe saw them half a century earlier.

[51]Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, pp. 258–59.
[52]John Hargreaves, *Halifax*, (Edinburgh, 1999), p. 2.
[53]Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, pp. 256–61.
[54]Frank Atkinson (ed.), *Some Aspects of the Eighteenth Century Woollen and Worsted Trade in Halifax*, (Halifax, 1956), pp. 27–30.

Such output could not be held up for ever by the geographical location of the parish. In 1735, a decade after Defoe's trip, one of the first roads in the West Riding, indeed in the whole of England, to be turnpiked, was the Rochdale to Elland road via Halifax.[55] Other roads followed in the 1740s, improving Halifax's links with the outside world: from Halifax to Leeds and Bradford, and Halifax to Wakefield. In the later eighteenth century major river improvements were instigated, often underwritten by Halifax merchants. The most important were on the rivers Calder and Aire, between 1759 and 1774.[56] These made the Calder navigable up past Halifax to Salter Hebble and Sowerby Bridge, removing the need for road carriage to Leeds over the hills. Furthermore, this improvement in transportation cut out the middlemen in Leeds. Building on this success, river improvements and canal building continued well after the period under discussion, into the nineteenth century, with, for example, the building of the Rochdale canal from Sowerby Bridge, over the Pennines to Rochdale and the major industrial and textile centre of Manchester.[57] Surprisingly, despite its regional and national importance in the textile trade,[58] the canal connecting Halifax with Wakefield, dug between 1758–65, stopped two miles short of Halifax town centre. It was only in 1828 that it was extended all the way into the town itself.[59]

But such 'miscalculations' did not prevent the growth of larger manufacturers, who were benefiting considerably from the cloth production of the area, from emerging in the parish and in particular in the town of Halifax.[60] They had substantial houses built at the southern end of the town, creating a little enclave by the later eighteenth century. One house by the famous architect John Carr, and constructed near the town centre 1766[61], was even visited, in 1768, by King Christian VII of Denmark on his tour of the textile areas of the West Riding. This mansion belonged to the wealthy woollen merchant and banker John Royds.[62] Earlier in the century, such men had lived in houses with their workshops on

[55]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 34.
[56]Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, p. 137.
[57]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 35.
[58]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 65.
[59]Rastrick, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 142.
[60]Smail, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture*, pp. 178–79.
[61]Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire, The West Riding*, (Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 232.
[62]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 79.

site. But as they became more prosperous, they moved their families away from their workplace, building smart new homes for them.[63]

Their presence in the town, in turn, created a service sector tending to their needs. This ranged from increased numbers of shoemakers and tailors, to joiners and carpenters, and from shopkeepers such as linen drapers and booksellers, to professionals like lawyers, apothecaries, doctors and schoolmasters.[64] The accounts of the upholsterer Jonathan Hall provide examples of the types of fashionable metropolitan wares that could be purchased directly in Halifax. A native of Halifax, Hall had gone to London at the beginning of the eighteenth century for his apprenticeship, and stayed, but had maintained a retail outlet in his home town. Numerous dispatches of goods to Halifax were recorded in his business accounts for the 1720s and 1730s. In December 1726, for example, he sent four tea tables and a large selection of hats to the town. On another occasion the supplies included a swing glass in a walnut frame, and twelve chairs with 'Indian' backs, 'French' feet and fine cane bottoms.[65] The surviving inventory samples from the parish show that such wares were available in Halifax even before Hall's time. The two mercers and one linen draper recorded in the 1690s sample, were stocking amongst other wares fashionable coloured silks and gauzes and tobacco, as well as cheap threads, ribbons and white callico[66], whilst the chapman James Wilson had a piece of Manchester muslin worth 1*s.* 8*d.*, a parcel of silk points worth 2*s.* 6*d.* and 9*s.* worth of combs, recorded amongst his wares.[67] A clock maker, Thomas Barber was also resident in the parish at this time, living in Smith Clough in Staningdon; his son became a clock maker in Skipton.[68] And of course there was also the famous Lister family of clockmakers who worked in the town from the mid-eighteenth century. Booksellers were also trading in the area by the

[63]Small, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, pp. 176–77.
[64]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 36–37.
[65]Small, *The Origins of the Middle-Class Culture*, pp. 98–99.
[66]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Sylvannus Worrell, Halifax, linen draper, will written 28th May 1691, inventory appraised 15th July 1691, valued at £207 9½*d*, his household goods not being recorded; Richard Ramsden, Halifax, mercer, will written 9th April 1696, inventory appraised 27th April 1696, valued at £818 8*s.* 11½*d.* including his household goods; and John Dickson, Halifax, mercer, no will, inventory appraised 11th January 1692/3 and valued at £422 9*s.* including his household goods.
[67]BIA, Pontefract deanery, James Wilson, Halifax, chapman, will written 19th October 1694, inventory appraised 21nd November 1694 and worth £120 4*s.* 4½*d.* including household goods.
[68]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Thomas Barber, Smith Clough in Staningden in Sowerby, Halifax, will written 15th January 1691/2, no inventory.

1740s, two being recorded in the *Harleian Miscellany*.[69] The inventory of a dancing master has survived from 1761,[70] and William Bailey's *Northern Directory*, printed at the end of the period under discussion in 1781, lists five grocers, four drapers, a couple of booksellers, a silk merchant and a watchmaker, amongst others, in the town.[71] Although not on the scale of London, fashionable new material goods were thus readily available in this parish from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Indeed, people from throughout the county and beyond would travel to Halifax to shop, as Amanda Vickery has found in her letter samples.[72]

The leisure time of Halifax's affluent families and their less wealthy peers was not neglected either. Horse racing was organised on Skircoat Moor, with an important three day event being held at the end of June each year during the eighteenth century,[73] which coincided with the horse fair held on the 24th.[74] Cockfighting was another popular pastime, though such events were not without controversy. In 1748, for example, a man from Leeds complained to the *York Courant* about the cruelty of cock fighting, bouts of which were advertised fairly frequently in the paper, citing as his example a fight that had been held in Halifax.[75] In the town itself assemblies were held,[76] a music club was instituted in 1767,[77] and a public circulating subscription library existed from 1768.[78] A small theatre was built in 1788,[79] and assembly rooms in 1828. Before that, plays had been held at the inn yards of the Old Cock inn (where the library was also housed) and at the White Lion, and the 'assembly rooms' were in the Talbot inn.[80] Various

[69]A Nathaniel Binns and a Abraham Milner, listed in William Todd and Peter Wallis (eds.), *Provincial Booksellers C. 1744: The Harleian Miscellany Subscription List*, (Oxford, 1974), pp. 422–434.
[70]BIA, Pontefract deanery, John Hanson, Halifax, dancing master, will written 14th August 1761, inventory appraised 21nd August 1761, only mentions a set of puppet show figures, a violin, 2 sets of scenes and a drum shell, valued at £11 in all.
[71]William Bailey, *Bailey's Northern Directory, or, merchant's and tradesman's useful companion, for the year 1781*, (Warrington, 1781), pp. 200–203.
[72]Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, (New Haven, 1998), p. 168.
[73]I. Middleton and Wray Vamplew, 'Horse-racing and the Yorkshire leisure calender in the early eighteenth century', *Northern History*, Vol. XL, (2003), Figure 1 and Table 2.
[74]McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, p. 174.
[75]I. Middleton, 'Cockfighting in Yorkshire during the early eighteenth century', *Northern History*, Vol. XL, (2003), pp. 30–32.
[76]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 61–62.
[77]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 82–83.
[78]Arthur Porritt, '18th and 19th century clubs and societies in Halifax', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1964), p. 67.
[79]Grady, The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding, p. 157.
[80]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 84–85.

sociable and charitable clubs for the gentlemen and wealthy male citizens of the parish were also instituted, including the Loyal Georgian Society in 1779, at which debates on current local and national topics probably took place, although its primary function was as a sort of 'friendly' club.[81] A weekly paper called the *Union Journal* (or *Halifax Advertiser*) was started in 1759, but lasted barely a year before it was discontinued.[82] Advertisements and correspondence in the *York Courant* and *Leeds Mercury* were not restricted to local affairs, but incorporated regional information, for example the books available from the Halifax booksellers,[83] as well as national and international news, so may have been responsible for the early demise of the other. Halifax readers might well have preferred to peruse a major provincial paper, to a small local one. However, the advertisements placed in the *Halifax Advertiser*, give a flavour of the sophistication that the wealthy inhabitants of the parish were aspiring to in that period. In October 1759 a book auction was advertised at which world histories, geographies of the world, the ubiquitous bible commentaries, and several Spectators, Tatlers and Guardians were to be sold,[84] and in January 1760, a certain William Norris announced the opening of his new school for young gentlemen and ladies, at the Royal Oak in Halifax. Here they could learn writing, accounts, Italian bookkeeping methods and the most useful branches of maths, in the manner Norris had previously taught at a successful boarding school near the capital.[85]

It was not just the numbers of wealthy inhabitants that were increasing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in this parish. Around 19,000 people were living in the area in 1664, according to estimates taken from the Hearth Tax assessment of that year.[86] By the time the 1743 Visitation returns were written, the population had risen to 31,000; it stood at 41,220 at the time of the 1764 Visitation.[87] Of these, approximately 5,000 lived in Halifax town itself in 1743, rising to 6,360 in 1764. Further sustained growth during the second half of the century led

[81]Porritt, '18th and 19th century clubs and societies in Halifax', p. 67.
[82]York Minster Library, Minster-SCC Newspapers, NEWS: HAL-ADV, *Union Journal, or Halifax Advertiser.*
[83]*York Courant*, Tuesday 23rd April 1751.
[84]*Union Journal, or Halifax Advertiser*, 16th October 1759.
[85]*Union Journal, or Halifax Advertiser*, 15th January 1760.
[86]Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, p. 22, and Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 68.
[87]Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 68.

to a parish population of 63,434 being recorded in the 1801 census.[88] But despite this phenomenal population increase, improvements in the road and waterway infrastructure, and influx of a group of wealthy merchants with their need for entertainment and goods, Halifax town itself remained remained medium-sized, with 8,886 recorded inhabitants in 1801. This was substantial compared to other towns across the country; only 10% were of a comparable size or larger,[89] but not in contrast to the nearby town of Leeds, which had 30,669 inhabitants by 1801.[90]

The dispersed nature of its population did not diminish the economic output of Halifax parish as a whole. The continuing dominance of cloth production at the end of the century is clear from the 1801 Census. For this parish the census unusually included women and children in its occupational survey, probably acknowledging the importance of their labour to the textile industry. Of the 63,434 inhabitants of the parish of Halifax in 1801, only 1·7% were employed chiefly in agriculture, and 25·2% in a handicraft, trade or manufacture.[91] The latter would have included small textile manufacturers, hand loom weavers and other master craftsmen, and all the other trades needed to service this economy such as smiths and wheelwrights. The rest of the population were probably employed as day labourers in the textile industry, like those that Defoe had noted in 1724 living in the small cottages that dotted the countryside, or as factory hands in one of the many water powered factories that lined the rivers. (By the mid-eighteenth century there were already 22 worsted mills in the West Riding, along with dyeing and fulling mills, and several cotton mills).[92] In Halifax town, of the 8,886 recorded inhabitants, merely 0·1% were engaged chiefly in agriculture, and 20·7% in a trade, handicraft or manufacture.[93]

As we saw in South Cave, however, economic improvements and change did not necessarily translate into a wealthier population. Hearth Tax records again provide us with a basic picture of the wealth structure in the second half of the seventeenth century. The Hearth Tax of 1664 recorded 3,844 households in the

[88]Page, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Yorkshire*, (Vol. 3), p. 533.
[89]J. Langton, 'Urban growth and economic change: from the late seventeenth century to 1841', in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, (Vol. 2, 1540–1840), (Cambridge, 2000), p. 471.
[90]Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, p. 247.
[91]*Abstract of the Answers and Returns*, pp. 438–39
[92]Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, pp. 234–36.
[93]*Abstract of the Answers and Returns*, pp. 438–39.

parish. Of these around a third were exempt from paying the tax altogether. Another third had only one hearth, and around 20% had two. In all, only 2·5% had over six hearths.[94] So the majority of the parish lived in small one or two-roomed houses, frequently with a barn or 'laithe' attached to them, creating a type of long house.[95] They were low buildings of the local stone, with mullion windows and stone-slate roofs. The houses of small manufacturers were correspondingly larger, and had the added peculiarity of a 'weaving' window, usually on the first floor, which was a larger than average sized window horizontally, next to which they kept their looms.[96] Wealthier farmers and the local gentry resided in small mansions and halls situated in the different townships. The most fashionable of these were even remodelled on examples seen in the metropolis. After visiting Lord Holland in Kensington, in the 1640s, Sir Henry Slingsby noted:

> I was much taken with the curiosity of the house; & from that house I took a conceite of making a thorough house in part of Red House [his Yorkshire home] wch now I build; & that by placing the Dores so one against another & making ar each end a Balcony that one pay see cleare thro' the house...[97]

In the town of Halifax itself, the wealth structure of the inhabitants was slightly different. As Table 2.1 shows, there was both a concentration of wealthier people living in the town (in large houses), but also a larger proportion of poor labouring families (crammed into two or three-storey terraces) than in the rest of the parish.[98]

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[94]Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, p. 25, table 1.
[95]Maurice Barley, *Houses and History*, (London, 1986), p. 160.
[96]Rastrick, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 94. Maurice Barley, 'Rural building in England', in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, (8 vols., Cambridge, 1985), pp. 663-64.
[97]D. Parsons (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Slingsby of Scriven, Bart.*, (London, 1836), pp. 51–2, quoted in Colum Giles, *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire, 1400–1830*, (London, 1986), p. 48.
[98]M. Reed, 'The urban landscape, 1540–1700', in Peter Clark, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, pp. 293–96.

No. of Hearths	No. of Households	%
1	61	13
2	75	15
3–6	115	23
Over 6	36	7
Exempt	209	42
Total	502	100

Table 2.1: Numbers of Hearths per Household in the Town of Halifax, 1664. (Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, p. 25, Table 1).

As the population grew during the eighteenth century, blind-back cottages with one room on each floor, were squashed into every available space, for example in narrow yards. And undeveloped land on the outskirts of the town centre was filled with back-to-backs, comprising a cellar, living-room and chamber each.[99]

By the late eighteenth century the polarisation of wealth was even starker. Over 50% of the parish was exempt from the land tax assessment of 1782. Although ostensibly called a land tax, it in fact not only assessed both the house and any land the occupier owned, but also any other income they made, at 4*d*. in the pound or 24*s*. on every £100. Exemption from the land tax was granted to those who could not pay local rates, to those on parish relief, and to those with land worth less than £20.[100] In Halifax town a staggering 83% of households were exempt. At the same time, of the remaining 17%, over a third were assessed at £20 or more.[101] The tax on male household servants in 1780 further reveals the wealth of the small percentage of high tax-paying households. Amongst them, 30 households enjoyed the luxury of one such servant, whilst six households employed two, a couple had three, and one household five. Again, as we would expect,

[99]Lucy Caffyn, *Workers' Housing in West Yorkshire, 1750–1920*, (London, 1986), pp. 41–44.
[100]William Ward, *Land Tax in the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1953), pp. 6–7.
[101]Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, pp. 102–103. This tax can be an unreliable source for establishing the wealth of the population, at least until the beginning of the eighteenth century, as fixed quotas were imposed on every county, to be levied on each householder, regardless of the actual wealth of the inhabitants of that county. Furthermore, the commissioners often tried to have the quotas for their area reduced, and the further away the county was from London the more likely the inhabitants were able to escape paying all their taxes. But William Ward has pointed out that as the eighteenth century progressed more effort was taken to peg the quotas to the wealth of an area in a more realistic manner, as well as to its collection, thus making it more representative of the wealth of country as a whole, Ward, *Land Tax in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 8–10+176.

male servant-keepers were the wealthy group of manufacturers and merchants who lived in the town.[102]

This same group, and the scattering of wealthy families throughout the other townships, contributed most to the various schemes undertaken to support and educate the growing numbers of poor inhabitants. The two Archbishops' Visitations of 1743 and 1764 enquired specifically into the provision of education for the children of the parish, as well as about the alleviation of poverty. The returns reveal, that the families supported a number of almshouses and other charitable concerns, including a hospital for the poor in Halifax town. Fifteen charity schools were also recorded in 1764. These ranged from the free grammar school in the town where twenty pupils were taught Greek and Latin, to institutions teaching poor children reading, writing, accounts and the Anglican catechism, such as the small school opened for eight poor children in the village of Brighouse in the 1740s, endowed by Mary, widow of John Bedford esquire of Thornhill Briggs.[103]

As well as these institutions, the Returns also recorded various charity schools and almshouses supported by Dissenting families and congregations. By 1764, the parish contained at least fifteen licensed meeting-houses and chapels for various groups of Methodists, Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians and Quakers, all of which had their own Sunday- and charity schools.[104] David Hey has argued that the rapid growth of the population and industrial change stretched the traditional ecclesiastical structures to breaking point, allowing Nonconformity to flourish with comparative ease in such parishes.[105] However, there was no lack of Anglican oversight in Halifax, for as Edward Royle has noted, whilst the parish might have only had one parish church (in the town), there were a further two parochial chapelries and ten chapels of ease in the parish, each with

[102]Cartwright, 'List of persons in Yorkshire who paid the tax on male servants in 1780'.
[103]E.P. Green, 'Charity school movement in Brighouse, 1700–1870', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (no vol. numbers), (1960), p. 67.
[104]Ollard and Walker, *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns*, (Vols. 1–3), and Annesley and Hoskin, *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns*, (Vols. 1–3). The twelve Anglican chapels that made up the parish of Halifax, and which produced these Returns, were Briers chapel, Coley chapel, Stone Cross chapel, Elland chapel, Illingworth chapel, Heptonstall chapel, Lightcliffe chapel, Luddenden chapel, Ripponden chapel, Sowerby chapel, and Sowerby Bridge chapel, and Halifax town church itself, the main parish church.
[105]David Hey, 'The pattern of nonconformity in South Yorkshire, 1660–1851', *Northern History*, Vol. VIII, (1973), pp. 87–88.

a qualified curate in the mid-eighteenth century.[106] In fact Halifax had long been a centre of religious independence, and many of these curates, for example those in the townships of Heptonstall and Elland, had been financially supported for centuries mainly by the local inhabitants, giving the latter a certain say in the religious affairs of their communities.[107] So when after the Restoration, in 1662, the well-known Presbyterian divine, Oliver Heywood, was ejected from his living in Coley chapelry (which contained Shelf, Northowram and Hipperholme), this did not have the desired result of removing his religious influence from the area. Instead, he was taken on as the dissenting minister of the same chapelry, through the support of the loyal members of his former congregation.[108]

Indeed John Smail has suggested that such Dissent and Nonconformity was one of the important factors that distinguished the wealthy manufacturers and merchants in Halifax from the traditional gentry elite.[109] The former have been extensively studied by him. He has concluded that their similar background, economic and political ambitions, produced a group with a cohesive economic and social structure that could be termed a 'class', and were in fact part of the foundation of what was later to become the 'middle class' of Victorian England.[110] Whether such a group can really be seen as the forerunner of this nineteenth century phenomenon, remains highly debatable.[111] But in Halifax they found all they needed to lead both a productive and leisured life in the eighteenth century. We might expect, therefore, to find the polarisation of wealth noted in this parish also played out in the consumption patterns of its inhabitants. Whilst the wealthy merchants and manufacturers could easily acquire the newest goods and fashions if they so wished, the majority of the population will have been unable to follow suit. However, the latter would have been able to acquire some of the cheaper populuxe objects coming onto the market such as mirrors or bits of lace

[106]Edward Royle, 'The Church of England and Methodism in Yorkshire, c. 1750–1850', *Northern History*, Vol. XXXIII, (1997), p. 143.
[107]William Sheils, 'Religion in provincial towns: innovation and tradition', in Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day (eds.), *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, (London, 1977), p. 161.
[108]William Sheils, 'Oliver Heywood and his congregation', *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 23, (1986), pp. 265–67.
[109]Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, pp. 28–35.
[110]Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture*, conclusion.
[111]See the discussion on this in Chapter 3.

and silk handkerchiefs stocked by the above mentioned mercers and chapmen, already in the 1690s. As a consequence, I would expect some change in the consumption patterns of the majority of inhabitants, as more cheap populuxe goods came onto the market and were brought to Halifax during the period under discussion, as well as a burgeoning of consumption of the more expensive range of populuxe goods, from silver tea pots, to china tea services and figurines, amongst the wealthy minority.

York

Whereas South Cave and Halifax were single parishes, the city of York was comprised of twenty-six parishes and also administered the adjacent area of the deanery of Ainsty. By the Restoration the city had long outgrown the confines of its ancient walls. In order to accommodate the suburbs, a handful of the existing city parishes, such as St. Olave's on the edge of Bootham Bar, had been enlarged to incorporate these settlements. A couple of new city parishes were also created from these suburbs, St. Lawrence by Walmgate Bar being one of these.[112]

In contrast to Halifax, the city of York was ideally placed to be the main trading hub of the county, situated as it was in the middle of the lowlands on the river Ouse, the main arterial route through the county. Furthermore, the great north road connecting the metropolis with Scotland ran close to the city.[113] This had led to York not only becoming a main port for the wool trade in the middle ages, but also the political centre of the north of the country. However, by the mid seventeenth century it had lost these functions. The Council of the North no longer sat, and the York City Corporation minutes in 1660 were recording the worry that trade in the city was in serious decay.[114] Recession and competition from abroad and from London already during the later fifteenth century had

[112]The parishes were All Saints North Street; All Saints Pavement; Holy Trinity Goodramgate; Holy Trinity Kings Court; Holy Trinity Micklegate; StCrux; St. Cuthbert; St. Denys with St. George; St. Helen Stonegate; St. John Ousebridge; St. Lawrence; St. Margaret Walmgate; St. Martin Coney Street; St. Martin cum Gregory; St. Mary Bishophill Jnr.; St. Mary Bishophill Sen.; St. Mary Castlegate; St. Maurice; St. Michael le Belfrey; St. Michael Spurriergate; St. Olave; St. Sampson; St. Saviour and Minster Yard. Chris Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns: York in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Liverpool, 1998), p. 72. Not included in this list is the parish of St. Andrews, which was incorporated into St. Saviour during this period, although it still appears in its own right in the Hearth Tax records of the later seventeenth century.

[113]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, p. 31.

[114]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, p. 53.

eroded its export market.[115] Cloth making had moved away from towns in the east such as York during the same period, and was flourishing instead in the West Riding,[116] and the silting up of the Ouse was making river transport of such goods through York harder.

Not all of York's political and economic significance had disappeared, however. The county assizes were still held here twice a year. Only the most serious offences were heard at such gatherings, and criminals were brought from all over the county to stand trial before the circuit judge and members of the county gentry, who came to the city specifically to fulfil this judicial function.[117] Furthermore, in ecclesiastical matters the city still held sway over much of the North, as it was the hub of the Northern Province and the seat of the Archbishop of York. The church courts thus dealt with ecclesiastical matters for the northern half of England, including appeals against other ecclesiastical court rulings, heard in the Commissary Court.[118] The relative lack of Dissenting families in the city (only around 6% were listed as such in the 1743 and 1764 Visitations), was probably due to York's prominent position within the Anglican Church. Many parishes had no more than a couple of Dissenting families. St. Mary Castlegate was an exception. In 1743 five Presbyterian, three Roman Catholic and one Quaker family were recorded, and the parish also contained a licensed Quaker meeting house.[119] It was a similar picture in 1764, with one more Quaker, but three less Presbyterian, families.[120] In all there were only two licensed Dissenter meeting houses for the whole of the city in 1743. This had grown to seven by 1764, but still around 95% of the population was Anglican.[121] It was not until the late eighteenth century that the numbers of Dissenters living in the city, in particular Methodists, began to grow substantially.[122]

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[115]Jenny Kermode, 'Merchants, overseas trade and urban decline: York, Beverley, and Hull, c. 1380–1500', *Northern History*, Vol. XXIII, (1987), p. 52.
[116]Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, p. 96.
[117]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, pp. 38–39.
[118]Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, pp. 4–5.
[119]Ollard and Walker, *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns*, (Vol. 1), p. 167.
[120]Annesley and Hoskin, *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns*, (Vol. 3), p. 163.
[121]Royle, 'The Church of England and Methodism in Yorkshire', p. 138.
[122]Peter Tillott (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, (London, 1961), p. 408. A detailed description of the state of the nonconformist presence in York during that period can be found in Edward Royle (ed.), William Ellerby and James Pigott Prichett, *A History of the Nonconformist Churches of York, Borthwick Texts and Calenders*, Vol. 18, (1993). Written

And despite the warning sounded by the York City Corporation in 1660, trade flourished in York well into the eighteenth century. It continued as the main market town for its area, selling corn, meat, flax, linen, hemp, kerseys, and wool, amongst many other things, several at their own designated market, place and time.[123] The sea fish market, for instance, was on Wednesdays and Fridays on Foss Bridge.[124] The butter market on Micklegate, kept on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays,[125] was the largest wholesale market in the country selling butter destined for London until the mid-eighteenth century, when it began to decline in the face of further overseas competition.[126] Other such imports included fish, timber, potash and iron.[127] To facilitate this trade, a variety of schemes were organised to make the Ouse more navigable.[128] The buoyancy of trade and industry during the later seventeenth century is also borne out by the healthy numbers of men being admitted to the freedom of the city to carry out a trade there, similar to earlier decades, recorded in the Freeman's Register, as shown in table 2.2.

Furthermore, until the late eighteenth century, York remained the foremost county town of the north, having metamorphosed during the seventeenth century from a political centre into a gentry 'watering hole'.[129] The Freeman's register neatly illustrates the strength of the city's service economy during the seventeenth century, geared towards the furnishing of the needs of York's growing numbers of wealthy residents and gentry visitors. For as Table 2.2 shows, there were sustained numbers of goldsmiths, silkweavers, joiners, apothecaries

in 1826, it details the types of nonconformists groups that had existed from 1662 to that time, the numbers of chapels built, biographies of the ministers, chapel accounts and so forth, in particular of Lendal Chapel founded in 1816. Written by two prominent nonconformists, this survey does not mention one of the other main dissenting groups in the city: Quakers. On the early York Quaker movement see David Scott, *Quakerism in York, 1650–1720, Borthwick Papers*, No. 80, (1991). On their later importance in the social and industrial life in York see David Pratt, *English Quakers and the First Industrial Revolution: a Study of the Quaker Community in Four Industrial Counties — Lancashire, York, Warwick and Gloucester, 1750–1830*, (Published PhD, Lincoln [USA], 1979); Sheila Wright, *Friends in York: the Dynamics of Quaker Revival, 1780–1860*, (Keele, 1995); or Anne Digby, *Madness, Morality and Medicine: a Study of the York Retreat, 1796–1914*, (Cambridge, 1985).

[123]Tillott, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, pp. 484–90.

[124]Eileen White, 'Continuity and Change', in Eileen White (ed.), *Feeding A City: York*, (Totnes, 2000), p. 172.

[125]White, 'Continuity and Change', p. 173.

[126]William Taylor, 'The rise and decline of the wholesale butter trade of York in the eighteenth century', *York Historian*, Vol. 9, (1990), pp. 27–35.

[127]Tillott, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, p. 224.

[128]Tillott, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, p. 169.

[129]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, pp. 31–2.

Date	Tanner	Bricklayer	Cooper	Blacksmith
1624–49	71	35	32	6
1650–74	95	62	23	43
1675–99	69	68	36	43

Date	Goldsmith	Silkweaver	Joiner	Apothecary
1625–49	15	39	33	15
1650–74	12	30	23	14
1675–99	25	23	48	17

Date	Clockmaker	Bookseller	Grocer/Victualler
1625–49	9	—	26
1650–74	12	—	44
1675–99	9	4	45

Table 2.2: Numbers of Men Admitted to the Freedom of the City in Various Trades in the Seventeenth Century. Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, Appendix 1, and York City Archives, York, *Register of Apprentice Indentures*, (Nos. 13–14), no page numbers.

and clockmakers being admitted during that period, with four new booksellers joining towards the end of the century, for example.

York also retained a pull across the region during this period. The surviving apprenticeship registers show that of 1,386 boys apprenticed in the city between 1640 and 1700, less than a third were originally resident in York itself, whilst over half came from other parts of the county, and a small number from further afield.[130]

As the historian Chris Galley has noted, however, only around half of households in York were headed by a freeman in the seventeenth century, and women were totally absent from the registers. Also these numbers only give us how many people were admitted in a particular year, not the overall numbers of people in these occupations at that time. But the sheer variety of occupations recorded in the register, even including labourers from the newly founded labourer's guild in the later seventeenth century, gives us a wide-ranging view of the occupational structure of York.[131]

The Poll Book of 1715, compiled for the York City elections of that year, gives a slightly fuller picture, as the register provides actual figures of the number of

[130]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, p. 133, table 5.9.
[131]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, p. 34.

Freeman traders working in the city at that time, rather than purely yearly admissions. Amongst the more specialised trades recorded in this document are 11 mercers, 6 haberdashers, 5 milliners, 18 gardeners, 2 bookbinders, a coach maker and a musician.[132] By the mid eighteenth century the *York Courant* was carrying advertisements for a wide assortment of traders who catered to the comforts of the local gentry. This included not only the wine merchant Edward Dawson of Skeldergate with his best rum and brandies, and the elegant assortment of silks, damasks, flowered satins and so forth brought by a London manufacturer up to York, but also the paper hangings in the very newest taste produced by John Mush at his paper hanging warehouse in York, and the services of the garden surveyor and designer Thomas Wilbor of York, newly back from designing the gardens of the Duke of Norfolk in Worksop.[133] In 1801 the majority of the men listed in the census, 5,478 out of a total of 7,018, were employed in a trade, manufacture or handicraft, that will have probably included a number of similar occupations to those listed above. A significant number of the rest, recorded as working in an 'unspecified' sector, were probably labourers and servants, catering to the needs of the rest of the population as well.[134] By this period, however, York was being superseded as the main county town, notably by Leeds, which had grown on the back of textile production and trade in the West Riding over the century. Now rather than heading for York, travelling salesmen, players and musicians made their way to Leeds instead.[135]

> A fair, large and beautiful City, adorned with splendid buildings, both publick and private, is very populous, much resorted unto, and well inhabited by Gentry, and wealthy Trades-men...

[132]Peter Borsay, 'Politeness and elegance: the cultural re-fashioning of 18th century York', in Mark Hallett and Jane Rendall, *Eighteenth Century York: Culture, Space and Society, Borthwick Texts and Calenders*, No. 30, (2003), p. 3.

[133]*York Courant*, Tuesday 13th October 1761, Tuesday 14th May 1771, Tuesday 5th March 1771, and Tuesday 13th October 1761 respectively. For further tradesmen and artisans see William Taylor, 'The workshops and manufactories of York in the second half of the eighteenth century', *York Historian*, Vol. X, (1992), pp. 18–30.

[134]*Abstract of the Answers and Returns*, pp. 412–13.

[135]J. Jefferson Looney, 'Cultural life in the provinces: Leeds and York, 1720–1820', in A.L. Beier, David Cannadine and James Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society: essays in English history in honour of Lawrence Stone*, (Cambridge, 1989), p. 489.

This was the verdict of Richard Blome, a visitor to York in 1673.[136] And that was before the great 'rebuilding' and 'cultural' improvements of the eighteenth century. The majority of these improvements were undertaken and financed privately. During much of the eighteenth century large town houses were being erected, for example in the parish of St. Martin Micklegate, the most lavish being designed by the famous northern architect John Carr.[137] Public assemblies, which had been introduced around 1710 in the King's Manor, with music, dancing and card playing,[138] moved in the 1730s to the purpose built assembly rooms nearby. These had been constructed by the Duke of Burlington, the Lord Lieutenant of the city,[139] and financed by the subscriptions of all the great and the good of the county.[140] And in 1736, York gained its first permanent playhouse and company, under the manager Thomas Keregan,[141] built in Monk Yard.[142] Horse racing, around which many other entertainments were fitted, occurred on the Knavesmire, former common land which was drained, levelled and grassed for this purpose. This work was overseen by the councillors of Micklegate Ward on whose land it stood, as was the new grandstand, erected there in the 1730s, again by John Carr.[143] These provided the facilities for the glittering race week which was held each August, and which by the second quarter of the eighteenth century had eclipsed the annual assizes as the time for the gentry to be seen and entertained.[144]

[136]Richard Blome, *Britannia*, (London, 1673), pp. 249–50.
[137]For example Micklegate House, now the York Backpackers Hostel.
[138]Tillott, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, p. 245.
[139]From an address by Arthur Boys given to the York Georgian Society at their Annual General Meeting, 24th November 1951, *York Georgian Society*, (no vol. numbers), (1951–52), p. 40.
[140]Borsay, 'Politeness and elegance', p. 5. Burlington's uncompromisingly Palladian design did not endear the building to everyone. The duchess of Malborough noted in a letter to her granddaughter that the rooms incorporated '... all the nonsense and madness that I ever saw of that kind', as well as lamenting its impracticalities such as the columns that: 'stand as clse as a row of nune pins. Nobody with a hoop petticoat can pass through them. Three feet is the breadth behind the pillars on each side, which is of no use...', July 1732, G.S. Thompson (ed.), *Letters of a Grandmother, 1732–1735*, (London, 1943), pp. 58-60. quoted in Rudolf Wittkower, *The Earl of Burlington and William Kent, York Georgian Society, Occasional Papers*, No. 5, (1948), pp. 23–24.
[141]Borsay, 'Politeness and elegance', p. 5. For a discussion of the music used in these performances, see David Griffiths, 'Music in the 18th century York theatre', *York Historian*, Vol. XV, (1998), pp. 37–52.
[142]Tillott, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, pp. 207–208.
[143]Tillott, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, pp. 207–208.
[144]Borsay, 'Politeness and elegance', p. 5. The most important horse fair of the year was held on the Monday of that week, McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, p. 177.

The success of such events also relied to a large extent on what the city could offer its illustrious guests in the way of shopping opportunities, including the newest London fashions. Ronald Berger has noted that from the seventeenth century onwards, expensive shops were multiplying in York, including, for example, large linen drapers, book sellers, wig makers and tobacco sellers.[145] Furthermore the post, carrying news concerning the latest fashions, took only a day from London to York by this period,[146] of which there were three deliveries a week. And the numbers of networks of overland carriers trebled between 1637 and 1715.[147] The fashionable wares these shops stocked is revealed in the 1698 inventory of the clock maker Thomas Cruttenden. The kinds of styles and finishes that he provided included black, veneered, silver, gilt, flowered and tortoiseshell cases. Although many of the provincial clock makers did in fact little else than check that the finished article sent from London functioned correctly, and then put their name on it,[148] the tools recorded in his workshop suggest Cruttenden and his apprentices actually made watches and clocks on the premises.[149] Whilst Cruttenden might well have made some of his own 'provincial' wares, the jeweller and goldsmith Richard Norris took great pains to announce the availability of the newest London fashions on sale in his shop in Spurriergate, nearly a century later. In December 1771, he advertised in the *York Courant* that he had just returned from London with a large assortment of all kinds of plate, for example 'tea-kitchens', 'waiters', 'coffee-pots', 'sauce', 'cream boats' and 'sugar-baskets', in the 'newest manner'; as well as a good selection of jewellery including a great variety of fine pearls set in 'the most elegant manner'.[150] 11 coffee dealers were also trading in the city by the 1730s, according to the tax assessment of 1736.[151] There were also

[145]Ronald Berger, 'The development of retail trade in provincial England, ca. 1550–1700', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XL, (1980), p. 125.
[146]M. Reed, 'London and its hinterland 1600–1800: the view from the provinces', in Peter Clark and Bernhard Lepetit (eds.), *Capital Cities and their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe*, (Aldershot, 1996), p. 64.
[147]Roy Porter, *London, A Social History*, (London, 2000), p. 162–63.
[148]M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 174–75.
[149]BIA, York deanery, Thomas Cruttenden, York, clockmaker, no will, inventory taken 31nd August 1698 and worth £193 including household goods.
[150]*York Courant*, Tuesday 10th December 1771.
[151]Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, (London, 2005), p. 156.

at least nine printers and booksellers in 1744, including a Richard Chandler, partner of Ceasar Ward, who owned outlets in Scarborough and London as well.[152] Amongst the copious books advertised on a weekly basis in the *York Courant*, was a three volume edition of *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* by Tobias Smollett, for example, printed for W. Johnson in Ludgate Street, London, and available bound for 9s. at the shop of the York bookseller, C. Etherington.[153] By 1785 there were 486 registered shops paying Pitt's Shop Tax.[154] 73 of these were tea dealers, with a total of 16,206½lbs between them (around 200lbs on average each: higher than in London).[155] Indeed on occasion the Yorkshire gentry might also order their fashionable wares from York rather than directly from London, as Sir Walter Calverley did in September 1699, when he '... sent Thomas Harrison and William Joy [the coachman] to York, to fetch home the new calesh...'.[156]

Less illustrious entertainment and shopping could also be found, in particular for men. The first coffeehouse was opened in 1669,[157] and the total grew to over 30 by the mid-eighteenth century.[158] Three cockpits also existed in the city during the same period, one in Aldwark, one in the aptly named Coffeeyard,[159] and one in Bootham, with a bowling green nearby.[160] The city was also equipped with a myriad of small shops. Pitt's Shop Tax was only levied on those establishments that paid an annual rent of at least £2,[161] so will not have included many small shopkeepers, those who sold goods as a sideline to their main occupation, and stallholders, itinerant hawkers and chapmen. This particular assessment does, however, include a number of petty shopkeepers, a chapman and a carpenter amongst the assessed tea dealers. They only carried small stocks of tea, around 4·7lbs each.[162] Further evidence for the existence of many small shops from which

[152]Todd and Wallis, *Provincial Booksellers C. 1744*, pp. 422–434.
[153]*York Courant*, Tuesday 9th July 1771.
[154]Hoi-Cheung Mui and Lorna Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, (London, 1989), p. 121.
[155]Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 181.
[156]Samuel Margerison (ed.), *Memorandum book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart.*, (1663–1749), *Surtees Society*, Vol. 77, (Leeds, 1886), p. 83.
[157]Tillott, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, p. 246.
[158]Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, (London, 2005), p. 154.
[159]Tillott, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, p. 246.
[160]Middleton, 'Cockfighting in Yorkshire during the early eighteenth century', p. 137.
[161]Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 121.
[162]Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, pp. 181–82.

the poorer members of society could have accessed the populuxe goods, comes from surviving court records. A defamation suit that came before the ecclesiastical courts in 1673 gives us early evidence of this. According to the depositions, Thursday Market just off the Shambles in York, contained a number of such small shops, as well as the market itself. It is evident that the one party (a Mr and Mrs Coates) lived there above their shop, and that the other party (the Ashtons) probably ran a small stall or shop in the same location as well. Furthermore, at least one of the deponents, Dorothy Barnett, witnessed some altercations between the two parties whilst in another shop: that of William Mandby.[163]

It is clear that these were not the kind of upmarket provincial establishments that the visiting gentry frequented. According to Hoh-Cheung and Lorna Mui, E.P. Thompson, and Sidney Mintz, the eighteenth century saw a decline in markets, in particular in the selling of small quantities of basic foodstuffs. As the century progressed, more labouring families had to turn to the small shop for their daily purchases, which was more expensive in the long run,[164] but provided the necessary goods in the small quantities wanted. This, together with the growth of imports of these goods and their concurrent reduction in price, should have enabled such families to even purchase such 'luxuries' as currants or sugar,[165] at least by the end of the century. We can only guess how many smaller establishments existed in York, like those mentioned above in Thursday Market, that were exempt due to their size and amount of stock from the official tax records. There was no lack of chapmen either, from which cheaper new material goods could be acquired, from textiles and haberdashery, to ivory combs and even silver trinkets

[163]BIA, Cause Papers, CP.H/ 2909 Elizabeth Ashton c. Martha Coates, CP.H/2923 Martha Coates c. Thomas Ashton, CP.H/3023 and CP.H/3145 both Martha Coates c. Elizabeth Ashton.

[164]This is a point stressed by Thompson, who saw both the grain producers and factors, and the shopkeepers, as profiting at the expense of the labouring poor, who had not enough money to purchase goods in any quantity, thus having to buy in drips and drabs from day to day, 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past and Present*, No. 50, (1971), pp. 83–87+ 101.

[165]Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, pp. 157–59. In the early eighteenth century sugar, for example, cost around 6*d*. per lb. and could be bought in different qualities. Tea was more expensive, still costing 6–8*s*. per lb. in the mid-eighteenth century, but could also be afforded if bought in small quantities, that lasted for just a couple of drinks, Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, (Harmondsworth, 1986), pp. 120+129.

including bracelets and brooches.[166] The stock of the York chapman, Walter Martin, included 6*s*. worth of combs and gloves, 70 yards of Scotch cloth at 8*d*. a yard and 23 yards of silk at 2*s*. 8*d*. a yard, at his death in 1712.[167]

The City Corporation assisted the development of York as a gentry watering-hole. Seeing the financial benefits to the city of such projects as the upgrading of the race course, they embarked on various other 'improvements', as a kind of 'city council' image boost for York. During the first half of the eighteenth century they initiated some street widening schemes and street lighting, so that the gentry could travel in style. New windows were fitted to various old municipal buildings, in keeping with the new style of the day, as well.[168] A piped water supply became available in the late seventeenth century, at least for the wealthier inhabitants.[169] And in 1763 a parliamentary by-law was enacted to regulate the repairs undertaken on municipal buildings, street cleaning and even the hackney cabs working in the city, in order to make York even more amenable to its genteel visitors, and befitting its status as the county capital of the north.[170] Their greatest project was the construction of the New Walk, along which the gentry could enjoy a pleasant stroll beside the Ouse, built, once again, by John Carr.[171] In all their 'improvements' the City Corporation was following where London led. As Jonas Hanway remarked in 1762:

> Reason and Experience teach, that in proportions as improvements are made in the Seat of Empire, with either trading Cities and Towns, they emulate the Glory of the Metropolis, though on a smaller scale...[172]

[166]Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, (London, 1984), pp. 88–9.
[167]The total of stock in trade was £65 3*s*. 9½*d*., taken from Spufford, *The Great reclothing of Rural England*, pp. 156–57.
[168]Borsay, 'Politeness and elegance', pp. 5–6.
[169]Peter Borsay, 'The English urban renaissance: the development of provincial urban culture c. 1680–c.1760', in Peter Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, (London, 1990), p. 168.
[170]A. Sinclair, 'Eighteenth Century York', in Patrick Nuttgens (ed.), *The History of York: from the earliest times to the year 2000*, (Pickering, 2001), pp. 239–40.
[171]Mary Thallon notes that the motives for the building of this walk were not recorded in the York City House Books, or the Council Minute Books, but that the contemporary York historian Francis Drake gave the answer in his work *Eboracum* (1736). He pointed out that the magistrates of the city were at pains to create a genteel and innocent atmosphere and range of amusements for the resident and visiting gentry, as their trade was the mainstay of the city's economy at a time of, in his opinion, economic decay. Mary Thallon, 'The new walk- a history', *York Historian*, Vol. XIX, (2002), p. 3.
[172]Jonas Hanway, *Serious Consideration on the Salutary Design of the Act of Parliament for a Regular, Uniform Register of the Parish-poor in all the Parishes Within the Bills of Mortality*, (London, 1762), p. 80,

But, as the historian Peter Borsay has pointed out, the types of 'culture' that were being displayed through all these building works and entertainment — civility, sociability and improvement — did not last. The 1780s saw York's once genteel attractions being increasingly perceived as 'vulgar' public spaces that could be inhabited by anyone with a little wealth to spend. An increasingly inward looking and distant gentry retreated into the private sphere of their own homes and select gatherings for their entertainment.[173] Furthermore, other urban areas such as Leeds were now also introducing their own entertainments, thus reducing the necessity of travelling to York for such pleasures.[174]

Unlike its industrial neighbours, such as Leeds, or other leisure towns, such as Bath, there was a relative lack of growth in the population of York in the period 1660–1780. Galley's in-depth study of the demography of York has estimated that the population of York, which had been around 10,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, rose sharply in a couple of decades to around 12,000 by the 1630s. The Hearth tax assessment of 1672 recorded 2,084 households. Depending on which estimate of the average number of persons in a household historians have utilised, the population has been calculated as anything between 9,275 and 12,712 for that year.[175] So there was at best little growth, and if the lower estimates are correct, a slump in its population between the 1630s and 1670s. But York was still one of the largest towns in the country at that time, with only ten others being of comparable size or larger.[176] The returns written in response to Archbishop Herring's Visitation of 1743 listed 2,290 families,[177] equivalent to 10,534 inhabitants, using Wall's estimate of household size.[178] However, the Visitation figures did not include those living in the populous parish of St. Michael le Belfrey, and so this total is a considerable underestimation of the actual numbers. The population was probably similar to that recorded twenty years later in Archbishop

quoted in E. Jones and M. Falkus, 'Urban improvement and the English economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in Borsay, *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, p. 142.

[173]Borsay, 'Politeness and elegance', p. 10.

[174]Looney, 'Cultural life in the provinces', pp. 489–90.

[175]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, pp. 43–45.

[176]Langton, 'Urban growth and economic change', p. 463.

[177]Ollard and Walker, *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns*, (Vols. 1–3), as York's parishes were all taken separately and scattered throughout the three volumes alphabetically.

[178]Wall, 'Mean household size in England from printed sources', p. 192.

Drummond's Visitation Returns. These listed 2,699 families[179], which translates into 12,604 inhabitants according to Wall's multiplier.[180] From the parish registers of 1760, Galley estimated a similar number of inhabitants: around 12,400.[181] But the population of York did not remain static. A major growth spurt occurred in the later eighteenth century, the 1801 census recording 16,846 people.[182] This was a substantial leap, but clearly not on the scale of the industrialising towns in the west of the county, such as Halifax and Leeds. However, it still followed the national trend,[183] and the city was still the 26th largest in the country in 1801.[184]

The York housing stock was rather different to that of South Cave or Halifax. Urban dwellings generally consisted of closely packed terrace like housing with back yards, a couple of rooms on each floor, and rising up over two or three storeys. Depending on their wealth, urban dwellers might own a whole house, a part of one, or just rent lodgings. Consequently, the traditional rural layout of hall or house, parlour and service rooms on the ground floor, with chambers above, only existed in the largest dwellings of the county gentry. The majority of inhabitants lived in the kind of lodgings recorded in the 1694 inventory of the trunk maker William Wilson. The three rooms recorded in his inventory were described as the 'high chamber', the 'nigh chamber to the street', and the 'kitchen' respectively.[185] This lodging was probably two storeys high, with both the street chamber and the kitchen being situated on the ground floor, and the high chamber on the story above. Seventy years later, the dwelling of the pipe maker William Ramsden of Goodramgate similarly contained three rooms,[186] although in his case the living space was spread over three floors, with one room on each. His main living area was still described as the 'house', and was situated

[179]Annesley and Hoskin, *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns*, (Vol. 3), pp. 144–69.

[180]Wall, 'Mean household size in England from printed sources', p. 192. See the above section on South Cave for more on the validity of Wall's calculations.

[181]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, p. 43.

[182]Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns*, p. 48.

[183]Whilst between 1701 and 1761 the population only rose from an estimated 5 million to around 5·2 million, it was standing at over 8·5 million in 1801, E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871*, (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 208–209, table 7.8.

[184]Langton, 'Urban growth and economic change', p. 473.

[185]BIA, York deanery, William Wilson, York, trunk maker, will written 26th December 1693, inventory appraised c. December 1694 and worth £43 1*s*. 6*d*.

[186]BIA, York deanery, William Ramsden, Goodramgate, York, pipe maker, will written 4th September 1760, inventory appraised 20th August 1763 and worth £18 10*s*.

on the ground floor, with the 'chamber' above and on the third floor the 'garret'. Even expensive town housing was constructed in a similar manner, albeit with large spacious rooms on each floor. The elegant terrace of four houses making up what is now 39–45 Bootham, which was built in 1748, is one such example. Such fashionable housing had kitchens in their basements, a dining parlour on the ground floor, a parlour on the first floor and chambers above.[187]

At the same time York society was slightly less polarised than South Cave and Halifax. In 1672 20·6% of households were exempt from the Hearth tax due to poverty. Of the around 1700 households who were supposed to pay the tax, another 20% were listed as having only one hearth. So less than half the households were in the lowest two categories, unlike in the parish of Halifax where it was nearer two thirds. Nearly 15% of households were recorded as having six hearths or more, in stark contrast to the 2·5% recorded paying for that number in Halifax. Furthermore, York had a relatively large group of households with between three and five hearths in their houses: around 37% of the paying households overall.[188] Thus the wealth structure of the city, according to this Hearth Tax assessment, was fairly evenly spread, with around 30% of households being relatively poor, another 40% with modest to decent income and wealth, and around 20% falling into the wealthy to very wealthy categories.

The 1701 Window Tax, which replaced the Hearth Tax, suggests little change in the wealth structure of the city. In all 40% of paying households only paid the base rate of 2*s.*, which applied to those households with less than ten windows in their dwellings.[189] Another 30% paid for between ten and nineteen windows, which cost 6*s.*, and the rest paid for twenty windows and above, costing over £1. The number of households exempt from this tax was not actually recorded, but the historians P. Tillott and K. Allison have estimated this to be around a third of all households. However, as they point out, the records for this assessment are

[187]Barley, *Houses and History*, pp. 275+80.
[188]Deborah Hibberd, 'Data linkage and the hearth tax: the case of 17th century York', in Alldridge, *The Hearth Tax*, p. 78.
[189]YCA, Corporation of York Register, Class E, book 82, *City of York Assessments to Window Tax Etc.*, p. 2.

incomplete, only including 18 of the city's 26 parishes, although these are representative of the city as a whole, including poor, middling and rich parishes.[190] Some window tax assessments have survived for the rest of the century, but the scribe for the York City Corporation only recorded the overall amount paid by the city. This leaves little indication as to the wealth structure of the population. In 1740 the total duty paid was £498 9*s*.[191] But the amount paid increased four fold to £1,620 5*s*. 3*d*. by 1762–3[192] and further to £1,978 1*s*. 2½*d*. by 1775.[193] The increase in the tax, from 1747 onwards, for households with 10 windows or more (from 7*s*. for 10, and rising by 6*d*. with each extra window they possessed),[194] will have probably accounted for much of this rise. It could also be an indication of a rise in the wealth of York inhabitants, resulting in the ability of the population to afford more windows, especially as the growth and innovation in glass production during the eighteenth century caused a further reduction in the price of window glass.[195]

Amongst its recorded outgoings, the City Corporation included a list of the doles given by the various city parishes to the poorest families, providing further evidence of the economic structure of the city's inhabitants, in this case levels of poverty. Allowances ranged from a few pence to around 2*s*. a week, depending on the need. In 1715 around 150 households, so approximately 7% of all households, were receiving such allowances, costing the city £16 14*s*. 4*d*. every week.[196] This amount remained fairly constant throughout the 1720s and 1730s,[197] and is comparable with the numbers granted poor relief during this period in other provincial towns, as estimated by Paul Slack.[198] The recording of the numbers of people, and amounts of relief given, was discontinued in the following decades. Other sources, however, speak of a continuing presence of poverty-stricken households in the city, for which the Corporation and individual parishes tried to provide

[190]Tillott and Allison, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The City of York*, p. 214.
[191]YCA, *City of York Assessments to Window Tax Etc.*, p. 3.
[192]YCA, *City of York Assessments to Window Tax Etc.*, p. 101.
[193]YCA, *City of York Assessments to Window Tax Etc.*, p. 155.
[194]YCA, *City of York Assessments to Window Tax Etc.*, p. 10.
[195]Denis Ashurst, *The History of South Yorkshire Glass*, (Oxford, no date given), Chapter 4, and Ronald Douglas and Susan Frank, *A History of Glassmaking*, (London, 1972), pp. 11–14.
[196]YCA, Corporation of York Register, Class E, book 74a, *Poor Relief*, pp. 5–19.
[197]YCA, *Poor Relief*, page numbers were discontinued in the later sections of the document.
[198]Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England*, (London, 1988), pp. 62–63.

various means of relief. Amongst the most important of these were the founding of two schools for poor boys and girls, in 1705, in St. Anthony's Hall in Peaseholme Green — the Blue Coat Boys school and Grey Coat Girls school — and the County Hospital for the poor in 1737.[199] Other initiatives to provide work for the able poor, including a textile manufacture set up in 1740 under the auspices of the City Corporation (led by the experienced fustian weaver Richard Clough from Manchester) were less successful. Although working well in the first year, it was closed down sometime in 1742, with no reason being documented.[200]

This shift in poor relief can also be seen in the legacies left in the surviving wills of the period. Overall charitable legacies declined between 1660 and 1780.[201] But those who did leave such gifts were more likely to leave them to specialist institutions, rather than just to the overseers of the poor in a particular parish. The city already had 16 almshouses and hospitals, as well as 8 charity schools by 1743.[202] So the inn holder Ralph Snowdon, of Bootham Bar, left £1 1s. to a Mr. Gilbank in trust for the poor house situated in Gilly Gate, for example.[203] After their foundation, the county hospital and two Blue and Grey Coat schools quickly became the most popular recipients. The gentleman Henry Beckwith, for example, of St. Mary Bishopshill the Elder, bequeathed £10 to the trustees of the county hospital to the diseased poor there, £10 to the trustees of the Blue Coat Boys school, £5 in doles to the poor of St. John Micklegate, and £2 in doles for the poor who attended his house at his death.[204] The Visitation Returns of 1743 and 1764 also listed the numbers and amounts of various endowments and legacies. This included an endowment made by a Mr. Barker of £50 to a school in St. Mary Castlegate, in 1729. A yearly interest of £2 was still being received from this

[199]Jennifer Kaner and Sarah Hogarth, 'Responses to the problem of the poor in post Restoration York', *York Historian*, Vol. XVIII, (2001), pp. 23–34.
[200]Jennifer Kaner and Sarah Hogarth, 'Employing the poor: Richard Clough and the York cotton manufactory', *York Historian*, Vol. XVIII, (2001), pp. 35–48.
[201]Ralph Houlbrooke has noted that such bequests were popular in England until the early seventeenth century, but that by the eighteenth century the average will made no such mention at all, which he has attributed in part to the increasingly efficient and impersonal functioning of poor relief, 'Death, church, and family in England between the late fifteenth and the early eighteenth centuries', in Ralph Houlbrooke (ed.), *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement*, (London, 1989), p. 30.
[202]Ollard and Walker, *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns*, (Vols. 1–3).
[203]BIA, York deanery, Ralph Snowden, Bootham Bar, York, will written 1nd November 1765, no inventory.
[204]BIA, York Deanery, Henry Beckwich, St. Mary Bishopshill the Elder, York, gentleman, will written 24th February 1763, no inventory

capital when the Visitation was made and used to teach six poor children to read and recite the catechism. And a Mr. Schofield bequeathed a yearly amount of 10s. for the poor of St. Michael le Belfrey in 1750, which was still being handed out in 1764.[205] Whatever the real state of poverty in the city, these records would suggest that amongst those people deciding to leave alms in their wills, it was believed giving to a formalised institution was better than leaving doles to be handed out directly. It was possibly felt that an institution contained an otherwise unsightly problem. At the same time, even if they were leaving less donations in their wills, the York gentry and wealthy middling sort gave liberally in other ways to such institutions. The interest from the annual subscriptions to the Assembly rooms were donated to the County Hospital, for example, and the theatre would regularly open its season with a benefit performance for the same.[206] So in December 1751 the *York Courant* announced:

> For the Benefit of the County-Hospital, At the Theatre in the Mint-Yard, York, On Thursday the 25th of December Instant, will be performed, A Tragedy, called, Romeo and Juliet...[207]

As Patrick Wallis has argued, such visible giving, in particular to a 'prestigious' project such as the County Hospital, had a positive effect on the social and moral standing of benefactors and their families.[208] For the subscription lists for these projects were generally printed and displayed for all to see.[209] Indeed, Donna Andrew has noted that there occurred a veritable 'outpouring of charitable assistance' in the mid-eighteenth century, at least in London.[210] The above evidence would suggest that at least a number of York inhabitants were following suit.

I would, therefore, expect from the slightly wider spread of wealth indicated by these sources, that the consumption patterns of a larger section of York inhabitants changed visibly during this period. Not only would I expect to see a

[205]Annesley and Hoskin, *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns*, (Vol. 3), pp. 163–65.
[206]Patrick Wallis, 'Charity, politics and the establishment of York county hospital: a "party job"', *Northern History*, Vol. XXXVIII, (2001), p. 243.
[207]*York Courant*, 10th December 1751.
[208]Wallis, 'Charity', p. 244.
[209]Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, (Oxford, 1991), pp. 251–52.
[210]Donna Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, (Princeton, 1989), p. 12.

greater number and variety of smart and fashionable goods, including the popu-luxe goods, recorded in surviving inventories of the gentlemen and gentlewomen living in the city, as the period under discussion progressed, but also evidence of the cheaper new consumables in the surviving inventories of a substantial number of the rest of the record leaving sections of York society.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have analysed the economy and social structure of three Yorkshire communities, during the period 1660–1780. We have found that each community had a distinct economic structure, and that these were all affected by the economic changes and growth in the production of goods in this period. In South Cave, whilst agricultural change was late in coming, the end of this period did see large scale enclosures and the introduction of new crops, all aimed at increasing the yield of the land. The upgrading of the main road through the village, made it even more accessible to goods and fashions from other areas. Nonetheless, South Cave remained primarily a relatively poor rural parish. Thus we would not expect to see much change in consumption patterns in the area. Halifax, on the other hand, saw a rapid and sustained growth in textile production throughout this period, propelling it into the forefront of industrial innovation and change. This in turn created a need for cheap labour, resulting in a large but poor semi-rural population residing in the parish and town. As a consequence, although we might expect for there to be a significant change in consumption patterns in such a large and bustling parish, it is likely for this to be restricted to the core of wealthy merchants and manufacturers in the area. In contrast to the other two communities, the city of York experienced a further shift away from its traditional position as a trading hub. In its place was growing a thriving service industry aimed in the main at its resident and visiting gentry population. Given the resulting benefits to the artisan and retail population, we would expect for there not only to be large scale consumption of goods by the gentry, but also a change in consumption patterns of a wider section of the population of York. The validity of these assumptions will be analysed in later chapters.

CHAPTER 3

Social Interaction, Status, and Occupation Amongst the Middling Ranks of South Cave, Halifax and York

IN 1692 THE YEOMAN Joseph Ramsden (of Hall Green in Rishworth) requested in his will that his daughter Grace be maintained according to her 'degree and quality' by one of his executors.[1] The statement that he was a 'yeoman' is all that is recorded about Ramsden's 'degree and quality'. He did not see the need to elaborate on it as he obviously had a fairly clear idea of where he and his family stood in the social order. More importantly, Ramsden assumed that the person he was asking to bring up his daughter knew it as well. But whereas it might have been obvious to Ramsden's contemporaries where in the social hierarchy his family stood, this has long since been lost to historians. However, in order to analyse material culture and social identities in early modern England, we must have an understanding of the correlation between particular descriptions of people and their position in the social order. In this chapter, therefore, I aim to clarify the relative standing of these descriptions, through examining different understandings of the social order, and the rank accorded these descriptions within them.

Understanding the Social Order In Early Modern England

Our first problem in tackling this, is that the words used by people in early modern England to describe themselves and each other, and their position in society, do not fit into any one standardised notion of social standing that can be easily reconstructed by modern historians. Instead we find a whole plethora of terms, emphasising different approaches. Some do articulate an explicit sense of hierarchy, such as the term 'the middling sort'. Some are economic, describing a

[1]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Joseph Ramsden, Hall Green in Rishworth, Halifax, will written 11th February 1691/2, inventory appraised 25th February 1691/2 and worth £58 9s. including household goods.

person's occupation, such as 'carpenter' or 'blacksmith'. Others are 'status' descriptions, such as 'man of quality', 'gentleman' or 'esquire', indicating a man of a certain elevated wealth and social standing within the community. Yet others, for example 'yeoman' and 'clothier', straddle different categories. Both these terms explain the occupation that person was involved in, farming and cloth making respectively. But at the same time, they are also status descriptions: 'yeoman' indicated a farmer of greater wealth, land and possible standing in a community than other farmers,[2] whilst a 'clothier' was an independent artisan who produced and sold his own and other textiles, unlike a mere weaver, who was not.[3] And women were not generally categorised according to these criteria, but rather according to their marital status. Differences abounded even within the parameters of such definitions. The term 'gentleman', for example, could cover anyone from men of relatively modest landed wealth and standing, such as Francis Ramsbottom of Birks Hall in Ovenden,[4] to younger sons of the aristocracy.[5] A similar breadth of reference is found in the other descriptions. Both the small farmer John Seymour of South Cave, and the wealthy land owner William Wilton of Sleadsyke in Hipperholme, were described as yeomen in their inventories.[6] The relatively poor Jeremiah Midgley of Halifax, who lived in a two-roomed rented lodging, and Richard Gillburn of York with his five-roomed house and workshop, were both called carpenters in theirs.[7] Furthermore, it has been found that the distribution and significance of these descriptions varied geographically and

[2]Margaret Spufford has found this to be case for yeomen in seventeenth century Cambridgeshire, *Contrasting Communities: English villagers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (Stroud, 2000), pp. 38–39, as has Lorna Weatherill in many other parts of the country during the same period, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, (London, 1996), p. 168, table 8.1.

[3]John Smail has noted this concerning the Halifax clothier community, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*, (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 53–55.

[4]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Francis Ramsbottom, Birks Hall, Ovenden, Halifax, gentleman, no will, inventory appraised 16th June 1738 and worth £107 8*s*. including household goods.

[5]David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, (New Haven, 1996), p. 20.

[6]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, John Seymour, South Cave, yeoman, will written 20th December 1778, inventory appraised 1st January 1779 and worth £38 15*s*. 6*d*. including household goods, and Pontefract deanery, Sleadsyke in Hipperholme, yeoman,will written 20th May 1692, inventory appraised 6th June 1692 and worth £1375 9*s*. 9*d*. including household goods.

[7]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Jeremiah Midgley, Halifax, carpenter, no will, inventory appraised 24th December 1691 and worth £8 10*s*. 2*d*. including household goods, and York deanery, Richard Gilburn, York, carpenter, will written 22nd March 1694/5, inventory appraised 16th April 1695 and worth £97 7*s*. 2*d*. including household goods.

over time. The term 'yeoman', for example, generally used to signify fairly substantial freeholders, became less common as the eighteenth century progressed, with 'farmer' taking its place, as the former started to lose out to tenant farmers in the changing economic climate.[8] In some areas, like the Lake District, however, yeomen remained the dominant agricultural group throughout the period.[9] 'Gentleman' was another term that underwent a shift in its significance during the early modern period. Previously the marker of a wealthy landed man, the late seventeenth century saw the rise of urban merchants and other wealthy businessmen, as well as professionals, who proceeded to appropriate the term and its significance within the social order, for themselves.[10] More importantly, Peter Borsay has noted that York was in the forefront of describing its wealthiest tradesmen and professionals as 'gentlemen' or even 'esquire'.[11]

So historians are left with a 'jumble' of terms, and an uncertain sense of where in any social hierarchy these terms were placed. And just to complicate matters further, the same terms did not necessarily have the same meaning, depending on where a person lived and in which time period. But the fact remains, as I have shown in Chapter 1, and is further articulated in the will at the beginning

[8]Although the enclosure movement did not immediatly eliminate the yoeman from the social ladder, it did start a process which polarised the social positions of the freeholder and tennant farmer. In the short term the position of the larger freeholders improved substantially, as they brought out smaller freeholders in the same area. For example, in J. Martin's study of 27 parishes in Warwickshire enclosed between 1780–1825, yeomen owning over 500 acres of land improved their social standing 'quite markedly'. Nonetheless, the landords of the tennant farmers were generally in a better position to exploit the opportunities provided by the enclosure acts, and so (on average) the larger farms were dominated by tennant farmers rather than freeholders. As the trend to larger farms increased through the eighteenth (and nineteenth) centuries, and as the social position of those working the larger farms improved, together these two trends had important consequences for the social structure of the farming communities:

> In the first place, the more substantial farmers improved their position in the social structure, as evidenced by consumption patterns, and secondly it became increasingly difficult for the little man to ascend the social ladder. (J. H. Porter, 'The social structure', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol. VI, 1750–1850, (8 vols., Cambridge, 1989), p. 854).

So while the position of the yeoman did not become immediately impossible with the advent of the enclosure acts, it did become increasingly difficult as time progressed — particularly for the smaller freeholders. And while the pace of change was far from uniform across the country, the yeoman as a distinct feature of the rural social structure had effectively ceased to exist by the 1830s, Porter, 'The social structure'.

[9]Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, 1990), pp. 68–69.

[10]This shift was visible even earlier in the case of London, with the rise of wealthy merchants making a fortune importing luxuries from abroad, for example, for elite domestic consumption, Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, (London, 1989), pp. 60–9.

[11]Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, (Oxford, 1991), p. 229.

of this chapter, that a consciousness of social hierarchy was integral to people's understanding of the society they lived in.

Hence historians have sought to gain a clearer sense of where in the social order of early modern England these various terms might have been set. And whilst there is little direct surviving evidence of how this order was structured, a number of contemporary theoretical constructs from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remain, in which a number of these terms are listed. The most well-known of these is the economic structure conceived by Gregory King, in the 1680s and 90s, which I touched on in chapter 1. Although his results were never published, Peter Laslett has suggested it is likely that King conceived that they would be of use to the government, for taxation purposes or such like. This would account for his particular interest in the goods and income generated by England's inhabitants.[12] King categorised the 1,390,586 households, a total that he derived from the Lady Day Hearth Tax of 1690[13], according to the occupation or title of the head of each household. He then divided all these occupations/titles into two broad groups: those who increased the wealth of the nation and those who decreased it, creating the list shown in Table 3.1.

King concluded from this exercise, that the wealth of the nation was being drained each year by the large number of families 'who reduce the wealth of the country'.[14] They constituted in his estimate 62% of the whole population.[15]

Half a century later the political economist and government publicist Joseph Massie produced a comparable economic breakdown of English society, reproduced in Table 3.2. Concerned with various economic policies, in particular taxes raised on a number of foodstuffs, Massie set out to show the negative impact he perceived the sugar tax (or monopoly price) was having on the income of the

[12]Peter Laslett (ed.), *The Earliest Classics*, (Farnborough, 1973), introduction.
[13]King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England*, in laslett, *The Earliest Classics*, pp. 34–36.
[14]King calculated an average number of families for each group, from 1586 aristocratic families, which included all those from baronets upwards, to 400,000 cottager and pauper families. He also produced an estimate of the average annual income of each group, from the £1,500 of the aristocracy to the £6 10*s*. of the average cottager and pauper household. Finally he created national tables of expenditure, right down to the number of shirts and stockings he estimated would be bought and consumed by the population in any given year. These included one million breeches at 10*s*. a pair, 1 million petticoats and waistcoats (a woman's bodice) at £1 a pair, 10 million shirts at 2*s*. 6*d*. each, 12 million shoes at 1*s*. a pair, and 3,310,000 hats at 2*s*. 3*d*. each. Laslett, *The Earliest Classics*, p. 203.
[15]King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England*, pp. 48–50.

Those who increase the wealth of the country	Temporal lords Spiritual lords Baronets Knights Esquires Gentlemen Persons in offices Persons in offices (lesser) Merchants and traders by sea Merchants and traders by land Persons in law Clergymen Clergymen (lesser) Freeholders Freeholders (lesser) Farmers Persons in sciences and liberal arts Shopkeepers and tradesmen Artisans and handicraftsmen Naval officers Military officers
Those who reduce the wealth of the country	Common seamen Labouring people and out servants Cottagers and paupers Common soldiers Vagrants

Table 3.1: Categories of English Society Produced by Gregory King, 1698. (King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England*, in Laslett, *The Earliest Classics*, p. 48.)

population (the assumption being it was consumed in fairly large quantities by the majority of English society), raised by the West Indian planters.

Massie divided the heads of each household according to the economic sector they worked in, and calculated a basic wealth 'hierarchy' for each sector. He then listed what a family in each group might drink, whether tea, coffee or chocolate, the consumption of sugar with it, and how frequently these beverages were consumed, either once or twice daily, occasionally, or rarely.

A third occupational structure was constructed by the social commentator Arthur Young. Again interested in the economic health of the nation, Young

Occupation/Title	Income
Gentlemen	£600
	£400
	£300
	£200
Clergy — Superior	£100
Clergy — Inferior	£50
Lawyers	£100
Merchants	£600
	£400
	£200
Tradesmen	£400
	£200
	£100
	£70
	£40
Innkeepers and Ale-Sellers	£100
	£70
Ale-Sellers	£40
Master Manufacturers	£200
	£100
	£70
	£40
Manufacturers of Wood, Iron Etc.	£22 10s.
Manufacturers of Wool, Silk Etc.	£18 15s.
Building Trades	-
Mining	-
Freeholders	£100
	£50
	£25
Farmers	£150
	£100
	£70
	£40
Husbandmen	£15
Labourers	£12 10s.
Ale-Sellers, Cottagers	£20
Cottagers and Paupers	-
Vagrants	-

Table 3.2: Massie's Categories of the English Population in 1759. (Joseph Massie, *A Computation of the Money that Hath Been Exorbitantly Raised Upon the People of Great Britain By the Sugar Planters, in One Year From January 1759 to January 1760; Shewing How Much Money A Family of Each Rank, Degree or Class Hath Lost by that Rapacious Monopoly, After I Laid It Open...*, (London, 1760))

toured the country at various times during the late eighteenth century, and produced a number of commentaries on the state of English agriculture.[16] In the letter *Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering the People,* Young laid out how he would categorise the population: essentially according to the exact occupation of the head of every household, or bachelor. Even shopkeepers were to be distinguished according to the type of goods they sold, for example. All the occupations were then to be grouped in the economic sector their occupation was classed under. So bricklayers would be placed in the category of the building trade, for instance. And this was to be done for each county, with towns and cities being processed separately.[17]

As Young was suggesting a practical way of actually counting the population, rather than merely providing a theoretical estimate, his proposed structure is the most detailed and complex. On the face of it, these tables, in particular those produced by King and Massie, resemble a social hierarchy. Massie's table even related this to the average income he estimated each occupation could generate. However, this material is in reality extremely imprecise in exactly those areas where we are seeking concrete evidence of how the social order of early modern England was constructed. It only gives a general indication of where in the social hierarchy the various terms, such as 'yeoman', were to be located, (somewhere in the middle), if at all. For most occupational descriptions have been subsumed under a few overarching headings, such as 'tradesmen', or 'artisans'. Such aggregative cross-sections of the population do not tell us whether a 'clock maker' was of a higher social status than a 'yeoman', for example, or if a 'baker' was likely to be the social equal of a 'tailor'.[18]

[16]For example his *A Six Months Tour Through the North of England,* (London, 1770), and his 'General views' of the agriculture of several counties, including the *General View of the agriculture of the County of Suffolk,* (London, 1794), and *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln,* (London, 1799).

[17]Arthur Young, *Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering the People,* (1771), in D.V. Glass (ed.), *The Development of Population Statistics,* (Farnborough, 1973, pp. 1–45.

[18]Furthermore, not only are all the numbers given in these tables, whether the numbers of families included in each occupational category, or the incomes they were thought to earn, purely estimates and averages, as King himself acknowledged, and Peter Lindert and Jeffery Williamson have shown, but some of the calculations are based on very limited evidence. Whilst re-evaluating King's numbers, D.V. Glass found that King largely based his age structure for the whole of the country on one single source, a detailed enumeration of the population of Lichfield, Peter Lindert and John Williamson, 'Revising England's social tables, 1688–1812', *Explorations in Economic History,* Vol. 19, (1982), pp. 385-408, and D.V. Glass, 'Two papers on Gregory King', in D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in History: essays in historical demography,* (London, 1965), 2nd paper, pp. 214–16. And these tables are

This does not mean, however, that these tables have been discarded as of little use to the modern historian. Negley Harte and Margaret Spufford are just two who have utilised King's calculations as a basis for understanding various aspects of consumption during this period. So in his article 'The economics of clothing in the late 17th century', Harte has proceeded from the numbers generated by King, to calculate how many items of clothing people might have owned in early modern England, depending on their occupation and wealth, from pairs of stockings to numbers of hats.[19] And Spufford has utilised King's estimates to gain a sense of the average price of various different items of clothing in the late seventeenth century, before moving on to evaluating concrete examples taken from probate accounts.[20] Indeed Peter Lindert and Jeffery Williamson have stated at the very beginning of their article 'Revising England's social tables', the need to verify King's and Massie's calculations, because they have been heavily utilised.[21]

A different structure of the social order, and for us possibly more useful, was suggested by Daniel Defoe. His projected 7-tiered structure of society had the following categories (author's emphasis):

(1) The *great*, who live profusely

(2) The rich, who live plentifully

only incomplete reflections of the economic and, importantly for these men's calculations, wealth structure of early modern England, as they only include the occupation and income generated by the male head of the household, or bachelors. But what about those families headed solely by women? And what about the income generated by women and also children in those families headed by men? This omission gives a distorted impression of the economic strength of the family or household, as not only did wives and children contribute considerably to the family income, the husband as often as not had a second job that supplemented the income he generated from his main occupation, both important points set out by Jeremy Boulton in his reconstruction of the standards of living in early modern London, Jeremy Boulton, 'Food prices and the standard of living in London in the 'Century of Revolution', 1580–1700', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 53, (2000), pp. 455–92.

[19]Negley Harte, 'The economics of clothing in the late 17th century', in Negley Harte (ed.), *Fabrics and Fashions, Studies in the economic and social history of dress*, (Leeds, 1991), pp. 277–96.

[20]Margaret Spufford, 'The cost of apparel in 17th century England and the accuracy of Gregory King', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 53, (2000).

[21]Lindert and Williamson have found that both men seem to have been painting a slightly negative picture of the wealth of the nation, in order, they have argued, to exaggerate the impact they believed the wars and war taxation were having on the economic health of the country. They compared King's table, for example, with 26 local censuses and the burial records of 41 parishes, and concluded that his estimates of the number of families living in England at the time was fairly accurate, as was his estimate of the size of the population as a whole. But according to their results, King overestimated the numbers of common labourers and paupers living during this period, for instance, whilst underestimating the numbers of artisans and titled families. In Massie's case, a recalculation of the average income of many occupations, based on the number of days a man might work in a year, for example, has suggested he underestimated the average incomes of each occupational group he recorded. Lindert and Williamson, 'Revising England's social tables', pp. 385–95.

(3) The *middle* sort, who live well

(4) The working trades, who labour hard, but feel no want

(5) The country people, farmers etc. who fare indifferently

(6) The *poor*, who fare hard

(7) The miserable, that really pinch and suffer want.[22]

Whilst providing a link between wealth, social status and consumption, Defoe's categories are still relatively imprecise. But as Keith Wrightson and Roy Porter have noted, contemporaries were much more likely to discuss the social order in such fairly vague hierarchical terms, that slotted into a loose social order with three overarching categories: the 'upper orders, middling ranks and labouring men', than in any more precise terms.[23] Thus Dudley Ryder noted about a Mr. Crisp, that he was 'a man that affects to be a polite gentleman'.[24] However, Porter has pointed out that people were inclined to define themselves in different ways, depending on the situation they found themselves in, so according to their expression of faith in times of religious unrest, for example.[25] Even if we leave aside this last problem of differing categorisations according to the situation a person found themselves in, and concentrate on the descriptions given in surviving wills and inventories, namely occupation, we are hardly nearer solving the above stated problem, of whether a 'baker' was likely to be the social equal of a 'tailor', for example, with such a social hierarchy.

Thus contemporary accounts had a problem of reconciling functional and status categorisation, in that their authors found it difficult to conclusively map occupation onto wealth and status hierarchies (which of themselves were not consistent and changed over time). For as the author and lexicographer Guy Miège pointed out, being a merchant and 'trading' had 'formerly rendered a

[22]25th June 1709, Daniel Defoe, *Review of the State of the English Nation*, (1704–13), quoted in Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 53.
[23]Keith Wrightson, 'The social order of early modern England: three approaches', in Lloyd Bonfield, Richard Smith and Keith Wrightson (eds.), *The World we have Gained: histories of population and social structure*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 190–95., and Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 53.
[24]William Matthews (ed.), *The Diary of Dudley Ryder*, (1715–16), (London, 1939), p. 114.
[25]Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 53.

Gentleman ignoble', for example. Now, in 1703, 'an ignoble person makes himself by merchandizing as good as a gentleman'.[26]

How then to construct any semblance of the social order when we only have such vague descriptions to go on, that incorporate various different social and economic qualities, apart from the knowledge that contemporaries did perceive themselves as inhabiting a distinctly hierarchical society? Perhaps inevitably, structures that have been produced have focused in the main on the social significance of occupational and status titles, given that this is the one consistent piece of information mentioned in wills and inventories. Thus Lawrence Stone, for example, has tried to incorporate the emergence of the urban merchant and professional groups, amongst others, into the traditional rural agricultural hierarchy of landed gentry, farmers and cottagers. Finding this an impractical, if not impossible, solution, he has instead recreated the social structure of early modern England as several semi-independent occupation/status hierarchies, running parallel with each other, reproduced in Table 3.3.[27]

Stone did not break down the four semi-independent hierarchies any further, but has noted, for example, that group D included all office holders, from parish constables and overseers of the poor, to the great officers at the court. But still this structure omits various economic groups, most notably the many industrial occupations that were new to this period. Crucially, it is as vague as the contemporary structures discussed above.

Others have tried to fit the occupation/status terms into the tri-partite structure of 'upper orders, middling ranks and labouring men'. Frank O'Gorman's study, for example, has looked at how King's occupational table fitted into this, stating that below the aristocracy and gentry 'came the various segments that made up the middling orders'. These included most of King's groups, from the 'freeholders' to 'persons in sciences and liberal arts', to the 'artisans and handicraftsmen'. At the bottom were the two largest groups, those termed by King the

[26]Guy Miège, *The New State of England under our Sovereign Queen Anne*, (London, 1703), p. 266, quoted in Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 8.
[27]Lawrence Stone, 'Social mobility in England, 1500–1700', *Past and Present*, No. 33, (1966), pp. 18–20.

Group	Occupation/Title
1	Dependents on charity, servants, apprentices
2	Living-out labourers
3	Husbandmen, lesser yeomen, more substantial ones, artisans, shopkeepers & small internal traders
4	Lesser or parish gentry
5	County elite, esquires
6	Peers: barons upwards

Lawrence Stone's four semi-independent hierarchies are comprised of:

Group	Occupation/Title
A	Merchants
B	Lawyers
C	Attorneys
D	Administrators, ie. office holders

Table 3.3: Lawrence Stone's Reconstruction of the Social Order of Early Modern England

'labouring people', and beneath them the 'cottagers and paupers'.[28] The same problem of accuracy is again immediately visible here.

Yet others have focused instead on what this tri-partite structure of social hierarchy and consciousness might tell us about early modern English society, seeing it as a factor, even a forerunner, of emerging senses of 'class' that came to the fore in the nineteenth century. Changes in the economic and political landscape led politicians and people to define themselves more precisely latterly, along the lines E. P. Thompson has succinctly summarised:

> Class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs.[29]

[28]Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British political and social history 1688–1832*, (London, 1997), pp. 13–17. John Rule and James Sharpe are two others who have discussed early modern English society in a similar manner, John Rule, *Albion's People*, (London, 1992), chapters 2–5, and James Sharpe, *Early Modern England: a social history, 1550–176*, (London, 1987), chapter 7.
[29]E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 8–9.

This has led Peter Earle and John Smail, amongst others, to utilise 'class' terminology when referring to seventeenth and eighteenth century English society, for as Earle has pointed out, the tripartite 'class' structure of working, middle and upper classes, encompasses the three tiered structure of 'upper orders, middling ranks and labouring men' current in eighteenth century thought fairly neatly (although the edges of each of these three groups were inevitably rather blurred). The burgeoning 'middle class' of early modern London was thus 'the middling people, who worked but ideally did not get their hands dirty', those between the gentry and aristocracy on the one hand, and manual labourers on the other.[30] Smail's use of this term was much less overarching, and as such more precise. Taking Thompson's summary, Smail saw the emergence of a group of wealthy manufacturers and merchants in Halifax during the eighteenth century, who were not solely occupied with making money, but equally interested in fostering social and cultural ties with each other (from forming various cultural clubs to dispensing charity to the poor), as providing the basis out of which 'middle class' culture grew.[31] However, as Asa Briggs has rightly pointed out, the word 'class' only entered the popular vocabulary and imagination of the English population in around the 1820s.[32] The concept of a 'middle class' did exist by the last decade of the eighteenth century, but as Dror Wahrman has shown, only in the political arena, and as encompassing all those who were to be taxed more for the war against Napoleon. Just because it was being used in parliament, does not mean,

[30]Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 3. This loose sense of the term 'class' is much closer to the eighteenth-century usage, where contemporary sources show a general disagreement over both the precise nature and number of 'social classes', Penelope Corfield, 'Class by name and number in eighteenth-century Britian', in *Language History and Class*, Cambridge, (1991), pp. 101–130. For instance, Corfield quotes from a tract on education and child-rearing by James Nelson (a London apothecary) who characterised England as a 'mixed Government and a trading Nation, have the Nobility, Gentry, Mercentile or Commercial People, Mechanics, Peasantry'. Yet in the same tract Nelson goes on to say:

> Were we to divide the People, we might run it to an Infinity: to avoid Confusion therefore, I will select five Classes; *viz.* the Nobility, the Gentry, the genteel Trades (all those particularly which require large Capital), the common Trades, and the Peasantry.

Clearly Nelson intends to imply a commonality between the two lists: yet his terminology differs. Moreover, other commentators differed not only in the names of the social classes, but also in their number, as we saw in Daniel Defoe's list of seven social classes above — none of which share any terminological similarity with Nelson's.

[31]Smail, *the Origins of Middle Class Culture*, introduction.

[32]Asa Briggs, 'Language of class', in R.S. Neale (ed.), *History and Class: essential readings in theory and interpretation*, (Oxford, 1983), p. 3.

however, that the rest of the country saw themselves in terms of different 'classes', although those who were politicised and affected by such a bill might well have seen themselves in such a light.[33] Furthermore, its use by Karl Marx to describe his particular economic perception of mid-Victorian society, has fundamentally altered and fixed its meaning, so that, ever since 'class' terminology has been coloured by this.[34] As a consequence, as Keith Wrightson and Richard Price have argued, this term can only be used with the greatest caution.[35]

Weatherill has been the only historian to base her reconstruction of the social order of early modern England on the actual behaviour of contemporaries at the time. She has done this by utilising a socio-economic table constructed by Vivian Brodsky-Elliot. The latter was created using an innovative method, designed to measure statistically the social wants of various occupational groups of men in early modern London, and through this recreate their social position in society.[36] Elliot's fundamental presumption was that in a society dominated by a consciousness of the social hierarchy, fathers would want to apprentice their children to the best occupations available to them, so to occupations with similar social status to their own, or better if possible. Consequently, by calculating the common occupational factor between men of different occupations who apprenticed their sons to various London trades in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, she would be able to reveal the social status of different occupations. In order to do this, Elliot applied the mathematical method of seriation to the occupational choices fathers made for their sons. Dividing all the fathers recorded in the surviving apprenticeship bonds according to their occupation, she then analysed the occupational choices each group had made for their sons. She argued that the more

[33]Dror Wahrman, 'Virtual representation: parliamentary reporting and languages of class in the 1790s', *Past and Present*, Vol. 136, (1992), pp. 83-113, and *Imagining the Middle Class*, (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 139–44.

[34]As Porter has convincingly argued, Marx's dualistic perception of society as three distinct economic orders engaged in a perpetual struggle between the 'capitalists' on the one hand and proletarian 'worker power' on the other, was hardly the way early modern contemporaries viewed themselves. And a society still largely comprised of various types of independent farmers and artisans, as early modern England was, does not in any way fit Marx's model in the first place, Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 53.

[35]Wrightson, 'The social order of early modern England', pp. 196–200 and Richard Price, *British Society, 1680–1880*, (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 292–96.

[36]Vivian Brodsky-Elliot, 'Mobility and Marriage in Pre-Industrial England', (Unpublished PhD, Cambridge, 1978).

frequently two occupational groups of fathers had chosen the same occupation for their sons, the closer they were to each other in the social order. Say for example that 40% of fathers who were merchants apprenticed their sons to grocers. This can then be compared to the percentage of goldsmiths who apprenticed their sons to grocers, say 30%. The smaller percentage is then taken as the factor in common between the merchants and goldsmiths, in this case 30%. This tells us that at least 30% of all the recorded merchants and goldsmiths apprenticed their sons to grocers. The procedure is repeated with the next occupation both groups of fathers apprenticed their sons to, until all the apprentice occupations these two groups of fathers have in common have been analysed in this manner. The resulting percentages are then added up, to produce an overall factor in common between the merchants and goldsmiths. This common factor reflects how closely the two groups of fathers were to each other socially: the higher the percentage, the closer the affinity. To make the study more rigorous, each occupational group of fathers was correlated in this manner to at least two other occupational groups of fathers, as well as against the two occupations the social position of which is well established: that of the gentlemen and the labourers. This, Elliot suggested, provides both a more scientific and more accurate way of categorising the social order of early modern England, as it is based on the behaviour of many contemporaries, rather than relying on the assumptions of a few commentators.

So Weatherill was able to sort the various occupation/status terms that were recorded in the will and inventory collection she had amassed, into a coherent socio-economic hierarchy. This was made up of the following 7 categories:

(1) Gentry

(2) Trades of high status; clergy; professionals

(3) Trades of intermediate status

(4) Yeomen; large farmers

(5) Trades of low status

(6) Husbandmen; small farmers

(7) Labourers

Weatherill processed around 100 occupation/status terms with this method,[37] allowing her to be able to 'neatly' sort the population of England according to these criteria. As a consequence, her reconstruction has been utilised by various historians as a basis from which to discuss the social makeup of early modern English society, in particular in relation to consumerism.[38]

However, even Weatherill's reconstruction has potential flaws, the most obvious being that even amongst the various trades labelled 'low status', for example, not all might have seen themselves as social equals. Furthermore, she mapped her material directly onto Elliot's table, without taking into account the fact that Elliot's work was based on sources from London in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereas her own covered most of the country, and the period 1665–1725. For as Wrightson has pointed out, even if we are able to recreate an occupation/status structure of early modern English society that somehow correlates with social position, how are we to know that it does not fluctuate according to local circumstances?[39]

Crucially, Elliot's initial premise is also less valid than she believed. Rather than providing an objective reflection of the social position of occupations in early modern England, Elliot's results instead highlight the degree of shared *aspirations* held by various occupational groups, and also possibly the level of actual social interaction between the various occupational groups.

Nonetheless, Elliot's method provides an interesting alternative means of reconstructing the social order of early modern England, based on social circles and social interaction, rather than on a rigid hierarchy. Instead of trying to recreate a table representing the social structure of society, with Elliot's method we can gain an insight into how different occupation/status groups actually interacted with each other, and how this reflected their aspirations and actual position in

[37]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Early Modern Britain*, Appendix 1, pp. 212–13.
[38]For example by John Crowley when discussing which occupation/status groups were able to afford mirrors for their households, *The Invention of Comfort*, (London, 2001), p. 128, and Amanda Vickery in relation to the clothing different groups wore, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, (New Haven, 1998), p. 182. Stana Nenadic and Maxine Berg have also touched on her work and socio-occupational groupings, in 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720–1840', *Past and Present*, No. 145, (1994), and 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth-century England', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 30, (1996), pp. 415-34, respectively.
[39]Wrightson, Keith, *Earthly Necessities: economic lives in early modern Britain*, (New Haven, 2000), pp. 200–201.

society. Moreover, it is possible to adapt her method of seriation to other kinds of sources, if we make a couple of changes.

Instead of apprenticeship bonds, probate material can be used, although it has to be reemphasised at this point, that such an analysis will not reveal the behaviour and social aspirations of a whole community, solely the record-leaving groups. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, these represent mainly the wealthier sections of society, the 'middling sort', very rarely the labouring masses. But they are still the most widespread and best source concerning those below the country elite to remain. Such probate material not only lists the assets of the deceased and the bequests they made, but also reveals something of the socio-economic circles the deceased had moved in, through the legatees and witnesses mentioned, and the bondsmen appointed (recorded in the accompanying bonds), as in the majority of cases these men's occupation/status was also recorded. So we can divide the wills and inventories according to the occupation/status of the deceased, and then study the level of social interaction and shared aspirations they had held, and possibly social standing in the community, by using Elliot's method of seriation with the occupation/status of the witnesses, bondsmen and so forth, (as explained above). Not all the surviving wills and inventories are of use for such an analysis. The probate material of women rarely recorded their occupation/status, so cannot be included. Furthermore, only those men's wills and inventories can be utilised where the deceased's occupation/status is recorded, or discernible from the goods listed in his inventory. And as only the occupation/status of bondsmen were recorded consistently enough in the records, only this group can be used in such a seriation.[40] Bondsmen were legally bound over (usually by large sums of £50 or £100) as material witnesses to the correct distribution of the deceased's assets, so they were likely to be the most 'credit-worthy' of the deceased's social circle, in both senses of the word. Not only were they likely to have been of good financial standing, but also amongst the most trust-worthy and respected members of the deceased's social circle, and

[40]Nonetheless, an examination of the identity of witnesses, for example, has been undertaken in various community studies, most notably that on the parish of Terling in Essex, by Keith Wrightson and David Levine, for purposes of understanding the social circles within which different people within a community moved, Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700*, (Oxford, 1995), pp. 73–109.

probably the community as a whole. As a consequence, such an analysis will not create a completely unbiased view of the deceased's social circles. We have also to take into account the fact that the deceased did not choose his own bondsmen, as he did legatees and might have done witnesses, as bondsmen were appointed by the court. However, as around three quarters of the appointed bondsmen are recorded in the wills as either legatees, executors or witnesses, it is obvious the courts were not appointing strangers, but men who were closely associated with the deceased.

I have, therefore, categorised all the men's wills and inventories that I have collected, according to the occupation/status of the deceased (the women's material will be discussed separately in Chapter 6). As I have collected material from three different communities, and three different decades, during the period 1660–1780, I will analyse each area and time period separately. This will then provide us with an understanding of the social aspirations, behaviour and interaction in three distinct communities, over a substantial period of time.

However, after dividing all the sources into their respective occupation/status groups, I have found that in many cases the sample sizes are too small for seriation to be a statistically viable method. Instead, in those cases where it cannot be used directly, I have looked at the occupation/status of the bondsmen of those mentioned in the wills and inventories, to gain a general insight into whom the deceased were interacting with during their lifetime, their social circles, and so forth. And where appropriate, I have also utilised Weatherill's socio-economic table, as it does provide a link between occupation/status terms and social rank that can be analysed, despite possible regional and time variations.

Occupation/Status and Social Rank in South Cave, Halifax and York

SOUTH CAVE. In Chapter 2 I showed how South Cave was a small rural agricultural community with little disposable wealth, but with good links to Kingston-upon-Hull and York. I also noted that according to the surviving tax and census records, the majority of the population was involved in agriculture of some sort, throughout the whole period 1660–1780. And I found, furthermore, that little economic change occurred in the parish in its agricultural sector, until

	1660–99	1700–39	1740–80
Total of Different Occupation/Status Terms Recorded	6	16	12
Number of Agricultural Occupation/Status Terms Recorded	3	4	6
Percentage (%) of Deceased Described as Agricultural Workers	80	60	79

Table 3.4: Distribution of Occupation/Status Terms Recorded in Wills and Inventories in South Cave, 1660–1780

the last decades of the eighteenth century. As a consequence, I would expect little change in the social aspirations and interactions amongst those occupation/status groups who left wills and inventories, to be recorded during this period in my analyses.

As I have already mentioned in the introduction, only a handful of wills and inventories have survived from South Cave for each of the three sample decades of the 1690s, 1730s and 1760s. So for this case study I have divided the material into three time periods, spanning 1660–1780; namely 1660–99, 1700–39 and 1740–80. In all 127 men have left wills and/or inventories. Material from 20 men has survived from the first, 55 from the second, and 52 from the third period. Despite over 20 different occupation/status terms being recorded amongst the deceased in these sources, the large majority of these men were working in the agricultural sector, as Table 3.4 shows.

Approximately a third of these were called 'yeoman'. Another third or so were described variously as 'husbandman', 'grassman', or 'shepherd', and other similar agricultural occupation/status terms. The occupation/status of many of the rest of these men was not in fact recorded, but their inventoried assets suggest they were farmers of one sort or another. A small percentage men had other occupations/titles, including 'mercer' and 'butcher'. So the seriation method cannot be used to analyse this South Cave data, as there are too few occupation/status groups with adaqute numbers for this statistical method.

But we can still gain a sense of the social cohesion and level of interaction in the community, by looking at the distribution of occupation/status terms amongst their bondsmen. Just as we might expect, yeomen made up the largest

group amongst the bondsmen as well. Around half were described as such. Furthermore, these men were not only utilised frequently as bondsmen by other yeomen, but also by men with other occupation/status terms. Equally, men with other occupation/status terms were also fairly well represented as bondsmen for yeomen. This would suggest, therefore, that there was a high level of social interaction amongst all the different occupation/status groups recorded in the sources, even to the few gentlemen whose records have survived. The gentleman Thomas Ward of South Cave, for example, had both a clerk, Theophilus Baldwin, and a butcher, William Wilkinson, as his bondsmen, whilst the baker Thomas Hogg of South Cave had a yeoman, John Hogg (probably a relative), and a gentleman, Thomas Gill, as his bondsmen.[41] In fact when looking at the assets of many of these men, we find that they were obviously employed in more than one occupation, further reinforcing this sense of cohesiveness between the different occupation/status groups. The 'baker' Hogg mentioned above, for example, also kept a number of animals in his yard, suggesting he supplemented his income with some animal husbandry, and the 'husbandman' John Scott was not just a farmer, but also a successful fisherman according to his will, in which he bequeathed a third of his fishery boats, nets and other fishing materials to one of his sons.[42]

This might also suggest that the pool of people from which bondsmen were appointed, was relatively small, indicative both of a high level of communal interaction amongst the record-leaving sections of South Cave society, and that bondsmen commanded a certain social status and level of respect in the community. The size of the South Cave samples allows us to chart easily whether the same men turned up regularly as bondsmen, or not. In fact, this was rarely the case, with only one individual, the yeoman Edward Kidd of South Cave, appearing as a bondsman for more than just a couple of men, namely five, between

[41]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Thomas Ward, South Cave, gentleman, no will, inventory appraised 23rd November 1773 and worth £40 15*s*. and Thomas Hogg, South Cave, baker, no will, inventory appraised 16th March 1742/3 and worth £19 2*s*. including household goods.

[42]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, John Scott, South Cave, husbandman, will written 24th July 1758, inventory appraised 6th October 1758 and worth £39 9*s*. including household goods.

1748 and 1773. Each of these men was recorded as having a different occupation/status, varying from the modest labourer William Goldar, to the wealthy gentleman Staveley Kirkby.[43] As Kidd's name also appeared amongst witnesses and appraisers in a handful of inventories, this reinforces the assumption that he was a man deemed of good standing in South Cave. But neither a will nor an inventory have survived from this man, so no further correlation can be made. Added to this, nearly one third of the bondsmen were not from this parish, and a significant number of these did not live in the surrounding area, either, but as far away as Lund (up in the Wolds), Beverley, Hull and York. So despite the traditional nature of its society, South Cave not as cut off from the rest of the country as much of the material might suggest.

Were the middling sections of South Cave society, therefore, a cohesive group with little social differentiation between the occupations within it? If this was the case, then how did Scott choose to have himself described as a 'husbandman' in his will, this term also being used in the inventory made of his assets, rather than as a 'fisherman', for example? On the one hand it could be that Scott's main occupation was as a farmer, with fishing being a way of supplementing his income. But the amount of fishing gear and boats he owned, in comparison to his husbandry gear, animals and crops, would suggest he was involved in both in equal measure. On the other hand, it could be an indication that the occupation/status title 'husbandman' was in fact seen as conferring more respectability on a man than the title 'fisherman', and that as a consequence occupation/status titles did bear more social weight with the inhabitants of South Cave than the material would indicate. In Scott's case, his bondsman was also a farmer, so this was the occupation/status group he might have had the most links to, and of which he might most likely have been a part. The choice of 'husbandman' rather than 'fisherman', therefore, might have well been a purely economic one. But it is interesting to note, that of a parish so close to a major river, no wills or inventories have survived from 'fisherman'. Were there really no such men

[43]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, William Goldar, South Cave, labourer, will written 15th December 1748, inventory appraised eighteenth December 1748 and worth £24 18s. including household goods, and Staveley Kirkby, South Cave, Gentleman, will written 23rd September 1773, inventory appraised 4th October 1773 and worth £446 10s. including household goods.

residing in the parish, were they too poor for their assets to be recorded, or did that occupation/status term carry less social weight than others?

Furthermore, why did Scott consider himself, and was considered to be (by his appraisers in his inventory), a 'husbandman', rather than a 'yeoman' like the majority of the farmers in the parish? What was the distinction in this parish between the occupation/status titles 'yeoman' and 'husbandman'? Weatherill has found in her nation wide analysis, that the median inventoried wealth of a yeoman in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was £104, in contrast to a figure of £30 for a husbandman.[44] In some counties the difference was even more marked: whilst husbandmen had a median inventoried wealth of £30 in Cambridgeshire during the Restoration period, their yeoman counterparts were substantially more wealthy, with a median of £180.[45] This could explain the preponderance for yeomen rather than husbandmen to be bondsmen, as bondsmen needed to be of a certain financial standing in order to be able to pay the substantial bond costs, if they became liable. In South Cave, the yeoman median according to the surviving inventories, was £120 15*s.* 2*d.* in the later seventeenth century (no usable husbandman inventories have survived for that period). However, by the 1750s, when Scott died, the median wealth amongst South Cave yeomen was substantially smaller, at £38 15*s.* 6*d.* (for the period 1740–80). Scott's inventoried wealth was £39 18*s.*, not including the fishing boats and accessories mentioned in his will. The only other inventory of a 'husbandman' to survive from this latter period, that of John Penrose, was more substantial, including large amounts of land and animals, and worth £178 15*s.*[46] If this is suggesting that the terms 'yeoman' and 'husbandman' no longer had the differing social meanings of previous periods, then why were so many of the bondsmen still yeomen at this time? Whatever the changes in the parish that might have led to such a reduction in inventoried wealth, and we know that significant economic changes, did not occur

[44]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Early Modern Britain*, p. 212, appendix 2.
[45]Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, p. 38.
[46]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, John Penrose, South Cave, husbandman, will, inventory appraised 10th May 1742 and worth £178 15*s.* including household goods.

until the late eighteenth century in this area, this did not seem to have any noticeable effect on these men's descriptions of themselves, or who stood as their bondsmen.

The middling sort of South Cave were, therefore, a fairly cohesive group, with a high level of social interaction between all occupation/status terms recorded, whilst at the same time being a community with good family and friendship links to the surrounding area and further afield. The material does suggest, however, that there were certain, possibly social, distinctions made between different occupation/status terms, brought to the fore in the above discussion of Scott's occupation. But there is no explicit explanation in the records as to what these distinctions might have been. If in the absence of other distinct markers, goods were utilised to articulate such distinctions, then the discussion of occupation, status and material culture in the next two chapters will shed light on this.

HALIFAX. Chapter 2 highlighted how Halifax was in the grip of industrial change. As a consequence, I would expect the surviving records to reveal that the inhabitants were engaged in a greater variety of occupations, compared to South Cave. I would also expect that this greater variety, as well as the size of the parish itself, would result in a considerably more stratified middling sort, with people choosing their bondsmen from within their own occupation/status group. At the same time, in contrast to South Cave, the size of this parish has resulted in enough probate material having survived from the three sample decades of the 1690s, 1730s and 1760s, namely records of 216, 316 and 305 men respectively, for these to provide viable sample groups on their own.

And this surviving probate material does reflect a greater occupational diversity than in South Cave. Included amongst these are everything from the ubiquitous 'yeoman', to druggists, booksellers and a dancing master. And the number of different occupation/status terms recorded increased as the period progressed, from 28 in the 1690s, to 43 in the 1730s and 54 in the 1760s, a complete list of which are reproduced in Tables A3.2–A3.4 (on pages 127–129 in the Appendix to this chapter). This increase in occupational diversity is attributable

Date	Occupation	Number of Men Recorded	Total
1690–99	Clothier	55	216
	Weaver	13	
1730–39	Clothier	58	316
	Weaver	12	
	Shalloon weaver	11	
	Worsted weaver	2	
	Cloth dresser	8	
1760–69	Clothier	15	305
	Weaver	20	
	Shalloon weaver	25	
	Stuff weaver	5	
	Cloth dresser	2	

Table 3.5: Specialisation of Occupations in the Textile Trade in Halifax, 1660–1780

in part to the expansion and specialisation that occurred within the textile industry, as Table 3.5 shows. Thus whilst in the 1690s a large number of men recorded as working within this sector were described in their probate material as being simply 'clothiers', by the 1760s this more generic title had given way to more specific terms, such as 'shalloon weaver', 'worsted weaver' and 'cloth dresser'.

Despite this diversification, the probate material indicates that throughout the whole period 1660–1780, Halifax parish retained a significant agricultural element. Just over a third of the men recorded in the 1760s sample, were employed in the agricultural sector: 90% of these as 'yeomen'. Furthermore, the numbers of men in the wills and inventories employed in the textile trade during the same period was actually lower, at approximately a quarter of all records. The remaining wills and inventories record men employed in all the various supporting trades and wider service sector, from blacksmiths and butchers, to booksellers and clock makers. By the time of the 1801 census, however, as I noted in Chapter 2, only around 2% of the population of the parish of Halifax were chiefly involved in agriculture, and a quarter in a handicraft, trade or manufacture. These would include nearly all the other occupation/status terms mentioned in the wills and inventories. The other three quarters of the population were probably labouring textile workers, similar to those Defoe had seen in 1724, touched on in chapter 2. This would suggest, that whilst by the mid-eighteenth century Halifax was

already producing textiles on an enormous scale, the final move towards being a fully fledged industrial parish was yet to come. This contrast was unlikely to have been nearly so pronounced in reality, however, but is exaggerated by the inherent bias in my sources. For whereas the census included the whole population in its results, the will and inventory samples I am analysing are only those of wealthier men, omitting a large slice of the labourers present in the parish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the women and children. It has to be remembered, that the record-leaving groups did not represent the whole of a given community, but those sections described by their contemporaries as the 'middling sort'.

The consequence of having only a few occupations in which a substantial number of men were employed, and many occupations in which only a handful of men each were recorded, again restricts the use that can be made of Elliot's seriation. There is enough material during this period for her method to be applicable to five different occupation/status groups, namely 'yeomen', 'clothiers', 'weavers', 'shalloon weavers' and also 'gentlemen/esquires'. These, therefore, will be the occupation/status groups I will be focusing on specifically. The term 'shalloon weaver' appears first in the 1730s sample, not in the 1690s one. However, I have included it as an example of an occupation/status group whose title was introduced as a consequence of the increasing specialisation that took place in the textile sector during the eighteenth century in this parish.

The seriation shows, contrary to what I was expecting, that there was a high level of social interaction between these different occupation/status groups, apart from with the gentlemen/esquires. This remained so in all three sample decades, with no significant change over time. And this level of social interaction was particularly pronounced between the yeomen and the clothiers. Their factor in common, derived from Elliot's seriation averages 95% for all three sample decades. In fact, a brief glance at the yeomen and clothier inventories is enough to show that they often straddled both economic sectors, having both husbandry implements, and weaving and other tools of the textile trade, amongst their assets, making

Date	Total Number of Bondsmen	From Within the Same Township as the Deceased		Within Halifax Parish		Outside Halifax Parish	
1690–99	295	169	57·3%	98	33·2%	28	9·5%
1730–39	324	185	57·2%	119	36·7%	20	6·1%
1760–69	306	189	61·8%	92	30·1%	25	8·1%

Table 3.6: Place of Residence of the Bondsmen of the Yeomen, Clothiers, Weavers and Shalloon Weavers Recorded in Halifax Wills and Inventories, 1660–1780

it difficult to distinguish between the two. The clothier Joseph Whitely of Rishworth, for example, owned more than 120 sheep, whilst the yeoman John Nutter of Warley, had two looms, a warping mill, combs and other utensils, as well as six yards of kersey cloth and two pieces of serge cloth in his '*shop*' room.[47] This raises the possibility, as might have been the case in South Cave in the mid-eighteenth century between yeomen and husbandmen, that the distinction between the two terms 'yeoman' and 'clothier' (and the choice of which one to use) was fairly arbitrary.

At the same time, the social circles of these groups did also incorporate the wider Halifax society, as many other occupation/status groups were represented amongst their bondsmen, including school masters, innkeepers and merchants. The sources also indicate that these groups were strongly parish-orientated, even to the extent that over half their bondsmen came from the same township within the parish, as they themselves had lived in. This results in a certain clustering effect, in which the majority of the bondsmen can be found living in the close vicinity of the deceased, a smaller number in the surrounding areas, and a few outside the parish altogether, as shown in Table 3.6.

The shalloon weaver Joseph Crowther (of Sowerby) was one of the few who had a bondsman living further afield, in this case an innkeeper in York, Joseph Priestley, whilst his other bondsman, his son Nathaniel, lived within the same township as he did.[48] This would suggest both that the deceased felt there

[47]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Joseph Whiteley, Rishworth, clothier, will written 17th January 1730/31, inventory appraised — 1731 and worth £41 11*s*. including household goods, and John Nutter, Benns in Warley, yeoman, will written 12th June 1730, inventory appraised 18th September 1730 and worth £60 4*s*. 6*d*. including household goods.

[48]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Joseph Crowther, Sowerby, Halifax, shalloon weaver, will written 24th June 1765, no inventory.

were enough men of good standing that they knew within the parish to act as their bondsmen, as well as highlighting the practicality of having bondsmen who resided close by, as they would be able to oversee the distribution of the deceased's assets more easily than a man who lived many miles away. So the bondsmen chosen are not necessarily representative of the social circles in which these men had lived, but rather those deemed the most trust-worthy, with the best social standing in society, or who lived the closest.

The same factors have to be taken into consideration when looking at the bondsmen recorded in the gentlemen and esquire probate material. According to this, they had interacted in the main with other gentlemen and esquires during their lifetime, rather than with men of other occupations/status groups; suggesting that they saw themselves as being on a different social level to the rest of Halifax society. But they were also still largely parish-orientated, as nearly three quarters of their bondsmen resided in Halifax. However, as I have noted earlier in this chapter, the terms 'gentleman' and 'esquire' denoted men of a high social standing, so it would be unlikely that bondsmen would have been appointed who were not of similar standing. So these results would again reflect the members of their social circle with the highest social standing. As a consequence, the men appointed as bondsmen who had other occupations, mustl have been of a high social standing as well. A scattering of various occupation/status terms are recorded amongst the bondsmen of the gentlemen and esquires. The bondsmen of the gentleman Edmund Dean of Sowerby, for example, were a clothier and a hosier, and one of the bondsmen of the esquire John Walker, was a jeweller.[49] Interestingly, nearly a third of the bondsmen recorded were yeomen. Indeed a comparison of 'gentleman' and 'esquire' inventories with 'yeoman' inventories, shows many of the latter were virtually indistinguishable from the former in terms of wealth and landownership. A number of yeomen were actually substantially wealthier. The assets of the yeoman, William Sutcliffe of Swallowshay, included a large amount of husbandry tools, animals, crops and dry goods, as well as looms and other weaving tools, and a substantial number of mortgages

[49]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Edmund Dean, Sowerby, Halifax, gentleman, will written 11th April 1690, no inventory, John Walker, Halifax, esquire, will written 22nd February 1768, no inventory.

and loans, making an inventoried wealth of over £1,000.[50] In contrast, the gentleman Francis Ramsbottom of Birks Hall, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, had a relatively modest inventoried wealth of just over £100. This included a house stocked with a variety of smart 'luxury' and everyday goods, and a small number of husbandry tools and animals. Whatever their financial standing, the fact these wealthy farmers did not describe themselves as gentlemen, indicates that they perceived a social difference between their own position and those of their gentleman counterparts. One example remains in the sources where a man, Richard Thomas of Heptonstall, called himself a gentleman in his will, but was described as a yeoman in his inventory by his appraisers. This may suggest that there was a certain common consensus as to what constituted a 'gentleman', and for that matter a yeoman, or any other occupation/status, and that Thomas did not fit the acknowledged criteria, however much he believed he did.[51] But it could also be indicating variations in the common understanding as to what made a gentleman in the first place.

And if 'gentleman' was such a high status term, why was it not being appropriated by the emerging group of elite merchants and manufacturers that John Smail has studied in detail? Contrary to my expectations, it seemed on first glance that little probate material had survived from this group, as at most a handful of merchants are mentioned in the sources. But a careful analysis of the material shows that such men are present, described by their occupation. The 'tanner and yeoman' William Sutcliffe of Hoo House, for example, had an inventoried wealth of £405 7*s.* 8*d.*, including a large house well stocked with luxuries, and workhouses full of hides, husbandry tools and animals.[52] And Thomas Wilkinson of Holdsworth in Ovenden, was merely described as a 'shalloon weaver' (rather than 'clothier' for example) in his records, despite an inventoried wealth of £545 12*s.*, including a large house full of smart goods, workshops stocked with yarn

[50]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, William Sutcliffe, Swallowshey in Stansfield, Halifax, yeoman, will written 21st June 1730, inventory appraised 18th July 1730 and worth £1,044 7*s.* 9*d.* including household goods.

[51]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Richard Thomas, Heptonstall, Halifax, gentleman, will written 12th April 1694, styled yeoman in inventory, appraised 21st June 1694 and worth £263 14*s.* 11*d.* including household goods.

[52]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, William Sutcliffe, Hoo House in Halifax, no will, inventory appraised 27th March 1732 and worth £405 7*s.* 8*d.* including household goods.

and cloth, and a few animals.[53] So again we find that the occupation/status terms used to describe a person might have actually said less about them than we have up till now assumed. At the same time, the term 'gentleman' might have as yet not been appropriated in Halifax to denote a wealthy man of industry, but still described a man of substantial landed wealth, who did not work outright for a living.

The seriation method reveals, therefore, a high level of cohesiveness in the social interaction between men of a number of different occupations that formed part of the middling sort. This is really only to be expected, as those engaged in various aspects of the same economic sector, such as textiles or agriculture, will have already interacted on a regular basis on an economic level. What the results further show, is that there was a substantial overlap between the agricultural and textile sectors, to the point that clothiers and yeomen were virtually indistinguishable from each other economically. The gentlemen and esquires were a more distinct group, their bondsmen being in the main other gentlemen and esquires, although there was also a considerable percentage of yeomen amongst them. This group was slightly less parish-orientated than the other groups under discussion, as well, interacting with gentlemen, esquires and yeomen from other areas, both close to and far away from, the parish.

This seeming uniformity masks variations in inventoried wealth, however. The next two chapters will show whether populuxe goods were used in the absence of other predictors, to articulate more subtle distinctions.

YORK. York was different again. In keeping with the size and importance of this city until the late eighteenth century, I would expect there to have been an even larger and more varied number of occupation/status terms recorded amongst its inhabitants than in the other two communities. At the same time I would also expect to see an even more stratified middling sort here, both within their own occupation/status group, and their parish, as well as a more pronounced and distinct group of gentlemen and esquires, than elsewhere.

[53]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Thomas Wilkinson, Holdsworth in Ovenden, Halifax, shalloon weaver, no will, inventory appraised 28th February 1738/9 and worth £545 12s. including household goods.

In all there are remaining records for 213 men from the 1690s, for 216 men from the 1730s, and for 220 men from the 1760s. The numbers of different occupation/status terms listed are higher than in the other areas, with 54, 58 and 69 different terms mentioned, from the 1690s, 1730s and 1760s respectively (reproduced in Tables A3.5–A3.7 on page 130–132 in the Appendix to this chapter). These range from tailors and watermen, through joiners and linen drapers, to doctors and lawyers. As a consequence, the sample sizes of the individual occupation/status groups are too small for the seriation to be statistically viable. The only group to have left a good number of records are the gentlemen and esquires. But like in South Cave, a study of the occupation/status terms of the bondsmen used, from all the records, can provide a sense of the level of social interaction amongst the different occupation/status groups. I will, furthermore, utilise Weatherill's socio-economic table here. I can then make a social comparison between those men with occupation/status terms described as 'low status' according to this schema, for example, and the gentleman and esquire group, in order to highlight levels of social interaction and how far their social circles might have overlapped, as these two groups were situated at different ends of the social spectrum, according to Weatherill's results.

Taking all the different occupation/status groups amongst the record-leaving sections of York society together, we find at first glance that there was a fairly high level of interaction between the various different occupation/status groups, throughout the whole period 1660–1780. Amongst the bondsmen of the 22 mariners recorded, for example, are an apothecary, a gentleman, a goldsmith, a fellmonger, a schoolmaster, a bookseller, and a couple of tailors, carpenters, innkeepers and yeomen. Equally, amongst the bondsmen of the 15 grocers listed, we find a handful of gentlemen, mercers, and linen drapers, and a goldsmith, an innkeeper, a tallow chandler, a bellfounder, a gardener, and a sailor. At the same time, the sources suggest that York's middling sort were fairly close knit within their own environs, with the large majority of the bondsmen, of whatever occupation, being residents of the city, rather than living further afield. How closely bound they were to the parish in which they lived is not discernible from these sources, as

1690–99

Occupation/Title	Total Number of Bondsmen	Within York	Without York
Gentlemen/ Esquires (in all 38)	43	33 (76·7%)	10 (23·3%)
All other occupations (in all 175)	230	206 (90·0%)	24 (10·4%)

1730–39

Occupation/Title	Total Number of Bondsmen	Within York	Without York
Gentlemen/ Esquires (in all 44)	62	43 (69·4%)	19 (30·6%)
All other occupations (in all 172)	246	230 (93·5%)	16 (6·5%)

1760–69

Occupation/Title	Total Number of Bondsmen	Within York	Without York
Gentlemen/ Esquires (in all 47)	73	55 (75·3%)	18 (24·7%)
All other occupations (in all 173)	308	277 (90·0%)	31 (10·1%)

Table 3.7: Place of Residence of the Bondsmen of the Gentlemen and Men of 'Low Status' Trades, Recorded in York Wills and Inventories, 1660–1780

the parish from which they came within the city was rarely noted, for either the deceased or their bondsmen. The yeoman Robert Silcock, of St. Mary's Castlegate, was one of the few who had bondsmen living outside the city. The reason for this can be explained in the fact that they were his close relatives, his brother Christopher, who lived in Lancashire, and his two nephews, James and Philip Silcock, from Hull. I have already noted above that the majority of bondsmen appointed were either members of the deceased's kin, or legatees, executors, or witnesses, so were taken from the close social circle of the deceased. It was the same for the book keeper Robert Harrison, of St. Mary's Bishophill the Elder, whose bondsmen were his brother-in-law, the carpenter Richard Harrison of St. James Westminster in London, and the innholder Robert Collet of York.[54] Table 3.7 singles out the gentlemen/esquires, to see if they interacted in such a capacity with people outside the city, for example with the county gentry.

[54]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, York deanery, Robert Silcock, St. Mary's Castlegate, yeoman, will written 13th November 1698, inventory appraised 12th January 1698/9 and worth £841 4*s.* 9*d.* including household goods, and Robert Harrison, St. Mary's Bishophill the Elder, book keeper, will written 2nd December 1761, no inventory.

Whilst more of their bondsmen lived further afield, still over two thirds were from the city itself. Of the former, few came from very far away. More often than not they might be residents of other Yorkshire towns, such as Hull or Pontefract, as in the case of the bondsmen of the gentleman George Houseman. These were again relatives, namely his brother-in-law the gentleman Anthony Beaumont, of Pontefract, and his nephew the gentleman Joseph Beaumont, of Hull.[55] The gentleman William Thompson was one of the few with a bondsman recorded living in London, his brother the gentleman Richard Thompson, of St. Andrews Holborn. He had another brother, the gentleman Henry Thompson, living in Coxwold, and a further bondsman, the gentleman John Mayer, who resided in York.[56] In fact only a handful of their bondsmen were not relatives. So whatever the level of actual social interaction was between the gentlemen of York and the wider county gentry, this is not recorded in the surviving will and inventory samples.

However, when we categorise each occupation/status according to Weatherill's socio-economic table, (focusing in here on 'low status trades' and the 'gentlemen/esquires' groups), we find that bondsmen were more often appointed from within the same socio-economic grouping that the deceased came from, as Tables 3.8–3.10 show. This would suggest there was a certain level of social stratification within the record-leaving sections of York society: at least between those placed towards the bottom of the 'middling sort', and those placed at the top.

But Tables 3.8–3.10 also show that around 10% of the bondsmen of the men with low status trades were gentlemen/esquires. So the flax dresser Richard Dove, had amongst his bondsmen a butcher, an innkeeper and a gentleman.[57] Whilst his trade is classed as 'low status' according to Weatherill's table, that of 'innkeeper' is recorded as of 'intermediate status': the position of the gentleman is self explanatory. In an example exemplifying the opposite, the gentleman John

[55]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, York deanery, George Houseman, York, gentleman, will written 22nd April 1690, no inventory.

[56]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, York deanery, William Thompson, York, gentleman, will written 30th July 1731, no inventory.

[57]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, York deanery, Richard Dove, York, flax dresser, will written 2nd March 1768, inventory appraised around September 1768 and worth £222 13*s.* 2*d.* including household goods.

Socio-Economic Rank of Deceased	No. of Deceased	Socio-Economic Rank of Deceased	No. of Deceased
Gentlemen/ Esquires	38	*'Low Status Trades'*	67

Socio-Economic Rank of Bondsmen	Number	%	Socio-Economic Rank of Bondsmen	Number	%
Gentlemen/ Esquires	23	53·5	*Gentlemen/ Esquires*	7	8·8
'High Status Trades'	14	32·6	*'High Status Trades'*	15	19·0
'Intermediate Status Trades'	1	2·3	*'Intermediate Status Trades'*	10	12·7
Yeomen	2	4·6	*Yeomen*	3	3·8
'Low Status Trades'	3	7·0	*'Low Status Trades'*	42	53·2
Husbandmen	0		*Husbandmen*	0	
Labourers	0		*Labourers*	2	2·5
Total:	43		Total:	79	

Table 3.8: the Rank of the Bondsmen Appointed for the Gentlemen/Esquires and Those With 'Low Status' Trades, According to Weatherill's Socio-Economic Hierarchy, York 1690–99

Foster of St. Sampsons, had a 'yeoman' and a 'combmaker' as his chosen bondsmen,[58] recorded as of middling status and low status respectively by Weatherill.

Furthermore, just as I have noted in Halifax, the occupation/status term of a number of men did not reflect the size of their business and/or wealth. Dove, mentioned above, for example, was merely described as a flax dresser, which did not reflect the reality that he was actually running quite a large enterprise as a wholesaler of dressed flax, yarn, and even ready made shirts. The choice of his bondsmen, however, does reflect that he did not just interact with those within his 'own' status group, but even with gentlemen. In contrast, Thomas Fothergill, who was a farmer and a large scale dyer according to the goods listed in his inventory (including a large and smartly furnished house), was styled 'gentleman' in it.[59]

[58]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, York deanery, John Foster, St. Sampsons, York, gentleman, will written 31st January 1761, no inventory.
[59]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Thomas Fothergill, York, gentleman, no will, inventory appraised 26th May 1690 and worth £1,057 7*s*. 7*d*. including household goods.

Socio-Economic Rank of Deceased	No. of Deceased	Socio-Economic Rank of Deceased	No. of Deceased
Gentlemen/ Esquires	44	*'Low Status Trades'*	87

Socio-Economic Rank of Bondsmen	Number	%	Socio-Economic Rank of Bondsmen	Number	%
Gentlemen/ Esquires	25	40·0	*Gentlemen/ Esquires*	12	9·8
'High Status Trades'	10	16·1	*'High Status Trades'*	19	15·4
'Intermediate Status Trades'	7	11·4	*'Intermediate Status Trades'*	18	14·6
Yeomen	7	11·4	*Yeomen*	15	12·2
'Low Status Trades'	13	21·1	*'Low Status Trades'*	59	48·0
Husbandmen	0		*Husbandmen*	0	
Labourers	0		*Labourers*	0	
Total:	62		**Total:**	123	

Table 3.9: The Rank of the Bondsmen Appointed for the Gentlemen/Esquires and Those With 'Low Status' Trades, According to Weatherill's Socio-Economic Hierarchy, York 1730–39

It is further interesting to note, that Dove was not the only flax dresser with a gentleman amongst his bondsmen. Of the six men recorded as flax dressers, four had a gentleman bondsman, and at least one other than Dove was fairly wealthy as well. So again we find that a person's occupation/status did not necessarily provide a complete picture of their position in society, and may not have been as socially important as we might have thought.

On the other hand, whilst Thomas Hardwick, for example, called himself a gentleman in his will, he was described as a 'periwig maker', a 'low status trade', in his inventory.[60] His two bondsmen, who were his sons, were a barber, an 'intermediate status' trade, and a baker, a 'low status' trade, and both his will and inventory suggest a man of modest wealth. At the same time, however, his house included a smartly furnished 'best' lodging room with blue Chinese patterned

[60]Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Pontefract deanery, Thomas Hardwick, St. Helen Stonegate, York, gentleman in will, written 19th March 1762, periwig maker in inventory, appraised 11th April 1764 and worth £14 7*s*. 6*d*.

Socio-Economic Rank of Deceased	No. of Deceased	Socio-Economic Rank of Deceased	No. of Deceased
Gentlemen/ Esquires	47	*'Low Status Trades'*	74

Socio-Economic Rank of Bondsmen	Number	%	Socio-Economic Rank of Bondsmen	Number	%
Gentlemen/ Esquires	30	41·2	*Gentlemen/ Esquires*	18	16·4
'High Status Trades'	29	39·7	*'High Status Trades'*	15	13·6
'Intermediate Status Trades'	7	9·6	*'Intermediate Status Trades'*	19	17·2
Yeomen	2	2·7	*Yeomen*	7	6·6
'Low Status Trades'	5	6·8	*'Low Status Trades'*	49	44·5
Husbandmen	0		*Husbandmen*	0	
Labourers	0		*Labourers*	2	1·7
Total:	73		**Total:**	110	

Table 3.10: The Rank of the Bondsmen Appointed for the Gentlemen/Esquires and Those With 'Low Status' Trades, According to Weatherill's Socio-Economic Hierarchy, York 1760–69

bedding and a swing mirror, and a 'dining room'. The latter was a room that had only become current in the last century, as the space in which, as Vickery has noted, genteel households kept their 'most expensive and ostentatious' goods.[61] The contents of Hardwick's dining-room were a card table, a tea table, a corner cupboard, an expensive mirror, six ordinary and one large chair. If not a 'gentleman', then Hardwick was definately trying appear as such, even though the value of his household goods was modest. So I would argue that here we are seeing an example of material goods reflecting a certain level of social differentiation, between Hardwick and others with the same occupation/status, which his occupational title did not articulate, although he did have himself described as a gentleman in his will.

So here we find a certain level of social differentiation between the different occupation/status groups amongst the record-leaving sections of York society.

[61]Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 206.

But what is also shown again, is that occupation/status is not a complete predicator of a person's social standing, as exemplified by Hardwick's inventory, for example. Wealth and material culture seem to have played an important role as well, at least here in York.

Conclusion

We have seen from this analysis, therefore, that a mapping of occupation/status terms onto a social hierarchy is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Furthermore, the material has indicated that even those of the same occupation/status were not necessarily social equals. It has become clear that occupation/status was not the only, even defining, predicator of a man's social position in society. Other equally, if not more, important factors may have been wealth and material culture. Whether material culture projected a sense of social differentiation amongst the middling sort in South Cave, Halifax and York, will be tested in the next two chapters.

Appendix

Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded
Yeoman	79
Clothier	55
Gentleman/Esquire	15
Weaver	13
Labourer	5
Dyer	3
Blacksmith	3
Apothecary	3
Badger	3
Shoemaker	3
Tailor	3
Mason	3
Innkeeper	2
Mercer	2
Salter	2
Clerk	2
Husbandman	2
Cardmaker	1
Fellmonger	1
Tanner	1
Pewterer	1
Carpenter	1
Clockmaker	1
Joiner	1
Butcher	1
Linen draper	1
Chapman	1

Table A3.1: Occupations of the Men of South Cave, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1660–1780

Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded	Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded
Yeoman	103	*Baker*	1
Clothier	58	*Hatter*	1
Gentleman/Esquire	22	*Hosier*	1
Weaver	12	*Glazier & Plumber*	1
Shalloon weaver	11	*Farrier*	1
Cloth dresser	8	*Merchant*	1
Shoemaker	7	*Hardwareman*	1
Yeoman & Clothier	6	*Cardmaker*	1
Labourer	6	*Bookseller*	1
Husbandman	6	*Tallowchandler*	1
Dyer	5	*Sadler*	1
Butcher	5	*Spinner*	1
Clerk	5	*Copperase Maker*	1
Innkeeper	5		
Tanner	4		
Blacksmith	4		
Joiner	4		
Grocer & Druggist	3		
Mason	3		
Miller	3		
Vicar	2		
Salter	2		
Tradesman/Chapman	2		
Worsted Weaver	2		
Linen Draper	2		
Mercer	2		
Coal Miner	2		
Wool Stapler	2		

Table A3.2: Occupations of the Men of Halifax, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1690–1699.

Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded	Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded
Yeoman	103	*Linen draper*	2
Shalloon weaver	11	*Tradesman/Chapman*	2
Weaver	12	*Wool stapler*	2
Gentleman/Esquire	22	*Salter*	2
Clothier	58	*Worsted weaver*	2
Cloth dresser	8	*Coalminer*	2
Shoemaker	7	*Mercer*	2
Labourer	6	*Bookseller*	1
Husbandman	6	*Saxton*	1
Yomen/clothier	6	*Sadler*	1
Innkeeper	5	*Tallowchandler*	1
Butcher	5	*Hosier*	1
Dyer	5	*Hatter*	1
Clerk	5	*Cardmaker*	1
Joiner	4	*Hardwareman*	1
Blacksmith	4	*Plumber & Glazier*	1
Tanner	4	*Baker*	1
Grocer/Druggist	3	*Farrier*	1
Mason	3	*Copperase maker*	1
Miller	3	*Merchant*	1
Vicar	2	*Spinner*	1

Table A3.3: Occupations of the Men of Halifax, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1730–1739.

Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded	Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded
Yeoman	96	*Supervisor of the Excise*	1
Shalloon weaver	25	*Combmaker*	1
Weaver	20	*Miller*	1
Gentleman/Esquire	18	*Dancing master*	1
Clothier	15	*Shuttle maker*	1
Innkeeper	14	*Ale draper*	1
Merchant	11	*Attorney*	1
Labourer	9	*Grocer*	1
Butcher	7	*Flax dresser*	1
Carpenter & joiner	5	*Tallowchandler*	1
Mason	5	*Handiman*	1
Stuffmaker	5	*Surgeon*	1
Victualler	5	*Staymaker*	1
Husbandman	4	*Skinner*	1
Clerk	4	*Watchmaker*	1
Tailor	3	*Shopkeeper*	1
Coalminer	3	*Stonedelver*	1
Baker	3	*Ironmonger*	1
Shoemaker	3	*Chapman*	1
Wool comber	2	*Wiredrawer*	1
Soldier	2	*Cardmaker*	1
Carrier	2	*Jobber*	1
Blacksmith	2	*Wool stapler*	1
Dyer	2	*Chapman*	1
Papermaker	2	*Plumber & Glazier*	1
Malster	2		
Tanner	2		

Table A3.4: Occupations of the Men of Halifax, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1760–1769.

Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded	Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded
Gentleman/Esquire	38	*Notary Public*	2
Marriner/Sailor	11	*Book Seller*	2
Grocer	9	*Dyer*	2
Carpenter & Joiner	8	*Painter-Stainer*	2
Innkeeper	8	*Pinner*	2
Yeoman	6	*Milliner*	2
Merchant	6	*Glazier*	2
Linen Draper	6	*Labourer*	2
Tailor	6	*Swordsmith*	2
Shoemaker	6	*Tobacconist*	1
Alderman	5	*Cook*	1
Fishmonger	5	*Rope Maker*	1
Butcher	5	*Clock Maker*	1
Mercer	5	*Doctor*	1
Tanner	4	*Glover*	1
Bricklayer	4	*Wigmaker*	1
Apothecary	4	*Wheelwright*	1
Brewer	4	*Barber Surgeon*	1
Baker	4	*Cutler*	1
Fellmonger	4	*Heelmaker*	1
Merchant Taylor	3	*Gardener*	1
Sadler	3	*Stapler*	1
Silver/Goldsmith	3	*Blacksmith*	1
Clerk	3		
Vintner	3		
Upholsterer	3		
Pewterer	3		
Weaver	3		
Clothier	3		
Trunk Maker	2		

Table A3.5: Occupations of the Men of York, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1690–1699.

Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded	Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded
Gentleman/Esquire	44	*Apothecary*	2
Innkeeper	16	*Cutler*	2
Yeoman	13	*Coachman*	1
Carpenter & Joiner	12	*Tallow Chandler*	1
Smith	8	*Grinder*	1
Marriner	8	*Pewterer*	1
Butcher	7	*Victualler*	1
Merchant	6	*Corn Factor*	1
Bricklayer	6	*Comb Maker*	1
Brewer	6	*Pattern Maker*	1
Baker	5	*Schoolmaster*	1
Barber Surgeon	4	*Clerk*	1
Grocer	4	*b*	1
Cooper	4	*Statuary*	1
Merchant Taylor	4	*Felt Maker*	1
Gardener	3	*Bridle Cutter*	1
Alderman	3	*Upholsterer*	1
Labourer	3	*Mercer*	1
Miller	3	*Painter*	1
Translator	2	*Presser*	1
Flax Dresser	2	*Cook*	1
Wigmaker	2	*Wheelwright*	1
Shoemaker	2	*Carver*	1
Haberdasher	2	*Button Maker*	1
Rope Maker	2	*Hay Weigher*	1
Tanner	2	*Engineer*	1
Glover	2	*Jeweller*	1
Weaver	2	*Book Seller*	1
Glazier	2		

Table A3.6: Occupations of the Men of York, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1730–39.

Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded	Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded
Gentleman/Esquire	47	*Pattern Maker*	1
Yeoman	15	*Cooper*	1
Ale draper	9	*Tallow Chandler*	1
Husbandman	7	*Horn Cutter*	1
Innkeeper	7	*Water Man*	1
Weaver	7	*Mason*	1
Flax dresser	6	*Book Keeper*	1
Brick layer	6	*Master Marriner*	1
Carpenter & Joiner	5	*Sadler*	1
Smith	5	*Porter*	1
Baker	5	*Oatmeal Shiller*	1
Brewer	5	*Doctor*	1
Victualler	4	*Tanner*	1
Clerk	4	*Pipe maker*	1
Tailor	4	*Tobacconist*	1
Miller	4	*Farmer*	1
Labourer	4	*Translator*	1
Merchant	4	*Servant*	1
Butcher	4	*Shoemaker*	1
Farmer	3	*Skinner*	1
Staymaker	3	*Coach Maker*	1
Marriner/Sailor	3	*Comb Maker*	1
Malster	3	*Dyer*	1
Book seller	2	*Gardener*	1
Cabinet maker	2	*Cowkeeper*	1
Pewterer	2	*Vintner*	1
Linen draper	2	*Haberdasher*	1
Mercer	2	*Wine Cooper*	1

Table A3.7 continued on next page...

Table A3.7: Occupations of the Men of York, Recorded in Their Wills and Inventories, 1760–1769.

Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded	Occupation/Status	Number of Men Recorded
... Table A3.7 continued from previous page.			
Fishmonger	2	*Confectioner*	1
Grocer	2	*Army Officer*	1
Glover	2	*Upholsterer*	1
Merchant Taylor	2	*Hosier*	1
Plumber & Glazier	2	*Carver*	1
Furrier	1	*Pavior*	1

CHAPTER 4

'Front' or 'Back' Space? Populuxe Goods in Inventories and the Negotiation of Social Status.

IN THE LAST CHAPTER I analysed the link between social interaction, occupation/status and social position amongst the record-leaving groups in South Cave, Halifax and York. I showed that there was a high level of such interaction between most of these occupation/status groups, to the point that in some cases the different occupation/status terms did not seem to reflect any real distinctions between the different groups. However, as I have already discussed at length in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, contemporary evidence shows that people in early modern England defined themselves strongly in terms of social position, but that no distinctly defined structure of the social order remains, that maps occupation/status to social position. This chapter will, therefore, analyse whether in the absence of other visible markers, people utlised material culture as a form of articulating their position in society. Firstly, I will provide an overview of the ownership rates of the populuxe goods chosen in Chapter 1[1], for the three areas. Then I will analyse the importance of ownership and display to social position, by studying where in a household such goods were kept. Finally, I will consider the correlation between wealth and the ownership and display of these goods.

Populuxe Goods In Inventories

I am utilising the same inventory samples for this analysis as I did in the previous chapter, that is to say those men's inventories where the occupation/status of the deceased is either given or evident from the inventoried goods he owned, and where the occupations/status of bondsmen are recorded. I have already

[1]These are silver, clocks and watches, mirrors, pictures and prints, books, utensils for hot drinks and china.

noted in Chapter 1, that the numbers of inventories declined sharply in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Compounding this, is a rise in the numbers of inventories with little or no detailed descriptions of the goods. At best we are left with inventories such as that of the movable assets of the farmer and grazer, Thomas Dudding, of Broomfleet, from 1757. His household goods are recorded as follows:

> Goods in the house & parlour: The beds and bedding, tables, forms, chairs, chests, linen, brass, iron, pewter bowls & other wood implements: £2 7*s*. 6*d*.[2]

At worst we are given a tantalizing glimpse of a house with numerous rooms, all with expensive contents, but no indication given as to what these were. The inventory of the yeoman, Robert Sutcliffe of Murgatshaw in Stansfield, for instance, listed a 'house' with £17 10*s*. 6*d*. worth of goods within it, and £14 13*s*. 1*d*. worth of goods in his 'parlour chamber'.[3] This raises the interesting question: is this lack of detail an indication that by this time the only worth goods had was their monetary value? We will return to this in greater depth later in the chapter.

The following analysis will, therefore, only include those inventories that listed the deceased's assets in detail, and for some of the case studies only those in which the goods were recorded under room headings. Despite this, there are still surviving inventories of the assets of 77 men from South Cave between 1660 and 1780. As explained in Chapter 3, the surviving numbers of probate inventories are substantially larger for Halifax and York, so I have used surviving inventories from the 1690s, 1730s and 1760s. This amounts to 505 inventories of men from the parish of Halifax, and 323 from the city of York.[4] Table 4.1 sets out the exact numbers for each area and sample period.

[2]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Thomas Dudding, Broomfleet, South Cave, farmer and grazier, will written 18th February 1757, inventory appraised 21st February 1757 and worth £16 7*s*. 6*d*. including household goods.

[3]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Robert Sutcliffe, Murgatshaw in Stansfield, Halifax, yeoman, will written 2nd November 1736, inventory appraised 13th December 1736 and worth £347 5*s*. 6*d*. including household goods.

[4]As I have already explained in the previous chapter, the material left by women from this period will be discussed separately in chapter 6.

Place	Date	Number of Inventories
South Cave	1660–99	24
	1700–39	29
	1740–80	24
Halifax	1690–99	194
	1730–39	214
	1760–69	97
York	1690–99	141
	1730–39	126
	1760–69	56

Table 4.1: Numbers of Usable Inventories for South Cave, Halifax And York, 1660–1780

Date	Number of Inventories	Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
1660–99	24	7	29·2
1700–39	29	5	17·2
1740–80	24	9	37·5

Table 4.2: Number of South Cave Inventories that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780

Given the rural nature of South Cave and the relative lack of wealth displayed in the sources, I expected few of the inhabitants to own any of the new consumables, even towards 1780. However, the number of bondsmen utilised, who resided outside the parish, suggests that the community was fairly well integrated with the surrounding communities, including Beverley and Market Weighton, as well as Kingston-upon-Hull and York. The ownership rates of populuxe goods might well, therefore, be higher than expected. And indeed approximately a quarter of the 77 inventories mention at least one populuxe item, as Table 4.2 shows. These included everything from silver spoons and beakers, to china ware, to clocks with cases and pocket watches. Table 4.3 gives an overview of all the populuxe goods mentioned in the records during each of the three time periods, and the number who owned them.

Despite the smallness of the sample, it does show that all of the populuxe goods I have chosen for this analysis were present in the parish by 1780, if only in

1660–99		
Goods	**Number of Inventories**	**%**
Silver	5	20·8
Clock/Watch	1	4·2
Mirror	4	16·7
Picture/Print		
Book	4	16·7
*Utensils**		
China		
Total Inventories:	24	

1700–39		
Goods	**Number of Inventories**	**%**
Silver	3	10·3
Clock/Watch	1	3·4
Mirror	5	17·2
Picture/Print	2	6·9
Book	1	3·4
*Utensils**	1	3·4
China		
Total Inventories:	29	

1740–80		
Goods	**Number of Inventories**	**%**
Silver	2	8·3
Clock/Watch	4	16·7
Mirror	2	8·3
Picture/Print	1	4·2
Book	3	12·5
*Utensils**	4	16·7
China	1	4·2
Total Inventories:	24	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 4.3: Numbers of South Cave Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

a small number of households, like china. Other goods though, such as mirrors and silver, were continuously present from the beginning.

I have also noted, in the previous chapter, that the 'yeomen' present in the parish had a fairly high average inventoried wealth, at least until the early eighteenth century. Consequently, we might expect their ownership of the populuxe

1660–99

Inventoried Wealth	Total Yeomen	Yeomen With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
£200 or over	4	2	22·2
£100 or over	2	1	11·1
£50 or over	2	1	11·1
£20 or over	1		
Under £20			
Total:	9	4	44·4

1700–39

Inventoried Wealth	Total Yeomen	Yeomen With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
£200 or over			
£100 or over	1		
£50 or over	1		
£20 or over	3	1	20·0
Under £20			
Total:	5	4	20·0

1740–80

Inventoried Wealth	Total Yeomen	Yeomen With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
£200 or over			
£100 or over			
£50 or over			
£20 or over	4	3	50·0
Under £20	2	1	16·7
Total:	6	4	66·7

Table 4.4: Number of South Cave Yeomen Who Owned at Least one Populuxe Good, and Their Wealth, 1660–1780

goods to be higher than the above listed percentages, which Table 4.4 shows was the case. But the table also highlights that some yeomen with only little inventoried wealth owned populuxe goods as well.

This indicates that wealth was obviously only one of a number of factors that influenced these men's decisions when buying goods. We must remember, however, that during the eighteenth century, changes in production made many

of these items much cheaper to acquire, and thus more affordable to the mass of the population. At the same time, of the yeomen whose inventories recorded populuxe goods, only one, John Seymour, actually owned more than a couple, and they were not particularly expensive items. He had a selection of cheap bits of china, 6 silver tea spoons, some books, an inexpensive mirror, and a tea kettle, amongst his possessions.[5] Thus although a number of the surviving inventories from South Cave listed populuxe goods, they recorded at most one or two cheap items or the occasional clock, each. This suggests that the new consumables had not yet become an integral part of South Cave society, and utilised to reflect wealth and social status, except possibly in the case of Seymour above, or the wealthy vicar, Richard Remmington, a century earlier, (mentioned in chapter 3).[6]

Furthermore, these percentages are low when compared with the results collated by Weatherill from various different rural areas around the country. 28% of the inventories in her rural/village samples listed mirrors in 1725, for example, and all the other populuxe goods under discussion were recorded in larger numbers in her samples than in South Cave.[7] The South Cave results are, however, not that different from those found by Mark Overton and others, pertaining to Cornwall. When comparing South Cave with Kent, though (the other area studied by Overton) we find very different figures again, the ownership rates amongst the inventories samples from the latter being substantially higher.[8] This is attributed to Kent's proximity to London, and the fact it was highly commercialised, in contrast to Cornwall.[9] So despite its accessibility to the surrounding area, and status as a market village, South Cave lagged behind all but the most rural areas in the ownership of such populuxe goods, very likely due in large part to the lack of wealth and economic growth in the area during this period.

[5]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, John Seymour, South Cave, yeoman, will written 20th December 1778, inventory appraised 1st January 1779 and worth £38 15*s.* 6*d.* including household goods.
[6]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Richard Remmington, South Cave, vicar/clerk, will written 4th may 1670, inventory appraised 19th [illegible] 1670 and worth £472 4*s.* 10*d.* including household goods.
[7]Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760,* (London, 1996), p. 88, table 4·4.
[8]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750,* (Abingdon, 2004), pp. 99, table 5.2+111, table 5.4.
[9]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households,* pp. 11–12.

Date	Number of Inventories	Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
1690–99	194	117	60·3
1730–39	214	142	66·4
1760–69	97	83	85·6

Table 4.5: Number of Halifax Inventories that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, Halifax, 1660–1780

Being a parish with a more multi faceted economy, and even a small service industry catering to the growing group of wealthy merchants and manufacturers, I expected a higher percentage of the men's inventories from Halifax would record the new consumer goods. An analysis of the inventory samples shows this is the case, as over 60% of the 505 surviving inventories, record at least one of these goods, as Table 4.5 records. As we can also see, the percentage of inventories that listed at least one such good rose over the period, with over 80% of surviving inventories recording at least one such item in the 1760s. By this time all the populuxe goods under discussion are fairly well represented in the surviving inventories, shown in Table 4.6. Not all goods were equally popular, however. Relatively few utensils for hot drinks and china were recorded, even in the 1760s sample, for instance. But whilst these specific items were only listed in a small number of inventories, it is interesting to note that one good had become highly popular, virtually commonplace, in the households of the record-leaving classes here, by the mid eighteenth century, namely the clock.

If we compare this to the Yorkshire town of Selby, for example, studied by Riley, the ownership rates for most of these goods were lower in Halifax, apart from for clocks.[10] This mirrors what Weatherill has found in other towns and urban areas around the country. Her results record that in 1725, 42% of surviving inventories from such towns record books[11] in contrast to 14% of Halifax inventories for the following decade. Of course, as the results from Halifax do not just include those from the town, but the whole parish, we might expect the percentages to be

[10]Michael Riley, 'Families and their Property in Early Modern England: a study of four communities on the Yorkshire Ouse, 1660-1760', (Unpublished Dphil, York, 1990), pp. 115–16.
[11]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 88, table 4.4.

1690–99

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	45	23·2
Clock/Watch	72	37·1
Mirror	49	25·3
Picture/Print	17	8·8
Book	51	26·3
*Utensils**		
China		
Total Inventories:	194	

1730–39

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	35	16·4
Clock/Watch	119	55·6
Mirror	43	20·1
Picture/Print	20	9·3
Book	30	14·0
*Utensils**	13	6·1
China	4	1·9
Total Inventories:	214	

1760–69

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	14	14·4
Clock/Watch	74	76·3
Mirror	26	26·8
Picture/Print	20	20·6
Book	8	8·2
*Utensils**	18	18·6
China	7	7·2
Total Inventories:	97	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 4.6: Number of Halifax Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

a little lower. But it is a similar picture when Halifax is compared with Overton's samples, with Halifax resembling more a rural backwater like Cornwall, than a commercialised area like Kent.[12] However, Halifax does bear similarities to the North-west region sampled by Weatherill, which included the southern part of

[12]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, pp. 99, table 5.2+111, table 5.4.

Lancashire, Manchester and Liverpool.[13] This would suggest that people in these burgeoning textile areas were as yet not acquiring populuxe goods on the scale we might have thought, instead acting in a rather more conservative manner.

A closer look at the number of populuxe goods owned by the five occupation/status groups I singled out in the last chapter for a more in-depth analysis, namely yeomen, clothiers, shalloon weavers, weavers and gentlemen/esquires, reveals the following overall ownership pattern. As expected, all the gentleman and esquire inventories (bar one) list at least one populuxe good. And the percentage of the other occupation/status groups which owned at least one of these was not substantially smaller, and grew as the period progressed. What is interesting to note, is the difference in ownership rates between the yeomen and the clothiers, those two groups which appeared virtually identical in other respects, in the previous chapter. I noted then that possible social distinctions between the two occupation/status terms might be revealed through an analysis of the goods they owned. These are laid out in Table 4.8 and Table 4.9.

In some respects they are very similar, with the same populuxe goods being popular in both groups, such as clocks and mirrors, whilst others were not, such as utensils for hot drinks and china. But what is noticeable, is that the clothiers were generally less likely to own populuxe goods than the yeomen. We see, furthermore, in Table 4.10 how this corresponded with their median inventoried wealth, the clothiers inventoried wealth being less than that of their yeomen counterparts, until the mid eighteenth century. This would suggest both that wealth had a role to play in social differentiation, and also in the acquisition of populuxe goods. It is interesting to note how this contrasts to Weatherill's results. She has found that yeomen owned generally less such items than those with intermediate status trades, of which the clothiers were one, until the first quarter of the eighteenth century. As she has noted, however, the intermediate trades included men of significant wealth, substantially more than that recorded in the clothier wills from Halifax. So her overall results are likely to be higher than the results recorded here. However, the yeomen in Halifax owned on average

[13]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, pp. 44+54–56.

1690–99

Occupation	Number of Inventories	Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
Yeoman	62	43	69·4
Clothier	47	26	55·3
Weaver	11	5	45·5
Shalloon Weaver	—		
Gentleman/Esquire	7	6	85·7

1730–39

Occupation	Number of Inventories	Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
Yeoman	47	34	72·3
Clothier	44	28	63·6
Weaver	10	5	50·0
Shalloon Weaver	6	4	66·7
Gentleman/Esquire	6	6	100·0

1760–69

Occupation	Number of Inventories	Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
Yeoman	17	15	88·2
Clothier	5	4	80·0
Weaver	8	7	87·5
Shalloon Weaver	9	6	66·7
Gentleman/Esquire	1	1	100·0

Table 4.7: Number of Halifax Inventories of Yeomen, Clothiers, Weavers, Shalloon Weavers and Gentlemen/Esquires that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780

more of the populuxe goods, than their counterparts in the rest of the country.[14] But looking at Overton's results, we find that ownership of such goods amongst yeomen in Kent was higher still than in Halifax, even for clocks.[15] So ownership rates amongst yeomen in Halifax would appear to be in-between those of the more commercialised areas of England and the more rural areas, although overall ownership rates in Halifax were much more akin to those in less commercialised places.

[14]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 168, table 8.1.
[15]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 190, appendix 4.

1690–99

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	18	29·0
Clock/Watch	22	35·5
Mirror	17	27·4
Picture/Print	5	8·1
Book	20	32·4
*Utensils**		
China		
Total Inventories:	62	

1730–39

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	5	10·6
Clock/Watch	30	63·8
Mirror	12	25·5
Picture/Print	3	6·4
Book	10	21·3
*Utensils**	2	4·3
China	1	2·1
Total Inventories:	47	

1760–69

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	1	5·9
Clock/Watch	14	82·4
Mirror	7	41·3
Picture/Print	2	11·8
Book	4	23·5
*Utensils**	1	5·9
China		
Total Inventories:	17	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 4.8: Number of Halifax Yeoman Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

Nonetheless, numbers of all these five occupation/status groups, apart from the gentlemen and esquires, generally owned just a couple of populuxe goods each, and these were in the main relatively inexpensive. The clothier, Michael Broadley sen. of Hancroft in Barkisland, for example, owned a clock and case worth £1 1*s.*, and the yeoman, Joshua Aspinall, of Southowram, another clock

1690–99

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	7	14·9
Clock/Watch	14	29·8
Mirror	10	21·3
Picture/Print	1	2·1
Book	14	29·8
*Utensils**		
China		
Total Inventories:	47	

1730–39

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	1	2·3
Clock/Watch	17	38·6
Mirror	5	11·4
Picture/Print		
Book	5	11·4
*Utensils**	1	2·3
China		
Total Inventories:	44	

1760–69

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver		
Clock/Watch	3	60·0
Mirror	1	20·0
Picture/Print	1	20·0
Book		
*Utensils**	1	20·0
China	1	20·0
Total Inventories:	5	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 4.9: Number of Halifax Clothier Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

worth £1 1*s.*, and some pictures worth 1*s.* 6*d.*[16] The wealthy yeoman, William Wilton, of Sleadsyke in Hipperholme, was one exception. Amongst his extensive possessions, amounting to over £1,000, were recorded silver items worth £20, 2

[16]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Michael Broadley sen., Hancroft in Barkisland, Halifax, clothier, will written 9th January 1733/4, inventory appraised 2nd December 1734 and worth £78 8*d.* including household goods, and Joshua Aspinall, Southowram, Halifax, will written 18th May 1761, inventory appraised after May 1761 and worth £27 9*s.* 6*d.* including household goods.

1690–99

Occupation/Title	Median Wealth
Gentleman/Esquire	£224 15*s.* 10*d.*
Yeoman	£71 4*s.* 11*d.*
Clothier	£48 4*s.* 9*d.*
Weaver	£16
Shalloon Weaver	—

1730–39

Occupation/Title	Median Wealth
Gentleman/Esquire	£76 10*s.* 10*d.*
Yeoman	£67 10*s.* 9*d.*
Clothier	£24 5*d.*
Weaver	£5 11*s.* 7*d.*
Shalloon Weaver	£38 1*s.* 2*d.*

1760–69

Occupation/Title	Median Wealth
Gentleman/Esquire	£155 17*s.*
Yeoman	£13 8*s.*
Clothier	£17 8*s.* 6*d.*
Weaver	£28 3*s.* 9*d.*
Shalloon Weaver	£12 10*s.*

Table 4.10: Median Inventoried Wealth of the Yeomen, Clothier, Weaver, Shalloon Weaver And Gentleman/Esquire Inventories, Halifax, 1660–1780

clocks worth £1 5*s.* together, books worth £1, and 2 mirrors worth 6*s.* together.[17] The weavers and shalloon weavers recorded less such goods amongst their assets than the other occupation/status groups, and in general ones of a lower monetary worth, although the ownership rates did also increase over the period under discussion. The rise in production, easier accessibility, and a fall in the price of many of these items, enabled the goods to be within reach of a wider section of these groups by the 1760s. So by this period the weaver, William Shaw of Old Town in Wadsworth, for example, owned a clock worth £1 1*s.*, and the shalloon weaver, Charles Turner of Northowram, had a clock and case worth £2 10*s.*, a mirror worth 3*s.* and a few tea cups worth around a shilling.[18] Again this is

[17]BIA, Pontefract deanery, William Wilton, Sleadsyke in Hipperholme, Halifax, yeoman, will written 20th May 1692, inventory appraised 6th June 1692 and worth £1375 9*s.* 9*d.* including household goods.
[18]BIA, Pontefract deanery, William Shaw, Old Town in Wadsworth, Halifax, no occupation given, but his inventoried assets indicate he was a weaver, no will, inventory appraised 8th November 1760 and worth £26 9*s.* 7*d.* including household goods, Charles Turner, Northowram, Halifax, shalloon weaver, no will, inventory appraised 12th July 1763 and worth £73 7*s.* 2*d.* including household goods.

lower than the 'national' average produced by Weatherill. In her results, by 1725 men with 'low status trades' owned on average more populuxe goods than their yeomen counterparts. Their median wealth was also substantially higher than that recorded in Table 4.10 for weavers and shalloon weavers in Halifax.[19] This reinforces what I concluded above that Halifax was substantially more rural than urban.

The only group with substantial numbers of populuxe goods was, unremarkably, the gentlemen and esquires, and their examples were, more often than not, relatively expensive. And goods one might associate with wealthy, possibly landed, families, such as paintings, family portraits and silver, are also present in these samples. Thus the gentleman James Oats of Murgatroyd in Warley (inventory appraised in 1695), owned, amongst other things, a landscape painting worth £2, another 15 pictures and two maps worth £1 10*s.*, books worth £5 and silver worth £38 5*s.*, whilst the inventoried goods of the gentleman Robert Ramsden of Halifax (inventory appraised in 1766), included a large mirror worth £2 10*s*, a clock worth £6 and a set of red and white china worth £1 1*s.*[20] Their median inventoried wealth was also substantially higher than that of the other occupations/titles under discussion, as might also be expected, shown in Table 4.10 above.

What Table 4.10 also reveals, is the noticeable variations in median wealth between the different occupation/status groups, another difference that was not visible in the study of social interaction in the last chapter. This would suggest that different occupation/status terms did reflect certain differences, including wealth and populuxe goods owned, as exemplified by the comparison between the yeomen and clothiers. The gentlemen/esquires in particular are visibly differentiated from the rest of the community through the numbers and kinds of goods owned, and their monetary value. By the 1760s, however, this had become less

[19]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 168, table 8.1.

[20]BIA, Pontefract deanery, James Oats, Murgatroyd in Warley, Halifax, gentleman, will written 24th June 1695, inventory appraised 9th August 1695 and worth £666 14*s.* 5*d.* including household goods, and Robert Ramsden, Halifax, gentleman, no will, inventory appraised 12th May 1766 and worth £155 17*s.* including household goods.

Date	Number of Inventories	Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
		Number	%
1690–99	141	108	76·6
1730–39	126	104	82·5
1760–69	56	46	82·1

Table 4.11: Number of York Inventories that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780

pronounced, there being less variation in inventoried wealth between the different occupation/status groups, apart from the gentlemen and esquires, (although the inventory sample is substantially smaller for the last sample decade).

It is in the county town and gentry watering hole of York where I expect to see the greatest uptake of the populuxe goods, and not just by the elite, but by a wide section of the local population, as well as being the first place where metropolitan fashions would be available and acquired in this region. The ownership rates of the populuxe goods bears this out, listed in Table 4.11, with over 70% of the men's inventories recording at least one such good, already in the 1690s.

Whilst we found that in South Cave and Halifax the ownership rates of some of the populuxe goods were negligible throughout the period 1660–1780, here all the populuxe goods under discussion are represented from the 1690s onwards, at least in small numbers, as table 4.12 shows. The popularity of utensils for hot drinks, for example, rises significantly between the 1690s and 1760s, from being owned by a few percent, to being owned by over a third of the sample population. But even these percentages are slightly low, compared with other major towns, studied by Weatherill,[21] although the gap is substantially smaller than what we saw in relation to South Cave and Halifax and other rural and semi-rural parishes. However, when comparing York with the county of Kent, for example, where the proximity to London had a significant effect on the goods available to the local population, we find that in the late seventeenth century ownership of these goods was slightly higher in York, but that by the 1730s these

[21]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 88.

1660–99

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	74	52·5
Clock/Watch	18	12·8
Mirror	80	56·7
Picture/Print	26	18·4
Book	37	26·8
*Utensils**	2	1·4
China	3	2·1
Total Inventories:	141	

1700–39

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	36	28·6
Clock/Watch	29	23·0
Mirror	59	46·8
Picture/Print	69	54·8
Book	9	7·1
*Utensils**	13	10·3
China	11	8·7
Total Inventories:	126	

1740–80

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	26	46·4
Clock/Watch	14	25·0
Mirror	30	53·6
Picture/Print	15	26·8
Book		
*Utensils**	23	41·1
China	12	21·4
Total Inventories:	56	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 4.12: Number of York Inventories that Recorded Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

differences had evened out, some items such as pictures appearing in more York inventories, whilst books were more prevalent in Kent ones, for instance.[22]

However, just as with South Cave and Halifax, it was not a case of all the populuxe goods being owned ever more widely as the period progressed. The

[22]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 99, table 5.2+111, table 5.4.

1690–99			
		Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
Occupation	Number of Inventories	Number	%
Gentleman/Esquire	12	11	91·7
'Low Status' Trades	47	35	74·5

1730–39			
		Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
Occupation	Number of Inventories	Number	%
Gentleman/Esquire	4	4	100·0
'Low Status' Trades	44	36	81·8

1760–69			
		Inventories With at Least one Populuxe Good	
Occupation	Number of Inventories	Number	%
Gentleman/Esquire	3	3	100·0
'Low Status' Trades	25	16	64·0

Table 4.13: Number of York Inventories of Gentlemen/Esquires and Men With 'Low Status' Trades that Listed at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780

ownership rates of china and utensils for hot drinks rose steadily, for example, which we might expect of a town with a sizeable gentry population and genteel visitors, articulating the new culture of 'politeness' outlined in Chapter 1. The popularity of these beverages, reflected in the number of coffee houses present in the city by the mid eighteenth century,[23] was thus spilling over into the more private arena of the household. The ownership of other items, such as mirrors, remained relatively static, and that of yet others, such as silver, fluctuated and even declined. We also find, as expected, that it was not just the gentlemen and esquires who owned these items. In fact over two thirds of inventories of men employed in 'low status trades', owned at least one such good. This would correspond with what Weatherill found for other areas of the country, where she has noted that 37% of men with 'low status trades' owned mirrors, for example, and 23% silver, highlighted in table 4.13.[24]

[23] 30 by that period, Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, (London, 2005), p. 154.
[24] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 168, table 8.1.

The main difference between the different occupation/status groups again lies in the number of items an individual owned, their style and monetary worth. So whilst the average man with a 'low status' trade was able to acquire a cheap mirror and small print or two, the gentlemen and esquires correspondingly owned expensive mirrors and clocks, large amounts of silver, closets full of books, and complete china tea services. The York gentleman, Mr. Thomas Preston, not only possessed several mirrors in his various bed chambers, but also 'a fine large looking glass' worth £1 10*s.*, a landscape painting, a 'flowered piece' (painting), and a picture of King Charles, all in his 'parlour', as well as over £15 worth of silver ware. And the York captain and esquire William Rousby had various tea, coffee and chocolate pots and kettles, as well as tea pots and other stone ware listed in his 'kitchen', and a mirror in a carved frame worth over £1, a set of silver tea ware worth £3 4*s.* 7*d.* and a set of china tea ware, including blue and white half pint pots and a black sugar pot and cover, tea pot and milk pot, listed in his 'fore dining room'.[25] On the other hand, the York tailor Daniel West had one mirror worth 4*s.* listed amongst his few assets, whilst the pipe maker William Ramsden of Goodramgate in York owned a clock, a silver pint and 2 silver spoons, worth maybe £2 10*s.* in all (exact value not given).[26]

As expected, the median inventoried wealth of the gentlemen and esquires was correspondingly greater than that of the men with 'low status' occupations, as Table 4.14 highlights (at least for the first two sample decades). As we know from Chapter 2 that there was a large and wealthy gentry presence in York in the mid eighteenth century, the small median recorded below for the 1760s is a result of the nature of the surviving sample. Not only are there a lack of surviving inventories from gentlemen and esquires for that decade, only three in all, two of these are small, and with only very modest inventoried wealth. The inventory of the gentleman, Thomas Horncastle, only includes enough items to sparsely furnish one room, suggesting he was a lodger in someone else's house, and thus

[25]BIA, York deanery, Mr. Thomas Preston, York, gentleman, will written 4th March 1690/1, inventory appraised 8th April 1691 and worth £135 17*s.* 4*d.*, and William Rousby, York, captain and esq., no will, inventory appraised 14th April 1761 and worth £34 2*s.* 8*d.*

[26]BIA, York deanery, Daniel West, York, tailor, no will, inventory appraised before the end of December 1692 and worth £2 5*s.* 4*d.*, and William Ramsden, Goodramgate, York, pipe maker, will written 4th September 1760, inventory appraised 20th August 1763 and worth £18 10*s.*

1690–99

Occupation/Title	Median Wealth
Gentleman/Esquire	£112 7*s.* 2*d.*
'Low Status' Trades	£19 16*s.*

1730–39

Occupation/Title	Median Wealth
Gentleman/Esquire	£69 16*s.* 11*d.*
'Low Status' Trades	£17

1760–69

Occupation/Title	Median Wealth
Gentleman/Esquire	£14 7*s.* 6*d.*
'Low Status' Trades	£15 19*s.* 3*d.*

Table 4.14: Median Inventoried Wealth of the York Inventories of the Gentlemen/Esquires and Men With 'Low Status' Trades, 1660–1780

probably also elderly. Consequently, his other assets might well have been given away previously. As his will has also survived, we are able to see that he owned around £100 in lands and tenements in Shelbrook, the proceeds from the sale of which were to be distributed to his cousins and a few friends and acquaintances.[27] This reminds us, that a person's inventoried wealth does not necessarily reflect their complete wealth, but will usually be an underestimation of the total worth of their assets.

In other areas of the country between 1675 and 1725, the median inventoried wealth of gentlemen was £154, in contrast to £45 for men with low status trades.[28] What Table 4.14 also shows us, is that the median inventoried wealth amongst those with low status trades remained fairly static, just declining a little during this period, in contrast to what we have seen happening to all the occupation/status groups in South Cave and Halifax. The percentage who owned populuxe goods had remained fairly static as well, as Table 4.13 above has shown.

Nonetheless, there was a clustering of men with 'low status trades' in the 1760s, including the stay maker Charles Howlett, who had acquired whole china tea sets and large amounts of silver ware, even though their overall inventoried

[27]BIA, York deanery, Thomas Horncastle, York, gentleman, will written 11th January 1766, inventory appraised 1st December 1766 and worth £3 17*s.*
[28]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 212, table A2.2.

wealth was still modest. A third of the 24 inventories with less than £60 of inventoried wealth record populuxe goods worth several pounds. Thus Howlett had displayed in his *'front chamber'* not only a bedstead with a feather bed and blue check bedding, but also 13 pictures, two mirrors, a set of six china cups and saucers, sugar basins, and two tea pots. His second *'chamber'* also had a mirror and several prints hung on its walls, whilst various utensils for hot drinks were kept in the *'kitchen'*. Finally he also owned a silver tankard, a silver pint and six silver teaspoons.[29] In all Howlett's populuxe goods constituted over a third of his inventoried wealth of a little under £30. And amongst the modest assets of the carpenter, Thomas Kershaw of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, of just under £20, were a silver cup and four silver tea spoons, valued at £3 5*s*. This was substantially more than the £1 10*s*. worth of working tools and stock that he left.[30] It could well be that he had inherited these items, rather than purchased them himself, but instead of selling them on he had decided to keep them. But as Jan De Vries has shown (as I have already noted in Chapter 1), poorer householders might even curtail necessary expenditure, in order to purchase a more expensive 'luxury' item.[31]

Furthermore, the socio-economic term 'low status trades' also hides a small number of men with substantial amounts of inventoried wealth, of which the glover and leather seller John Walker in Spurriergate, was one. Apart from many beds with colourful bedding, he owned eight small coloured prints mounted behind glass in his *'fourth chamber'*, a mirror in a walnut frame, a mahogany table and an English japanned table in his *'seventh chamber'*, two further mirrors in walnut frames, several mahogany tea hand boards and a large variety of *'coloured china'* including tea pots and coffee mugs in his *'eighth chamber'*, and various substantial pieces of silver listed separately.[32] Was Walker, therefore, trying to

[29]BIA, York deanery, Charles Howlett, York, stay maker, no will, inventory appraised 19th September 1765 and worth £29 12*s*. 3*d*., and William Harrison Shipton, York, brick layer, will written 6th July 1762, inventory appraised 19th November 1762 and worth £26 17*s*. 3*d*. including household goods.
[30]BIA, York deanery, Thomas Kershaw, Holy Trinity Goodramgate, York, carpenter, no will, inventory appraised 28th January 1765 and worth £19 10*s*. including household goods.
[31]Jan De Vries, 'Between purchasing power and the world of goods: understanding the household economy in early modern England', in Brewer and Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London, 1993).
[32]BIA, York deanery, John Walker, St. Michael's Spurriergate, glover and leather seller, no will, inventory appraised 5th February 1761 and worth £270 7*s*. including household goods.

conceal his less prestigious occupation under a veneer of smart display pieces, dotted around his large house, visibly displaying his accumulated wealth for all who visited him? The inventory samples cited above show, however, that by the mid-eigtheenth century, even those with relatively modest amounts of inventoried could own a substantial number of the populuxe goods, possibly undermining the efficacy of such ownership. The expense, quality and quantity of the new consumables, would then become all the more important, as a way of emphasising the owner's wealth and status.

This particular pattern is only noticeable in the York inventories. Men in South Cave, and also to a large extent Halifax men, still only possessed a couple of small, relatively cheap, populuxe goods in the mid eigtheenth century. It was the position of York, as the cultural and leisure centre of the county, and gentry watering-hole, that resulted in a greater exposure of its population to the populuxe goods, in the newest fashions and styles. This, coupled with the possibility of anonymity that a densely populated urban area brought with it, could allow for the creation of a social 'front' that was not reflected in a man's occupation/status or wealth, a front that would not stand up to scrutiny within the small townships that made up Halifax, and the parish of South Cave as a whole. Other records, such as the many defamation cases that came before the York ecclesiastical courts, including for example the fallout from a heated discussion in a tavern in Stonegate between one Anne Askwith and a William Turnbull in 1670,[33] would indicate, that York consisted of a cluster of smaller communities, centred on the parish or even street in which a person lived or worked, at least at the beginning of the period under discussion.[34] The consumption of populuxe goods, therefore, was probably played out in front of their peers, just as it was in South Cave and Halifax. At the same time, the acquisition of smart examples of the populuxe goods by less wealthy men in York might be an indication of the weakening of such boundaries, with the consequence that the owners might have acquaintances

[33]BIA, Cause Papers, CP.H/5604, William Turnbull c. Christopher Askwith, 1670.
[34]See Laura Gowing's work for the importance of female honour, for example, and how the 'deviant' behaviour of one woman was thought to be able to affect the respectability and status of all the rest of the inhabitants in her street, even whole parish, leading to sometimes intrusive interest in the personal lives of one's neighbours, 'Gender and the language of insult in early modern London', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 35, (1993), pp. 1-21, and *Domestic Dangers*, (Oxford, 1996).

and friends from outside their parish who did not know their social standing in quite as intimate a manner as their neighbours would. This would suggest that these men with 'low status trades' and modest wealth were 'showing off' in the main to their peers, but also as the eighteenth century progressed to 'strangers' as well, regardless of whether they could afford it or not, and possibly also trying to emulate their wealthier peers and acquaintances.

However these objects were utilised, it has to be emphasised that until the second quarter of the eighteenth century at least, consumption of populuxe goods in Yorkshire, as exemplified by these three areas, was below the national average, resembling more a rural area, than a commercialised part of the country. And this in spite of the availability of these goods in all three areas by that period, as I showed in Chapter 2. Noting this discrepancy, Overton suggests that 'new fashions were integrated into existing practises when it became feasible to do so', but that those fashions that required significant cultural change, such as knives and forks which entailed new forms of eating, for example, took longer to gain a foothold below the elite, or were ignored.[35] This would suggest from the outset that the communitites of South Cave, Halifax, and even York, were fairly conservative in their outlook.

The Utilisation of the House as a Space for Articulating Social Status

As shown in the introduction, research carried out by a generation of sociologists and social anthropologists has found a distinct pattern in many cultures, whereby specific goods, interests and cultural mannerisms are utilised to underline, even enhance, the social position of the owner. And as Pierre Bourdieu, Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood have emphasised, this assertion of social position was directed as much towards those of the same social group or milieu, as towards those of a different one. From this Douglas and Isherwood have been able to show that within otherwise seemingly uniform groups, for example amongst those with the same occupation or from the same close knit community, members who wished to assert greater influence or an enhanced social position amongst their peers, would try to acquire the most or best quality items and the

[35]Overton, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 175.

most social and cultural knowledge of whichever sort was symbolically deemed the most important at that time.[36] They, furthermore, found that this is not bound by geographical area or time, having analysed studies from various different 'archaic' cultures in Africa and the Pacific, whilst Bourdieu based his study on the inhabitants of 1960s Paris.

One model of the ways in which the relevant goods and in particular cultural mannerisms and knowledge are specifically utilised by their owners, was developed by Erving Goffman in relation to 1950s America and the Shetlands. He has described how such goods were used as part of the 'setting' to create the right backdrop, from which a person could then project a certain image of themselves, as he has explained in the following quote:

> First there is the 'setting', involving furniture, or, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it... In thinking about the scenic aspects of front, we tend to think of the living-room in a particular house and the small number of performers who can thoroughly identify themselves with it...[37]

He has not explicitly stated that a family's best goods would be on display in such a setting, so as to immediately influence the visitor on entering that room[38], but he has quoted the sociologist W. M. Williams who found that in the typical English village of the 1950s:

> The 'best' curtains were to be found where they could be most clearly seen, and were far superior to those on windows which were hidden from the public

for example. Williams concluded that:

[36]Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, (London, 1996), pp. 81–98.
[37]Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (London, 1990), pp. 32–33.
[38]Goffman notes other details such as that such 'front' rooms were generally relatively well decorated and tidy, whereas much less care was normally taken on the back rooms. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p. 125.

> This use of the most 'fashionable' and most expensive material so that it can be seen to the best advantage is a typical device for gaining prestige.[39]

These then provide us with a potential model for understanding the ownership patterns of the populuxe goods amongst the 'middling sort' of South Cave, Halifax and York, although neither is straightforward to apply. On the one hand, in the case of Goffman's model, we have not only to take into account cultural differences between what were used as 'entertaining' spaces in early modern England, and his 1950s model, but also to make allowances for changes to the physical layout of houses, and room use. For as Stana Nenadic has shown, the eighteenth century saw a trend towards a more specialised use of certain household spaces amongst a wider group than just the elite, with a concurrent name change that emphasised this fact, one example being the rise of the 'dining room'.[40] On the other hand, an analysis of the wealth and occupation/status background of the deceased, (given above), and the quantity and quality of the populuxe goods they owned, should shed some light on the role these goods played in their lives. For it stands to reason, in the context of Douglas and Isherwood's model, that the wealthier elements within the same social group might wish to emphasise this fact through the purchase of various expensive and good quality goods. This would then result in a wealth 'hierarchy', within which wealth, displayed outwardly through such items, becomes a visual marker of social status within the community.

I have started from the hypothesis put forward by Lorna Weatherill, based on Goffman and Williams, that if material goods were used as props to create a certain social image of a person or family, then their 'best' items will have been displayed in those rooms their visitors were most likely to be seen and 'entertained' in.[41] Weatherill has noted, as a consequence, that:

[39]Quoted in Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p. 136.
[40]Stana Nenadic, 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720–1840', *Past and Present*, No. 145, (1994), pp. 141–48.
[41]Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, (London, 1996), p. 9.

> If ownership patterns and consumer behaviour are to be understood in a social context, then patterns of household activities and their meanings need careful consideration.[42]

It has to be stated here at the outset, as Overton warns us, that inferences about the uses of rooms based on the objects within them could be problematic, as there was the possibility that goods might have been moved around in the time between the death of the owner and the making of the inventory, for example.[43] It is unlikely, however, that large items of furniture, such as beds, cupboards, tables and chairs, denoting the major activities of sleeping, eating, and entertaining, were routinely moved. Small objects, though, and these could include the populuxe goods, might well have been.

82% of the South Cave and Halifax inventories list populuxe goods in the 'hall/housebody' or the 'parlour'. The plumber and glazier, Thomas Smith of South Cave, for example, kept his only inventoried populuxe good, a clock worth £12*s.* 6*d.* in his 'house'. Similarly, the grocer William Wright, of Halifax, had a clock and case, a mirror and a tea kettle in his 'house', as well as another mirror, a house bible and some old books in his 'little closet'.[44] As discussed in Chapter 2, historians have reconstructed the basic footprints of houses during this period. And they have noted that these particular words were fairly consistently used to denote the main living spaces of rural dwellings in particular, with the main entrance of the house usually opening straight onto the 'hall/housebody' itself.[45] The goods listed in these two rooms in the South Cave and Halifax inventories, throughout the period 1660–1780, would indicate that this was the case here as well. Smith, for example, had in his 'house', apart from his clock, also three tables, five chairs and various cooking and eating utensils, and Wright's 'house' contained two tables, six chairs, a bed and bedding, pewter and brass items, glass ware, a little dresser and a delft case, apart from his new consumables. The 'upper

[42]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 13.
[43]Overton, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 122.
[44]BIA, Microfilm, South Cave peculiar, Thomas Smith, South Cave, plumber and glazier, no will, inventory appraised 20th July 1744 and worth £17 14*s.* 6*d.* including household goods, and Pontefract deanery, William Wright, Halifax, grocer, no will, inventory appraised 14th April 1737 and worth £219 2*d.* including household goods.
[45]For example Maurice Barley in *Houses and History*, (London, 1986), p. 160.

parlour' of the shalloon weaver William Wood of Halifax was similarly furnished with various tables and chairs and so forth, as well as an assortment of pictures and a mirror, as was the 'parlour' of the yeoman Robert Skerne, of Weedley, in which were listed a bed and bedding, a chest and linen, eight chairs, cushions and a table, a mirror, a silver cup and a gun.[46] Both Weatherill and Overton have also found these two rooms to be main living areas in their samples, filled with tables, chairs, cupboards and beds, as well as decorative populuxe goods such as clocks, mirrors and pictures.[47]

In more urban settings, where house layouts were less standardised, the room termed 'housebody/hall' was less common.[48] People lived more often in a succession of 'chambers' described differently depending on where they were physically situated within the lodgings or house owned. However, the room termed 'parlour' did retain its function as one of the main living spaces in urban dwellings, even gaining greater importance as such a room as the eighteenth century progressed. Previously frequently doubling as the main bedroom in a house, the eighteenth century saw the rise of the parlour as a reception room,[49] at least amongst the wealthier sort in urban areas, prefiguring the importance it would gain in the nineteenth century. Overton has noted this shift in his Kent samples, and emphasises the presence of china ware in this space as well as decorative pictures and prints.[50] The York inventory samples reflect this also, with the tanner Richard Wilkinson, for example, having a mirror worth a few shillings recorded in his 'parlour', as well as a table, a large number of chairs, cushions, window curtains, chests and cupboards, and the ale draper, Timothy Coultman, of St. Mary's Castlegate, had ten chairs and two tables, and a canary and its cage, in

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[46]BIA, Pontefract deanery, William Wood, Halifax, shalloon weaver, no will, inventory appraised 19th July 1737 and worth £90 16*s.* 3*d.* including household goods, and microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Robert Skerne, Weedley, South Cave, yeoman, will written 3rd March 1695/6, inventory appraised 16th March 1696/7 and worth £303 19*s.* 4*d.* including household goods.

[47]Overton, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 126, and Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, pp. 10–11.

[48]Penelope Corfield and Ursula Priestley have found in the inventory samples they took of Norwich, that the 'housebody/hall' only seems to have been present in urban areas in large houses, after 1655, 'Rooms and room use in Norwich housing, 1580–1730', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 16, (1982), pp. 104–106.

[49]Corfield and Priestley found this to be the case in Norwich as well, although the overall number of houses recording a parlour was slightly down in the early eighteenth century, compared with a century earlier, 'Rooms and room use in Norwich housing', pp. 107–108.

[50]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 132.

his.[51] It is, therefore, less easy to discern which were the main living spaces in a given house, on room title alone, in York. But if we presume that those rooms with furniture and others items commonly used for sitting around, eating and entertaining, were the main living areas, then we can gain a sense of the numbers who kept their populuxe goods in such spaces. In contrast to the other two areas, only just over half of the inventories in which a populuxe good is listed, record them as being found in such a room, namely 51·1%. Thus the York marriner James Webster kept one of his two mirrors in his 'great chamber', his main living area, whilst the blacksmith, William Harrison, of St. John's Skeldergate, kept his one populuxe good, a mirror, in his kitchen, rather than his parlour or any other main living room.[52] Nonetheless this evidence would still suggest, in the first instance, that one of the main uses to which populuxe goods were being put in South Cave, Halifax and York, was social display.

But as I have already noted, not all the recorded populuxe goods were listed in these main living spaces. Wilkinson, for example, also had a great bible and other books worth together £1 17*s.* 4*d.* and a piece of silver worth £1 7*s.*, in his 'kitchen' and 'meal chamber' respectively. And the clothier, Jonas Sutcliffe, was just one of a number of men who kept a clock, in his case a small wooden one worth 2*s.* 6*d*, in his 'kitchen'.[53] In fact a smattering of the populuxe goods are found in all the different rooms recorded in the inventory samples. Overton has found this to be much more prevalent in Kentish households, to the point that he has argued that these populuxe goods were acquired to 'enhance personal comfort and convenience rather than create a public arena in which to display one's wealth and good taste', as they would seen at most by the deceased's family and close circle of friends.[54] I have discussed in detail in Chapter 1 that populuxe goods were as likely to be acquired for purposes of 'keeping up with the Joneses',

[51]BIA, York deanery, Richard Wilkinson, York, tanner, no will, inventory appraised 13th March 1689/90 and worth £102 1*s.* 1*d.* including household goods, and Timothy Coultman, St. Mary's Castlegate, ale draper, no will, inventory appraised 2nd October 1761 and worth £72 5*s.* 5*d.*
[52]BIA, York deanery, James Webster, York, marriner, no will, inventory appraised 29th November 1693 and worth £17 8*s.* 5*d.* including household goods, and William Harrison, St. John's Skeldergate, York, blacksmith, will written 24th February 1689/90, inventory appraised 7th March 1689/90 and worth £89 4*s.* 8*d.* including household goods.
[53]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Jonas Sutcliffe, Ogden Head in Ovenden, clothier, will written 13th October 1733, inventory appraised 11th December 1734 and worth £25 6*d.* including household goods.
[54]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 136.

as for emulating the manners of the elite. So there was no need for them to be viewed by any more than the deceased's close friends and neighbours. In any case, this move towards an enhancement of the 'back stage' spaces, was not very pronounced as yet in South Cave and Halifax; more so in York.

There are a couple of other rooms, apart from the housebody/hall and parlour, where populuxe goods were routinely kept in these three areas. A fair number of clocks, and also utensils for hot drinks, even china, are recorded in the 'kitchen', mirrors in various 'chambers', and silver often not recorded under any room heading at all, as Table 4.15 highlights. This finding would suggest that how and where a populuxe good was displayed in the house, and as a consequence of this also its symbolic importance to the owner, depended both on who owned it, and on the kind of populuxe good it was.

The main use for a 'chamber' in early modern England, was for sleeping, judging from the goods kept in them, recorded both in these samples and those analysed by Overton and Weatherill, although a substantial number were also utilised for storage purposes.[55] This explains why mirrors are to be found here in some quantity, linked as they are to the personal act of dressing and creating an appearance. The reason a large number of clocks were situated in the kitchen, as was the case in Halifax in particular, is less clear. Was this room then also used as a 'social space' for visitors, as well as the housebody/hall and parlour? The contents of the kitchens in many of the surviving inventories included not only cooking equipment, but also tables, chairs, settles, glass cases and even mirrors, which would suggest that it was indeed at least a main family living area. The goods listed in the yeoman Joseph Sunderland of Newhall in Elland's kitchen, including an oval table, long settle, chairs, clock and a mirror, as well as all the usual kitchen paraphernalia[56], are typical of many living in South Cave, Halifax and York during the period 1660–1780. And the historians Penelope Corfield and Ursula Priestley have found a similar pattern occurring in the inventory samples they took from Norwich, at least by the early eighteenth century, suggesting to

[55]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, p. 133, and Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 159.

[56]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Joseph Sunderland, Newhall in Elland, Halifax, yeoman, will written 25th February 1734/35, inventory appraised 7th April 1735 and worth £81 7s. including household goods.

		Inventories Recording Named Goods at Specified Location		
Date	Area	Location	Number	%
1660–99	South Cave	Kitchen	—	
		Chamber	1	25·0
		Other	3	60·0
	Halifax	Kitchen	15	19·5
		Chamber	14	30·4
		Other	7	15·2
	York	Kitchen	2	15·4
		Chamber	24	40·7
		Other	13	26·5
1700–39	South Cave	Kitchen	—	
		Chamber	1	20·0
		Other	—	
	Halifax	Kitchen	7	7·4
		Chamber	10	23·3
		Other	6	17·6
	York	Kitchen	5	25·0
		Chamber	19	46·3
		Other	14	50·0
1760–69	South Cave	Kitchen	—	
		Chamber	—	
		Other	—	
	Halifax	Kitchen	8	17·0
		Chamber	3	16·7
		Other	3	37·5
	York	Kitchen	6	42·9
		Chamber	12	46·2
		Other	10	52·6

Table 4.15: Frequency of Populuxe Goods by Location in the South Cave, Halifax and York Inventories, 1660–1780

them also that kitchens were a main family living space in that period.[57] Overton has noted that this might well have been the case in Kent as well, with a concurrent decline of the hall as a multi-functional living space. In large houses this was accompanied by the parlour becoming more exclusively a sitting room,

[57]Corfield and Priestley, 'Rooms and room use in Norwich housing', pp. 107–108.

the kitchen becoming a space for eating and cooking, and the hall ending up an entrance lobby.[58]

More importantly, Goffman has found from his studies, that on the Shetland Islands, in the 1950s, good friends —in front of whom no pretence was needed— were treated as family by being allowed into the kitchen on their visits, rather than being more formally entertained in the parlour.[59] Such a two tier system of display might have been at work in South Cave, Halifax and York as well. It might also explain the reason utensils for hot drinks and china were sometimes stored here. At the same time, this might have been the most useful place to the family for a clock to be hung. Thus there could well have been a tension between the wish to show that one had acquired such an item, indicating an up to date outlook on life, and wanting to keep it where it was of most use to the family. If, however, the kitchen was used as a social space in which to entertain good friends, and the populuxe goods were also purchased in order to display a sense of elevated social worth, then this room would be the most obvious place in which to display a clock, and also the utensils for hot drinks and china, as mentioned above. Indeed Sara Pennell has argued that as a space both freely accessible, so not closeted away as we might expect a 'back stage' room to be, and full of all the different household goods pertinent to everyday living, the locating of the family clock in the kitchen 'articulates the alliance of functionality, aesthetic appeal and material value which placed them above looking glasses in the consuming predilections of their owners'.[60]

There was an even more practical reason for keeping utensils for hot drinks and china in the kitchen. Copper tea kettles and chocolate pots, for example, such as those owned by the York butcher John Waite[61], would be needed in the kitchen in order to prepare these drinks. They could then be carried into another room if necessary. This reveals yet another level of display, where certain of the populuxe goods did not in fact need to be displayed anywhere prominent, for them to be

[58]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, pp. 130–31.
[59]Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*, pp. 218–20.
[60]Sara Pennell, 'Pots and pans history': the material culture of the kitchen in early modern England', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 11, (1998), p. 205.
[61]BIA, York deanery, John Waite, York, butcher, will written 21st January 1766, inventory appraised 27th-28th January 1766 and worth £160 2*s*. 4*d*. including household goods.

			Kept in the Main Living Space	
Date	Area	Total	Number	%
1660–99	South Cave	5	2	40·0
1690–99	Halifax	46	20	43·5
	York	49	20	40·8
1700–39	South Cave	3	2	66·7
1730–39	Halifax	34	13	38·2
	York	28	14	50·0
1740–80	South Cave	2	1	50·0
1760–69	Halifax	8	2	25·0
	York	19	5	26·3

Table 4.16: Frequency of Inventories Recording Silver Kept in the Main Living Spaces in South Cave, Halifax And York, 1660–1780

seen by any relevant guests and friends. Instead they could be stored away in rooms such as the 'back kitchen' or 'buttery', as a number of silver items such as teaspoons were in the inventories, and brought out when needed. Rather than being hung on a wall or placed on a sideboard, such items were displayed in the most direct manner, through being handled and used by the guest. Thus Waite was able to keep his silver tea spoons, and some china and delft tea pots, in a cupboard in the kitchen, though he also displayed some china in his 'fore room'.

Consequently, these findings suggest that far from being a uniform group of populuxe goods, all of which had the same symbolic values and uses, we are in fact confronted with various different patterns of consumption and use, depending on the item in question. Silver is a good example. In aproximately 40% of the inventories silver is listed as being kept in the main living spaces, (shown in Table 4.16, utilising only those inventories where the goods were listed under room headings).

The South Cave yeoman, John Seymour, for instance, kept his silver tea spoons, as well as china and books, in his 'sitting room'.[62] In a smaller number of inventories, as we saw in Waite's above, it was stored in other rooms, ready to be got out when needed. However, it is also the one populuxe good in our group that is often listed separately, usually at the beginning or end of the inventory,

[62]BIA, microfilms, South Cave Peculiar, John Seymour, South Cave, yeoman, will written 20th December 1778, inventory appraised 1st January 1779 and worth £38 15*s*. 6*d*. including household goods.

with the deceased's money and clothing. This does not mean that these pieces of silver had not been kept in the deceased's main living area, but that it was the monetary value of the silver content of the silver pieces which interested the appraisers making the inventory, rather than where the goods were kept in the deceased's house (and what this might say about the social worth given them as a consequence). Wrightson has noted how when necessary, even the household silver of wealthy merchants, which was otherwise on prominant display, would be converted into ready cash.[63] And whilst as Helen Clifford and Maxine Berg have explained, the eighteenth century saw the introduction of more decorative and light silver wares with less silver content, this use for silver seems to have remained important throughout the whole period. Even more inventories in the 1760s samples recorded silver in such a manner than previously, up from around 20% in the 1690s, to just under 50% by the latter decade. Thus if a man had owned only a pound or so worth of silver tea spoons and trinkets, for example, such as Seymour did, then these were unlikely to be listed separately. However, if his selection amounted to a significant amount of money, and included single larger pieces, then these were often listed on their own, as is the case in the yeoman John Crosley of Skircoat's inventory, where his silver and linen (another item with good resale potential) are recorded together as being worth the tidy sum of five pounds.[64]

Such varying monetary values provide a further nuance. When we look at the monetary worth the populuxe goods were given by the appraisers, we find in cases where there was more than one of the same populuxe good kept in different rooms in the house, those kept in the main 'living spaces' were generally recorded as being of a higher monetary value than those kept in other rooms. Therefore, the more expensive the mirror, for example, the more likely it was to be on display in the 'housebody/hall' or 'parlour', or the main living 'chamber' in the case of York house layouts, whilst cheaper versions were to be found in the bed 'chambers'. Thus the gentleman Mr. Thomas Preston of York kept his best

[63]Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: economic lives in early modern Britain*, (New Haven, 2000), p. 293. Weatherill also noted this possible reason for acquiring silver, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, pp. 20–30.

[64]BIA, Pontefract deanery, John Crosley, Skircoat, Halifax, yeoman, no will, inventory appraised 16th January 1760 and worth £60 11*s*. 6*d*. including household goods.

mirror, described as a 'fine large looking glass' worth £1 10*s.*, in his 'parlour', and merely small mirrors worth a few shillings each in a couple of his 'chambers'.[65] This again reflects the dual tension between owning such goods as a statement of social position, and for more practical reasons, leading in this case to a very expensive example being prominently displayed in the owner's main living area, whilst cheaper examples were kept where they had a real practical use.

Only a minority had the luxury of enough rooms and wealth to allow such spacial segregation and display and use of goods, however. The yeoman, John Horsfall of Heptonstall, was just one of the majority of the men whose inventories have survived, who resided in a house with only a couple of rooms in the first place. He owned a cheap mirror, worth a mere 6*d.* (of an inventoried wealth of just £2 5*s.* 7*d.*), recorded in his 'housebody', the other room being his 'chamber'.[66] As a consequence, there were major material constraints on where one could display one's household goods. Thus these men's main room often housed kitchen paraphernalia and even beds, for example, just as Horsfall's did, as having a 'front space' that was only filled with the best household items, new consumables and so forth, was simply not feasible. The inventory of the clothier Richard Crabtree of Warley is another case in point. He had a three-roomed house with an outhouse and a shop. A clock was located in the 'housebody' together with a table and chairs, as well as large food storage chests and other everyday items. In the 'parlour' there were two beds, as well as his cooking equipment. And the 'chamber' was used as a storeroom for wool.[67] Weatherill found the same pattern in the inventories she studied, from the rest of England.[68] The possibility of creating a distinct 'front space' solely for entertaining, which Goffman cites as so important in order to portray the family in the best possible light, was thus denied such families. But rather than making them less important, the symbolic role of the populuxe goods may have actually been enhanced

[65]BIA, York deanery, Mr. Thomas Preston, York, gentleman, will written 4th March 1690/1, inventory appraised 8th April 1691 and worth £135 17*s.* 4*d.*
[66]BIA, Pontefract deanery, John Horsfall, Heptonstall, Halifax, yeoman, will written 8th April 1768, inventory appraised 28th November 1768 and worth £2 5*s.* 7*d.*
[67]BIA, Pontefract Deanery, Richard Crabtree, Warley, clothier, no will, inventory appraised 27th February 1732/3 and worth £33 12*s.* 8*d.* including household goods.
[68]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, pp. 10–11.

		Kept in the Main Living Space	
Date	Area	Number	%
1660–99	South Cave	19	90·5
1690–99	Halifax	115	73·2
	York	60	65·2
1700–39	South Cave	13	76·5
1730–39	Halifax	99	71·7
	York	40	60·6
1740–80	South Cave	9	69·2
1760–69	Halifax	36	65·5
	York	18	48·6

Table 4.17: Frequency of Inventories Recording Beds Kept in the Main Living Spaces in South Cave, Halifax And York, 1660–1780

in such households, being the one fancy item they owned to make them stand out from their neighbours, even if the item's monetary value was only a few shillings at most. Thus a specific social space set aside for social interactions with visitors, was not necessarily needed in order to utilise such goods to their full symbolic potential.

This lack of divided social spaces may well have resulted in some everyday necessities being invested with that same symbolic worth, as well. Beds are one such item, although, as we shall see, they were not a cheap good, albeit essential. We find them recorded in the main living spaces in the majority of inventories, throughout much of the period 1660–1780, as Table 4.17 shows (utilising only those inventories where goods were listed under room headings). This was even the case amongst the wealthy men who owned substantial houses. Only in York was this becoming less commonplace, as the eighteenth century progressed, with its inhabitants following the lead of more commercialised and urban parts of the country such as Kent, where, as Overton has noted, beds had become scarce in the parlours of the gentry by the sixteenth century, and in most parlours of the record-leaving sections of society by the early eighteenth century.[69]

Nonetheless, even in York beds could be found in the main living spaces of the houses of gentlemen and esquires in the eighteenth century. The gentleman Thomas Fothergill of York, had more than one bed and bedding in his 'parlour',

[69]Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, pp. 131–32.

and the 'gentleman' William Vevers, of Rawcliffe in the parish of St. Olaves, had an expensive bed and bedding (worth £8) in his best parlour. Others goods in these rooms included tables and chairs, pictures, a large mirror, a clock, and silverware.[70] Furthermore, the inventory samples show that beds and bedding were usually the single most expensive item recorded in an inventory, and that even in the most modest of households beds and bedding were valued at at least a couple of pounds each. Weatherill has found this to be the same in inventories from around the country.[71] The labourer William Simpson was not alone in having his two beds and bedding valued at four pounds, being around a third of his whole inventoried wealth.[72] Consequently, beds were often bequeathed separately in wills, including by the linen weaver John Clark of Minster Yard in York, who gave his friend, the widow Mary Moore of Stonegate, the feather bed, bedstead, blankets, sheets, rug and bolster standing in his 'parlour'.[73] This was not just any bed, but the one located in his main room. We can, therefore, imagine that this was his best bed and bedding, and probably the one he slept in himself. So although according to the sociologist Grant McCracken fashionable new wares were more popular during the eighteenth century than such bequests, and could reflect well on a person's social position in society,[74] 'second-hand' goods, especially such expensive, although everyday, items as beds, obviously had an important social value.[75]

Is this then also a reason why some of the new consumables seem to have been more widely owned than others? As we have seen, the inventories indicate

[70]BIA, York deanery, Thomas Fothergill, York, Gentleman, no will, inventory taken 26th May 1690 and worth £1,057 7*s.* 7*d.* including household goods, and William Vevers, Rawcliffe, St. Olaves, York, gentleman and yeoman, will written 14th October 1738, inventory appraised 3rd November 1738 and worth £295 11*s.* 11*d.* including household goods.

[71]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 160.

[72]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, William Simpson, South Cave, labourer, inventory appraised 5th November 1672 and worth £15 10*s.* 2*d.* including household goods.

[73]BIA, York Deanery, John Clark, Minster Yard in York, linen weaver, will written 27th October 1691, inventory appraised 5th November? 1691 and worth £66 11*s.*

[74]Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: new approaches to the symbolic character of consumer goods and activitie*, (Bloomington, 1988), chapter 1.

[75]Textiles are another such item, in particular bed linen, and are often listed separately in inventories. See Beverley Lemire for just how important textiles and clothing were in this period, for example in her article 'Consumerism in preindustrial and early industrial England: the trade in second hand clothes', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 27, (1988), pp. 1-24. Weatherill also noted the importance given to textiles in many of the inventories in her samples, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, Appendix A, pp. 206–207.

that beds and bedding and other linen in particular, were items that retained their monetary value, judging by the values given them at their owner's death. So the need for populuxe goods to reflect one's social worth could thus be somewhat diminished, in particular in a rural and close knit community such as South Cave was, for example. In fact the main difference between those inventories recording only modest and those recording greater inventoried wealth in this parish, is in the amount of husbandry tools, livestock and crops recorded, not substantially in the populuxe and other household goods owned. Even the men with the most inventoried wealth rarely had household goods amounting to more than £30 in their inventories. This pattern is also visible, though to a lesser extent, in the inventories of the various yeomen and husbandmen in Halifax. This would suggest that these men were investing any surplus wealth they had in their trade, rather than in certain populuxe goods. Only the wealthiest in South Cave, for example the farmer Jeremiah Carhill, had both, and even then the number of populuxe goods was not great, neither was their monetary value. Thus Carhill's inventory listed a clock in his 'house', a tea kettle in his 'little parlour' and four silver tea spoons in his 'middle chamber'. Only the clock was worth more than a few shillings, at over £2. In all his household goods amounted to £11 1*s.* 6*d.* His livestock, husbandry tools and crops sown on his lands, however, were valued at £190 10*s.*[76] The time it took for agricultural change to permeate this parish, as I noted in Chapter 2, could also be an indication of the slow pace at which any change occurred in such communities, including the uptake of some populuxe goods. But we must also remember, that such goods as husbandry tools and livestock did not just have a utility value, but could also hae been visible signs of wealth, and so have had a substantial impact on the social status of the owner.

It also has to be emphasised at this point, that the ephemeral nature of some of the populuxe goods will have been responsible for them being recorded in smaller numbers in the inventory samples, than some of the others. We might expect to find numerous mentions of small prints and other pictures, as well as pamphlets and cheap books, especially as the eighteenth century progressed and

[76]BIA, Microfilm, South Cave Peculiar, Jeremiah Carhill, South Cave, occupation not given but obviously a wealthy farmer, no will, inventory appraised 24th February 1747 and worth £201 11*s.* 6*d.* including household goods.

printing and publishing boomed. But these goods are not in surviving inventories. If not just worn out after a number of years and thrown away, they were often re-used, as lavatory paper for example.[77] And as Margaret Spufford has noted, cheap items like a 2*d*. book were hardly likely to be inventoried. They had just too little worth, even as new. Indeed, the more such cheap books and pamphlets were printed and circulated, the less novel and 'new' they became, further decreasing their monetary value, in particular any resale potential that might have played a part in the social value of the goods. The only such books Spufford found recorded in the inventory samples she had taken, were listed amongst the book stocks of various chapmen, who had yet to sell these.[78] The books that are recorded in the surviving inventories from South Cave, Halifax and York are usually substantial Bibles, testaments and various pious works, which because they were more expensive and durable, have usually survived long enough to be included in their owners' inventories.[79] The farmer Edmund Turner of Alconden, for example, had a bible and testament worth 10*s*., whilst the gentleman Richard Holroyd of Soyland had amongst his small collection *Baxter's Everlasting Rest* worth 3*s*. and *Luther on the Galatians* worth 6*d*.[80] The weaver Nathaniel Charlesworth of Sowerby, is one of the very few men with a modest inventoried wealth, to have more than just one or two books listed. His library consisted of three bibles and 30 other books and odd pamphlets, worth together £1 5*s*.[81] Thus we can presume that the ownership rates of books, and pamphlets in particular, was in reality larger than what is recorded in the surviving inventories.

The same could be the case for china. As Weatherill has noted, the pieces recorded in the surviving inventory samples she collected were only of modest

[77]Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550–1850*, (London, 1999), p. 167.
[78]Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, (London, 1981), p. 48.
[79]Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 169.
[80]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Edmund Turner, Alconden, Halifax, no occupation given, but his inventoried assets would suggest he was a farmer, no will, inventory appraised 11th December 1690 and worth £200 14*s*. 3*d*. including household goods, and Richard Holroyd, Soyland, Halifax, will written 10th March 1735, inventory appraised 1st April 1736 and worth £720 16*s*. 4½*d*. including household goods.
[81]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Nathaniel Charlesworth, Sowerby, Halifax, no occupation given, but his inventory would suggest he was a weaver, no will, inventory appraised 17th October 1694 and worth £16 including household goods.

value, around 9*d.* a piece[82], and such delicate wares were easily broken. John Vanner of York's inventory was one of a couple that listed broken china in amongst other things, valued at under 1*s.*[83] However, whilst a single cup or saucer might have been available for under 1*s.* each, this added up quickly to a substantial outlay if a whole tea service was to be purchased. And good quality china was still very expensive throughout the period 1660–1780, as even the Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe to Queen Charlotte, Mrs. Papendiek, noted in her diary in 1761:

> Our tea and coffee set were of Common India china, our dinner service of earthenware, to which for our rank there was nothing superior, Chelsea porcelain and fine India china being only for the wealthy... delft ware could also be had, but were inferior.[84]

Delft ware is in fact extremely common in the surviving inventories from South Cave, Halifax and York, suggesting that the availability of this cheaper ware precluded the need to purchase the more expensive china, that could so easily be broken. The flip side of this coin was, however, that the presence of china in a household could be an indication of the ability of the owner to be able to conspicuously consume goods, regardless of the expense and likely waste, further emphasising his wealth to anyone who entered his house.

Nevertheless, people were happy to make the necessary financial outlay when it came to clocks, especially in Halifax. Here three quarters of the 1760s inventories listed at least one. And whilst the occasional clock was inventoried at a monetary value of under £1, the butcher John Howorth had a clock worth 15*s.*, for instance, the average value given (and we have to remember this is their second-hand value) was nearer £2. The mason Thomas Jagger of Stainland was one amongst many with a very modest amount of inventoried wealth, but with a clock of significant value, in his case £2 5*s.*[85] This is despite the growth in clock production, which made them cheaper and easier to manufacture by the

[82]Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*, p. 96.
[83]BIA, York deanery, John Vanner, York, occupation unknown, no will, inventory appraised 13th March 1733/4 and worth £21 15*s.* 8*d.*
[84]Hilary Young, *English Porcelain, 1745–95*, (London, 1999), p. 178.
[85]BIA, Pontefract deanery, John Howorth, Halifax, butcher, will written 3rd May 1768, inventory appraised 18th June 1769 and worth £4 3*s.* 6*d.*, and Thomas Jagger, Stainland, Halifax, mason, no will, inventory appraised 16th October 1767 and worth £6 19*s.* 6*d.* including household goods.

mid-eighteenth century. It was not just in Halifax that men of modest wealth had their own time pieces. M. Dorothy George has found that the ownership of silver watches was quite common by this period amongst labourers and artisans in London, judging from the numbers recorded who had one stolen from them. And she reasons that such ownership was a result of the lack of other ways in which these men were able to invest their surplus wealth, despite the obvious danger of having such an item stolen.[86] Even more than with plain silver items, watches and clocks had the added value of inherent usefulness. Moreover, the inventory samples suggest that they, like silver, lost little monetary value over time. This would then also be a reason for why less silver was recorded in the Halifax inventories than we might have anticipated, as Table 4.6 above shows. Instead of investing their surplus wealth in small pieces of silver, these men had decided to buy clocks instead. But why then are there not more clocks recorded in the South Cave and particularly the York inventories (Table 4.3 and Table 4.12 respectively)? There is little in the inventories to give a clue as to the reason for this. Both those with much and little wealth owned clocks, and there is no decisive link between occupation and such ownership. Thus it could be that we are seeing in Halifax an ownership pattern that was peculiar to such semi agricultural and industrial communities, where there was enough surplus wealth for it to be invested in a choice populuxe good that did not loose its value over time, rather than just being reinvested in the owner's trade. The changing nature of the community in Halifax, towards the ever greater industrial production of textiles, will have influenced the way the parish structured its time and life, and thus the choice of this good in particular. At the same time, it is again an indication of the symbolic importance given one of the populuxe goods by the inhabitants of Halifax. With this populuxe good the owners were showing the rest of their community, that they could afford such a luxury and 'vie' with their peers for their social position within that community.

[86]M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 170–71.

Conclusion

In summary, the analysis of the inventory samples in this chapter shows that the populuxe goods under discussion were very likely being utilised to articulate social status. However, this differed according to the community the owner lived in. In fact they were owned by smaller numbers of the record-leaving sections of the populations of South Cave, Halifax and York, than in other parts of the country. This is particularly visible in South Cave, leading to the conclusion that in such rural communities, the social importance of populuxe goods was negligible, compared with their expensive everyday chattels such as beds, husbandry tools, and even livestock. Amongst those who did own these goods, and for Halifax and York this was the majority of the record-leaving population, one of the main uses to which the populuxe goods were put, was social display. The evidence also highlights, that no two of these objects were presented in the same manner within the household, indicating they carried differing symbolic values. As a consequence, we find that there were a set of different patterns of consumption and display, depending on the object in question, its quality and monetary worth, and even the community and occupation/status group the owner belonged to. However, such household display is only one mechanism by which people could have reflected their social status with populuxe goods. How they may have utilised them in other ways, is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Populuxe Goods, Kinship and the Articulation of Social Networks in Wills

THE LAST CHAPTER ANALYSED how populuxe goods were utilised to express social position, and found that these goods were indeed used for such purposes, for instance in the manner they were displayed in their owners' households, although not all to the same degree, nor in the same way in all the three sample areas. This chapter moves one step further and explores how, and how far, the populuxe goods were used to construct and articulate social networks and relationships. For if populuxe goods were as integral to the creation of social status as I suggested in Chapter 1, then one might expect that at the owner's death they would be passed on, either to family members or friends and neighbours. Not only would such bequests reveal their former owner's family networks and social circles, but they would also reemphasise his and his family's social position in society beyond the grave. This hypothesis will be tested through an analysis of surviving wills.

Methods of Analysis

On the 8th of April 1728, the yeoman William Armitage of Broomfleet, made his will, in which he outlined various bequests. These consisted in the main of small sums of money to be given to a few relatives, such as one shilling each to William, Robert and Sarah Armitage, presumably his children. The bulk of his estate was left to his 'lawfull & well beloved' wife. But he also gave the following goods to the blacksmith Richard Dalton of North Cave: a bed with feather mattress, bed linen, blankets, rug, bed hangings, a spindle chair, a grey mare and a young foal.[1] This is just one of many wills that provide us with a

[1]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, William Armitage, Broomfleet, yeoman, will written 8th April 1728, inventory appraised 15th April 1728 and worth £40 8s. including household goods.

tantalising glimpse into the social life of the testator, recording names and places, relatives and friends, personal sentiment and legal requirement. Like many, the will Armitage left was sparsely written, leaving us with few definite clues as to his personal opinions. He does not even describe the relationship between himself and those to whom he left his estate, apart from the formulaic concession to his wife. But it is the large bequest to Dalton which leaves us with the most unanswered questions. Who was this man and what was his relationship to the family? Why was he being given all these household goods, and Armitage's horse and foal? His relationship with Armitage must surely have been of significant importance, in order to warrant such gifts. Thus even such a sparse will reveals a range of different relationships, expressed through the various gifts made, for us to analyse.

In this, just as in understanding the reasons behind the consumption and display of certain goods, research carried out by sociologists and social anthropologists examining human interaction with material culture is of considerable importance, inparticular work by Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, whom I have already cited on more than one occasion. They are just two of a group who have studied social interaction and the role of goods within it, following in the footsteps of Marcel Mauss. From his extensive research, Mauss concluded that gifts were never given in a vacuum, but were part of a series of interactions in which the giver expected a return from his gift, whether in kind, or through homage paid by the receiver.[2] Douglas and Isherwood developed these conclusions for their general theory concerning notions of social hierarchy, and how this was revealed through goods. One of the many cases they cited concerned the distribution of a woman's bride-wealth to the various members of her family, amongst the Nuer, a tribe studied in detail by Edward Evans-Pritchard. Here bride-wealth, in the form of cattle, was to a large part given to the woman's brothers and then to grandparents, uncles and aunts and even more distant relatives,

[2]Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, (London, 1996), p. 75. Others, for example Maurice Godelier, agreed with Mauss's basic premise, but found that not all goods could be gifted, nor did they agree with the idea that the moral obligation to return a gift given with another 'gift', was upheld by fear of the 'wrath of the God's'. Godelier also noted that some goods could not be given away as Mauss believed, due to their sacred nature, which imbued their owner with special significance, *The Enigma of the Gift*, (Cambridge, 1999), p. 33.

defining the position of each individual in relation to their genealogical affinity to the bride.[3] In this case the social position each family member held was fixed by their sex and blood relationship to the bride. Thus again Douglas and Isherwood have provided us with a model with which to test our hypotheses, here that gifts articulated not only social relationships, but could also reflect both the giver and the receiver's social position in their community. For although not explicitly stated, the amount of bride wealth given in such interactions reflected the social position of the giver in equal measure, highlighting what he was able to afford.

Gifts could even 'bridge' the status divide between persons of significantly different social standing. Lady Anne Clifford recorded giving numerous such gifts in her diary. On 17th February 1676 she wrote:

> Mr Johnson (who is brother to Mrs Anne Johnson who formerly served mee)... I had him into my Chamber and took him by the hand and talked with him a good while and gave him 3 pares of Buckskin Gloves.[4]

He was one of many 'retainers', who were regularly invited to meals in her castle and often even to private 'audiences' with her. Such behaviour was reminiscent of traditional hospitality,[5] and exposes the layers of meaning that can be incorporated in a gift. The visitor, though not on an equal footing to Lady

[3]Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, (London, 1996), p. 60, taken from Edward Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage Among the Nuer*, (Oxford, 1951), pp. 153–54.

[4]David Clifford (ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, (1603–75), (Stroud, 1998), p. 253.

[5]This is also reminiscent of male friendship at that time, where the king embracing his client, for example, was a public display of friendship and subsequent support. Equally, everyone eating the same food in the same hall as their lord was again an expression of such a relationship. Clifford is presenting a more private picture, but as a titled noble in her own right she was also exercising this patronage. Alan Bray and Michel Rey have noted, however, that these kinds of signs were rapidly disappearing in the late seventeenth century, but Clifford as an elderly woman will have continued the traditions of her youth. Bray and Rey were also focusing on changes in male friendship, where physically intimate signs were either being slowly lost or viewed with suspicion, 'The body of the friend: continuity and change in masculine friendship in the seventeenth century', in Michele Cohen and Tim Hitchcock (eds.), *English Masculinities*, (London, 1999), pp. 65–70+80.
Nonetheless, as Felicity Heal has noted, gift giving within the wider context of hospitality was still vitally important during the early modern period, indeed that:

> In all its varied forms the notion of hospitality in early modern England seems to be bound to that of reciprocity, of the exchange of gifts and rewards to which value not simply articulated in money terms attaches.

(Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, (Oxford, 1990), p. 19). Although many changes were occuring to the expression of hospitality during the early modern period, only later would the early modern sense of hospitality evolve into the modern, private, sense of the term. Key to this development would be the codification of the understanding of the term 'stranger', exemplified in the sermons of the divine Hugh Latimer's, who subdivided the general notion of hospitality into two: hospitality to poor neighbours (those known to one), and 'charity' as alms to the more remote poor.

Clifford, was given a tangible token of the hand of friendship, that had previously been symbolically proffered. Presenting gloves, as Lady Clifford often did, was a very literal reminder of the favour that had been bestowed: the friendship of a person that might exceed their own rank quite considerably. Whilst seemingly benefiting the recipient, this is in fact a good example of the mutual ties of 'obligation' sealed through a gift, as Mauss suggested, with the visitor repaying her hospitality and hand of friendship through his homage to her elevated position in society.[6] Consequently, this was a way in which Lady Clifford reinforced something of her superior status and honour.

Are such gift transactions possibly what was being revealed in Armitage's will? Within the 'middling sort' of South Cave, such stark examples are unlikely to have taken place, but Armitage might well have been demonstrating that he had at least some social standing within his small community, as he possessed a horse and foal. We also know, that he was a described as a yeoman, which as I discussed in the previous two chapters, was a fairly good indication that he was amongst the wealthier group of farmers that inhabited the parish, and was more likely to own a larger variety of household goods, including populuxe objects, and husbandry tools and livestock.

And these two very valuable goods were being given to a man who was not obviously a family member. It is possible Dalton was the accepted suitor of Armitage's daughter, and was therefore being provided with these expensive household goods, including a bed and bedding, as well as the horse and foal. The latter were not just of agricultural value, as work beasts and of use for breeding purposes, but would also enable Dalton to cut a good figure in the local community, indicating that he was one of the few who did not have to walk.[7] This would

[6]If the receiver of a gift refuses to honour their side of the 'friendship', the gift itself can be mentioned as tangible evidence of the relationship, so gifts also give the giver a hold over the receiver. James Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: exchange and western capitalism since 170*, (London, 1995), p. 21–36.

[7]The modern prediliction for walking as a form of pleasure only took shape during the 1790s, when the romantic movement attached a significance to walking beyond a cheap means of moving from place to place, Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel*, (London, 2000), Chapter 1. Before this, walking was a visible sign of poverty: indeed the heroine Millamant in William Congreve's *The Way of the World* (1700) declares to her courting squire 'I nauseate walking; 'tis a country diversion; I loathe the country and everything that relates to it'. Yet, barely a hundred years later, the country gentry would be at the forefront of promoting the qualities of the country air. Donna Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking and Ecology in English Literature, 1671–1831*, (London, 2001), pp. 125–126.

then reflect back well on Armitage's family, showing them to be able to set their son-in-law up properly. Furthermore, the token amount of 1s. each that Armitage left his two sons and daughter, suggests that they had already received their inheritance previously, a practice also noted by Riley in his Yorkshire samples.[8] This explanation is explicitly spelt out in other surviving wills, such as that of John Davidson of Broomfleet, who left his daughter a mere 1s., as, he recorded, she had already had her inheritance on her marriage.[9] The token shilling was given in order to protect wills against being legally challenged, which was allowed if a child was completely cut out[10], and so Armitage was also protecting the legacy he was giving to Dalton from being contested by his family.

The pattern of bequests in Armitage's will is, however, relatively unusual, as the majority do not make such legacies to persons outside the testator's close family circle. Approximately a quarter of all the surviving men's wills recorded a bequest to a friend or acquaintance, but only a few of these were for more than a small monetary gift. This was not peculiar to South Cave, Halifax, or York. William Coster, Cicily Howell, Margaret Spufford and Keith Wrightson have all found the same restricted pattern of bequeathals, where the vast bulk of recorded bequests were to close family members, in various parts of the country for the early modern period.[11] Such testamentary behaviour has led Wrightson, amongst others, to assert that contrary to previous assumptions, kinship networks were in reality fairly narrowly defined.[12] Indeed Lawrence Stone saw this as evidence

[8]Michael Riley, 'Families and their Property in Early Modern England: a study of four communities on the Yorkshire Ouse, 1660-1760', (Unpublished Dphil, York, 1990), p. 191.
[9]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, John Davidson, Broomfleet, occupation not recorded, probably a small holder or cottager, will written 25th July 1737, no inventory.
[10]Jennifer Kaner (ed.), *Goods and Chattels*, (Hull, 1994), p. 10.
[11]William Coster, *Kinship and inheritance in Early Modern England: Three Yorkshire Parishes, Borthwick Papers Vol. 83*, (York, 1993). These are the parishes of St. Helen in Bilton in the Ainsty of York, Almondbury in the West Riding, close to Halifax, and St. Margaret in Walmgate in the city of York. Thus it is unsurprising they would show similar patterns to the South Cave, Halifax and York wills. The other will samples are from further affield, though. Howell studied samples from Kibworth Harcourt in S-E Leicestershire from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands, 1280–1700', in Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk and E.P. Thompson (eds.), *Family and Inheritance, Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200–1800*, (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 112-55, whilst Spufford looked at wills and estate records from the villages of Chippenham, Orwell and Willingham in Cambridgeshire in 'Peasant inheritance customs and land distribution in Cambridgeshire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries', in Goody, Thirsk, and Thompson, *Family and Inheritance*, pp. 156-78, and Wrightson analysed Terling in Essex as an example of 'Household and kinship in sixteenth century England', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. XII, (1981), pp. 151-58.
[12]Wrightson, 'Household and kinship in sixteenth century England', pp. 151–58. See also R. Smith (ed.), *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, (Cambridge, 1975); R. Vann, 'Wills and the family in an English

for the erosion of kinship networks, that he believed occurred in the early modern period, as the social structure of society evolved from being one of extended families with many social ties towards a more independent nuclear family structure.[13] This hypothesis has been critiqued by David Cressy, who pointed out that the nature of giving in wills led automatically to the exclusion of many kin, as bequests were often determined by social conventions, which could affect posthumous giving to the testator's wider network of kin and friends. Numerous other sources, including letters and diaries, would suggest that functioning kin networks were substantially wider than those portrayed in surviving wills. Thus Cressy has noted, for example, that in his diary, the Yorkshireman Adam Eyre, recorded numerous occasions on which he had gone out playing bowls, or shared meals, with his many 'cousins' and other kin. And, if the need arose, even far flung kin might be petitioned for help. Surviving correspondence between such parties shows, furthermore, that such petitions did not go unheeded.

These examples highlight that men's wills are in the main concerned with certain specific types of interaction, related to the dynastic transmission of family estates, not more general kinship interaction.[14] As approximately a quarter of the men's wills from South Cave, Halifax and York, do, however, mention goods to be left to wider family, as well as friends and acquaintances, they do provide important information about the kinship, and wider, social circles of many of the deceased. Furthermore, this suggests that the social meaning of a bequest, differed depending on who the recipient was. If given to a close family member, it was articulating dynastic continuance and the social and economic power of the family. Bequests given to dispersed kin, friends and acquaintances, on the other hand, were being used, I would argue, like gifts in the manner discussed above, to express various forms of friendship, social relations and attendant obligations.

The social importance of populuxe goods amongst the male record-leaving classes of South Cave, Halifax and York, will, therefore, be tested by charting

town: Banbury, 1550–1800', *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 4, (1979), pp. 368-80; and J. Johnson, 'The family and kin of the Lincolnshire labourer in the eighteenth century', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, Vol. 14, (1979).

[13]Lawrence Stone, 'Family history in the 1980s: past achievements and future trends', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. XII, (1981), p. 73.

[14]David Cressy, 'Kinship and kinship interaction in early modern England', *Past and Present*, No. 113, (1986).

how often they are mentioned in these networks. So I will in the next section record the frequency with which the populuxe goods appear in the wills, and in the section following that, to whom they were bequeathed, and what this tells us about the social importance of these objects in these three areas.

Populuxe Goods in Wills

For this analysis I have taken will samples from men residing in South Cave, Halifax and York. The wills left by women will be treated separately in chapter 7. In contrast to the inventory samples, there is no apparent reduction in the numbers of wills written between 1660 and 1780. There are, therefore, substantially larger numbers of wills for the mid eighteenth century period, than we have of inventories. But I am only using those wills for this analysis where more than one bequest is mentioned, and to more than one person. Wills that merely state that all the deceased's assets were to go to one or possibly a group of persons, without any description of what these assets were, like that of the keelman William Shackleton, of St. Marys Castlegate,[15] tell us nothing about the goods being bequeathed. As the latter only constitute 8·8% of the whole sample, however, this has made little material difference to the overall will numbers that can be used.

The will sample from the parish of South Cave is as small as the inventory sample, namely only 88 wills from men for the whole period 1660–1780. Many more wills have survived from both Halifax and York, so I will again be only analysing those written between 1690–99, 1730–39 and 1760–69. In all 651 men's wills with multiple bequests have survived from Halifax for these three sample decades, and 458 from men from York for the same. Table 5.1 sets out the exact numbers for each area and sample period.

Chapter 4 showed that around a quarter of the surviving men's inventories from South Cave for the whole period recorded at least one of the populuxe goods. It also showed, however, that this was lower than the 'national' average found by Weatherill for rural areas, suggesting that populuxe goods were not an inherent part of the material culture of this parish. It is to be expected, therefore,

[15]BIA, York deanery, William Shackleton, St. Mary's Castlegate, keelman, will written 12th January 1769, no inventory.

Place	Date	Number of Inventories
South Cave	1660–99	23
	1700–39	39
	1740–80	26
Halifax	1690–99	149
	1730–39	251
	1760–69	251
York	1690–99	132
	1730–39	155
	1760–69	171

Table 5.1: Numbers of Surviving Men's Wills from South Cave, Halifax and York used in this Analysis, 1660–1780

that few of these objects would be thought socially important enough to warrant being bequeathed separately. In fact only two of the wills from the whole sample mention populuxe goods, in both cases silver. In 1705 the mercer Richard Marshall left his granddaughter Margaret a silver beaker and a silver bodkin, while in 1715 the innholder William Burton left his daughter Ann a silver beaker and a silver tumbler, and his wife's daughter Elizabeth a silver mug inscribed '*R.N. to W.B.*'.[16] As I found in Chapter 4, most of the populuxe goods mentioned in the inventories were relatively cheap items, and the men generally owned only a couple of these goods at most. These wills would suggest they were thus not seen as items valuable and significant enough to be bequeathed separately. The above pieces of silver were obviously an exception, reinforcing the importance I attributed to them in the previous chapter, that their intrinsic monetary value made them useful for investment purposes, not just for decorative display. This would also explain why certain other goods, everyday necessities such as beds, were also mentioned specifically in wills. I noted in the previous chapter that beds in particular were expensive durables, usually the most expensive good recorded in an inventory, and often to be found in the main entertaining spaces in a household. Consequently, their significance and monetary value would make

[16]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Richard Marshall, South Cave, mercer, will written 8th December 1705, inventory appraised 1st October 1706 and worth £128 17*s*. including household goods, and William Burton, South Cave, innholder, will written 25th January 1714/15, inventory appraised 7th April 1715 and worth £12 14*s*. 5*d*. including household goods.

them objects worth mentioning separately, and being given to a particular legatee. Table 5.2 lists the frequency of beds and bedding, linen, chests, tables, pewter and brass in the wills, as well as land and money as a comparison. And what we find, is that whilst these valuable and useful everyday items are recorded in some wills, they pale into insignificance against the monetary and visible social value of land, houses, and money, the transmission of which was a much higher concern amongst the vast majority of these men.

I have found a similar lack of bequests of populuxe goods in the Halifax wills, with only just under 10% of the wills specifically mentioning these. Silver is again the populuxe good that was most often bequeathed separately, although a handful of others are mentioned, including books in the first sample period, and a couple of each of the populuxe goods under discussion, in the 1760s, shown in Table 5.3. The clerk Hananiah Elston, of Elland, for example, left his wife and family his English bibles, *Bennels Christian Oratory* and a few other 'practical books', and his daughter Mary his large silver flowered cup and cover, amongst other things. And the tanner James Waterhouse, of Lane End in Hipperholme, left his wife most of his household goods, including his silver ware and two tea tables in the little parlour, and two mirrors, five pictures 'with glasses before them', a large picture and clock in the dining room. His daughter was to have amongst other objects one silver cream boat, a large mirror, and all his china.[17]

What is interesting to note, is that not more clocks were being bequeathed separately. I expected their popularity, usefulness, and the fact that they were relatively valuable, would have resulted in more being mentioned specifically, like with silver. The reason for this omission will be discussed later in the chapter. I have also compared these rates with certain of the durable and expensive everyday goods that were found in the wills. Although not recorded separately in large numbers, beds, for example, are mentioned in approximately 15% of these. In contrast to the populuxe goods under discussion, this would suggest that valuable everyday durables were seen as more important bequests, however decorative, novel and fashionable the populuxe goods were. These moveables

[17]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Hananiah Elston, Elland, Halifax, clerk, will written 1st April 1738, no inventory, and James Waterhouse, Lane no inventory.

1660–99

Bequest	Number of Wills	%
Land/House	13	56·5
Money	18	78·3
Silver		
Bed/Bedding	2	8·7
Chest	2	8·7
Table	2	8·7
Linen		
Pewter	1	4·3
Brass		
Total Wills:	23	

1700–39

Bequest	Number of Wills	%
Land/House	16	41·0
Money	35	89·7
Silver	2	5·1
Bed/Bedding	5	12·8
Chest	2	5·1
Table	1	2·6
Linen	3	7·7
Pewter	4	10·3
Brass	2	5·1
Total Wills:	39	

1740–80

Bequest	Number of Wills	%
Land/House	21	80·8
Money	26	100·0
Silver		
Bed/Bedding	1	3·8
Chest		
Table		
Linen		
Pewter	1	3·8
Brass		
Total Wills:	26	

Table 5.2: Numbers of South Cave Men's Wills that Recorded Various Different Bequests, 1660–1780

again only made up a small percentage of the bequests recorded, however, the vast bulk of these still being land, houses and money.

1690–99		
Bequest	**Number of Wills**	**%**
Land/House	78	52·3
Money	129	86·6
Silver	7	4·7
Books	2	1·3
Bed/Bedding	17	11·4
Chest	17	11·4
Table	4	2·7
Pewter	2	1·3
Brass	6	4·0
Total Wills:	149	

1730–39		
Bequest	**Number of Wills**	**%**
Land/House	153	61·0
Money	228	90·8
Silver	17	6·8
Clock	4	1·6
Books	3	1·2
Utensils	3	1·2
Bed/Bedding	48	19·1
Chest	34	13·5
Table	13	5·2
Linen	12	4·8
Brass	4	1·6
Total Wills:	149	

1760–69		
Bequest	**Number of Wills**	**%**
Land/House	150	59·8
Money	216	86·1
Silver	20	8·0
Clock	5	2·0
Mirror	2	0·8
Books	8	3·2
Pictures	1	0·4
China	6	2·4
Utensils	4	1·6
Bed/Bedding	40	15·9
Chest	22	8·8
Table	9	3·6
Linen	9	3·6
Pewter	3	1·2
Brass	1	0·4
Total Wills:	149	

Table 5.3: Numbers of Halifax Men's Wills that Recorded Various Different Bequests, 1660–1780

As expected, the percentage of York men's wills that include a reference to a populuxe good, is a good deal higher than in the other communities. Table 5.4 highlights the relevant numbers found in the wills, as well as the selection of 'everyday' goods that I am citing as a comparison. But again we find that apart from silver, which was mentioned in more York wills than even beds and bedding, only a smattering of the populuxe goods were mentioned in each sample decade. The gentleman Thomas Gill, of Walmgate, was the only man to mention china specifically in his will, leaving all his china 'that now stands in the chimney piece of my back parlour' to his nephew Matthew Hayes, as well as five lead statues and pedastels situated in his garden.[18] He was an exception to the rule. Just as in the other two areas, we still find bequests of land, houses and money providing the overwhelming bulk of legacies in these wills, throughout the period 1660–1780.

These results are in no ways unique to South Cave, Halifax and York, either. Maxine Berg has found similar patterns amongst the industrial classes of Birmingham and Sheffield, as has Coster for the four Yorkshire parishes he studied, for the eighteenth century.[19] Spufford and Howell have noted the same amongst men in seventeenth century Cambridgeshire and the Midlands,[20] indicating common patterns of bequeathal in different parts of the country. This is perhaps unsurprising, as household goods, including the populuxe goods, even silver ware, only accounted for a small percentage of the overall monetary worth of such men's wealth and property. When dividing their estate amongst their children and other family members, the specific division of items with a high monetary worth, such as land or substantial amounts of money, would of necessity have been their main priority, as these would support their family in the years to come, in a way even the smartest household luxuries could not. Nonetheless, Coster does record that in the three parishes he studied, daughters were more

[18]BIA, York deanery, Thomas Gill, Walmgate, York, gentleman, will written 7th January 1764, no inventory.

[19]Maxine Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 30, (1996), pp. 419–420, and Coster, *Kinship and Inheritance in Early Modern England*, pp. 10–18,

[20]Howell, 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands', pp. 130-38, and Spufford, 'Peasant inheritance customs and land distribution in Cambridgeshire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries', pp. 156–58.

1690–99

Bequest	Number of Wills	%
Land/House	70	53·0
Money	122	92·4
Silver	17	12·9
Books	8	6·1
Bed/Bedding	10	7·6
Chest	1	0·8
Linen	5	3·8
Pewter		
Total Wills:	132	

1730–39

Bequest	Number of Wills	%
Land/House	75	48·4
Money	121	78·1
Silver	23	14·8
Clock	7	4·5
Mirror	1	0·6
Pictures	2	1·3
Books	7	4·5
Bed/Bedding	8	5·2
Utensils	13	8·4
Chest	1	0·6
Linen	9	5·8
Pewter		
Total Wills:	155	

1760–69

Bequest	Number of Wills	%
Land/House	107	62·6
Money	152	88·9
Silver	29	17·0
Clock	10	4·8
Mirror	1	0·6
Pictures	2	1·2
Books	10	5·8
Bed/Bedding	17	9·9
Utensils	3	1·8
Chest	1	0·6
Linen	7	4·1
Pewter	1	0·6
Total Wills:	171	

Table 5.4: Numbers of York Men's Wills that Recorded Various Different Bequests, 1660–1780

likely to receive money and household goods, such as pots and pans, than land, the latter more often descending to the male heir. These daughters would then take the money and household goods 'into marriage as part of their economic (and social) contribution'.[21] But as Amy Erickson has shown, primogeniture was not the overriding custom when it came to land, at least not in Yorkshire. Daughters quite often received parcels of real estate as well, at least to the same degree as younger sons.[22].I still expected, however, to find more of the populuxe goods being bequeathed separately to the testator's various legatees. Does this mean that the social importance I, and also contemporary social commentators, have given these goods, is in fact overrated?

Bequests, Kinship and Social Status

When we analyse the wills more closely, other explanations for the lack of goods being recorded separately become apparent. In many cases, goods have just not been individuated. The will of Ralph Seaver of Sowerby is a case in point. He left his son William, and his daughter Hannah Peacock, ten and twenty shillings each respectively, whilst his other daughter Elizabeth was left the rest of his 'personal estate'.[23] William and Hannah had obviously already received their inheritance previously —possibly including any real estate he might have owned— so it was not necessary for him to divide up and list his remaining assets, including any populuxe goods he might have owned, in detail. In other examples, the contents of a room might be left to a person, without these being specified. The York baker Thomas Varley was one of a number of testators who merely stated his widow could choose the furniture and other contents of any one room in his house.[24] We have also to remember that social convention dictated to a large extent the distribution of the testator's assets. As I noted above, children could not legally be cut out of wills, and it was common custom in Yorkshire at

[21]Coster, *Kinship and Inheritance in Early Modern England*, p. 10.
[22]Amy Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, (London, 1993), pp. 68–78. It was expected that both daughters and younger sons might have the equivalent value in moveables that the heir had in land
[23]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Ralph Seaver, Sowerby, occupation not given, will written 13th February 1731/2, no inventory.
[24]BIA, York deanery, Thomas Varley, Micklegate, York, baker, will written 13th January 1730/1, no inventory.

least, for the testator to leave his wife a third of his estate.[25] As such the testator did not have much leeway as to whom he wished to leave his assets to, especially outside his close family circle. In that case, there might have been little point in specifically mentioning particular moveables. They might as well be lumped in with all the other goods in the 'rest and residue' of an estate. This does not, however, detract from the potential social worth populuxe goods could have held.

Furthermore, in a fairly large number of the South Cave, Halifax and York wills, the testator explicitly asked for his household goods to be sold, and the money so raised to be distributed amongst his legatees, as the innkeeper Jonathan Halliwell of Halifax ordered to be done.[26] This trend has been noted by John Smail in other Halifax will samples, leading him to conclude that by the eighteenth century, land did not have a monopoly on investments anymore, but that men were willing for their assets to be sold and for such money to be invested in other ways for their legatees.[27] Such transactions do not seem to have been new to this period, either, despite the relative lack of ready cash in circulation in early modern England, as Muldrew has pointed out.[28] Indeed Howell noted such a trend already in Lincolnshire in the sixteenth century.[29]

In some instances populuxe goods, and other moveables, were singled out, however, and bequeathed separately. Despite just lumping most of his personal estate together, the yeoman Zachariah Clark, of Stansfield, left all his books to his brother-in-law Elias Helliwell.[30] The gentleman, Roger Shackleton, of All Saints Pavement, York, left his son William a silver tankard inscribed '*J.R.*', his daughter Patience Webster the bed and bedding in his sister's room, the mirror from his own room and a silver cup, and his daughter Tabitha Carbutt the bed and mirror in the 'best chamber', and another silver cup and tankard.[31] In some instances the reason for such detailed bequests of goods is easily found. They were the

[25]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 10.
[26]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Jonathan Halliwell, Halifax, innkeeper, will written 28th September 1761, no inventory.
[27]John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*, (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 89–92.
[28]Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England*, (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 98–100.
[29]Howell, 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands', pp. 150–53.
[30]BIA, Pontefract Deanery, Zachariah Clark, Stansfield, yeoman, will written 27th July 1760, no inventory.
[31]BIA, York deanery, Roger Shackleton, All Saints Pavement, York, gentleman, will written 3rd March 1766, no inventory.

testator's main assets, in the absence of land and/or money. Thus the South Cave shoemaker, Richard Thornton, left three of his four daughters beds and bedding, table linen and pewter ware, as well as cows and sheep. The joiner, John Bell, of Holy Trinity King's Court in York, on the other hand, gave everything to his wife Elizabeth with the following proviso: his two silver cups and two meat spoons, all engraved 'I.B.B.', a large silver watch, a clock with a Japanned case, two of his largest mirrors, a chest of drawers, a bed and green hangings, a dresser, 12 pewter dishes and plates, a corner cupboard, and six large elm chairs, were to be left to his granddaughter Elizabeth, after his wife's death.[32] But even these two examples indicate that the listed goods did not quite comprise these testators' whole estate, as in each case a residue is left as well.

These were not just any old household goods, either, but the most expensive, durable and possibly fashionable goods and populuxe objects the testators owned, as I showed in chapter 4. Bell's will, for example, recorded that his clock had a Japanned case, which was the height of fashionable decoration at this time. Not only that, such a detail suggests that Bell might well have owned another clock, albeit one less smart, and wanted to make sure his best one was used by his wife and then given to his granddaughter. Other testators are equally precise. The stuff maker, Thomas Sutcliffe, of Rodwel End in Stansfield, for example, bequeathed to his elder son William his writing desk and chest that stood in his 'parlour', whilst the linen weaver, Adam Moyser, of All Saints Northstreet in York, left his niece Mary Plumer his 'best' bed and bedding and his 'best' chest, amongst other things, and his housekeeper Elizabeth Bewley the bedstead she used and a 'lesser' chest of drawers that stood near the said bedstead.[33] Tables 5·2–5·4 above further bear this pattern out.

So these results reveal that wills focussed on the distribution of solid property and expensive moveables. Therefore, we might not expect to find many of the

[32]BIA, microfilm, South Cave peculiar, Richard Thornton, South Cave, cordwainer, will written 1st May 1700, no inventory, and York deanery, John Bell, Holy Trinity King's Court, joiner, will written 13th June 1768, no inventory.

[33]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Thomas Sutcliffe, Rodwel End in Stansfield, Halifax, stuff maker, will written 3rd June 1766, no inventory, and York deanery, Adam Moyser, All Saints Northstreet, York, linen weaver, will written 29th November 1765, inventory appraised 11th November 1767 and worth £30. Listed in his small inventory were solely two beds and bedding, two chests of drawers, one set more expensive than the other, most likely the two sets mentioned in his will, and some 'trivial utensils belonging housekeeping', as well as £20 that had been invested.

populuxe goods specifically recorded, for as I noted in chapter 4, items such as cheap books and bits of china ware for example, had only a limited lifespan. Neil McKendrick has argued, furthermore, that as fashions became ever more diverse and changeable, goods had to be renewed on a more regular basis to keep up with the latest style.[34] The need for solid decorative consumables was thus diminishing, as Grant McCracken has pointed out.[35] Instead these items could be disposed of when worn out, or no longer in fashion, ushering in the advent of a 'throw away' culture. In this context, it would be unlikely that such goods would be bequeathed explicitly to family members, let alone friends and acquaintances. Whilst they might have articulated the social worth of the testator whilst he was still alive, and thus been used for display purposes, for example, this value was lost after his death. In the absence of any real monetary value, they were now rendered virtually useless.

The Tables A5.1–A5.9 (reproduced in the Appendix on page 203 to page 211 due to their size) show the bequeathal patterns visible in the will samples.[36] They show, just as the above examples suggest, that most of the populuxe goods and other durables mentioned explicitly, were being left to the testator's 'nuclear' family. But this does not mean that their wider family and friends were completely excluded. Instead, as the tables demonstrate, 29·4% of the wills included bequests to friends and/or acquaintances, usually in the form of money, often fairly nominal amounts (rather than cheap populuxe objects). On a number of occasions the gifts were more substantial. The sexton Jonathan Greenwood of Heptonstall, for example, left Mary Tattersall 5s., whilst Ambrose Kendall was to

[34]Neil McKendrick, 'The commercialization of fashion', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the commercialization of eighteenth century England*, (Bloomington, 1982), pp. 65–66.

[35]Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: new approaches to the symbolic character of consumer goods and activities*, (Bloomington, 1988), pp. 38–39.

[36]These tables include the most commonly recorded legatees, omitting parents, uncles and aunts, and some wider members of the family who were only rarely mentioned. I have placed cousins and kinsmen in one category, as the word 'cousin' was often utilised synonymously with kinsman, as Cressy has found, ('Kinship and kin interaction in early modern England', p. 66). Those styled 'friend', however, are placed in a category of their own, whilst legatees whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly mentioned, or who are recorded as an executor, neighbour, the local vicar and so forth, are listed under 'acquaintance'. And finally I have also omitted bequests given to servants and the poor, because I am focussing on bequests to family and the deceased's wider social circle of peers, rather than on their circle of dependents. This is in spite of the fact that bequests to the latter, in particular the poor, could be seen as an indication of how the deceased viewed himself and his family in relation to the rest of society, and the kinds of 'good works' they could afford.

receive £5, more than Greenwood was leaving his two nephews.[37] A small number of wills from York, and a few for Halifax, do also record gifts of populuxe goods to friends and acquaintances. Nearly 20% of the acquaintances mentioned in the York 1760s sample received such an item. Thus the York aledraper George Dickinson gave the cabinet maker John Herbert his set of silver buttons and Herbert's son his watch, and the brewer Henry Bewley, of All Saints Northstreet, gave a Mary Taylor four large silver spoons, two silver salts and a two handed silver cup.[38] It has to be noted, however, that it is possible that some of these legatees were in fact members of these men's wider kin network, for Naomi Tadmor has found that on occasion in other written sources such as letters, when wishing to emphasise their affective relationship with a family member, the author might call them 'friend' instead.[39] The will written by Montagu Brooke esquire, in 1761, is amongst a modest number in which the bulk of the testator's estate was left to friends and acquaintances, including all his watches, rings, trinkets and 'curiosities' to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Moseley, and £100 to his 'good friend' George Fothergill. [40] It is one of the few records to provide a much more personalised insight into patterns of bequeathal during this period. Furthermore, the will has two codicils, added in 1763 and 1765 respectively. In the former, Brooke revoked these two legacies and left both men with substantially less. Fothergill was to receive only £10 10s., whilst Moseley was to get a mere guinea, for a mourning ring. In his own will of 1767, Fothergill left his 'good friend' Brooke not only £200 but also his large silver cross. The will also includes a bequest of £7 and Fothergill's gold cross 'which I constantly wear' to Mr. Robert Daile.[41]

It is thus only when patterns of bequests, including the populuxe goods, were not tied to lineage, that is to say when male testators had been widowed and had already provided for their children during their own lifetime, or had no

[37]BIA, York deanery, Jonathan Greenwood, Heptonstall, Halifax, sexton, will written 4th April 1735, no inventory.
[38]BIA, York deanery, George Dickinson, York, aledraper, will written 29th August 1769, no inventory, and Henry Bewley, All Saints Northstreet, York, brewer, will written 24th March 1762, no inventory.
[39]Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: household, kinship, and patronage*, (Cambridge, 2001), in particular chapter 5.
[40]BIA, York deanery, Montagu Brooke, York, esq., will written 2nd June 1761, two codicils added 8th January 1763 and 26th December 1765 respectively, no inventory.
[41]BIA, York deanery, George Fothergill, York gentleman, will written 12th January 1767, no inventory.

close blood relatives who were living, that they became more diffused, resulting in assets being left to friends. This pattern is replicated in other areas of the country, as Cressy and Howell have shown.[42] Moreover, this pattern is common to women's wills, as I will highlight in the next chapter, showing that the gender of the owner could affect the social worth an item was given. The use of populuxe and other goods to articulate social relationships amongst the testator's wider kin and friendship networks, was, therefore, a more 'feminised' pattern of consumption.

This suggests, therefore, that the expensive durables such as beds, listed above, and also certain populuxe goods, explicitly bequeathed to family members, formed part of the family property and heritage handed down from one generation to the next. This would explain the request by the joiner Bell, mentioned above, who obviously wanted his best household goods to be kept, so that at least his granddaughter could benefit from the smart items he had accumulated, or even inherited himself, over his lifetime. Other testators were more explicit about the importance of certain items, and their comments were not restricted to populuxe goods. The yeoman Joshua Wade, of Saltonstall in Warley, was one of a small number of the latter. He asked that the 'standing cupboard' and 'hanging cupboard', that were in the 'house body' of his home, be left there as 'heirlooms', whereas the rest of his household goods were to go to his wife to do with as she pleased. Another was the yeoman Richard Hoyle, of Godley in Northowram, who wanted his 'table', 'dresser' and 'spice cupboard' left in the kitchen of his house as heirlooms.[43] So whatever happened to their other goods, these items were to be preserved in the family home for subsequent generations, possibly having been there for a fair few already. Others gave such heirlooms directly to certain of their descendants. The yeoman Robert Sutcliffe, of Steadley in Langfield, for example, left his only son not only his freehold lands, but also one 'bed' from the 'parlour', a 'table' and 'cupboard' from the 'house body', and his 'clock'. His two daughters were given other parts of his household goods,

[42]Howell, 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands', p. 141, and Cressy, 'Kinship and kin interaction in early modern England', pp. 62–63.

[43]BIA, Pontefract Deanery, Joshua Wade, Saltonstall in Warley, Halifax, yeoman, will written 12th December 1693, inventory appraised 16th February 1693/4 and worth £44 18s. including household goods, and Richard Hoyle, Godley in Northowram, Halifax, will written 11th May 1694, no inventory.

including beds and chests, but nothing specific is said about these.[44] Thus the family lineage was articulated through such items, the passing down of which from generation to generation upheld this line. And it has to be reiterated here, that the majority of the populuxe goods under discussion were rarely mentioned amongst these.

The social and dynastic importance of these bequests is further revealed in the following wills. Both the wealthy yeoman Richard Thomas, of Sowerby, and the York gentleman William Thompson, highlighted how these goods not only reflected their present lineage, but were also instrumental in the creation of new family lines. Thus Thomas left his four daughters not only a significant amount of money or real estate each, but also his four 'best' beds, bed linen and bed furniture,[45] the latter being the main items a bride brought into her marriage by custom, as Weatherill has noted.[46] Thompson had in his possession both his own family silver with his family crest inscribed on it, and a set of silver with the coat of arms of his family and that of his wife's, both of which were to be given to his wife on his death. Not only that, but he also owned several family portraits of his ancestors. These, however, were to be handed down his family line, thus not to be given to his wife, but to his brothers and nephew and their descendants instead. There also existed two half length portraits of himself and his wife, which his wife was allowed to keep. But he specifically states that at her death he hopes she will give the picture of herself to either one of his brothers, or his nephew.[47] The wording of the will would suggest that Thompson did not assume it likely that they would have any children of their own. Thus the starting of a new lineage, visually depicted through the portraits of themselves and their silver ware, was, therefore, unlikely to materialise.

[44]BIA, Pontefract Deanery, Robert Sutcliffe, Steadley in Langfield, Halifax, yeoman, will written 18th October 1738, no inventory.
[45]BIA, Pontefract Deanery, Richard Thomas, Sowerby, Halifax, yeoman, will written 11th May 1764, no inventory.
[46]Lorna Weatherill, 'A possession of one's own: women and consumer behaviour in England, 1660–1740', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 25, (1986), p. 143. Here Weatherill is talking about linen as a whole, in which bed linen is included.
[47]BIA, York Deanery, William Thompson, York, gentleman, will written 30th July 1731, no inventory.

However, these particular bequests can also be understood on a much more personal level. Whilst the two portraits and silverware were probably commissioned on the occasion of Thompson's marriage, and thus could be reflecting the dynastic importance of their union, Thompson was insistent that his 'kind, tender and dearly beloved wife Elizabeth' was to have these items for herself until she died. So these items did not just articulate the beginning of their union, but were being left to her as a memory of that union and the subsequent life they had had together. They preserved the memory of the deceased in a tangible way for those left behind. Items with even more personal symbolism attached to them included those that were not only in constant use by the deceased, but which were also carried close to their own body, for example jewellery. As Marcia Pointon has emphasised, jewellery can thus be seen not only as a 'site' of display, emulation and exchange, but even an extension of the wearer's body itself, that was then transferred to the recipient of such a gift.[48] Men making provision for such items to be given to a specific legatee included the clerk Hananiah Elston of Elland, who gave his son John his watch and 'plain wearing ring', as well as a blue enamelled gold ring that had previously been his grandfather's, and the gentleman Christopher Lonsdale of South Cave who wanted his 'good friend' Robert Mason to have two old gold rings of his, in order to make one of them into a remembrance ring to him.[49] Even matrimonial beds could have had a similar layer of memory attached to them, apart from their intrinsic monetary value, practical use and dynastic symbolism. Custom stated that widows were to be allowed at least one bed and chest out of their husband's movable assets[50], and the wills show that not only were these the items most often mentioned when the testators listed goods their wives were to have after their death, but often the bed was the one they themselves had used during their lifetime. Thus the yeoman John Jessop of Barsley in Barkisland was not alone in bequeathing his wife the

[48]Marcia Pointon, 'Jewellery in eighteenth century England', in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: consumer culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, (Manchester, 1999), p. 123.
[49]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Hananiah Elston, Elland, clerk, will written 1st April 1738, no inventory, and microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Christopher Lonsdale, South Cave, gentleman, will written 10th March 1693, no inventory.
[50]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 12.

bed and bedding 'they normally lie in', amongst other goods.[51] Apart from being an easy way of stipulating which bed the wife was to inherit, it is both an articulation of the deeply personal, and again a tangible vehicle of memory, reminding the widow of her previous life.

I showed in chapter 4 that, apart from the beds mentioned above, such expensive populuxe objects like portraits and silver tea services, were only to be found amongst the wealthiest gentlemen in the inventories. These objects do, therefore, immediately encapsulate the social position of the owner, and as such are powerful vehicles not just of personal memory, but of the status and lineage of the family to whom they belonged. The inclusion of the family crest on the silver ware explicitly highlights the elite standing of the owner. However, by the later eighteenth century even these goods were being appropriated by the wealthy middling sort. Pointon has noted how one anonymous contemporary commentator exclaimed that 'in these days, the Parlour of the Tradesman is not considered as a furnished room, if the Family Pictures do not adorn the wainscot'.[52] Chapter 4 highlighted a number of such men living in York. Even these most expensive of luxuries were becoming sites of contention for social meaning and the articulation of status.

In the absence of such 'illustrious' goods, other sections of the record-leaving classes turned to silver 'trinkets', and small boxes and such like, the kinds of goods which, as I argued above, lost the little social value they had when their owner died. Here we find these goods being reinvested with values, as 'sentimental' gifts and repositories of memory and affection. The blacksmith John Hood of York, for example, left his eldest son Robert a pap spoon engraved '*R.H.*', and his daughter Mary her mother's silver girdle buckle, whilst the yeoman John Sutcliffe, of Hornacklee in Erringden, left his niece's son Joseph his chest marked '*J.S.*', and a silver cup marked '*T.*' and '*J.S.*', and the yeoman William Greenwood, of Appletree in Stansfield, left his nephew Paul a new chest marked '*P.G.*'.[53] Such

[51]BIA, Pontefract deanery, John Jessop, Barsley in Barkisland, Halifax, yeoman, will written 8th April 1766, no inventory.
[52]Anonymous, *A Poetical Epistle to Sir Joshua Reynolds*, (London, 1777), introduction, quoted in Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing*, (Oxford, 1997), p. 177.
[53]BIA, York deanery, John Hood, York, blacksmith, will written 18th March 1736/7, no inventory, John Sutcliffe, Hornacklee in Erringden, Halifax, yeoman, will written 5th October 1733, no inventory, and

initials and explanatory commentary make it clear that these were personal items being given away as presents and heirlooms. Thus the initials on the pap spoon given to Robert were likely to have been his own, this being an item possibly used by him when he was child, possibly a Christening present. The gift of a silver spoon on such occasion by Godparents was customary amongst the elite during the seventeenth century. By the 1730s, it had become more common amongst most sections of society, as this example shows (although it is not explicitly stated that the spoon was actually silver).[54] The sentimental value it carried for both Hood and his son, was, therefore, the memories it carried of when Robert was young. It could also possibly become a small heirloom, as could the silver girdle buckle that had belonged to Hood's wife. The will indicates that Hood's wife was still alive when the will was produced. But the way that he records this particular gift, as an item that had belonged to his daughter's mother, would suggest that this had been an earlier wife, who had since died. As a consequence, this gift can be read as memorialising both parents, but in particular reminding the daughter of a mother long since passed away. At the same, it was a personal item her father had kept as a memory of this wife, a memory that he could then pass on to one of his daughters, possibly his eldest, and from there on to her children and so forth. In the case of Joseph Sutcliffe, he was left his great uncle's initialed silver and chest. Not only were these again personal memories and heirlooms wrapped into one, but in this instance the legatee had the same initials as his great-uncle, so could make these goods his 'own', and thus in a sense take on the presence of his great uncle after the latter's death. The gift given to Paul Greenwood is slightly different, as his uncle had actually bought a new chest, and had it inscribed with his nephew's initials, making a special personalised gift out of an otherwise everyday item. This could then in later years become an heirloom in its own right, but does not carry the same 'imprint' of memory of the giver, that is created through constant use, unlike with the other gifts above. Instead, the first memories attached to this chest will have been of Paul's life, much like the memories attached to the pap spoon mentioned previously.

William Greenwood, Appletree in Stansfield, Halifax, yeoman, will written 4th July 1732, inventory appraised 15th November 1732 and worth £431 19*s*. 4 ½*d*. including household goods.
[54]David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, (Oxford, 1999), p. 159.

Such items as jewellery, chests and beds that were probably used daily by the deceased were, therefore, veritable 'repositories of memory', and in the case of such personal items as jewellery, that were constantly in physical contact with the deceased, could be seen as vehicles that retained an actual physical presence of that person.[55] The gold cross left by Fothergill above to a Mr. Daile, is one such example, described as it is as the one he wore constantly. This is one of the few occasions where an item with such a personal connection with the deceased is left to a person who was most likely not a family member, but a close friend whose friendship was highly valued. In this particular case, the fact that Fothergill was a Roman Catholic adds a greater symbolism still to this gift and the object itself. At a time when Catholicism was not tolerated, this object carried in it the deepest personal convictions of the wearer, convictions he was now passing on to a friend whom we must presume was a fellow believer.

The monetary value of all these items was likely to be judged as subordinate to that of their symbolic one,[56] despite the fact that all the aforementioned goods were likely to have been relatively expensive. Indeed Stana Nenadic has argued that household goods in general, not just jewellery and various populuxe goods, could hold the same sentiments of affection for the owner, and that this provides 'a powerful explanation of consumer behaviour in an age that saw the emergence of affective individualism and bourgeois nostalgia'.[57] This would also explain why certain everyday durables, such as the cupboards mentioned by the yeoman Joshua Wade of Warley earlier in this section, were to be kept as heirlooms.

These rituals of memory were not mapped solely onto such 'second hand' objects, however. A whole industry had arisen around the production of funeral rings and other tokens. The consumption of such objects was one of the mainstays of the trade of the shopkeeper Thomas Turner, from East Hoathly in Sussex, for example. He made good money from supplying such favours to people in the surrounding area: around 34*s*. a funeral.[58] However, specific references to the

[55]Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, (London, 2001), pp. 42–43, and Pointon, 'Jewellery in eighteenth century England', p. 131.
[56]Cressy, 'Kinship and kinship interaction in early modern England', p. 63.
[57]Stana Nenadic, 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720–1840', *Past and Present*, No. 145, (1994), p. 135.
[58]David Vaisey (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Turner*, (1754–65), (Oxford, 2000), p. 279.

giving of mourning rings and other funeral tokens such as gloves, are extremely rare in the wills, only being recorded in 1% of the South Cave and Halifax samples. The gentleman Jonathan Hall, of Elland, was one of the handful of Halifax men who made such bequests. He left William Wood and Samuel Lister a guinea each for rings.[59] In York, by contrast, 10% of the men's wills recorded such gifts. Matthew Lee of St. Trinity Micklegate, for example, left Mrs. Elizabeth Iveson 10s. for a small ring, and ordered that his law friends Mr. Juthwarth and Mr. Iveson were to be given a good pair of gloves each.[60] But even here such customs seem to have been restricted to the elite, wills from other men not mentioning such gifts. Although bequeathed as tangible reminders of the deceased, and as vehicles of memory, these goods were new, thus carrying none of the sentimental and physical associations of goods owned previously by the deceased. We might assume, therefore, that they carried less symbolic worth, though the accompanying comments of some testators would contradict this. The pewterer Christopher Coulton of York, for example, left instructions for his 'loving friend' Mr. William Justice to receive a guinea for a mourning ring, which he hoped Justice would wear 'for his sake'.[61] In such cases, the physical act of putting on the gloves and wearing the rings created the memory cycle, attaching sentiments to the item that were not there previously.

In one of his many entries on the subject in his memorandum book, on 14th August 1706, Sir Walter Calverley wrote 'this day I was at the funerall of Sir John Kay, of Woodsome. I was a (pall) bearer, and had a pair of good shamy gloves, a very good scarf, a ring of 20s. price, and an hat band'.[62] It is as if Sir Walter was keeping a tally of the social importance accorded him by others in his community, reflected through such token gifts. Apart from being memorial gifts, the quality of these tokens could have been a way of asserting the social position the deceased's

[59]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Jonathan Hall, Elland, Halifax, gentleman, will written 11th May 1763, no inventory.
[60]BIA, York deanery, Matthew Lee, St. Trinity Micklegate, York, occupation not recorded, will written 12th July 1692, inventory appraised 30th August 1693 and worth £38 including household goods.
[61]BIA, York deanery, Christopher Coulton, York, pewterer, will written 6th January 1691/2, no inventory.
[62]Samuel Margerison (ed.), *Memorandum book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart.*, (1663–1749), *Surtees Society*, Vol. 77, (Leeds, 1886), p. 112. Cressy has found the same concern for correct funeral tokens expressed in diaries and correspondence throughout the seventeenth century, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p. 441.

family believed they should hold in the community. At the same time, they could have also acted as visible signs of the honour being bestowed on Sir Walter, as a special friend of the deceased and his family. In return Sir Walter would then be reciprocating that honour by acting as a pallbearer, visually showing that a member of their peer group thought their family of good enough status to be worthy of such an honour.[63] The entries in his memorandum book would suggest that such symbolism was well understood by him. An elaborate York example of such a funeral was set out by the esquire Henry Tireman, of Petergate. He added in a codicil to the main document, that he wished various 'brothers' and aldermen would help carry his coffin when the time came, for which they would receive a pair of gloves, a scarf and a 20s. ring each. Furthermore, he also asked that the Lord Mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, recorders and deputy recorders and their wives would attend his funeral, receiving a pair of gloves each if they did so, and finally that his 'old acquaintance' Mr. Francis Haylor was to have a scarf and a pair of gloves as well.[64] Thus Tireman was not just asking his friends to accompany him on his last journey, a very special and personal honour, but for the most important inhabitants of the city to be there, and wearing his gloves as well. This reflects very visibly the social position he felt he held in society, and which he wished to be publicly proclaimed at his death. By this period, even the poorer sections of society wished to be buried in a similar manner, if possible. Burial clubs, which had been in existence since the early eighteenth century, included amongst their services the loan of 'hoods and scarfs', 'gentlemen's cloaks' and 'crepe hat bands'.[65]

So the testator's moveables, including a couple of the populuxe goods, were not as insignificant to the transmission of family lineage, social status and personal sentiment, as the results first led us to believe.

[63]At the same time, Cressy has pointed out that acting as a pall bearer was seen as a considerable priviledge in its own right, in contrast to the carrying of the coffin itself, which was usually delegated to poor men who were paid for their service, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p. 437.
[64]BIA, York deanery, Henry Tireman, Petergate, York, esq., will written 14th February 1692/3, no inventory.
[65]Julian Littern, *The English Way of Death*, (London, 1991), p. 165.

Conclusion

Men's wills were primarily concerned with the transmission of property and social power to their close family, not the gifting of individual moveables such as the populuxe goods under discussion. As a consequence, there was a restricted pattern of bequests and recipients. In as much as any moveables, such as large expensive durables and populuxe objects like beds, cupboards, portraits and silver ware were mentioned, then it was in the context of the further articulation of the family lineage, wealth, and social position. At the same time, these goods could also carry deeply personal sentiments of memory and affection. This is most explicitly articulated in those wills where the testator left small intimate items that they had commonly used when alive, items that were tangible reminders of the deceased. However, the majority of the testators did not mention such items at all. Most legatees, whether family or friends, were left land and/or money. This would suggest, together with the fact that a sizeable number of men asked for their households goods to be sold and their legatees to be given the cash, that by the eighteenth century England was becoming a society where social networks were constructed and articulated through the transmission of money rather than goods. However, Grant McCracken has argued that as the eighteenth century saw the increase in different fashions and designs, goods in the newest fashion became more popular, and through this also carriers of social position, in contrast to the family heirlooms of previous generations.[66] Thus the monetary bequests given in these wills might speak less of a society constructing its social relationships through money, than a society tuned into the fashions of the day. Left money rather than their parents' 'old-fashioned' household goods,[67] children could then recreate their family's status amongst their peers, through the ownership of the newest styles and fashions, and friends and acquaintances left small parcels of money could use these to purchase populuxe objects like novelty silver 'toys', or

[66]McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*, pp. 31–56.

[67]Riley has suggested one reason for the lack of household moveables such as furniture being bequeathed specifically to children, apart from amongst the poorer sections of the record-leaving classes, was because it was possibly seen as somewhat demeaning, 'Families and their Property in Early Modern England', p. 194.

mementoes. We shall see in the next chapter, however, how women in the absence of concerns of lineage, created more diffused patterns of bequests, which included larger numbers of the populuxe goods.

Appendix

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 23 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	14 (60·9%)	0	6 (42·9%)	2 (14·3%)	13 (92·9%)	
Son	9 (39·1%)	2 (22·2%)	5 (55·6%)	6 (66·7%)	4 (44·4%)	
Daughter	12 (52·2%)	1 (8·3%)	5 (41·7%)	7 (58·3%)	5 (41·7%)	
Grandchildren	3 (13%)	1 (33·3%)	1 (33·3%)	3 (100%)	0	
Nephew/Niece	4 (17·4%)	0	2 (50%)	4 (100%)	1 (25%)	
Siblings	5 (21·7%)	0	1 (20%)	5 (100%)	1 (20%)	
Affines	2 (8·7%)	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0	
Cousin/Kinsman	4 (17·4%)	0	0	4 (100%)	0	
Friend	0	0	0	0	0	
'Acquaintance'*	8 (34·8%)	1 (12·5%)	0	7 (87·5%)	0	

** This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.1: Legacies left by South Cave Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1660–99

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 39 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	20 (51·3%)	0	1 (5%)	11 (55%)	1 (5%)	18 (90%)
Son	17 (43·6%)	1 (5·9%)	2 (11·8%)	4 (23·5%)	10 (58·8%)	6 (35·3%)
Daughter	14 (39·9%)	1 (7·1%)	1 (7·1%)	0	11 (78·6%)	3 (21·4%)
Grandchildren	8 (20·5%)	1 (12·5%)	1 (12·5%)	0	6 (75%)	1 (12·5%)
Nephew/Niece	5 (12·8%)	0	0	1 (20%)	5 (100%)	1 (20%)
Siblings	10 (25·6%)	0	0	3 (30%)	8 (80%)	4 (40%)
Affines	6 (15·4%)	0	0	0	5 (83·3%)	2 (33·3%)
Cousin/Kinsman	2 (5·1%)	0	0	1 (50%)	2 (100%)	0
Friend	1 (2·6%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0
'Acquaintance'*	9 (23·1%)	0	3 (33·3%)	1 11·1%)	7 (77·8%)	1 (11·1%)

* *This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.2: Legacies left by South Cave Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1700–39

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 26 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	17 (65·4%)		1 (5·9%)	8 (47·1%)	2 (11·8%)	14 (82·4%)
Son	17 (65·4%)		0	9 (52·9%)	9 (52·9%)	9 (52·9%)
Daughter	19 (73·1%)		0	5 (26·3%)	17 (89·5%)	2 (10·5%)
Grandchildren	1 (3·8%)		0	0	1 (100%)	0
Nephew/Niece	7 (26/9%)		0	4 (57·1%)	5 (71·4%)	1 (14·3%)
Siblings	4 (15·4%)		0	1 (25%)	4 (100%)	2 (50%)
Affines	3 (11·5%)		0	2 (66·7%)	1 (33·3%)	1 (33·3%)
Cousin/Kinsman	1 (3·8%)		0	0	1 (100%)	0
Friend	0		0	0	0	0
'Acquaintance'*	6 (23·1%)		0	1 (16·7%)	5 (83·3%)	2 (33·3%)

** This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.3: Legacies left by South Cave Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1740–80

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 149 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	76 (51%)	2 (2·6%)	11 (14·5%)	28 (36·8%)	20 (26·3%)	54 (71·1%)
Son	70 (47%)	3 (4·3%)	2 (2·9%)	40 (57·1%)	33 (47·1%)	43 (61·4%)
Daughter	66 (44·3%)	1 (1·5%)	5 (7·6%)	19 (28·8%)	49 (74·2%)	20 (30·3%)
Grandchildren	31 (20·8%)	0	3 (9·7%)	8 (25·8%)	29 (93·5%)	5 (16·1%)
Nephew/Niece	31 (20·8%)	0	2 (6·5%)	8 (25·8%)	26 (83·9%)	5 (16·1%)
Siblings	30 (20·1%)	1 (33·3%)	1 (33·3%)	8 (26·7%)	23 (76·7%)	4 (13·3%)
Affines	24 (16·1%)	0	1 (4·2%)	2 (8·3%)	20 (83·3%)	3 (12·5%)
Cousin/Kinsman	13 (8·7%)	0	0	2 (15·4%)	12 (92·3%)	2 (15·4%)
Friend	7 (4·7%)	0	0	0	7 (100%)	0
'Acquaintance'*	46 (30·9%)	1 (2·2%)	2 (4·3%)	4 (8·7%)	41 (89·1%)	5 (10·9%)

** This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.4: Legacies left by Halifax Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1690–99

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 251 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	139 (55·4%)	5 (3·6%)	24 (17·3%)	47 (33·8%)	64 (46%)	69 (49·6%)
Son	152 (60·6%)	10 (6·6%)	17 (11·2%)	81 (53·3%)	89 (58·6%)	80 (52·6%)
Daughter	148 (59%)	13 (8·8%)	21 (14·2%)	35 (23·6%)	117 (79·1%)	45 (30·4%)
Grandchildren	43 (17·1%)	1 (2·3%)	3 (7%)	13 (30·2%)	34 (79·1%)	4 (9·3%)
Nephew/Niece	49 (19·5%)	0	5 (10·2%)	17 (34·7%)	40 (81·6%)	14 (28·6%)
Siblings	47 (18·7%)	1 (2·1%)	3 (6·4%)	13 (27·7%)	40 (85·1%)	13 (27·7%)
Affines	21 (8·4%)	0	0	6 (28·6%)	17 (81%)	3 (14·3%)
Cousin/Kinsman	18 (7·2%)	0	2 (11·1%)	7 (38·9%)	17 (94·4%)	4 (22·2%)
Friend	10 (4%)	1 (10%)	0	0	9 (90%)	0
'Acquaintance'*	45 (17·9%)	0	1 (2·2%)	6 (13·3%)	42 (93·3%)	4 (8·9%)

** This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.5: Legacies left by Halifax Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1730–39

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 251 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	153 (61%)	12 (7·8%)	46 (30·1%)	57 (37·3%)	78 (51%)	54 (35·3%)
Son	142 (56·6%)	8 (3·5%)	11 (7·7%)	81 (57%)	95 (66·9%)	82 (57·7%)
Daughter	131 (52·2%)	5 (3·8%)	10 (7·6%)	24 (18·3%)	109 (83·2%)	82 (62·6%)
Grandchildren	47 (18·7%)	5 (10·6%)	3 (6·4%)	10 (21·3%)	38 (80·9%)	4 (8·5%)
Nephew/Niece	46 (18·3%)	3 (6·5%)	0	9 (19·6%)	40 (87%)	16 (34·8%)
Siblings	55 (21·9%)	3 (5·5%)	3 (5·5%)	13 (23·6%)	40 (72·7%)	20 (36·4%)
Affines	37 (14·7%)	1 (2·7%)	1 (2·7%)	9 (24·3%)	22 (59·5%)	11 (29·7%)
Cousin/Kinsman	21 (8·4%)	1 (4·8%)	2 (9·5%)	7 (33·3%)	18 (85·7%)	4 (19%)
Friend	3 (1·2%)	0	0	1 (33·3%)	3 (100%)	1 (33·3%)
'Acquaintance'*	39 (15·5%)	3 (7·7%)	1 (2·6%)	6 (15·4%)	36 (92·3%)	4 (10·3%)

** This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.6: Legacies left by Halifax Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1760–69

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 132 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	73 (53·3%)	11 (15·1%)	6 (8·2%)	31 (42·5%)	19 (26%)	51 (69·9%)
Son	56 (42·4%)	7 (12·5%)	1 (1·8%)	30 (53·6%)	35 (62·5%)	21 (37·5%)
Daughter	66 (50%)	7 (10·6%)	1 (1·5%)	30 (45·5%)	35 (53%)	21 (31·8%)
Grandchildren	23 (17·4%)	1 (4·3%)	0	6 (26·1%)	19 (82·6%)	4 (17·4%)
Nephew/Niece	43 (32·6%)	2 (4·7%)	3 (7%)	13 (30·2%)	38 (88·4%)	7 (16·3%)
Siblings	44 (33·3%)	0	0	12 (27·3%)	37 (84·1%)	8 (18·2%)
Affines	25 (18·9%)	2 (8%)	0	4 (16%)	20 (80%)	3 (12%)
Cousin/Kinsman	33 (25%)	2 (6·1%)	2 (6·1%)	4 (12·1%)	32 (97%)	4 (12·1%)
Friend	13 (9·8%)	1 (7·7%)	0	0	12 (92·3%)	0
'Acquaintance'*	53 (40·2%)	5 (9·4%)	2 (3·8%)	5 (9·4%)	51 (96·2%)	8 (15·1%)

** This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.7: Legacies left by York Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1690–99

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 155 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	88 (56·8%)	10 (11·4%)	10 (11·4%)	42 (47·7%)	29 (33%)	61 (69·3%)
Son	59 (38·1%)	9 (15·3%)	5 (8·5%)	36 (61%)	36 (61%)	25 (42·4%)
Daughter	55 (35·5%)	8 (14·5%)	2 (3·6%)	11 (20%)	44 (80%)	23 (41·8%)
Grandchildren	15 (9·7%)	1 (6·7%)	2 (13·3%)	5 (33·3%)	14 (93·3%)	0
Nephew/Niece	33 (21·3%)	0	0	8 (24·2%)	30 (90·9%)	7 (21·2%)
Siblings	57 (36·8%)	5 (8·8%)	0	15 (26·3%)	49 (86%)	19 (33·3%)
Affines	21 (13·5%)	0	1 (4·8%)	2 (9·5%)	21 (100%)	2 (9·5%)
Cousin/Kinsman	16 (10·3%)	2 (12·5%)	0	3 (18.75%)	13 (81.25%)	3 (18.75%)
Friend	18 (11·6%)	2 (11·1%)	0	2 (11·1%)	13 (72·2%)	4 (22·2%)
'Acquaintance'*	30 (19·4%)	4 (13·3%)	0	1 (3·3%)	27 (90%)	1 (3·3%)

** This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.8: Legacies left by York Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1730–39

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 171 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Wife	79 (46·2%)	12 (15·2%)	13 (16·5%)	39 (49·4%)	28 (35·4%)	57 (72·2%)
Son	61 (35·7%)	9 (14·8%)	4 (6·6%)	32 (52·5%)	47 (77%)	22 (36·1%)
Daughter	61 (35·7%)	7 (11·5%)	6 (9·8%)	21 (34·4%)	43 (70·5%)	22 (36·1%)
Grandchildren	14 (8·2%)	3 (21·4%)	1 (7·1%)	9 (64·3%)	7 (50%)	4 (28·6%)
Nephew/Niece	47 (27·5%)	3 (6·4%)	1 (2·1%)	20 (42·6%)	38 (80·9%)	13 (27·7%)
Siblings	51 (29·8%)	3 (5·9%)	1 (2%)	14 (27·5%)	46 (90·2%)	15 (29·4%)
Affines	25 (14·6%)	1 (4%)	2 (8%)	7 (28%)	19 (76%)	3 (12%)
Cousin/Kinsman	23 (13·5%)	3 (13%)	2 (8·7%)	5 (21·7%)	22 (95·7%)	2 (8·7%)
Friend	21 (12·3%)	3 (14·3%)	0	2 (9·5%)	21 (100%)	2 (9·5%)
'Acquaintance'*	43 (25·1%)	8 (18·6%)	1 (2·3%)	6 (14%)	37 (86%)	8 (18·6%)

** This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A5.9: Legacies left by York Men to their Relatives and Friends, 1760–69

CHAPTER 6

'Invidious Consumption': Women and Populuxe Goods

It was this new consumer demand, the mill girl who wanted to dress like a duchess, and who, according to a host of contemporary observers, could manage an increasingly close approximation to doing so — which helped to create the industrial revolution...

NEIL MCKENDRICK[1]

THE STARTING POINT for this thesis was Neil McKendrick's studies from the 1970s and 80s, that led to his bold statement that early modern England became in effect the 'first consumer society'.[2] Furthermore, he argued that the growth of consumption came from the emulation of the consumerism and the fashions of the metropolitan elite, which then diffused and trickled down to the rest of the nation's population over a period of weeks, months, and even years. In the preceding chapters I have argued that, whilst McKendrick is broadly right in his assessment of the Restoration and Georgian periods as Britain's first consumer society, the idea that the populuxe goods and other goods diffused slowly outwards over the country and down through the social hierarchy, and were then snapped up and consumed as a form of 'invidious' emulation of the elite, has little validity. I have shown in chapters 1 and 2 not only that fashions and goods took very little time to travel from London into the provinces, and that by the early eighteenth century many such goods were made in the provinces, but also that there is little evidence to suggest systematic emulation of the form proposed

[1]Neil McKendrick, 'Home demand and economic growth: a new view of the role of women and children in the industrial revolution', in Neil McKendrick, *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in honour of J.H. Plumb*, (London, 1974), p. 209.
[2]Neil McKendrick, 'The commercialization of fashion', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the commercialization of eighteenth century England*, (Bloomington, 1982), pp. 35–36. He expands on this consumption in his other chapter in the book, 'Josiah Wedgwood and the commercialization of the potteries'.

by McKendrick. If anything, the few populuxe goods that these men owned were displayed in order to boost their social standing amongst their peers, as much as they might have been used to emulate their social superiors. But I have up till now omitted one major aspect of McKendrick's work, namely his emphasis on the role of women in the creation of this first consumer society. His chapter in *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 'The commercialization of fashion', dealt virtually exclusively with female fashions. More importantly, as the epigraph highlights, he saw female consumption demands as playing a major role in the expansion of total home demand and thus economic growth. McKendrick based his research in the main on the growth in the advertising of fashions in newspapers, trade cards, and ladies' magazines.[3] Indeed it is surprising that more recent research has not always focused on the role of women in this. Maxine Berg's study of women from the industrial classes in Birmingham and Sheffield, is a notable exception, and she has found a slightly stronger social and emotional link between them and material culture, than amongst their male counterparts.[4]

In this chapter I will, therefore, take the surviving probate material left by women from South Cave, Halifax and York, and analyse it in a similar manner to the way I did the men's probate material in the preceding two chapters. After briefly summarizing other research on women and material culture in seventeenth and eighteenth century England, I will start by looking at the goods listed in the inventories of these women's assets, examining in particular whether any of the populuxe goods were recorded, and where such items were kept in the owner's house. This will allow me to see if these women's ownership patterns differed from those indicated by the inventories of men, suggesting gendered styles of consumption. In the second half of this chapter, I will look at what goods these women mentioned in their wills and to whom these were bequeathed, to discover whether patterns of bequests were gendered. This will highlight whether material culture, the populuxe goods in particular, had a different social and symbolic worth, depending on the sex of the owner.

[3]For example the *York Courant*, the *Lady's Magazine*, *Lane's Pocket Book*, and *The Ladies' Mirror or Mental Companion*. McKendrick, 'The commercialization of fashion', pp. 47-48, 84+98.
[4]Maxine Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 30, (1996), pp. 415-34.

Women and Material Culture

That women were seen as 'fashion victims' and particularly prone to this kind of frippery, is described in a variety of contemporary moral and satirical commentary.[5] On Tuesday March 11th 1712, for example, *The Spectator* carried the following excerpts of the fictional diary of the wealthy spinster 'Clarinda':

> Friday... From Ten to Twelve. In Conference with my Mantua-Maker. Sorted a suit of Ribbands. Broke my Blue China Cup... Saturday. Rose at Eight a Clock in the Morning. Sat down to my Toilet. From Eight to Nine. Shifted a patch for half an Hour before I could determine it. Fixed it above my left eyebrow. From Nine to Twelve. Drank my Tea, and dressed...[6]

The Royalist divine Richard Allestree was equally convinced of women's excessive interest in such 'trifles and vanities',[7] noting that if women did not say their morning devotions before getting dressed, then 'will be half a mockery, a most preposterous request, as to the greatest part of the day, which will be past before...[8]

Religious as he was, Allestree believed that morning prayers, said when a lady first rose, would turn her mind away from such pernicious and time wasting activities, towards a reliance on God as the arbiter of her position in the world, rather than her outward appearance and apparel. For as Mary Evelyn quipped in *Mundus Muliebris: Or, The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd* 'such care for a becoming Dress they take, As if their Life and Honour were at Stake'.[9]

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[5]Not that women were the only source of fun for the various London newspapers and magazines. As James Raven has noted, these publications were at the forefront of using (and creating) ideas in fashion and taste. For instance, London publications from the 1760s onwards were increasingly popularising the term 'vulgarity' or 'the vulgar' as a disparaging reference to those who persisted in acts unbecoming of their social station. Although the term had been in common use since the fifteenth century (though previously referring to the common people), new ideas like 'propriety' and 'taste' changed the use of the term, as normative ideas around social behaviour and conduct developed, James Raven, 'Defending Conduct and Property: The London Press and the Luxury Debate', in John Brewer and Susan Staves (eds.), *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, (London, 1996), pp. 301–322.

[6]Donald Bond (ed.), *The Spectator*, (1711–14), (5 vols, Oxford, 1965), Vol. 3, (no. 323), pp. 183–84.

[7]Richard Allestree, *The Ladies Calling*, (Oxford, 1675), p. 125.

[8]Allestree, *The Ladies Calling*, p. 120.

[9]Mary Evelyn, *Mundus Muliebris: Or, The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd*, (London, 1690), Juvenal Satire 6, preface.

Despite an abundance of such contemporary commentary concerning women and their relationship to material culture, only a few first hand sources, such as letters and household accounts, have survived, detailing the purchases and opinions of the women themselves. From this material, the letters in particular, we gain a sense that the consumption of material culture was indeed a high priority in the lives of gentry women, and being in the latest fashion even more so. The following extracts from the correspondence of Mrs. E. Dobson, of Morthwaite in Cheshire, to Mrs. E. Shakerley, of Westminster in London, highlight this nicely.

> [Oct. 1690] ... I enclose my measure to entreat you will do me the kindness to get me a pair of stays, and my manto made up. I would have the stays to suit my black satin petticoat which you know is trimmed with gold fringe... If they still wear mantos lined I desire mine may be lined...
>
> [Jan. 1691] The box came but from Warrington this evening and I writ this by the same messenger, so that I have not time to try my manto but like it very well and desire you will send me a pair of stays to suit it and my petticoat as I writ in my last, and, if they wear ribbons, a suit [of ribbons] ready made up as they wear them and a pair of ruffles suitable to the head...[10]

However, Amanda Vickery's important work on the correspondence of female members of the minor Lancashire gentry suggests the approach these women had towards consumption, was in fact more complex than mere conspicuous consumption and emulation. Yes they wished to be fashionable and to own smart examples of the new consumables, but were at the same time careful to temper this with more practical considerations, such as durability and price. So Betty Ramsden of Charterhouse in London wrote to Elizabeth Shackleton of Alkincoats in Lancashire, noting that in terms of china:

> The nanquen sort is most the present taste & consequently dearest, but as tis only blew and white ... will not be thought so fine. However, you may have a good, genteel, full sett (that is 42

[10]Arthur Bryant (ed.), *Postman's Horn, an Anthology of the Letters of Latter Seventeenth Century England*, (London, 1946), pp. 162+64.

> pieces) for about 5 or 6 guineas — since the Beau Monde is chiefly for the ornamental China for Chimneys & brackets to adorn the room & sett out for entertainements...[11]

This type of prudent thinking is clearly revealed in the surviving account book that the same Elizabeth Shackleton kept during the 1760s and 70s, as well as two diaries, into which she copied many of the letters she wrote. In her account book she recorded all provisions, clothing and household goods bought for her household, their quality and price, and how they were to be kept and used. Vickery has found from this, that whilst Shackleton acquired new items of clothing at regular intervals, for example, this did not stop her from reusing older garments, from re-trimming them to giving them to her servants, or even cutting them down for cleaning cloths. And despite Shackleton's obvious interest in fashionable tableware, she only renewed it infrequently — her first marriage and remarriage being the most notable occasions — or as a consequence of breakages.[12] A similar notion of 'prudent luxury', albeit on a grander scale, is revealed in a near complete set of surviving household account books of the gentlewoman Judith Baker of Durham, from her marriage in 1749 to her death in 1810. As Helen Berry points out, this virtually unique source shows how Baker carefully managed the acquisition of metropolitan luxuries within her existing budget, so that the family were presented 'properly', whilst maintaining a tight reign on household expenditure. This then allowed her to purchase such items as groceries including tea, chocolate, coffee, currents, mace, ginger and vermicelli from Blackiston & Miles & Co. in the Strand, London, in 1766, and £1 worth of scents and cosmetics from 'James Smyth & Nephews, Perfumers to His Majesty, At the Civet Cat, in New Bond Street', London, in 1767.[13]

This material would suggest therefore, Vickery argues, that it is not that women were so beset by the wish for luxuries that they would do without the

[11]Lancashire Record Office, Preston, DDB/72/86 (21 March 1754), Anne Pellet, London, to Elizabeth Parker, Alkincoats, quoted in Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, (New Haven, 1998), p. 169.
[12]Amanda Vickery, 'Women and the world of goods: a Lancashire consumer and her possessions, 1751–81', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London, 1993), pp. 280+282, and Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 169.
[13]Helen Berry, 'Prudent luxury: the metropolitan tastes of Judith Baker, Durham gentlewoman', in Rosemary Sweet and Penelope Lane (eds.), *On the Town: Women and urban life in eighteenth century England*, (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 146–48.

bare necessities, as the satirist Bernard Mandeville claims in relation to the poor masses:

> [The] poorest labourer's wife... who scorns to wear a strong wholesome frize... will starve herself and her husband to purchase a second gown and petticoat, that cannot do half the service, because forsooth it is more genteel...[14]

Rather, through 'prudent' economy they could afford the occasional luxury. But as those who ran the household, they were the common face of consumption, seen constantly busy purchasing all the everyday and luxury items needed to run their homes, and thus easily accused of being consumption and, as a consequence, luxury orientated.[15]

The paucity of surviving first hand accounts, and the lack of material pertaining to women below the elite, makes a direct analysis of the patterns of female consumption extremely difficult. Again the only documents that have survived in any number are wills and inventories, although all the caveats associated with this material, highlighted in relation to the men's wills and inventories, apply. A number of studies have been produced using these records, notably by Maxine Berg, Stana Nenadic, Lorna Weatherill and Amy Erickson. Their work has indicated subtle differences between male and female ownership patterns, that could imply gendered cultures of consumption. These findings suggest, for example, that female testators were more likely to bequeath goods, in particular such populuxe objects as silver trinkets and china ware, to their female relatives and friends,[16] and that certain goods had gendered symbolism attached to them. Nenadic, for example, has suggested that the goods she found in the newly introduced 'dining room', such as drinking glasses and china punch bowls, were essentially 'masculine' objects, associated with the male pastime of after dinner

[14]Bernard Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees*, (London, 1714), p. 105. quoted in Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe*, (London, 2002), p. 169.
[15]Vickery, 'Women and the world of goods', p. 281.
[16]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', pp. 419-21, and Amy Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, (London, 1995), pp. 215-217.

drinking.[17] Weatherill has noted that fewer clocks were recorded in the inventories of women's assets that she studied, than in the men's inventories, indicative she believes of the less time-orientated life of the former.[18] However, these historians have all stressed the tentative nature of their observations, based as they often are on samples from geographically small areas, restricted time periods and relatively small samples. This chapter will, therefore, build upon their findings, examining material from the three communities of South Cave, Halifax and York.

Populuxe Goods in Women's Inventories

As with the men's material, I have divided the women's inventories according to place and time period, using only ones suitable for this analysis, namely those inventories in which the assets of the deceased are recorded in detail. South Cave has provided a small sample of 12 inventories, for the whole period of 1660–1780. In the other two areas I have again sampled the 1690s, 1730s and 1760s. This gives us 76 and 96 inventories for Halifax and York respectively over the three decades. A more detailed breakdown of the samples is given in Table 6.1. These are substantially fewer in number than the men's, around 15% of all the inventories I have collected. Such a difference is usual: Weatherill also found that only around 15% of her extensive inventory sample were of women's assets.[19] Chapter 5 noted the main reason for this, namely that substantially fewer such records were made for women in the first place, as the assets of a wife belonged by law to her husband,[20] and so reverted automatically to the husband at her death, including everything she had brought with her on marriage. Thus only the possessions of widows and spinsters needed to be appraised and inventoried.

The South Cave sample is too small to be able to provide anything more than examples of what a few women in this rural parish might have owned. As Table 6.2 shows, contrary to what contemporary commentary concerning women and material culture would have us believe, the women in the small South Cave

[17]Stana Nenadic, 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720–1840', *Past and Present*, No. 145, (1994), pp. 146-47.
[18]Lorna Weatherill, 'A possession of one's own: women and consumer behaviour in England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 25, (1986), p. 143.
[19]Weatherill, 'A possession of one's own', p. 133.
[20]Jennifer Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, (Hull, 1994), p. 5.

Place	Date	Number of Inventories
South Cave	1660–99	3
	1700–39	3
	1740–80	6
Halifax	1690–99	41
	1730–39	26
	1760–69	9
York	1690–99	44
	1730–39	35
	1760–69	17

Table 6.1: Numbers of Women's Inventories used from South Cave, Halifax and York, 1660–1780

sample did not own large numbers of the populuxe goods. None are recorded in the three inventories from the first sample period at all, and only silver and china are recorded in the three inventories from the early eighteenth century sample.

This is in contrast to the men's samples, where 20·8% of the inventories from the period 1660–99 list silver objects, for example, and 16·7% mirrors. By the mid eighteenth century, all the populuxe goods under discussion were represented in some measure in the men's inventories, apart from china. By this latter period, a couple of the women's inventories also mentioned these goods. Furthermore, their inventories indicate that at least these women were aware to some extent of metropolitan fashions and the more specialised use of internal spaces in houses that was becoming current.[21] Thus the inventory in 1768 of the assets of the widow Mary Moore, records in her 'dining room & closets' a mahogany tea table and board worth 5*s.*, and china ware worth 7*s.* 6*d.*, including a punch bowl, and

[21]Michael McKeon notes that 'broadly speaking, innovation in interior design and useage began at the highest level of the social hierarchy and filtered downwards', Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge*, (Baltimore, 2005), pp. 221. The most visable developments started in the sixteenth century, when the organisation of the interior spaces of houses changed from an more open plan with a linear acess path from the main entrace, to a more complex system of closed, divided space with more convoluted access paths, Frank E. Brown, 'Countinuity and change in the urban house: developments in domestic space organisation in seventeenth-century London', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 28, (1986), pp. 558–590. Comensurate with these changes was a development in the use of rooms, whereby rooms ceased to be used for multiple purposes, and became increasingly specialised. Although these changes may have started at the highest levels of society, by the 1790s the architect John Wood was adovating separate living space for members of even the poorest familes. These proposals stand in marked contrast to the customary single living, working and living space observed by Daniel Defoe in his progress around Yorkshire in the 1720s, McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*, Chapter 5. Nor were these proposals mere theory: Hoskins notes that by the mid seventeenth centuary sub-division of space and specialisation of room use had become ubiqutous in his detailed study of rural Leicestershire, W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant: The Economic and Social History of a Leicestershire Village*, (London, 1957), pp. 283–310.

1660–99

No data available.

1700–39

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	2	66·6
Clock		
Mirror		
Picture		
Book		
*Utensil**		
China	1	33·3
Total Inventories:	3	

1740–80

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver		
Clock	1	16·7
Mirror	2	33·3
Picture		
Book	1	16·7
*Utensil**	2	33·3
China	1	16·7
Total Inventories:	6	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 6.2: Numbers of Inventories of South Cave Women that Recorded the Various Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

in her 'fore kitchen', with the more functional equipment needed to prepare the new hot drinks, such as a copper chocolate pot and tea kettle.[22] This document also highlights that even those with fairly modest inventoried wealth were able to acquire populuxe goods in this parish by this period, as the men's inventories had also indicated. The inventories of the widow Joan Duding, of Broomfleet, with its £30 4*s*. 8*d*. of inventoried wealth, and of the widow Ann Grasby, of South Cave village, with £18 19*s*. 4*d*. of inventoried wealth, further bear this out. Duding's

[22]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Sarah Moore, Ellerker, South Cave, widow, will written 29th June 175, inventory appraised 24th August 1768 and worth approximately £20. A few of the monetary values have been omitted, but not of anything of great value, if we compare them with similar items from other inventories, where monetary values are given.

Date	Women's Inventories	%	Men's Inventories	%
1690s	24	58·5	117	60·3
1730s	13	50·0	125	66·4
1760s	8	88·9	70	85·6

Table 6.3: Number and Percentage of Halifax Inventories that Recorded at Least one of the Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

inventory had two pieces of silver worth £1 6*s.* listed in her 'chamber', whilst Grasby's inventory recorded ten china plates, worth merely 6*d.*, and one silver tumbler worth 8*s.*, in her 'house'.[23] The china owned by Grasby is unlikely to have ever been worth more than a few shillings when new, so such objects were well within reach of a wide section of society, not merely the richer segments. The lack of populuxe goods in these inventories was not, therefore, primarily due to wealth or expense. As the inventory sample is so small, the absence of these items from the records in the first two time periods could just be a result of the sample size. Nonetheless, even these few inventories indicate that some women in South Cave owned populuxe goods by the mid eighteenth century, and a few had an awareness of the trends in fashion present in other parts of the country.

A substantially higher number of the women's inventories from Halifax listed these goods. And here we find no significant divergence between them and the numbers of men whose inventories listed populuxe goods, as Table 6.3 highlights. Some common patterns of ownership emerge between the men and women, when comparing tables 6.4 and 4.6 (on page 142). Whilst the numbers of men owning mirrors remained relatively static at around 25% throughout the period, for example, the numbers of women owning them declined. Nonetheless, the frequency with which china, utensils for hot drinks, and especially clocks, were listed in the inventories, increased steadily in both sample groups. This is contrary to the findings made by Weatherill for other parts of the country, where she has found women's inventories recording on average more utensils for hot drinks and china than their male counterparts, and fewer clocks. The reason

[23]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Joan Duding, Broomfleet, South Cave, widow, will written 7th December 1700, inventory appraised 20th May 1701 and worth £30 4*s.* 8*d.* including household goods, and Ann Grasby, South Cave, widow, no will, inventory appraised 3rd July 1723 and worth £18 19*s.* 4*d.* including household goods.

1690–99		
Goods	**Number of Inventories**	**%**
Silver	12	30·8
Clock	9	23·1
Mirror	15	38·5
Picture/Print	3	7·7
Book	14	35·9
*Utensils**		
China		
Total Inventories:	41	

1730–39		
Goods	**Number of Inventories**	**%**
Silver	3	11·1
Clock	7	25·9
Mirror	7	25·9
Picture/Print	2	7·4
Book	2	7·4
*Utensils**	3	11·1
China	1	3·7
Total Inventories:	26	

1760–69		
Goods	**Number of Inventories**	**%**
Silver	3	33·3
Clock	6	66·7
Mirror	1	11·1
Picture/Print		
Book	2	22·2
*Utensils**	3	33·3
China	1	11·1
Total Inventories:	9	

Utensil includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.

Table 6.4: Numbers of Inventories of Women from Halifax that Recorded the Various Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

for the latter she has explained by suggesting that women's lifestyles were less rigidly time regulated, more attuned to the family and children, rather than an occupation with fixed hours.[24] Naomi Tadmor has shown, however, through a study of novels, conduct treatises, and diaries, how at least amongst women of

[24]Weatherill, 'A possession of one's own', p. 143.

the middling sort (from whom the bulk of the inventories stem), their daily life was in fact very highly structured around time, from the time they were to rise, to the time they were to retire to bed, with both their physical and moral time structured around the family in which they lived.[25] The move from marriage into widowhood, possibly with her children having grown up and left, could be the first time a woman had more time to herself. In that context, there might have been less need for a time piece in the house.

But the ownership patterns revealed in the Halifax women's inventories replicate the findings made by Berg for the urban areas of Birmingham and Sheffield. Here Berg has also only found subtle differences in ownership patterns between the men's and women's inventories, with just slightly more women owning the populuxe goods, on average.[26] And Weatherill has also stressed, that overall the gender differences in ownership patterns in the samples she has studied, are not very significant.[27]

Instead, different women owned different populuxe goods, with little obvious pattern as to why a certain good was chosen over another. Thus the widow Sarah Sutcliffe of Heptonstall, owned several pieces of silver, a brass clock and two mirrors, whilst the widow Sara Stancliffe of Southowram, owned some silver and a tea table with 'things belonging it', and the spinster Susan Barker, of Stansfield, a bible.[28] It is likely that inventoried wealth played a role in their choice of goods. The results shown in Table 6.5 would suggest that the more inventoried wealth these women had, the more likely they were to own several of the populuxe goods, and the more expensive these generally were.

Again the paucity of records in the later sample decades means that we cannot argue conclusively that this was the case throughout the whole period under discussion. What this table does tell us, as we also saw in the South Cave

[25]Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: household, kinship, and patronage*, (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 63–72.
[26]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', p. 418.
[27]Weatherill, 'A possession of one's own', p. 137.
[28]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Sarah Sutcliffe, Heptonstall, Halifax, widow, will written 13th January 1730/31, inventory appraised 27th July 1737 and worth £21 11*s*. including household goods; Sara Stancliffe, Southowram, Halifax, widow, no will, inventory appraised 12th April 1731 and worth £22 10*s*.; and Susan Barker, Stansfield, spinster, will written 7th October 1736, inventory appraised 29th October 1736 and worth £36 19*s*. 11*d*. including household goods.

1690–99

Inventoried Wealth	Number of Inventories	Average Number Owned	Average Monetary Value Per Item
200 or over	4	4·3	2 10*s.* 2*d.*
100–199	4	3·0	1 3*s.* 5*d.*
60–99	5	3·0	14*s.* 5*d.*
20–59	7	1·4	10*s.* 11*d.*
Under 20	4	1·5	5*s.* 2*d.*

1730–39

Inventoried Wealth	Number of Inventories	Average Number Owned	Average Monetary Value Per Item
200 or over	0		
100–199	1	2·0	9*d.*
60–99	1	2·0	1 5*s.*
20–59	7	1·9	1 7*s.*
under 20	4	2·5	12*s.* 1*d.*

1760–69

Inventoried Wealth	Number of Inventories	Average Number Owned	Average Monetary Value Per Item
200 or over	—		
100–199	1	3·0	1 7*s.*
60–99	—		
20–59	2	1·5	9*s.* 8*d.*
Under 20	5	2·2	12*s.* 3*d.*

Table 6.5: The Number and Quality of the Populuxe Goods Owned by Women in Halifax, Depending on their Inventoried Wealth, 1660–1780

women's inventories and indeed in the men's as well, is that it was not just the rich who could afford them. As the period progressed, even those with only modest inventoried wealth were able to purchase such objects. And the latter seem to have been able to own not just one cheap item, but at least a couple, worth, furthermore, at least a few shillings each. The widow Margaret Medley, of Hipperholme, for example, whose inventoried wealth was calculated to be only £14 18*s.*, owned a clock valued at £2 2*s.* in her 'housebody', and the spinster Mary Leach, of Northowram, owned silver ware valued at a pound and two books and

Date	Women's Inventories	%	Men's Inventories	%
1690s	25	56·8	108	76·6
1730s	29	82·9	104	82·5
1760s	16	94·1	46	82·1

Table 6.6: Number and Percentage of York Inventories that Recorded at Least one of the Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

one mirror valued at a couple of shillings each, of an inventoried wealth of £11 14*s.* 3*d.*[29]

The assumption that women consumed more than men, in particular novel decorative 'luxuries' such as china ware and utensils for hot drinks, is again not borne out in these samples. I did point out in Chapter 4, however, that male ownership of these objects was lower than that recorded for other areas of the country, concluding that consumption in this parish was more akin to that for rural backwaters, rather than more commercialised and urban areas. So we might expect women's consumption to be correspondingly lower as well.

Not even in York were the women consuming substantially more than the men, at least until the mid eighteenth century, as Table 6.6. highlights. (But here again, the small size of the 1760s sample does not allow us to draw any substantive conclusions from this). In fact they were less likely to have owned populuxe goods, until the early eighteenth century, than men. In terms of which populuxe goods were listed, Table 6.7 shows that virtually all of them are fairly well represented throughout the three sample decades, although just like in the other two areas and amongst the men's inventories, ownership rates did not increase steadily. So whilst silverware was recorded fairly consistently, in around 40% of the inventory samples, the numbers owning pictures grew from around 15% to nearly 50%. The number owning utensils for hot drinks was even higher by the 1760s, at nearly 60%, from not being recorded at all in the first sample decade.

And whilst there was some fluctuation in the monetary worth of certain of these populuxe goods in the inventories, Table 6.8 suggests it was generally the case that those women with a higher amount of inventoried wealth, also owned

[29]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Margaret Medley, Hipperholme, Halifax, widow, no will, inventory appraised 11th June 1764 and worth £14 18*s.*, and Mary Leach, Northowram, spinster, no will, inventory appraised 16th June 1761 and worth £11 14*s.* 3*d.*

1690–99

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	19	42·2
Clock	2	4·4
Mirror	23	51·1
Picture/Print	7	15·7
Book	13	28·9
*Utensils**		
China	1	2·2
Total Inventories:	44	

1730–39

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	14	33·3
Clock	6	14·3
Mirror	23	54·8
Picture/Print	19	45·2
Book	9	21·4
*Utensils**	11	26·2
China	6	14·3
Total Inventories:	35	

1760–69

Goods	Number of Inventories	%
Silver	7	41·2
Clock	6	35·3
Mirror	10	58·8
Picture/Print	8	47·1
Book	1	5·9
*Utensils**	10	58·8
China	2	11·8
Total Inventories:	17	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 6.7: Numbers of Inventories of Women from York that Recorded the Various Populuxe Goods, 1660–1780

more populuxe goods, and ones valued at a higher price, than women with more modest inventoried wealth, until the mid eighteenth century. By this period, as we saw in Chapter 4 in the comparison between the gentlemen and esquires and the men with 'low status trades', this differentiation seems to have become more blurred. The widow Sarah Robinson, of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey, for

1690–99

Inventoried Wealth	Number of Inventories	Average Number Owned	Average Monetary Value Per Item
200 or over	4	5·0	4 4*s.* 4*d.*
100–199	4	4·8	6 12*s.* 1*d.*
60–99	—		
20–59	6	2·5	19*s.* 9*d.*
Under 20	11	1·7	9*s.* 6*d.*

1730–39

Inventoried Wealth	Number of Inventories	Average Number Owned	Average Monetary Value Per Item
200 or over	2	15·5	1 19*s.* 6*d.*
100–199	2	9·0	14*s.* 6*d.*
60–99	1	6·0	12*s.* 4*d.*
20–59	5	6·2	14*s.* 9*d.*
Under 20	19	2·3	6*s.* 10*d.*

1760–69

Inventoried Wealth	Number of Inventories	Average Number Owned	Average Monetary Value Per Item
200 or over	—		
100–199	1	1·0	2 10*s.*
60–99	1	3·0	1 14*s.* 8*d.*
20–59	3	5·0	8*s.* 4*d.*
Under 20	11	4·1	10*s.* 7*d.*

Table 6.8: The Number and Quality of the Populuxe Goods Owned by Women in York, Depending on their Inventoried Wealth, 1660–1780

example, whose inventory was worth a modest £18 7*s.* 5*d.*, owned tea tables and other utensils for hot drinks, china ware, various pictures, a mirror in a black frame, several religious books, and a silver gill and tea spoon.[30]

So again no significant ownership patterns are visible from these samples, that would suggest women consumed larger quantities of the populuxe goods than men, as contemporary commentators believed was the case. Just as Berg has found for Birmingham and Sheffield, the differences between the numbers of populuxe goods owned by men and women are small enough to be virtually negligible.

[30]BIA, Dean and Chapter court records, Sarah Robinson, St. Michael le Belfrey, York, widow, no will, inventory appraised 20th October 1766 and worth £18 7*s.* 5*d.*

Consequently, from the preliminary study of the data, little evidence can be found in inventories, of any major differences in the ownership rates of the populuxe goods between the men and women of South Cave, Halifax and York. This pattern is replicated in the inventory samples taken by Berg for Birmingham and Sheffield, whilst Weatherill's results show a slightly higher ownership rate of the populuxe goods. Indeed, in contrast to the assumptions made by contemporary moralists, these records suggest that, if anything, male ownership rates were slightly greater than the female ones, until the mid eighteenth century.

Gender and Consumption

After being widowed, the Durham gentlewoman Judith Baker, cited above, continued to run her household along the same lines as she had done whilst her husband was still alive, until her son married. This even extended to her regular commissions of groceries from London.[31] This then raises a question that is fundamental to this whole discussion, namely whose consumption patterns are actually being reflected in all these inventories? I suggested in the previous two Chapters that we were dealing with male choice, but as the majority of these men were most probably still married when they died (around two thirds of the male will samples record bequests to wives, for example), we cannot know for certain that the goods recorded in their inventories had been purchased by these men themselves, or were their preferred choice. The same question can then be asked of the women's inventories, as the overwhelming majority of these were of widows' assets. As Weatherill has pointed out, only items bought after their husband's death can be deemed to be solely of their own choice. But by their very nature, inventories only record those goods that were extant at the death of their owner, and give no clue as to when these items were purchased, or by whom.[32] If gendered consumption patterns did exist, then these should be most obviously revealed in the inventories left of spinsters. However, as only 6·8% of the women's inventories are of spinsters, these are too few for any meaningful comparison to be undertaken. In any case, the few that exist do not reveal any

[31]Berry, 'Prudent luxury', p. 148.
[32]Weatherill, 'A possession of one's own', pp. 136–37.

notable differences in ownership patterns of the new consumables, or household goods in general. Instead they record similar numbers of populuxe goods and of comparable quality, to their widowed and male counterparts. The spinster Elizabeth Tyson of St. Michael le Belfrey, for example, had various pictures and prints, including three large cuts framed in glass worth 4*s*. 6*d*. and one 'small head in painting' worth 1*s*. 6*d*., a small mirror worth 1*s*. and a swing mirror worth 7*s*. amongst her inventoried assets, and the spinster Mary Leach, of Northowram, had a mirror worth 1*s*. and silver ware worth £1 amongst her modest assets.[33]

In her study of female correspondence and household accounts, Vickery has shown that there could well have been at least a certain gendered purchasing pattern. She has found that women were largely responsible for both the choice and acquisition of everyday necessities for the household, as well as some populuxe goods, such as china tea services and silver ware. The husband, on the other hand, was responsible for the really large and expensive purchases, those goods that might only be bought only once in a lifetime, and which could play a substantial role in reflecting a family's social and dynastic aspirations, such as dining room or bedroom furniture.[34] That these women saw the choosing and ordering of certain goods as their prerogative, and that their taste was more suited to this, is amply reflected in the letters Vickery has analysed. In one example, after the lawyer Michael Scrimshire of Pontefract packed and sent Elizabeth Shackleton of Alkincoats a box of perishable foods wrongly, his wife Jane wrote to apologise and noted that thereafter she 'wo'd not let him have any Management in sending [perishables]', and that she was 'determined to have my own way this time'. Furthermore, comments made in these letters from husbands to female family members and friends, suggest they understood this as well. On one other occasion, in 1756, Robert Parker wrote from York to his fiancé Elizabeth (later Shackleton), apologising for some silver buckles he had purchased 'contrary to orders'.[35]

[33]BIA, York deanery, Elizabeth Tyson, St. Michael le Belfrey, York, spinster, will written 28th December 1736, inventory appraised before the end of October 1737 and worth 118 6*s*. 9*d*. including household goods, and Pontefract deanery, Mary Leach, Northowram, Halifax, spinster, no will, inventory appraised 16th June 1761 and worth 11 14*s*. 3*d*.
[34]Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 167–68.
[35]LRO, DDB/72/43 (c. 1756), Robert Parker, York, to Elizabeth Parker, Alkincoats, quoted in Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 164.

This gendered pattern of acquisition, though, has been questioned by Margo Finn, who has argued that men were just as likely to make everyday purchases of food and household items, citing extensive diary entries from four men who lived in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Rev. James Woodforde of Weston Longville in Norfolk, for example, went out on various occasions to buy food for his household, including cod and oysters in January 1787, and often traveled to Norwich to purchase fashionable wares, such as the new hat and eleven dozen coat and waistcoat buttons 'some Italian, some Clay's Paper ones, all black' from his mercer's (ordered in May 1793).[36] The accounts kept by the small Lancashire yeoman, Richard Latham, and the Lancashire gentleman, Nicholas Blundell, also indicate that men were often involved in all different aspects of shopping for their households and themselves. Blundell, for example, purchased a 'Periwigg of Horse Hair from a woman that came past my gates',[37] on June 15th 1705, obviously a purchase made on the spur of the moment from a wandering peddler. Latham bought himself a new hat, in 1735, as well as four pairs of new stockings for his daughters, and pins, starch and lace, amongst other goods.[38]

One record showing purchasing patterns has survived in the York inventories. And this does reveal a gendered differentiation between male and female consumption patterns. The inventory of the wealthy widow Margaret Mason, of York, consisted in large part of money out on loan, £473 12*s.* 6*d.* in all, but she also owned an abundance of expensive household items, including populuxe goods. Remarkably, this particular inventory is in fact a sales record, Mason's assets having been auctioned between the 19th and the 21st of September 1732. Thus we are given the actual resale value of the goods she owned, rather than an estimate produced by the appraisers. Furthermore, in this example the names of those who bought her goods are also recorded, and the first thing to note is that the large majority of these buyers were women. Moreover, as is suggested by Vickery, the few men recorded in this inventory largely bought Mason's tables

[36]Margo Finn, 'Men's things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution', *Social History*, Vol. 25, (2000), pp. 138–39.
[37]J.J. Bagley and Frank Tyrer (eds.), *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, (1702-28), (3 vols), *The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 110, (1968), Vol. I, p. 87.
[38]Lorna Weatherill (ed.), *The Account Book of Richard Latham*, (1724–67), *The British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History*, New Series, Vol. 15, (1990), p. 29–32.

and other pieces of furniture, whereas it was women who were acquiring her china ware and silver items. Thus a Mrs. Sands purchased three sets of china, a china punch bowl, boat and some china toys for £1 3*s.* 10*d.* A Mrs. Hambleton bought coloured china and plates and a silver tea pot, for which she paid £3 18*s.* 6*d.*, a mirror for 7*s.* 6*d.* and 11 pictures for 5*s.* 6*d.*, amongst other items. In contrast, a William Nelson purchased a chair for 2*s.*, a John Smith a bedstead with its hangings for £2 2*s.* 6*d.* and a 12lbs pewter dish for 9*s.*, and a Mr. Raine an oval table for 3*s.*[39] Thus there is some evidence for the case to be tentatively made, that women were more often involved in the purchasing of the populuxe goods, and so had become both more associated with such items, and thought to be more knowledgeable about them, than men.

A more detailed analysis of the inventories, does not reveal further such differences, however. A breakdown of the contents of the inventories according to room headings (given in Tables A6.1–A6.3 in the appendix) shows that, just as in the men's samples, the majority of women kept their populuxe goods in their main living spaces, indicative of a common understanding of social display. The widow Mary King, of Warley, was just one who had her clock in her 'house body' and her silver cup in her 'parlour'.[40] Equally, certain of the populuxe goods, such as utensils for hot drinks, are recorded as being kept in the 'kitchen' or 'other' rooms, from whence they could be carried into the main living spaces and utilised when necessary. And in a number of inventories, the 'kitchen' itself again appears to have been used as a main living space, at least for the family, housing everything from cooking utensils to silver ware, tables and chairs, to mirrors. The spinster Miriam Beverley, of Thawhill in Skircoat, for instance, had her only recorded populuxe good, a mirror, situated in her 'kitchen', and the widow Rachael Taylor, of St. John Micklegate in York, had several silver teaspoons, a coffeepot and a teakettle stored in hers, as well as various tables, chairs, cooking and eating utensils.[41]

[39]BIA, York Deanery, Margaret Mason, York, widow, no will, her assets sold between 19th and 21st September 1732. In all the value of her assets, including her money out on loan, came to £766 1*s.* 6*d.*
[40]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Mary King, Warley, Halifax, widow, no will, inventory appraised 8th January 1760 and worth £107 3*s.* 9*d.*
[41]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Miriam Beverley, Thawhill in Skircoat, Halifax, spinster, will written 24th June 1693, inventory appraised 21st July 1693 and worth £38 10*s.* 4*d.* including household goods,

All this is unsurprising, if we think that as widows, the vast majority of these women will have inherited most of the goods they owned, and in many cases their house, from their husbands. A number of the surviving men's wills enumerate more specifically what goods this might include. The gentleman John Whittel, of Marshall Hall in Elland, for example, left his loving wife Susanna half his house and garden with their contents, as well as the bed and bedding in the 'sun' room, whilst the plumber and glazier Thomas Allanson, of York, left his wife Grace all the furniture, silver, household linen and so forth that was to be found in his house in Coney Street.[42] Furthermore, it was obviously assumed from other comments made in the wills, that many household goods were meant to last more than one generation. So whilst Allanson's wife was given permission to use all his household goods, he states that after her death they are to be given, together with the house, to their three children. As a consequence, it is difficult to assess how many, if any, of the household goods recorded in the women's inventories had actually been chosen by them. And as Vickery and Berry have highlighted, cited above, even after the death of a husband, women did not necessarily change the patterns of household consumption. One of the few examples where the inventories of both a man and his widow have survived, that of the Pattisons of St. Mary's Castlegate in York[43], highlights this more clearly. Living in small lodgings, William, a miller, left his two-roomed apartment and virtually all its contents, as well as a horse (effectively his worktool), to his widow, who died two years later. The only difference in the two documents pertains to three loads of wheat, and a silver cup and tumbler, recorded in William's inventory, but not in Elizabeth's. The wheat will have either been used up, or sold, by the time of his widow's death, and the silver ware may well have been bequeathed separately by William. As no accompanying wills have survived, this cannot be verified.

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and York deanery, Rachael Taylor, St. John Micklegate, York, no will, inventory appraised 21st March 1731/2 and worth £19 11*s*. 2*d*.

[42]BIA, Pontefract deanery, John Whittal, Marshal Hall in Elland, Halifax, gentleman, will written 18th May 1697, inventory appraised 24th July 1697 and worth £674 13*s*. 8*d*. including household goods, and York deanery, Thomas Allanson, York, plumber and glazier, will written 5th January 1762, no inventory.

[43]BIA, York deanery, William Pattison, St. Mary's Castlegate, York, miller, no will, inventory appraised 26th April 1733 and worth £11 14*s*. 10*d*. including household goods, and Elizabeth Pattison, widow, no will, inventory appraised 13th May 1735 and worth £7 6*d*. including household goods.

Some of the delft ware displayed on top of the chest of drawers in their 'low room' might well have changed in the intervening period, due to breakages, but as no other details are given we cannot be certain. William Pattison's inventory suggests, furthermore, that he had little other wealth, and shows that his lodgings did not belong to him, as in both inventories it is noted that the range in the hearth of the main room belonged to the landlord. So Elizabeth was hardly in a position to be able to purchase any non-essential semi-durables, such as populuxe objects, even if she had wished to.

Although Elizabeth seems to have been left the bulk of William's assets, common law dictated a widow need only be given a third of her husband's estate.[44] Furthermore, as Erikson has noted, from her study of probate material from all over the country, not only were widows losing a higher-earning partner, but around a quarter of them will have been left in debt by their spouse as well.[45] And we have to remember, as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine hall have argued, that despite being variously employed within the household enterprise and beyond, throughout much of their lives, their economic role did not in the vast majority of cases, pay the same monetary dividends, as that of their deceased husband.[46] The major exception were those wealthy urban widows of the middling orders, described by Berg as the industrial classes, who had been active partners in family businesses, and tradeswomen in their own right.[47] Only a small handful of inventories portraying what would appear to be such women have survived in the York samples, Margaret Mason, cited above, being one of these. The will samples reveal a larger group of such women and their consumables. Together their records list a wide array of general household goods and populuxe objects, from silver bottles, butter and sauce boats and toasting forks, to books, Japanned tea boards,

[44]Susan Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property in England, 1660-1833*, (London, 1990), p. 27.
[45]Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, p. 200 and p. 43, table 2.4.
[46]Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes:* , (2nd ed., London, 2002), chapter 6.
[47]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', pp. 427-29. Mary Prior has also found a handful of such women amongst the trading community of Oxford in the early modern period, but has emphasised how unusual it was for women to be running businesses in their own right, let alone on as serious scale as that of the mercer Maria Mathew, who took 12 apprentices during her second widowhood, Mary Prior, 'Women and the urban economy: Oxford 1500-1800', in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, (London, 1985), pp. 106-107.

blue and white china tureens and dishes, and pieces of jewellery, which were the result of their own personal choices, if the findings by Vickery are correct.[48]

Whether through necessity or personal choice, general ownership patterns differed little between men and women, both in South Cave, Halifax and York, and elsewhere in the country, whether they had large amounts of inventoried wealth, or only modest assets. What the inventories reveal, therefore, are common patterns of household consumption and display, rather than personal choice. This would suggest that there was a certain common consensus concerning the kinds of goods a household was to own, and the ways in which these might be displayed, which could fluctuate according to the wealth, occupation/status, and locality of the family.

Nonetheless, it is unlikely that household goods, including populuxe objects, were acquired solely in order to express the social pretensions of the household, without any regard for personal taste and enjoyment. And as the letters that Vickery has collected show, personal taste could run counter to the fashion of the time. Elizabeth Shackleton complained in 1754, for example, that she could not acquire the china tea-tray she wanted, due to tea-boards being the newest craze in London.[49] A small number of the women's, and also men's, inventories do provide us with a few indications as to the style and decoration of these goods, but even this is minimal. At most we might find a passing reference to the colour and style of an item, for example the red and white set of china owned by the Halifax gentleman, Robert Ramsden, the couple of blue and white flowered china dishes owned by the widow Elizabeth Knapton, of St Trinity Micklegate in York, or the large glass wall frame, several walnut framed mirrors and eight small prints 'glassed and coloured' owned by the glover and leather seller John Walker, of St. Michael's Spurriergate in York.[50] It could well be that in the style and fashion

[48]BIA, York deanery, Katherine Hobson, York, widow, will written 29th November 1693, no inventory; Susannah Howard, St. Michael Spurriergate, widow of William Howard, aledraper, will written 8th February 1764, no inventory; Sarah Currer, York, widow, will written 7th April 1766, no inventory; and Sarah Tancred, York, Spinster, will written 29th June 1769, no inventory.

[49]LRO DDB/72/74 (no date), Betty Ramsden, Charterhouse, to Elizabeth Parker, Alkincoats, quoted in Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 169.

[50]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Robert Ramsden, Halifax, gentleman, no will, inventory appraised 12th May 1766 and worth £155 17s. including household goods; York deanery, Elizabeth Knapton, St. Trinity Micklegate, York, widow, will written 16th November 1766, inventory appraised 22nd December

of such items as delft or china ware, for example, the taste of the women in the household held sway, as I tentatively argued at the beginning of this section, but the inventories do not record this.

Whilst inventories do not explicitly highlight the personal consumption choices of women, or indeed men, were wills any better? Chapter 5 showed that men's wills were primarily concerned with the transmission of solid property, power and lineage, and only secondarily concerned with giving gifts of personal items that might have held some emotional and sentimental value to them. In the absence of such social and economic concerns, did the women of the record-leaving classes still leave their assets to their close family, or were they diffused amongst a wider circle of family and friends? And if so, do the wills record any accompanying information that would tell us about these women's relationship not only with the assets being given away, but also with the recipients?

Populuxe Goods in Women's Wills

It is immediately apparent from the will samples that the bequeathal patterns of men and women, in all three areas, were notably different from each other. Whilst the bequeathing of money seems to have been common to both, and mentioned in nearly all wills, bequests of land were rarer in the women's. Given the tendancy, mentioned in the previous chapter, for the bulk of the husband's real estate to be transmitted to a male heir, these women were less likely to own any land and houses in the first place. Instead, except in South Cave, we find a higher prevalence of goods, including populuxe objects, being bequeathed. So whilst a few of the men's wills included such bequests, as the two silver tumblers worth £4 and five silver spoons that the linen weaver John Clark of Minster Yard in York, left John Dodsworth,[51] this was a much more common practice amongst female testators, in particular those living in York. Aldra Driffield was just one of a number of women who made specific bequests of various of the populuxe goods in her will. She left her great bible and a picture of Jesus to Marmaduke

1766 and worth £23 10*s.* 6*d.*; and John Walker, St. Michael's Spurriergate, York, no will, inventory appraised 5th February 1761 and worth £270 7*s.* including household goods.

[51]BIA, York deanery, John Clark, Minster Yard, York, linen weaver, will written 27th October 1691, inventory appraised 5th November 1691 and worth £66 11*s.* including household goods.

Fothergill, a silver spoon to Mr. John Welburne's daughter, and a gold ring 'on her finger' to her cousin Ellen Fleming.[52] This again is similar the findings by Berg for Birmingham and Sheffield, although she has qualified the assertion that this was the consequence of a lack of other assets to give away. Indeed Berg had emphasised the importance of women of the middling sort in these urban industrialising towns in the transmission of property and also trade skills, as many such women were active partners in family businesses, and tradeswomen in their own right.[53]

The number of wills left by female testators from South Cave, Halifax and York, is much smaller than the men's: 23·4% of all wills used in this thesis. Their marital status made married women legally the dependents of their husbands, and thus any such document that they might have produced null and void.[54] This is comparable to the rest of the country: Erickson has found that by the mid eighteenth century around 25% of all surviving wills were of women.[55] The South Cave, Halifax and York samples consist mainly of widow's and spinster's wills, although a small handful of wills were produced by wives, virtually exclusively from the York samples. Mary Spooner, for example, wife of the gentleman Thomas Spooner of York, had been left £1,000 by her father, the late George Dover, esq. under the following conditions: namely that it was to be her own property despite her coverture, that she was to have the interest of it during her lifetime, and could choose whom to bequeath it to after her death. Thus she proceeded to leave her 'dear' husband £20 a year and his daughter by a previous marriage £200 at his death. The rest was to go to her own only daughter Hannah, wife of the London druggist, John Walker.[56] This is an example of one of the few instances where a will written by a wife was probably legal or at least allowed by the husband. Indeed, Erickson has pointed out that in such cases it can be presumed that a contract for seperate estate during coverture had been written by the person leaving such a bequest to a woman. These were most likely to be made

[52]BIA, York deanery, Aldra Driffield, York, widow, will written 19th April 1694, no inventory.
[53]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes f eighteenth century England', pp. 427-29.
[54]Kaner, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 5.
[55]Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, p. 204.
[56]BIA, York deanery, Mary Spooner, York, wife of Thomas Spooner, gentleman, will written 17th March 1760, no inventory.

Place	Date	Number of Women Recorded
South Cave	1660–99	3
	1700–39	6
	1740–80	9
Halifax	1690–99	27
	1730–39	54
	1760–69	42
York	1690–99	48
	1730–39	70
	1760–69	107

Table 6.9: Numbers of Surviving Wills Utilised from South Cave, Halifax and York, 1660–1780

in cases where a wife's own property was fairly substantial, and so was to be provided with protection against any financial liabilities her husband incurred.[57]

I have also further confined the sample size to include only those wills where more than one bequest was made, rather than just a generic comment that all the testator's worldly assets were to be given to their children or other recipient. Such wills are only few in number, however. Unlike for men, who were by law required to leave the vast bulk of their estate to their wife and children, no such restrictions governed women's bequeathal patterns, so they theoretically had a freer reign as to whom they could leave their assets to. The following analysis should reveal if there were common patterns of bequeathal amongst women, indicative of communal social customs, that might have governed the way they divided up their possessions. In all there are 18 usable wills from South Cave, covering the whole period 1660–1780. For Halifax and York, 123 and 225 usable wills remain from the sample decades of the 1690s, 1730s and 1760s. Table 6.9 gives a more detailed breakdown of the number of wills utilised.

There are merely a couple of instances in the few wills in the South Cave sample where populuxe goods are specifically mentioned. The widow Joan Dudding, of Broomfleet, for example, (mentioned above), bequeathed a piece of plate each to her daughter and her son. As Table 6.10 further highlights, even the most expensive, and arguably important, household goods, such as beds, are not mentioned in any number either, although these were bequeathed separately in

[57]Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, p. 136.

1660–99

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Money	3	100·0
Silver	1	33·3
Bed/Bedding	2	66·7
Brass	1	33·3
Pewter	1	33·3
Clothes	1	33·3
Total Wills:	3	

1700–39

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Land	2	40·0
Money	5	100·0
Silver	1	20·0
Chest	1	20·0
Linen	1	20·0
Pewter	1	20·0
Clothes	2	40·0
Total Wills:	5	

1740–80

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Land	4	44·4
Money	7	77·8
Bed/Bedding	1	11·1
Clothes	2	22·2
Total Wills:	9	

Table 6.10: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, South Cave 1660–1780

a number of the men's wills, and probably utilised, as we saw in the previous chapter, as vehicles for the transmission of family lineage.

The widow Katherine Bovell, of South Cave, is one of the few who mentioned such goods in her will. She left to her daughter Elizabeth Bankes, amongst other things, two beds and bedding, various pewter dishes and plates, and a silver tumbler, and to her son Matthew Bankes, one bed and bedding, some linen and £5 10s., and to her other son Simon Bankes, 40s.[58] The majority of the women, in contrast, bequeathed money or land to their legatees, the widow Catherine

[58]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Katherine Bovell, South Cave, will written 26th October 1693, no inventory.

Marshall, for instance, leaving a shilling each to a whole raft of family members and acquaintances, whilst the widow Martha Charter of Flaxfleet, left two houses and three freehold crofts in Flaxfleet to her three children, the yearly income from which were to support their upbringing.[59] This contradicts the assumption that women gave away populuxe goods and other household moveables in the absence of more substantial property, and replicates Berg's findings.[60]

These examples would verify what I found in the men's will samples, namely that only in certain cases were goods mentioned in much detail. Joan Duding, for example, wished for the two silver pieces she owned to be evenly distributed between her two children. She also gave them a cupboard each. The rest of her household goods were lumped in the residue of her estate. This would suggest that her silver ware and the two cupboards were of special personal significance, and that she wanted them to become part of her family's heritage, if they were not that already. The silver tumbler left by Bovell to her daughter was likely seen as a family heirloom as well. Her will also shows that she was leaving a large part of her household goods to her daughter, whilst her sons received sums of money. As I noted in the previous section, Coster found this same pattern in other Yorkshire parishes, suggesting that household goods, especially the more expensive items like beds and bedding, could then become part of a daughter's marriage dowry. The will of Bovell's second husband, the yeomen John Bovell, has also survived. This gives us a further indication why her daughter received goods rather than money from her mother at the latter's death. As he had no children of his own, John Bovell left a few pounds to his sister, nephews and nieces, but most of his estate to his wife and her children. This included £20 to Elizabeth Bankes, but only 5s. each to her sons. So in her own will, Katherine Bovell was topping up what her husband had left her sons in terms of money, whilst also leaving them the residue of her estate, which may have included land.

The number of wills that specifically mentioned goods, including populuxe objects, was higher in the Halifax wills. Table 6.11, furthermore, highlights that

[59]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Catherine Marshall, South Cave, widow, will written 3rd June 1708, inventory of her shop goods appraised 14th March 1712/3 and worth £22 15s., and Martha Charter, Flaxfleet, widow, will written 7th April 1750, inventory appraised 17th April 1750 and worth £6 12s. including household goods.

[60]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', p. 417.

Date	Women's Wills	%	Men's Wills	%
1690s	4	14·8	8	5·4
1730s	13	24·1	24	9·6
1760s	7	16·7	29	11·6

Table 6.11: Number and Percentage of Halifax Wills that Recorded at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780

these women were more likely to make a mention of populuxe goods in their wills, than the men did. Whilst the percentage of women bequeathing such goods in their wills hardly increased over the whole period, the percentage of men mentioning such goods more than doubled. However, the smallness of the sample size means we cannot draw any substansive conclusions from this. But as both Table 6.11 and Table 6.12 show (A more comprehensive table, including various other everyday household items such as beds, is reproduced in the appendix to this chapter), the frequency with which the populuxe goods were mentioned separately is substantially lower than I expected. Furthermore, in those wills that mention the populuxe goods outright, it is again only pieces of silver that are recorded with any regularity, the same populuxe item most often recorded in the men's wills.

This is hardly surprising. I argued in the previous chapter that in terms of material culture, Halifax would seem to have been relatively conservative, and below the 'national average' for the ownership of populuxe goods (apart from clocks). At the same time, this finding reinforces the notion given in the men's wills and inventories, that silverware not only had a use as highly decorative display pieces, but its intrinsic monetary value made them popular and useful heirlooms, which could be handed down from generation to generation. This same intrinsic monetary value meant they could also be converted into cash, if necessary. Thus the widow Elizabeth Copley, of Halifax, left her grandson John a silver tankard, her granddaughter Elizabeth Hough six silver spoons and a silver salt, and her granddaughter Elizabeth Lamb a silver tumbler, and the widow Grace Walker of Upper Walter Clough in Southowram, left her son John a silver tankard, a silver cup, and six spoons marked 'R.G.W.', and her three

1690–99

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Silver	3	11·1
Book	1	3·7
Clothes	7	25·9
Total Wills:	27	

1730–39

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Silver	10	18·5
Mirror	1	1·9
Clock/Watch	3	5·6
Book	5	9·3
*Utensils**	1	1·9
China	2	3·7
Clothes	13	24·1
Total Wills:	54	

1760–69

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Silver	5	11·9
Mirror	1	2·4
Clock/Watch	1	2·4
Book	2	4·8
Clothes	21	50·0
Total Wills:	42	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 6.12: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Populuxe goods and Clothing in their Wills, Halifax 1660–1780

daughters Mary, Grace and Sarah, the rest of her silverware.[61] It is interesting to note, in contrast, the lack of clocks mentioned in these wills, the populuxe good most often recorded in both the women's and the men's inventory samples, especially as it was both a useful and durable good, and which did not lose its intrinsic worth over time either. One of the few examples of a clock being mentioned, is in the will of the spinster Sarah Pearson, of Booth Town, in which

[61]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Elizabeth Copley, Halifax, widow, will written 14th April 1691, inventory appraised 24th July 1691 and worth £211 10s. including household goods, and Grace Walker, Upper Walter Clough, Southowram, Halifax, widow of Richard Walker, gentleman, will written 11th January 1733/4, no inventory.

Date	Women's Inevntories	%	Men's Inventories	%
1690s	23	47·9	24	18·2
1730s	31	44·3	29	20·0
1760s	45	42·1	41	24·0

Table 6.13: Number and Percentage of York Wills that Recorded at Least one Populuxe Good, 1660–1780

she bequeathed her clock to her nephew Thomas.[62] Of other items mentioned (not populuxe goods), the majority were the same expensive durables like beds, seen in the men's wills, carrying all the dynastic symbolism with them mentioned previously. So apart from several items of silver, the widow Grace Whittel, of Halifax, left her son John a dozen pewter dishes, three candlesticks, six chairs and a bed and bedding, her daughter two cupboards, a glass case and its contents, and six chairs with embroidered covers, and her son William two brass pots, seven pewter dishes and four pewter flaggons. The widow Anne Brookesbank, of Brearley Mill in Sowerby, left her niece Elizabeth one feather bed and the family bible, and the widow Martha Longbottom of Halifax left her four grandchildren various household and populuxe goods, including a swing mirror, and half her silverware, (which was, incidentally, to be sold and the money used to bring them up).[63]

As expected, York women were the most likely to bequeath populuxe goods, as they were the most likely to own them as Table 6.13 shows. Nearly half of these women's wills mentioned at least one of these objects, in stark contrast to both the findings in South Cave and Halifax, and in the York men's wills: only around 20% of the latter mentioned one.

Amongst the wealth of detail given in some of these wills, we find the widow Anne Danby bequeathing her locket set with thirteen rubies and a diamond to her daughter Eleanor Jackson, her dressing box with the mirror, brushes and

[62]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Sarah Pearson, Booth Town, Halifax, spinster, will written 5th May 1760, no inventory.

[63]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Grace Whittel, Halifax, widow, will written 2nd January 1692/3, inventory appraised 17th January 1692/3 and worth £118 15*s.* including household goods; Anne Brookesbank, Brearley Mill, Sowerby, Halifax, will written 20th march 1729/30, inventory appraised 16th October 1730 and worth £16 2*s.* 1*d.*; and Martha Longbottom, Halifax, widow, will written 7th March 1767, no inventory.

little boxes to it, her turquoise stone ring, and her black figured silk petticoat and mantua to her daughter Frances Parker, and her sable tippet to Mrs. Anne West, amongst other things.[64] We also find the spinster Elizabeth Woodyeare, who left her nephew William Thompson portraits of herself and her father, her nephew Richard her best diamond ring, and her Goddaughter all her silverware and household linen, and the spinster Jane Kennedy leaving her red silk gown and a green quilted petticoat to Ann Sanderson, and her diamond ring and a piece of yellow silk to Miss Dorothy Dawson.[65] The bequeathal patterns recorded by the above women, obviously members of York's elite, are replicated around the country, as Marcia Pointon has found from a collection of 89 wills left by gentry women. These show how careful women were in the bequeathing of such goods, not only so that there was no leeway for confusion, but also because these were obviously items very personal and dear to them, (as well as of considerable monetary value). And they were not always handed down within the family, but on occasion also bequeathed to close friends.[66]

Table 6.14, however, shows, just like we found in all the other will samples, that only certain expensive and durable populuxe and other goods, were recorded consistently throughout the period. We find, therefore, that pieces of silver were bequeathed in around a third of all the wills, for example, whereas pictures and prints, and books, in less than 10% of them. Furthermore, here again we find bequests of land and money outstripping those of these other goods. The will of the widow Frances Killingbeck is a fairly typical example. She left a number of relatives and acquaintances one or two guineas each, but to Mrs. Elizabeth Napier her feather bed, bolster and pillows, and her silver ware and household linen to her granddaughter Katherine Crathorn.[67] This shows, in a nutshell, the different bequeathal patterns recorded in the will samples. Wider family and friends received merely a small token as an acknowledgement of their kinship and friendship, whilst a close friend was given a much more substantial and

[64]BIA, York deanery, Anne Danby, York, widow, will written 11th April 1695, no inventory.
[65]BIA, York deanery, Elizabeth Woodyeare, York, spinster, Will written in January 1729/30, no inventory, and Jane Kennedy, York, spinster, will written 5th November 1738, no inventory.
[66]Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing*, (Oxford, 1997), chapter 1.
[67]BIA, York deanery, Frances Killingbeck, York, widow, will written 10th June 1737, no inventory

1690–99

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Jewellery	11	22·9
Silver	25	52·1
Clock/Watch	2	4·2
Picture/Print	1	2·1
Book	5	10·4
Clothes	15	31·3
Total Wills:	48	

1730–39

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Jewellery	17	24·3
Silver	28	40·0
Mirror	3	4·3
Clock/Watch	12	17·1
Picture/Print	7	10·0
Book	5	7·1
*Utensils**	5	7·1
China	3	4·3
Clothes	38	54·3
Total Wills:	70	

1760–69

Goods	Number of Wills	%
Jewellery	17	15·9
Silver	30	28·0
Mirror	1	0·9
Clock/Watch	18	16·8
PicturePrint	3	2·8
Book	5	4·7
*Utensils**	14	13·1
China	8	7·5
Clothes	51	47·7
Total Wills:	48	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table 6.14: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, York 1660-1780

meaningful item, the bed Napier herself had slept in, with all the notions of personal connection and memory associated with such gifts, (discussed in the previous chapter). The household linen and silver ware, were then given to a close family member, ensuring their transmission through the family line.

In fact, of all the goods mentioned in the women's wills, from all three areas, clothing was the most common: 50% of the 1760s samples mentioned apparel. Moreover, whilst one or two items of silver, or a single clock or watch, might be mentioned, in the case of clothing the wills generally listed a large number of pieces. The widow Sarah Fell, of Stainland, for example, left her sister Millicent her crepe gown, her light coloured tammy gown, her dark coloured striped cotton gown, and her blue shalloon quilted petticoat, and the spinster Jane Chamberlain, of Halifax, left her niece Catherine and Frances Baynor her better sort of apparel, whilst her usual day wear, including her linen, was to go to her female servant.[68] Berg has found this tendency to bequeath clothing in her will samples as well.[69] Furthermore, these goods were described in more detail and with more personal sentiment attached to them, than any of the other goods. Indeed Berg has noted that 'these were valuable goods, but the bequests were deeply personal, and closely tied to a passing on of something of the identity of the testatrix to those closest to her'.[70]

Gender and the Articulation of Social Networks

Berg concluded that these women's wills read like a coded inventory of their lives.[71] Within this material goods, in particular personal items of clothing, were utilised to articulate their family and friendship networks. In this particular instance it was female groups that were acknowledged in such a manner, but Berg also emphasises that other goods were bequeathed in equal numbers to men.[72] In chapter 5 I cited Mauss's hypothesis, amongst others, that gifts were understood as part of a whole network of exchanges, that articulated and cemented personal and neighbourly relationships. Reading the letters Vickery analysed in this light, we see a web of interlocking relationships, all reflected in such actions. The numerous letters written between Betty Ramsden and other female members of her family and social circle, are a good example of this, Ramsden relaying the newest

[68]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Sarah Fell, Stainland, Halifax, widow, will written 14th May 1763, inventory appraised (her goods sold) 7th and 11th June 1764, and made £13 2*s.* 3*d.*, and Jane Chamberlain, Halifax, spinster, will written 19th November 1766, no inventory.
[69]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', p. 421.
[70]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', p. 424.
[71]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of 18th century England', p. 420.
[72]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth century England', pp. 419-26.

metropolitan fashions to her country cousins, for instance, and the numerous patterns, silks and satins she purchased and had dispatched up north for them, as gifts or in answer to their commissions given her.[73] The difference in the case of wills, is that any such gift exchanges were one way, never to be reciprocated, unless by favours to the deceased's family, extending these networks into the next generation. Amy Erickson has suggested one further reason for the high number of bequests to other women that she found amongst the wills she had collected. Noting the preponderance of women who owned real estate to bequeath this to their female relatives and friends, Erickson has concluded that the reason for this could well be a desire to support and bolster the economic situation of women, which in the face of primogeniture and a lack of the occupational opportunities, was significantly more precarious than men's.[74] This would suggest two types of bequeathal patterns were common amongst women, namely ones creating and articulating economic support networks, and ones articulating emotional networks. In reality, as we will see, the two were generally interdependent of each other, with a desire both for providing economic support and articulating a notion of friendship.

On the face of it, the patterns of gift giving suggested by Berg are visible in the surviving wills from South Cave, Halifax and York, albeit on a smaller scale in the first two. The widow Margaret Darlby, of Sowerby, for example, left her niece Mary Whiteing who lived with her, a silver cup with the initials '*M.W.*' and a gold ring, as well as part of the residue of her estate which included her lands and leases; the spinster Mary Mounder, of South Cave, left her sister Ann Turner a pair of black skirts and her best red petticoat, and her niece Ann Gawde a red and green covering and her best gown.[75] We also find amongst many of these wills intensely personal expressions of affection and a wish for remembrance that we find in few men's wills. Gifts such as those of the gentleman Richard Banks of York, to his 'dearly beloved' wife Rebecca, including his own little silver tankard

[73]Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, chapter 5.
[74]Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, p. 222.
[75]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Margaret Darlby, Sowerby, Halifax, will written 16th February 1731/2, no inventory, and microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Mary Mounder, South Cave, spinster, will written 26th September 1672, inventory appraised 18th October 1672 and worth £160 13*s.* 4*d.* including household goods.

and his two eared cup which had been his son's, and 10s. to his eldest grandson Richard Coulton to buy a ring 'to wear in remembrance of me'[76], are relatively rare in the men's wills. They are much more common in the women's wills. The widow Anne Danby, of York, was just one of many York women who bequeathed an item by which to be remembered, in this case a 22 shilling piece of gold and a little of her own hair which were to be made up into a 'locket or keepsake' in her remembrance, to be given to her 'dearest cousin and friend' Lady Frances Barkley.[77]

However, when looking in more detail at to whom these women were making their bequests (laid out in Tables A6.13–A6.21 of the appendix, pages 269–277), we find that far from any bias towards female legatees, in all three areas men are mentioned in similar numbers. In fact there are only a handful of wills in which only one sex is mentioned. This is in contrast to the findings by Erickson for women in other parts of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Sussex, who has noted a favouring of women as legatees, even if only marginally in some cases.[78] Furthermore, there was little gender bias in who was to receive what kind of gift. Men were just as likely to receive a personal piece of jewelery as women were, for example. Thus the spinster Ruth Tennyson, of York, left her brother Charles various items of silver including four large meat spoons, a diamond ring with three diamonds, a locket ring with two diamonds and a plain gold ring, and the spinster Jane Chamberlain, of Halifax, gave her brother-in-law Richard Benson a gold mourning ring that had been given to her on the death of Mr. Silvester Petty, as well as a table cloth, four pairs of sheets, and twelve monogrammed napkins.[79] That jewelery was also to be worn by male legatees, is evident from the following remark in the will of the widow Dame Amaly Hardwick, of York. She asked for her grandson Mr. Ralph Bourchier to use the two pieces of old gold she was giving him to buy a ring to 'wear for me', and to this effect had already had the gold sealed up in two pieces of paper with precise instructions written on

[76]BIA, York deanery, Richard Banks, York, gentleman, will written 25th August 1691, no inventory.
[77]BIA, York deanery, Anne Danby, York, widow, will written 11th April 1695, no inventory.
[78]Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, p. 215.
[79]BIA, York deanery, Ruth Tennyson, York, spinster, will written 1st May 1763, no inventory and Pontefract deanery, Jane Chamberlain, Halifax, spinster, will written 19th November 1766, no inventory.

them.[80] As we saw in the previous chapter, however, such items were not necessarily bequeathed solely for sentimental reasons. A small number of women also specifically gifted their wedding rings to close relatives. The widow Margaret Peckett, of York, gave hers to her son John,[81] presumably not just as a personal memento, but also as an heirloom. This item could then either be worn by the legatee himself, or given in turn to his own wife to be worn as a wedding ring. When the time came it could be handed on down for one of their own daughters to wear, or to one of their sons, either to wear themselves, or for their prospective wives. Other rings, especially those with diamonds and other stones in them, could have had a similar function, expensive and durable as they were: namely given to male relatives to give in turn to their own wives and female relatives. The only exception was in the gifting of clothing, which was almost invariably passed on to female legatees, highlighting the assumption that it was to be worn and used by the recipient, although clothing could be adapted. Indeed Pepys noted in his diary in 1661, that he had a skirt of his wife's remade into a waistcoat for himself.[82] On occasion the recipients were even instructed only to take so many items of the testator's clothing as they would actually wear, the spinster Bates of Hipperholme, mentioned above, stating, for example, that Ann Ledgard and Ann's daughter were to only have that number of her best caps, hoods and handkerchiefs that they would regularly use.

More importantly, this sexual parity is visible in all the groups that received legacies, including friends and acquaintances, as tables A6.7-A6.9 in the appendix show. What also strikes us immediately when looking at these tables, is that a large percentage of women included gifts to their wider kinship networks and friends and acquaintances, rather than leaving everything to their sons and daughters. This would suggest, that when given the possibility, women preferred to leave legacies to their wider social network, rather than just their close family. As the majority of these testators were widows, then we can also assume that their children, if they had any, had already received an inheritance when

[80]BIA, York deanery, Dame Amaly Hardwick, York, widow of Thomas Hardwick esq., will written 26th September 1691, no inventory.
[81]BIA, York deanery, Margaret Peckett, York, widow, will written 18th December 1692, no inventory.
[82]Richard Latham (ed.), *The Shorter Pepys*, (London, 1993), p. 141, 13th June 1661.

their father had died. Thus we find that on occasion children were left merely small tokens of money, whilst the bulk of the estate was divided amongst several members of their wider kinship and friendship networks. The widow Frances Halstead of St. Martins Micklegate in York, for instance, left her daughter one guinea, whilst her grandson Richard was to have her wedding ring, her acquaintance Martha Stephenson her easy chair and looking glass, and her niece Joanna £10.[83] These were rare occurrences, though. Instead, in most of the instances where the testator's children were mentioned at all, they were left a substantial part of their mother's assets. The will of Susan Ingham, of Shay in Langfield, was typical of those of widows with surviving children, in that it instructed that most of her assets be parcelled out to them. But she also left her grandchildren £150. Furthermore, this will gives an indication of how parents gave their children their inheritance at different times depending on the latter's life-cycle stage. So whilst several of Ingham's children had already received their portions, reflected in the fact that they were only being given 1s. each (their own children were receiving handsome bequests instead), her daughter Susan Hargreaves was left £17, and her son John the residue of her estate. These were most likely her two youngest children, who had only reached maturity and marriageable age after the death of their father, and so were to receive their inheritances on the death of their mother.[84]

In the absence of the latter, then certain assets, such as the testator's land, or the rest and residue of their estate (which could include any number of different assets, moveable goods or lands), were generally bequeathed to a close relative, suggesting that there were some types of assets that were only given to family members. It was one thing to be leaving personal items of clothing and jewelery, maybe even a bed and other furniture, to a distant cousin or even a friend, but quite another to bequeath part of the family real estate to 'outsiders'. Again there was no noticeable gender bias in these bequests, either. The widow Mary Blackshaw, of South Cave, for example, left some real estate to her daughter

[83]BIA, York deanery, Frances Halstead, St. Martins Micklegate, York, widow, will written 22nd June 1730, no inventory.
[84]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Susan Ingham, Shay in Langfield, Halifax, widow, will written 24th April 1731, inventory appraised 17th May 1732 and worth £13 10s.

Mary, money to her son John, and the residue of her estate to her nephew John Levitt, whilst the widow Mary Fournis, of Ovenden, left parcels of money to her many granddaughters and grandsons, and the residue of her estate to be shared out equally between her three sons and one daughter.[85] The will of the spinster Miriam Beverley, of Thawhill in Skircoat, was an exception to this, in that she left the residue of her estate, including a 10-roomed house, a piece of land, a crop of corn and four cows, to her 'trusty friend' Alice Crowther.[86] This might suggest that Beverley had no living relatives, but in fact she also left her two nephews Timothy and Edward 20s. each. This is one of the few examples in these samples, where personal choice seems to have overridden affective family relationships and obligations, in favour of a close friend. The spinster Judith Brig, of Bankhouse in Warley, was another who favoured her friends above her family. She left her 'trusty friend' the scrivener John Richardson, of Halifax, the interest of all her real estate, which included several parcels of land and houses, for two years. Her real estate was then to be inherited by two other acquaintances, her executors Jonathan Whitehead and Joseph Nicholson and their families, with the proviso that several small annuities were to be paid to other acquaintances and kinsmen out of it. But in her case, the will also gives us the reason for this: a family disagreement. Brig alleges at the end of her will, that her brother Robert had in her words done her out of her share of their father's real estate, so he was only being left 5s., as a pointed sop. That the lands were not being given to any other family members would suggest there were no other suitable close relations she either could, or wished, to leave her estate to.[87]

The women's other assets, including populuxe goods, were, however, more liberally distributed amongst their wider family and friends. The spinster Mary Hall, of Warley, for example, left her 'friend' Thomas Winterbottom 4 and her bed, and the daughter of her nephew Anthony Hartley, Susannah Mitchel, her

[85]BIA, microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Mary Blackshaw, South Cave, widow, will written 27th January 1776, inventory appraised 20th March 1776 and worth £500 including household goods, and Pontefract deanery, Mary Fournis, Ovenden, Halifax, widow, will written 14th July 1690, inventory appraised 16th July 1690 and worth £88 19s. including household goods.
[86]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Miriam Beverley, Thawhill in Skircoat, spinster, will written 24th June 1693, inventory appraised 21st July 1693 and worth £38 10s. 4*d*. including household goods.
[87]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Judith Brig, Bankhouse in Warley, Halifax, spinster, will written 27th December 1690, inventory appraised 12th January 1690/1 and worth £42 9s.

desk, and some household linen, and Elizabeth Jovett, of Rastrick in Elland, who was still married, left Hannah Fryer her feather bed and long feather bolster, Hannah Whiteley her great bible, and Esther Fryer her dimity cloak and pocket watch, after the death of her husband. And the spinster Sarah Bates, of Bonegate in Hipperholme, left the widow Ann Ledgard, of Mirfield, her best gown, and the latter's daughter, Ann, her blue quilted petticoat. Another widow, Sarah Rushworth, also of Bonegate, was left her drab coloured petticoat, and Anne, wife of Peter Lee of Bonegate, her Scotch plaid gown.[88] Many of these bequests were also accompanied by words of friendship and affection, or were of themselves very personal items. The spinster Mary Hall above, wanted her 'friend' Thomas Winterbottom to have her own bed, mentioning also that she had been living with him for over a year. The depth of their friendship had resulted in Winterbottom taking Hall into his own house and looking after her. The other women mentioned in the above examples were bequeathing equally personal items, such as their own clothing, and a pocket watch, goods they will have used themselves on a near daily basis. The spinster Jane Horncastle, of York, was one of a number who bequeathed their own jewelery to friends rather than family members. She left her 'good friend' Mrs. Wheeler her gold cross and her 'good friend' Mr. Robert Daile her amethyst ring set with small diamonds.[89] Such gifts, as I have already explained in the previous chapter, not only bring the legatee closer to the memory of their loved one, but they hold within them an actual imprint of the deceased, grafted onto these items through their constant use by the latter. As a consequence, every time the legatee looked at that item, or indeed wore it, they were in a sense interacting with, or even taking onto themselves, a part of that deceased person. The deceased might then be seen as living on through that friend. The widow Danby further reinforced this idea with the gift she left Lady Barkley, the most personal item mentioned in all the wills. Although the piece of jewelery Lady Barkley was to receive was not one of Danby's own, but was to be specifically made for her, it was to include a lock of Danby's own hair. Whilst ordinary

[88]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Mary Hall, Warley, Halifax, spinster, will written 9th May 1763, no inventory; Elizabeth Jovett, Rastrick, Elland, Halifax, married, will written 30th May 1761, no inventory; and Sarah Bates, Bonegate in Hipperholme, Halifax, spinster, will written 22nd June 1764, no inventory.
[89]BIA, York deanery, Jane Horncastle, York, spinster, will written 27th March 1762, no inventory.

jewelery and also clothing, especially items that were often worn, can be seen as an extension of the self, as Marcia Pointon has noted,[90] pieces that included hair literally contained part of the person that had died, frozen in that moment of time when the lock was cut off, and so were a kind of reliquary, becoming a shrine to that person.[91]

This is in contrast to the men's wills, where only the occasional personal token was bequeathed to a friend or acquaintance, such as the guinea the pewterer Christopher Coulton, of York, left his 'loving friend' Mr. William Justice for a mourning ring, which he desired would be worn for his sake.[92] More common in the men's wills, if they left anything at all to their acquaintances and friends, were 'impersonal' gifts, such as parcels of money, from a few shillings to several pounds, like the monies the cloth dresser Joshua Cowper, of Halifax, left various male and female acquaintances of his.[93] A majority of the bequests left to friends and acquaintances in the women's wills were in fact equally impersonal, including that of the widow Mary Scott, of South Cave, who bequeathed a few shillings and guineas to a host of male and female acquaintances, with little of a personal nature about it. Her will is a veritable list of all the people she felt needed to be acknowledged, providing us with a sense of the size of the social circle she moved in.[94] The widow Elizabeth Copley made slightly more distinctions. She left a group of relations and acquaintances gold rings worth 20s. each, whilst their children were to only get the money. In this she is possibly both acknowledging a closer bond between herself and the former, in contrast to the latter, whilst at the same time, emphasising the importance of this bond, through gifts to their families.

Sentimental gifts of jewelery are recorded virtually exclusively in the York will samples. The wealth profile suggested by the quality of the goods, amounts

[90]Marcia Pointon, 'Jewellery in eighteenth century England', in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: consumer culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, (Manchester, 1999), p. 123.
[91]C. Holm, 'Sentimental cuts: eighteenth century mourning jewelery with hair', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 38, (2004), p. 140.
[92]BIA, York deanery, Christopher Coulton, York, pewterer, will written 6th January 1691/2, no inventory.
[93]BIA, Pontefract deanery, Joshua Cowper, Halifax, cloth dresser, will written 12th March 1729/30, no inventory.
[94]BIA, Microfilms, South Cave peculiar, Mary Scott, South Cave, widow, will written 10th August 1773, inventory appraised 21st September 1773 and worth £20 3s. 7½*d*.

of real estate, and money, listed in their records, indicates that many of these women were substantially wealthier than the women in South Cave and Halifax whose wills have survived. This is hardly surprising given the urban economic nature of York and its attractions for the county gentry. Similar groups of wealthy women in Birmingham and Sheffield recorded certain similar bequeathal patterns, as Berg has shown. However, Berg has gone on to note that many of the goods given out by these women were in fact not of the newest fashions and styles, but more traditional, smart durables, one example being bequests of silk gowns instead of more novel Indian cottons. The only populuxe goods mentioned frequently in her will sample were silver bottles, boxes and other trinkets, that were utilised to articulate affective ties of friendship between the testator and her female family members and friends.[95] As a result, varying patterns of bequests were not solely related to gender, but also to geographical location, and in this instance also wealth. The middling sort of woman who lived in either South Cave or Halifax, could hardly afford diamond rings and gold lockets, living as they did in small households, and paying the lowest of taxes, as I described in chapter 2. So their bequests by their very nature were of a much more modest sort. Thus we also find no references in their wills to large numbers of the ubiquitous funeral tokens being doled out to mourners, (the social importance of which as symbols of personal honour and for the acknowledgement of the testator's wider social I discussed at the end of the previous chapter), outside the York samples. Solely the occasional ring or pair of gloves bought for a close acquaintance or friend is mentioned, for example in the will of the spinster Mounder, of South Cave, cited above, who left her two acquaintances Jeremiah Kirkhouse and John Bancroft 2*s.* 6*d.* each for gloves. As I also noted, such tokens are the very opposite of the personal pieces of jewelery mentioned in many of these wills, but functioned as a public way of articulating the status the testator felt belonged to themselves and their family. At the same time, it was an exercise in 'peer reviewing', having as much to do with the putting on of a good display in front of their own social circle, as with 'showing off' to the wider public. This was accomplished through the strategic use of certain material goods, the intrinsic worth of which was fairly

[95]Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of 18th century England', pp. 426-28.

negligible, in contrast to their symbolic one. As the following examples show, the testators were very careful about the etiquette of the occasion, and did not just randomly dole out such tokens to everybody who came to their funeral. So the widow Mary Smithson, for example, arranged that only gloves be given to those that accompanied her body to her grave, whilst the pallbearers were to have scarves as well. Furthermore, only those who visited her in life were to be invited to her funeral. The spinster Elizabeth Woodyeare was equally precise in the way she wanted these tokens to be distributed. She wished that all her relations and acquaintances be invited to the funeral, and that any male relations that turned up were to have chamois gloves and black crepe hatbands to wear, whilst any female relatives were to be given black hoods, scarves and chamois gloves for the same. And her pallbearers were to have hoods, scarves, gloves and paper escutcheons.[96] Existing wills cited above have shown that a few of the wealthier women from South Cave and Halifax did gift smart items of clothing, populuxe goods, and even the occasional piece of jewelery. That there were few accompanying funeral tokens mentioned, nor any references to the kinds of smart 'public' funerals mentioned in these samples, however, further emphasises the differing patterns of consumption and display between wealthy urban women and those living in other areas, and from different wealth brackets.

Conclusion

As such the social commentators were not necessarily misguided in their anxiety concerning female consumption of material culture. For these will samples highlight very distinctly the large number of references to consumer goods, including populuxe objects, that were made in such documents, from beds and clothing, to silverware and jewelery, in contrast to their male counterparts. However, this pattern is not replicated in the inventory samples. Here the goods recorded, and even their monetary value, are similar across the board, with no noticeable difference depending on the sex of the owner whose assets were being

[96]BIA, York deanery, Mary Smithson, York, widow, will written 26th October 1693, no inventory, and Elizabeth Woodyeare, York, spinster, will written - January 1729-30, no inventory.

enumerated. This could be in part due to the fact that the majority of inventories left of women's assets, are actually those of widows, who will have inherited a significant percentage of their goods from their deceased husbands. But even the few inventories of the possessions accumulated by spinsters show little in the way of any difference, in either quantity or quality of the goods concerned. In fact what these inventories are revealing, is a common culture of household consumption. And as Weatherill has rightly pointed out, it is impossible to detect who actually bought the household goods, and whose choice they were, at least whilst both husband and wife were still alive. Furthermore, consumption patterns within the household did not generally change radically once a woman was widowed. So although women's wills record more goods, this is not due to these women actually consuming more than their male counterparts. Instead, these wills are indicating a gendered sense of the use of goods to construct social identities, in a two fold manner. The context in which these bequests are mentioned emphasises their use as symbols of status, articulating their owners' perceived social standing within their community. At the same time, many items also hold within them, whether explicitly recorded or not, deeply personal expressions of affection and friendship. These expressions of friendship and gifts were not, however, used in order to emphasise peculiarly female friendship networks. Here, equal numbers of men were recipients of such personal gifts. This would, therefore, suggest that goods were not inherently gender coded, despite their use to reflect female identities.

Appendix

1660–99

No data available.

1700–39

Populuxe Good	House-body / Hall	Only / Main Parlour	Other Parlours	Kitchen	Chambers	Other	None
Silver	1				1		
Mirror							
Clock/Watch							
Picture/Print							
Book							
*Utensils**							
China	1						

1740–80

Populuxe Good	House-body / Hall	Only / Main Parlour	Other Parlours	Kitchen	Chambers	Other	None
Silver							
Mirror					1		1
Clock/Watch							1
Picture/Print							
Book							1
*Utensils**				1		1	1
China				1			

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table A6.1: Location of the Populuxe Goods Within the Household in South Cave, 1660–1780

1690–99

Populuxe Good	House-body / Hall	Only / Main Parlour	Other Parlours	Kitchen	Chambers	Other	None
Silver	2	2	1	1	2	1	3
Mirror	3	4	2	2	3		1
Clock/Watch	6	1		2			
Picture/Print	1				3		
Book	4	1	2		1	2	5
*Utensils**							
China							

1730–39

Populuxe Good	House-body / Hall	Only / Main Parlour	Other Parlours	Kitchen	Chambers	Other	None
Silver							3
Mirror	2	1				1	4
Clock/Watch	2	2		1			2
Picture/Print	1	1					
Book							2
*Utensils**	1						2
China		1					

1760–69

Populuxe Good	House-body / Hall	Only / Main Parlour	Other Parlours	Kitchen	Chambers	Other	None
Silver		1				1	1
Mirror							1
Clock/Watch	2		1				3
Picture/Print							
Book							2
*Utensils**					1		2
China							1

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table A6.2: Location of the Populuxe Goods Within the Household in Halifax, 1660–1780

1690–99

Populuxe Good	House-body / Hall	Only / Main Parlour	Other Parlours	Kitchen	Chambers	Other	None
Silver	1	2	1	3		6	5
Mirror	2	1	5	4	7	3	6
Clock/Watch	1					3	
Picture/Print	1			2	3	3	
Book	2		2	2	3	1	
*Utensils**	1						
China		1					

1730–39

Populuxe Good	House-body / Hall	Only / Main Parlour	Other Parlours	Kitchen	Chambers	Other	None
Silver	1		1			4	6
Mirror	4		7	5	6		11
Clock/Watch			1			1	4
Picture/Print	7	1	1	7		2	6
Book		1	2			2	4
*Utensils**	2		4	2		2	5
China	1						5

1760–69

Populuxe Good	House-body / Hall	Only / Main Parlour	Other Parlours	Kitchen	Chambers	Other	None
Silver	1					3	2
Mirror	3	1	1	6	2		2
Clock/Watch	1		4				1
Picture/Print	3	1		4			1
Book							1
*Utensils**	2	1	4	1		1	3
China	1						1

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table A6.3: Location of the Populuxe Goods Within the Household in York, 1660–1780

	1660–99	
Assets	Number of Wills	Percentage (%) of All Wills
Land	0	
Money	3	100·0
Silver	1	33·3
Mirror	0	
Clock/Watch	0	
Picture/Print	0	
Book	0	
*Utensils**	0	
China	0	
Bed/Bedding	2	66·7
Chest	0	
Table	0	
Linen	0	
Brass	1	33·3
Pewter	1	33·3
Clothes	1	33·3
Total Wills:	3	

Table A6.4: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, South Cave 1660–1780

	1700–39	
Assets	Number of Wills	Percentage (%) of All Wills
Land	2	40·0
Money	5	100·0
Silver	1	20·0
Mirror	0	
Clock/Watch	0	
Picture/Print	0	
Book	0	
*Utensils**	0	
China	0	
Bed/Bedding	0	
Chest	1	20·0
Table	0	
Linen	1	20·0
Brass	0	
Pewter	1	20·0
Clothes	2	40·0
Total Wills:	5	

Table A6.5: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, South Cave 1660–1780

1740–80

Assets	Number of Wills	Percentage (%) of All Wills
Land	4	44·4
Money	7	77·8
Silver	0	
Mirror	0	
Clock/Watch	0	
Picture/Print	0	
Book	0	
*Utensils**	0	
China	0	
Bed/Bedding	1	11·1
Chest	0	
Table	0	
Linen	0	
Brass	0	
Pewter	0	
Clothes	2	22·2
Total Wills:	9	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table A6.6: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, South Cave 1660–1780

	1690–99	
Assets	Number of Wills	Percentage (%) of All Wills
Land	3	11·1
Money	25	92·6
Silver	3	11·1
Mirror	0	
Clock/Watch	0	
Picture/Print	0	
Book	1	3·7
*Utensils**	0	
China	0	
Bed/Bedding	7	25·9
Chest	3	11·1
Table	1	3·7
Linen	3	11·1
Brass	1	3·7
Pewter	3	11·1
Clothes	7	25·9
Total Wills:	27	

Table A6.7: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, Halifax 1660–1780

	1730–39	
Assets	Number of Wills	Percentage (%) of All Wills
Land	17	31·5
Money	48	88·9
Silver	10	18·5
Mirror	1	1·9
Clock/Watch	3	5·6
Picture/Print	0	
Book	5	9·3
*Utensils**	1	1·9
China	2	3·7
Bed/Bedding	10	18·5
Chest	9	16·7
Table	4	7·4
Linen	3	5·6
Brass	1	1·9
Pewter	5	9·3
Clothes	13	24·1
Total Wills:	54	

Table A6.8: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, Halifax 1660–1780

	1760–69	
Assets	**Number of Wills**	**Percentage (%) of All Wills**
Land	14	33·3
Money	40	95·2
Silver	8	19·0
Mirror	1	2·4
Clock/Watch	1	2·4
Picture/Print	0	
Book	2	4·8
*Utensils**	0	
China	0	
Bed/Bedding	8	19·0
Chest	1	2·4
Table	2	4·8
Linen	3	7·1
Brass	0	
Pewter	0	
Clothes	21	50·0
Total Wills:	42	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table A6.9: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, Halifax 1660–1780

	1690–99	
Assets	Number of Wills	Percentage (%) of All Wills
Land	17	35·4
Money	48	100·0
Jewellery	11	22·9
Silver	25	52·1
Mirror	0	
Clock/Watch	2	4·2
Picture/Print	1	2·1
Book	5	10·4
*Utensils**	0	
China	0	
Bed/Bedding	3	6·3
Chest	2	4·2
Table	2	4·2
Linen	10	20·8
Brass	0	
Pewter	2	4·2
Clothes	15	31·3
Total Wills:	48	

Table A6.10: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, York 1660–1780

	1730–39	
Assets	Number of Wills	Percentage (%) of All Wills
Land	31	44·3
Money	70	100·0
Jewellery	17	24·3
Silver	28	40·0
Mirror	3	4·3
Clock/Watch	12	17·1
Picture/Print	7	10·0
Book	5	7·1
*Utensils**	5	7·1
China	3	4·3
Bed/Bedding	19	27·1
Chest	6	8·6
Table	4	5·7
Linen	15	21·4
Brass	0	
Pewter	2	2·9
Clothes	38	54·3
Total Wills:	70	

Table A6.11: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, York 1660–1780

1760–69

Assets	Number of Wills	Percentage (%) of All Wills
Land	36	33·6
Money	104	97·2
Jewellery	17	15·9
Silver	30	28·0
Mirror	1	0·9
Clock/Watch	18	16·8
Picture/Print	3	2·8
Book	5	4·7
*Utensils**	14	13·1
China	8	7·5
Bed/Bedding	12	11·2
Chest	6	5·6
Table	4	3·7
Linen	27	25·2
Brass	0	
Pewter	2	1·9
Clothes	51	47·7
Total Wills:	107	

**Utensils includes tea/coffee/chocolate pots and kettles, tea spoons/tongs, and tea tables/boards.*

Table A6.12: Percentage of Women Bequeathing Certain Goods in their Wills, York 1660–1780

1660–99

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 3 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	1 33·3%		1 100%		1 100%	1 100%
Daughter	1 33·3%	1 100%	1 100%			
Grandson						
Granddaughter						
Nephew	1 33·3%				1 100%	1 100%
Niece	2 66·7%		1 50%		2 100%	
Brother	1 33·3%				1 100%	
Sister	2 66·7%				2 100%	
Affine (m.)						
Affine (f.)						
Cousin / Kinsman						
Cousin / Kinswoman						
Friend (m.)						
Friend (f.)						
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	1 33·3%				1 100%	
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	1 33·3%				1 100%	

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.13: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in South Cave, 1660–1780

1700–39

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 5 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	2 40%	1 50%				2 100%
Daughter	2 40%	1 50%			1 50%	1 50%
Grandson	1 20%				1 100%	
Granddaughter	1 20%				1 100%	
Nephew	1 20%				1 100%	
Niece	1 20%				1 100%	1 100%
Brother	1 20%				1 100%	
Sister	1 20%				1 100%	
Affine (m.)	1 20%				1 100%	
Affine (f.)	1 20%				1 100%	
Cousin / Kinsman						
Cousin / Kinswoman						
Friend (m.)	1 20%					1 100%
Friend (f.)						
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	2 40%		1 50%	1 50%	2 100%	
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	4 80%				4 100%	1 25%

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.14: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in South Cave, 1660–1780

1740–80

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 9 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	4 44·4%			1 25%	2 50%	1 25%
Daughter	4 44·4%		1 25%	1 25%	2 50%	1 25%
Grandson						
Granddaughter	1 11·1%				1 100%	
Nephew	1 11·1%					1 100%
Niece						
Brother	1 11·1%					1 100%
Sister						
Affine (m.)						
Affine (f.)						
Cousin / Kinsman						
Cousin / Kinswoman						
Friend (m.)						
Friend (f.)						
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	3 33·3%		1 33·3%	1 33·3%	3 100%	1 33·3%
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	3 33·3%				3 100%	

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.15: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in South Cave, 1660–1780

1690–99

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 48 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	7 25·9%	1 14·3%	1 14·3%		4 57·1%	
Daughter	8 29·6%		1 12·5%		4 50·0%	6 75·0%
Grandson	5 18·5%	2 40·0%	1 20·0%		4 80·0%	2 40·0%
Granddaughter	7 25·9%	2 28·6%	2 28·6%		7 100%	1 14·3%
Nephew	7 25·9%			1 14·3%	7 100%	2 28·6%
Niece	9 33·3%		1 11·1%		9 100%	3 33·3%
Brother	10 37·0%	1 10·0%	1 10·0%		9 90·0%	
Sister	5 18·5%		1 20·0%		3 60·0%	2 40·0%
Affine (m.)	9 33·3%				8 88·9%	3 33·3%
Affine (f.)	4 14·8%				4 100%	
Cousin / Kinsman	4 14·8%				3 75·0%	1 25·0%
Cousin / Kinswoman	6 22·2%		1 16·7%		5 83·3%	1 16·7%
Friend (m.)	1 3·7%			1 100%		
Friend (f.)	1 3·7%					1 100%
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	14 51·9%			2 14·3%	13 92·9%	3 21·4%
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	11 40·7%		1 9·1%		11 100%	

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.16: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in Halifax, 1660–1780

1730–39

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 54 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	23 42·6%	4 17·4%	2 8·7%	4 17·4%	18 78·3%	15 65·2%
Daughter	24 44·4%	4 16·7%	6 25%	4 16·7%	20 83·3%	11 45·8%
Grandson	6 11·1%				6 100%	1 16·7%
Granddaughter	6 11·1%		1 16·7%		5 83·3%	
Nephew	12 22·2%			2 16·7%	11 91·7%	5 41·7%
Niece	14 25·9%	5 25·7%	5 25·7%	1 7·1%	10 71·4%	7 50·0%
Brother	6 11·1%	1 16·7%	1 16·7%		5 83·3%	1 16·7%
Sister	8 14·8%	2 25·0%		3 37·5%	7 87·5%	1 12·5%
Affine (m.)	5 9·3%				4 80%	1 20·0%
Affine (f.)	4 7·4%				4 100%	
Cousin / Kinsman	1 1·9%					1 100%
Cousin / Kinswoman	3 5·6%				3 100%	
Friend (m.)	1 1·9%				1 100%	
Friend (f.)	2 3·7%				2 100%	
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	17 31·5%	1 5·9%		1 5·9%	16 94·1%	3 17·6%
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	17 31·5%	1 5·9%	1 5·9%	2 11·8%	16 94·1%	2 11·8%

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.17: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in Halifax, 1660–1780

1760–69

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 42 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	17 40·5%	2 11·8%		4 23·5%	10 58·8%	12 70·6%
Daughter	16 38·1%		2 12·5%	2 12·5%	10 62·5%	11 68·8%
Grandson	9 21·4%	1 11·1%	1 11·1%	1 11·1%	9 100%	2 22·2%
Granddaughter	3 7·1%	1 33·3%	1 33·3%		3 100%	
Nephew	16 38·1%	1 6·3%		3 18·8%	12 75·0%	7 43·8%
Niece	13 31%	1 7·7%	1 7·7%	1 7·7%	11 84·6%	6 46·2%
Brother	10 23·8%		2 20·0%	3 30·0%	5 50·0%	4 40%
Sister	10 23·8%			3 30·0%	7 70%	6 60·0%
Affine (m.)	7 16·7%		1 14·3%	2 28·6%	6 85·7%	2 28·6%
Affine (f.)	—					
Cousin / Kinsman	6 14·3%			1 16·7%	5 83·3%	1 16·7%
Cousin / Kinswoman	8 19·0%		1 12·5%	1 12·5%	7 87·5%	1 12·5%
Friend (m.)	2 4·8%		1 50·0%		2 100%	1 50·0%
Friend (f.)	—					
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	7 16·7%				7 100%	
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	9 21·4%	1 11·1%	3 33·3%		9 100%	1 11·1%

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.18: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in Halifax, 1660–1780

1690–99

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 48 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Jewellery	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	18 37·5%	2 11·1%	4 22·2%		3 16·7%	12 66·7%	7 38·9%
Daughter	19 39·6%	4 21·1%	4 21·1%	5 26·3%	3 15·8%	9 47·4%	14 73·7%
Grandson	17 35·4%	1 5·9%	6 35·3%	1 5·9%	4 23·5%	13 76·5%	4 23·5%
Granddaughter	16 33·3%	2 12·5%	4 25·0%	2 12·5%	3 18·8%	11 68·8%	3 18·8%
Nephew	21 43·8%	1 4·8%	1 4·8%		4 19·0%	19 90·5%	1 4·8%
Niece	24 50·0%		5 20·8%	1 4·2%	2 8·3%	16 66·7%	8 33·3%
Brother	10 20·8%				1 10·0%	8 80·0%	2 20·0%
Sister	22 45·8%	2 9·1%	2 9·1%		2 9·1%	21 95·5%	4 18·2%
Affine (m.)	8 16·7%	1 12·5%			1 12·5%	6 75·0%	1 12·5%
Affine (f.)	11 22·9%		1 9·1%			10 90·9%	1 9·1%
Cousin / Kinsman	8 16·7%		1 12·5%	1 12·5%	1 12·5%	8 100%	
Cousin / Kinswoman	14 29·2%	3 21·4%	3 21·4%			10 71·4%	1 7·1%
Friend (m.)	3 6·6%	1 33·3%				1 33·3%	1 33·3%
Friend (f.)	1 2·1%						1 100%
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	21 43·8%	1 4·8%	3 14·3%	1 4·8%	1 4·8%	20 95·2%	3 14·3%
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	26 54·2%	1 3·8%	4 15·4%	1 3·8%		24 92·3%	1 3·8%

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.19: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in York, 1660–1780

1730–39

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 70 Wills	Jewellery	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	21 30·0%	2 9·5%	7 33·3%	2 9·5%	4 19·0%	16 76·2%	7 33·3%
Daughter	26 37·1%	3 11·5%	5 19·2%	8 30·8%	4 15·4%	19 73·1%	15 57·7%
Grandson	11 15·7%	1 9·1%	1 9·1%		2 18·2%	10 90·9%	
Granddaughter	13 18·6%		5 38·5%	3 23·1%	1 7·7%	11 84·6%	1 7·7%
Nephew	21 30·0%	1 4·8%	3 14·3%	1 4·8%	1 4·8%	18 85·7%	3 14·3%
Niece	26 37·1%	2 7·7%	3 11·5%	3 11·5%	2 7·7%	16 61·5%	7 26·9%
Brother	18 25·7%	2 11·1%	5 27·8%		1 5·6%	16 88·9%	5 27·8%
Sister	24 34·3%	1 4·2%	4 16·7%	2 8·3%	2 8·3%	21 87·5%	8 33·3%
Affine (m.)	10 14·3%		1 10·0%	1 10·0%		10 100%	1 10·0%
Affine (f.)	11 15·7%	2 18·2%	4 36·4%	1 9·1%	1 9·1%	8 72·7%	
Cousin / Kinsman	15 21·4%		2 13·3%		1 6·7%	13 86·7%	5 33·3%
Cousin / Kinswoman	21 30·0%	2 9·5%	4 19·0%		2 9·5%	13 61·9%	3 14·3%
Friend (m.)	3 4·3%		2 66·7%	2 66·7%		2 66·7%	2 66·7%
Friend (f.)	3 4·3%		1 33·3%			3 100%	
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	27 38·6%	2 7·4%	2 7·4%	1 3·7%	1 3·7%	20 74·1%	6 22·2%
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	34 48·6%	4 11·8%	9 26·5%	3 8·8%	1 2·9%	32 94·1%	2 5·9%

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.20: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in York, 1660–1780

1760–69

Legatee	Numbers Mentioned in 107 Wills	Populuxe Goods	Other Goods	Land	Money	Residue of Estate
Son	19 17·8%	1 5·3%	5 26·3%	1 5·3%	3 15·8%	14 73·7%	12 63·2%
Daughter	24 22·4%	4 16·7%	8 33·3%	6 25·0%	6 25·0%	16 66·7%	16 66·7%
Grandson	11 10·3%		2 18·2%	1 9·1%	1 9·1%	9 81·8%	2 18·2%
Granddaughter	7 6·5%		2 28·6%	1 14·3%	2 28·6%	5 71·4%	2 28·6%
Nephew	45 42·1%	2 4·4%	6 13·3%	4 8·9%	9 20·0%	37 82·2%	16 35·6%
Niece	49 45·8%	5 10·2%	12 24·5%	7 14·3%	3 6·1%	46 93·9%	12 24·5%
Brother	17 15·9%	1 5·9%	3 17·6%	3 17·6%	1 5·9%	13 76·5%	7 41·2%
Sister	31 29·0%	2 6·5%	3 9·7%	2 6·5%	8 25·8%	24 77·4%	13 41·9%
Affine (m.)	9 8·4%	1 11·1%		1 11·1%	2 22·2%	6 66·7%	1 11·1%
Affine (f.)	9 8·4%		1 11·1%			8 88·9%	1 11·1%
Cousin / Kinsman	24 22·4%		1 4·2%		3 12·5%	21 87·5%	4 16·7%
Cousin / Kinswoman	25 23·4%	1 4·0%	4 16·0%	2 8·0%	3 12·0%	17 68·0%	4 16·0%
Friend (m.)	11 10·3%	1 9·1%		1 9·1%	1 9·1%	8 72·7%	
Friend (f.)	8 7·5%	1 12·5%	1 12·5%	2 25·0%		7 87·5%	
*'Acquaintance' (m.)**	45 42·1%	3 6·7%	6 13·3%	1 2·2%	5 11·1%	34 75·6%	11 24·4%
*'Acquaintance' (f.)**	42 39·3%	5 11·9%	7 16·7%	3 7·1%	2 4·8%	35 83·3%	4 9·5%

**This includes those men and women whose relationship to the testator is not explicitly stated. In the cases of those chosen to be trustees and guardians, for example, they have still been included in this category, if nothing else is said about them. Only those specifically recorded as friends are in the other category.*

Table A6.21: Types of Assets Bequeathed and to whom by Women in York, 1660–1780

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

But Lord, to see with what envy they looked upon all my fine plate was pleasant, for I made the best show I could, to let them understand me and my condition, to take down the pride of Mrs. Clerke, who thinks herself very great...

SAMUEL PEPYS[1]

THE CENTRAL ANALYSIS of my thesis is captured in these few words by Pepys. Having invited friends for dinner, he decided to decorate his new dining room with his best silver as a way of reflecting and emphasising his social standing, in particular the important position he felt he should hold within his social circle. This would indicate that Pepys perceived there to have been a certain level of flexibility to the social order he lived in. Indeed, the vagueness of the descriptions given by contemporaries, of the social order, comprised of the 'upper orders, middling ranks and labouring men', encapsulates the lack of concrete distinctions that were 'officially' made between the different occupation/status groups that were incorporated within that structure. This led, inevitably, to the type of social contest we see being played out by Pepys on the above occasion. Pepys obviously felt that Mrs. Clerke questioned his own position, purely because she carried herself as if she was the pre-eminent member of their social group. As wife of the royal physician Dr. Timothy Clarke, her social position in society was assured. But even her wit and good looks did not compensate for her 'conceit' and 'sluttish' housekeeping.[2] In order to reclaim the position he felt was rightfully his, Pepys invoked the social power of certain luxury goods to emphasise this.

[1]Robert Latham, (ed.), *The Shorter Pepys* (London, 1993), p. 753
[2]Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, (X vols., London, 1983), Vol. X, companion, p. 66.

Whilst such social display was allowable amongst the wealthy new elite of London, contemporary commentators feared its adoption by those lower down the social scale, as the rapid growth of new consumer industries allowed for many 'luxuries' to be owned by a large section of society. The resulting emulation of the elite would lead, in their eyes, to a deleterious blurring of their, rigid, perception of the social order.

In order to explore the veracity of their fears, and the use of goods in the way described so carefully by Pepys, I have studied the spread, use and social significance of material culture in Restoration and Georgian England, through a case study of three Yorkshire communities. This has enabled me to chart whether the kind of consumption of luxuries recorded by Pepys had indeed become part of the social makeup of wider English society, or was merely a social trope used by a few self proclaimed moral commentators. Using surviving wills and inventories, my analysis looked at what people owned, and if they employed such goods to articulate social position. The legal requirements surrounding the production of such documents has resulted in the majority of surviving records being from men of the wealthier sort. Thus few, if any, records remain of poor labourers or servants, for example, and only a relatively small percentage from women. However, the samples still cover a wide assortment of people from different economic, wealth and geographical backgrounds. More importantly, they represent precisely those sections of society that the moral commentators were so worried about: namely men and women with the ability to purchase 'luxury' consumables and so 'emulate' the elite, distorting the 'natural' social order in the process.

As we have seen, this was a considerable simplification of the social factors at work in early modern English society. Firstly, moralists' assumptions presumed that society was in essence a fixed social hierarchy, within which each person had their own alloted slot. Secondly, they also presumed that emulation of elite manners and practises was one of the overriding reasons for increased consumption during this period. In Chapter 1 I unpacked these moralists' assumptions, and discussed how contemporary understandings of the social order were less

rigid than these commentators would have us believe. Nonetheless, contemporary documents, such as diaries, give the impression that their authors were very conscious of where in the social order they stood: only this is never explicitly spelt out. So we have been left to reconstruct this social order, whilst at the same time being aware of a certain social fluidity that lay at its heart. In the absence of other descriptors, historians have attempted to map the occupation/status of a given person, recorded in wills and inventories for example, onto surviving descriptions of the social order. (In doing this they focused on male probate records, as women were not described in such a manner in the sources).

However, historians have inevitably found their resulting tables to contain varying levels of inconsistency. And as Keith Wrightson has rightly pointed out, even if we were able to recreate an occupation/status structure of early modern English society that somehow correlated with social position, how were we to know that it did not fluctuate depending on local circumstances? Despite these caveats, I chose to base my analysis on work carried out by Lorna Weatherill in *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*, modifying the social structure she produced to fit the specific economic and social circumstances of South Cave, Halifax and York. For unlike other historians, Weatherill based her reconstruction on a statistical analysis, by Vivian Brodsky-Elliot, of the actual behaviour and social wants of various occupation/status groups of men in the early modern period. This then allowed Weatherill to analyse whether consumer behaviour was affected by social status. The goods she chose for this analysis, and from which I picked my group, were items both new to this period in their finished form, and which were recorded consistently in the sources. More importantly, they were precisely those objects condemned by the moralists as 'luxuries'. But as she and other historians, including Sidney Mintz, have convincingly shown, whilst once indeed expensive luxuries only affordable by the elite, modifications in production, growth of consumer markets, and concurrent reductions in price, had led these objects to come within reach of the purchasing power of a much broader section of society. If in the absence of other visible markers, it was customary for people in early modern England to utilise material objects to reflect

their social worth, in the manner Pepys did, then as Weatherill has argued, and I concur, these objects should be present in ever increasing numbers in surviving wills and inventories.

Chapter 2 then set out the economic context and structure of the Yorkshire communities of South Cave, Halifax and York, and discussed the availability in these three areas of the group of new semi-luxuries or populuxe goods that I had chosen for my analysis.[3] And I found, as expected, that the position of York as the foremost county town in the area, and a gentry watering-hole, resulted in large numbers of populuxe goods being easily available, and in a range of prices, styles and fashions. In Halifax these goods were also fairly freely available, albeit there being less shops recorded here, whereas the relatively rural aspect of South Cave, and its small size, meant it could not support more than one, possibly two, shopkeepers at any one time. However, even this area was frequented by chapmen hawking little novel trinkets and other bits of 'luxury'.

Having set out the economic background, I came back to the problem of reconstructing the social order, in Chapter 3. Here I gave a fuller exposition of the difficulties associated with this, and the ways in which historians had tackled these. Essentially, what historians have shown is that try as we might, the mapping of male occupation/status terms onto a social hierarchy, is at best a very imprecise science. Whilst providing us with a method to do this, Brodsky-Elliot's statistical analysis in fact describes levels of shared male aspirations and social interactions, rather than giving an objective reflection of the social position of different occupations. But as I highlighted, it can still be used profitably to analyse common patterns of social interaction and how these might have related to people's social aspirations and, possibly, their actual social status in society. Using her method of seriation, where possible, as well as Weatherill's socio-economic table, and a more general analysis of the occupation/status of the deceaseds' bondsmen, I found that levels of male social interaction within the communities of South Cave and Halifax, at least, were high, indicating close-knit and parish-orientated societies. This is perhaps unsurprising, as the majority of the records in South Cave pertained to 'yeomen', and those from Halifax to men employed in

[3]Namely silver, clocks, mirrors, pictures and prints, books, utensils for hot drinks and china.

either agriculture or the textile trade. Indeed I found that amongst the two largest male record-leaving groups in Halifax, the yeomen and clothiers, the meaning of these two terms was virtually synonymous, indicating a certain arbitrariness in the application of such descriptors in the first place. But even amongst the differing occupation/status groups of York, the level of social interaction was fairly high, only the gentlemen and esquires forming a more cohesive network amongst themselves. Furthermore, these descriptions masked significant differences in the inventoried wealth of these men.

Consequently, this lack of visible social differentiation, described through occupational/status titles, should have served to heighten the use of populuxe and other goods to articulate a person's social position — in particular amongst the wealthier members of a given group — if this was the purpose to which such goods were being put.

The results in the subsequent chapters paint a more diffuse picture. I found firstly, just as I believed would be the case, that ownership of the populuxe goods was relatively widespread, and increased as the period progressed. At the same time, as I also expected, the differing economic backgrounds of South Cave, Halifax and York affected the uptake rates of these goods. Whereas in the rural agricultural parish of South Cave around a third of men's inventories recorded at least one of these goods, in the urban gentry watering-hole of York this was nearer 80%. Moreover, even the few inventories of wealthy South Cave men recorded less such goods, and of less monetary worth, than their York counterparts. These distinctions were even more pronounced between those with only modest inventoried wealth. Even in the 1760s few of these South Cave men possessed anything more than the occasional cheap mirror, whilst in York, many of the populuxe goods had diffused to these groups. However, comparable studies by Michael Riley, Lorna Weatherill and Mark Overton, amongst others, have shown that consumption rates in all three areas were below the national average for similar areas around the country. And this in spite of the widespread availability of the populuxe goods by that period, as I showed in Chapter 2. Availability did not automatically lead to consumption. Historians, amongst them Overton

and also Weatherill, have pointed to this as an indicator that emulation in the form feared by contemporary moralists, was evidently not the primary reason for the acquisition of these goods. Equally, this suggests that these goods were less important for the articulation of social position, than I had believed. This is particularly apparent in South Cave, where greater inventoried wealth definitely did not translate into numerous more populuxe goods being accumulated. The picture in such rural parishes around the country points to the social importance of such goods being relatively negligible amongst these occupation/status groups. Instead surplus wealth was reinvested in land, livestock and work tools, which themselves, incidentally, became visible signs of their owner's prosperity. It was not that goods were not used in this manner at all, but the kinds of goods used depended on where a person lived.

In York, by contrast, I have found evidence for such consumption of populuxe goods by the mid eighteenth century. Much like how Pepys displayed his best silver, inventories of several men of modest means and 'low status' occupations, reveal how they had filled their front rooms and parlours with a good number of comparatively expensive and fashionable populuxe goods. In a couple of cases, the monetary value of these items made up the bulk of their inventoried wealth. These are cases, I would argue, where populuxe goods were being utilised to articulate a certain social worth, although here, the object might well have been to mask a relatively lowly station, rather than articulate a preeminent one. The fears of contemporary moralists would seem to be substantiated by such actions. Overton has, nonetheless, criticised the notion that populuxe goods were acquired for such purposes, by questioning the validity of the theory on which it is based. As in early modern England rooms generally had multi-functional uses, the idea of a 'front space' where guests were entertained and the household's best objects were displayed, and a 'back space' where all the everyday and menial tasks were carried out (as laid out by Erving Goffman), could not have existed for anyone below the level of the wealthy gentlemen and the gentry, he has argued. Furthermore, he has found in his analysis of Kent inventories, that there was no distinct correlation between the main living spaces (where visitors would

be entertained) and the location of populuxe goods. Both Weatherill and I have found, on the contrary, that most of these objects were in fact displayed in the main living spaces, rather than elsewhere. But a significant proportion were also scattered throughout the households, including mirrors in bedchambers, clocks in kitchens, and silver tea pots and china in small store rooms or tucked away in cupboards.

But this does not necessarily diminish their social importance. On the one hand, items like china tea cups will have been stored away and brought into the main living spaces when needed, and so be seen by any guests present. On the other hand, this is indicative of the differing layers of social meaning stored in these items. Varying uptake rates for the different populuxe goods under discussion further substantiates this. In Halifax I expected to see a much greater diversity of populuxe goods and monetary values, than the inventories revealed. Instead, these men restricted their purchases to pieces of silver, a clock, and possibly a mirror, all items with not just decorative functions, but everyday uses as well. More importantly, silver and clocks in particular, had the added advantage of retaining a high resale value, with silver being able to be transformed into ready cash at a moment's notice. And displaying these goods outside the main living spaces, did not mean they were thus out of sight of visitors coming to the house. Sara Pennell has shown, as have Weatherill and Overton as well, that during this period the kitchen was at the centre of the household, and functioned as a main living space in which not only was the cooking done, but also eating and other social activities. Thus kitchens doubled as an entertaining space, at least for close family and friends, within which clocks in particular could be used both as a decorative display piece to be shown off to visitors, and for telling the time for the family during other periods.

As the same time, this analysis raised the question, touched on above, whether any other, more everyday and essential, items, had the same symbolic worth. I suggested that beds might have done so, being as they were the single most expensive good recorded in most inventories, both in South Cave, Halifax and York,

and other parts of the country as Weatherill has noted. The evidence in surviving wills would substantiate this.

Contrary to my expectations, the surviving wills did not record many of the populuxe goods specifically, suggesting their monetary value was too small for it to be worth bequeathing them separately. Indeed the ephemeral nature of some of these objects, as Margaret Spufford has discussed, meant they were unlikely to have lasted long enough to be recorded anyway. In any case, these men's wills were primarily concerned with the narrow transmission of property and economic power to their families, not with the distributing of sentimental items and populuxe goods amongst their wider kinship and friendship networks (as the local studies from other parts of the country by William Coster, Cicily Howell, Margaret Spufford and Keith Wrightson confirm). This suggests that the expensive durables such as beds, and also certain populuxe goods such as silver ware and clocks, explicitly bequeathed in the wills (virtually exclusively to family members), formed part of the family property and heritage handed down from one generation to the next. Thus the family lineage was articulated through such items, the passing down of which from generation to generation upheld this line. However, these goods were not devoid of personal sentiment. The portrait of a deceased father, or the silver mug of a favourite aunt, could evoke very intimate affective ties known only to the giver and recipient, becoming 'vehicles of memory'. In the case of goods previously used by the deceased on a regular basis, these became tangible reminders of that person, that bridged the eternal, holding in a sense as they did within them a certain physical presence of deceased, left behind through their constant use.

Whilst few of the men bequeathed such small sentimental gifts as personal items of silver like snuffboxes or spoons, these were commonly mentioned in the women's records. It has been suggested that, in contrast to the need for men to uphold the family line through the narrow transmission of property to close family members, there was no such onus placed on women. Consequently, women had more leeway when it came to bequeathing their assets, and as a result their patterns of bequests were much more diffused, throughout their wider family

and friendship networks. Both Weatherill and Berg have noted certain gendered trends in the transmission of populuxe goods in particular, leading them to ask whether these were utilised to express a common sense of feminine identity. For as Berg has pointed out, even wealthy urban women with substantial amounts of other assets, were bequeathing small silver boxes and other trinkets to their female friends and relations. She has, however, pulled back from suggesting outright that this was an expression of a female 'subculture', unlike Weatherill, concluding instead that these bequests were just another way of expressing their affective relationships with their female friends and family. In contrast, the women's wills from South Cave, Halifax and York, do not reveal any such gender bias, apart from in the transmission of clothing. Furthermore, their friendship networks, revealed through such gifts, included as many men, as they did women.

The element of personal choice revealed in these wills, is not reflected in the rest of the records. I found that, contrary to expectation, inventories do not reveal these choices, at least not explicitly, for they do not indicate who actually bought the assets mentioned, whether the husband or the wife. And although we might have thought that a comparison between the men's inventories and those of widows would reveal telling distinctions, this is not the case, a point flagged up by Berg and Weatherill in their analyses. However, as widows inherited large portions of their husband's household goods, this is to be expected, although I would have thought that some differences would become apparent, as new items were bought and old ones renewed. In fact the few spinster inventories to have survived, paint a similar picture. What these records highlight, instead, are common patterns of household consumption, that had little reference to gender.

The use of wills and inventories to analyse the spread, use and social significance of material culture, has thus revealed two distinct patterns of consumption. Inventories highlight that material goods, exemplified by a group of novel semi-luxuries, could be employed to reflect the social position of the household,

within certain economic and geographical bounds. Whilst wills show how material goods could be used to articulate both affective and dynastic social relationships.

But the boundaries of the study set at the beginning of this thesis means that it is based on only three case studies, however carefully chosen they were to reflect different economic, geographic and social areas. So in order to create an overall view of consumption and the social order in early modern England during this period, it needs to be set within the context of other studies. A further bedding in of this material, in particular linking it into issues of politeness, as laid out in the work done by Peter Borsay, Lawrence Klein and Anna Bryson, amongst others, would reveal a further dimension to the understanding of the consumption of material culture as set out in this thesis. This is only one approach, however. Another way of further deepening our knowledge of the role played by goods in articulating social identities during this period, would be by focusing in greater depth on one or other of the populuxe goods I analysed, in the manner Sidney Mintz has done for sugar, for example. Such a study would enable us to provide detailed information not only about ownership patterns and bequests made, but even the monetary worth, style and kinds of pieces owned, resulting in effect in a social history of that item in relation to its use in this context.

The scope of these studies will necessitate the widening of the source material used, for as I pointed out in this thesis, wills and inventories do not provide the whole picture, merely a good indication, that goods were used in such a manner. Correlating the age of a person at death (by examining parish records), with the goods recorded in the inventories made of their assets, would enable us to see if there was a link between the consumption of populuxe goods and the various life-cycle stages of people in this period. For Cicily Howell and Margaret Spufford have noted in their regional studies, that age at death affected the types of property transmissions recorded in wills. Careful study of contemporary diaries would provide further complementary material, for those left not only by Pepys, but also Dudley Ryder, Roger Lowe, Lady Fanshawe and Sir Walter Calverley, to name but a few, all reveal a preoccupation with material goods,

in particular apparel, and how these could affect their social standing. The letters studied by Amanda Vickery point to a similar understanding of goods. Furthermore, whilst only a few remain, household accounts, such as those left by Richard Latham, Elizabeth Shackleton and Judith Butler, provide an example of purchasing patterns throughout a person's or family's lifetime. The flow of goods through a household, their monetary worth when new, and their average lifespan, can all be studied from such a source, as Vickery and Lorna Weatherill have shown, and would provide important additional information to what we can glean from wills and inventories.

So where the wills and inventories reveal overall trends, these other sources would give much needed detail, albeit on an individual level, providing real examples to accompany and substantiate the conclusions drawn from what the wills and inventories suggest. Such individual examples have a further importance in that they add colour, as wills, and inventories particularly, generally omit such details as the style of the goods in question, the decoration on them and such like, resulting in studies that can lack a visual understanding of the goods in question. (Women's wills are the exception; Maxine Berg and Marcia Pointon have highlighted how they often contained copious descriptions of the styles and colours of the goods being bequeathed).

The detail revealed in the letters Vickery collected, for example, provide the visual stimulus missing from the majority of records I have been studying. Such letters also reveal a rich flow of information about goods and fashions, as well as the articles themselves, between family and friends across the country. These and other letters, for example, would tie into and broaden my discussion of the use of goods to articulate and maintain social networks, in particular by women. However, examples of gift-giving in the men's diaries show that this was not exclusively an expression of female social identity, but an important part of social relations between individuals and families from the same community and social groupings in general. So in June 1709, for example, Nicholas Blundell recorded a number of gifts his family received from a Mr. Aldred, including 'a Present to my W. of a Coffy Pot & to my Children of each a Capp, he also gave some other

things'.[4] This does suggest, nevertheless, that a way of expressing friendship or loyalty between men and their families, was by giving presents to the family as a whole, or the wife, rather than the husband himself. Parallels might then be drawn to the sociological studies mentioned in this thesis, which suggested that the type of gift given, often reflected not only the social standing of the giver, but also the receiver. Comments made by Lady Anne Fanshawe in her memoir, indicate that a similar mechanism may also have been at work in early modern England. She listed the state goods her husband was given on his appointment as ambassador to the King of Spain, in 1664, which explicitly articulated the position the English king gave himself in the world, as well as that which he accorded the Spanish king. Included amongst these goods was 'a crimson velvett cloath of state fringed and laced with gold, with a chaire, a foot stoole, 2 cushions, and 2 other stooles of the same'. However, 'there wanted a velvett bed which he [her husband] should have had by custome'. Whatever the reason was for the king not issuing this item to her husband, Lady Fanshawe felt it diminished the outward expression of the esteem and social position her husband should have been given.[5]

Marcia Pointon has even shown how the purchasing of seemingly innocuous items of 'luxury' foods such as sugar, might reflect the ebb and flow of affective social relationships within a marriage, for example. Robert and Elizabeth Harley spent most of their six years of married life apart (1685–91), him in London in parliament, and she on their country estate in Brampton. Edward loved sweetmeats, which Elizabeth would make for him herself, as a token of her affection. But the right type of sugar was hard to come by where she lived, and Edward would often forget to send her any supplies, including all the other 'luxury' foods she asked for. A typical postscript to her letters reads 'no shugar, no sweatmeats'. Pointon has argued that all the gifts and other goods asked for and received

[4] 21st June 1709, in J.J. Bagley and Frank Tyrer (eds.), *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, (3 vols), Vol. 1, *The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, (Vols. 110, 112, 114), (London, 1968, 1970 and 1972), p. 220.

[5] John Loftis (ed.), *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, (c. 1630s–1660s), (Oxford, 1979), p. 143.

between the two of them, are substitutes for the life they were not able to lead together.[6]

Taken together, these all provide evidence of the central role material culture played in the lives of a large section of English society. My thesis just studied one part of this, namely how in three distinct Yorkshire communities, a number of populuxe goods might have been utilised to articulate certain social values. Nonetheless, it has highlighted the importance of further analysis into the reasons behind such consumption. For it has shown that, contrary to previous opinion, the increased availability of new and 'exotic' goods did not lead inevitably to a change in consumption patterns and greater consumerism. It also shows, furthermore, that consumption was not a distinctly gendered affair, with women heedlessly consuming the newest fashions. In the majority of cases, people consumed with their whole household in mind, rather than purely for themselves. This has resulted in an emergence of patterns of household rather than individual consumption. At the same time, this analysis does show that some changes occurred over the period studied, for example a marked rise in the ownership of clocks in Halifax households. Such selective purchasing of certain populuxe goods, that created local patterns of consumption, indicates how important it is to study in even more detail why people consume. Only such detailed studies can reveal the subtle changes in consumption and the social values attached to it, in the absence of a uniform national 'consumer revolution' of the sort suggested by other historians. The question then remains: do these local changes amount to a true revolution in consumer behaviour?

[6]Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing*, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 20–21.

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