

Evidence of women's waged work from household accounts, 1644 – 1700:
three case-studies from Devon, Somerset and Hampshire

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Abstract

This thesis examines women's waged work from 1644 to 1700 in the south-west of England. Household account books provide evidence for three estates: Leyhill (Payhembury, Devon), Herriard Park (Herriard, Hampshire) and Barrow Court (Barrow Gurney, Somerset). Three issues which affected women's working lives in the seventeenth century, and which to some degree remain in the twenty-first century, are explored and analysed.

The first section looks at the gender distribution of labour and confirms that women were concentrated in the casual workforce. It also explores the gender division of labour, examining the tasks performed by men and women and concluding that the allocation of tasks in reality did not adhere to early modern gender ideology, with women working in every sector of the economy and a large proportion of female workers labouring in agriculture. However, within these sectors a flexible gender division of labour is present.

The second section looks at women's wages and the gender pay gap debate. It shows that men were paid more than women and uses a task analysis to show that the gender division of labour and differences in strength between men and women did not affect the wages paid to a substantial degree. An examination of marital status shows that the difference in wages paid to single women and wives was minimal, and therefore the caring and household responsibilities of women did also not affect their wages, suggesting that customary discrimination played a part in the gender pay gap.

The third section explores how marriage, motherhood and ageing affected female employment. Using parish registers, it shows that not all young, single women worked as servants, with some being employed as day workers, and similarly that some married women worked as servants. Many women also migrated to find work and moved between several different parishes over the course of their life-cycle.

By examining wider issues in a local framework, this thesis uncovers the nature of women's work and shows that early modern gender ideology was not an accurate reflection of how women (and men) lived in practice. This method highlights the differences that existed between localities, and the variety of the

female experience, whilst also confirming the underlying similarities that were present in most women's working lives.

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Conventions

Quotations from early modern sources are given in modern English. First names have also been standardised into modern spelling, whilst the spelling of surnames have not been changed, apart from where there are several spellings of one surname, where the most common spelling has been chosen to allow for ease of analysis. Monetary values are given in the pre-decimalisation form of pounds (£), shillings (s) and pence (d). Dates are given in the early modern Julian calendar, with the New Year starting on 25 March.

Abbreviations

DHC	Devon Heritage Centre (Exeter)
HALS	Hampshire Archives and Local Studies (Winchester)
SHC	Somerset Heritage Centre (Taunton)

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1. Introduction

In August 1680, Hannah Bidgood received a payment of fifteen shillings for her work as a household servant for the Willoughby family of Leyhill in Payhembury, Devon.¹ Less than a year later, she married William Jarman, a fellow servant at Leyhill. William Jarman went back to work at Leyhill almost immediately as a regular day worker from 1681 to 1690, making roughly a shilling a day.² However, Hannah's next appearance as a Willoughby employee was not for another ten years. After a decade of pregnancy and motherhood, 'Hannah Jarman' was paid sixpence a day for three days weeding (a task almost wholly associated with women) on 10 May 1690.³ Hannah was employed for a further eighteen days that year performing unspecified labour, always with a daily wage of sixpence – half the wage of her husband.⁴

This example of Hannah Jarman, née Bidgood, includes many typical features of women's work in the early modern period. In her unmarried youth she worked as a live-in household servant for another family, before marrying and settling down to become a wife and mother. She returned to waged work after having children, but only casually and part-time, and earning only half the wages of her husband. Her working life reflects issues such as the gender division of labour, the gender pay gap, gendered patterns of work and the effect of the life-cycle on women's work. These issues not only preoccupy the history of women's work, but also fuel debates on gender equality in the twenty-first century. With regard to these issues, modern women can find something in common with Hannah Jarman, a Devon labourer who worked, loved and lived over three centuries ago.

Hannah Jarman's working life aligns neatly with the historiography on women's work in the early modern period: a youth spent in service and then casual and part-time work after marriage and motherhood. However, many women in the seventeenth century, like today, did not follow the 'traditional' route. Ann Flee was working for the Willoughby family at Leyhill, and sometimes in London, in 1669 at the age of forty, and would die a spinster at the age of sixty-seven.⁵ Many young

¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/17.

² DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1; SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18-20.

³ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/19.

⁴ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/19-20.

⁵ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/5-8, DD/WO/52/3/11; 'Devon Burials' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?datasetname=devon+burials&firstname=ann+&lastname=variants=true&lastname=flee&lastname=variants=true&place=crediton> [accessed online 08/07/19].

women worked as day labourers rather than in service; one example being Julian Jarman who performed casual work at Leyhill from 1658 to 1677, before marrying a fellow worker in 1679.⁶ Some married women worked as servants, often alongside their husbands; Elizabeth Hart was in service at Leyhill with her husband Thomas between 1644 and 1646, and Grace Joyce was a servant with her husband Stephen at Leyhill for the period 1658 to 1669.⁷ These women most likely faced the realities of the gender division of labour and the gender pay gap alongside other women, but their life-cycle did not affect their working patterns in the same ways. They are a few examples amongst many, and they serve as a reminder of the importance of the individual experience.

The gender division of labour, the gender pay gap and the adverse effect of marriage, motherhood and age on women's employment prospects were and are key issues in discussing women's work and in economic inequality between the genders. They are still present in twenty-first century society and the subject of much attention and debate as to their causes and solutions. Sheilagh Ogilvie gives three reasons why examining women's work in the past matters:

First, it is important for understanding the challenges facing women (and men) in modern western economies. Second, it is important for understanding the challenges facing women (and men) in modern less developed economies. And third, it is important for understanding the challenges that were faced, and ultimately overcome, by European women (and men) before their economies could begin to grow in a sustained way. Sexual inequality in the western past matters for understanding it in the present. To change sexual inequality in modern developed economies, we need to know how it has changed before... to devise policies for reducing sexual inequalities during modern development, we need to understand how they changed during historical development.⁸

Therefore, issues that adversely affect women's working opportunities and their economic equality in the present need to be examined in the past. Ogilvie does this by looking at women's work (their 'bitter living') in early modern Germany.

⁶ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/6-15; DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3; SHC, DD/WO/52/3/7-11.

⁸ Sheilagh Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 2-3.

This thesis examines women's work in the rural south-western counties of England and especially focuses on the gender division of labour, the gender pay gap and the effect of the life-cycle on women's working opportunities: three issues which are central to modern discussions of female equality and which were equally present in the past.

Women's work in the early modern period has been the subject of much investigation, especially in the last few decades, but many questions still remain unanswered. One historiographical trend argues that, before the onset of industrialisation and modern capitalism in the eighteenth century, women enjoyed a lost 'golden age' of working opportunities. As Amanda Vickery summarises, the 'golden age' theory postulates that 'according to customary wisdom, sometime between 1600 and 1800 a wholesome family economy wherein men, women and children shared tasks and status gave way to an exploitative wage economy which elevated the male breadwinner and marginalised his dependants'.⁹ This theory has its origins in nineteenth-century socialist writing and early historians of women's work such as Alice Clark.¹⁰ However, other historians such as Judith Bennett have argued for 'continuity over change', disagreeing with the notion of a past 'golden age' and instead insisting that 'women were as clustered in low-skilled, low-status, low-paying occupations in 1200 as in 1900.'¹¹

To properly evaluate whether women did have better working opportunities in a lost 'golden age' before the eighteenth century or whether Bennett's picture of continuity over change is closer to the reality, more research needs to be done on women's working lives before 1800 and especially in the early modern period. This thesis adds to this body of research by using household account books from the seventeenth century. Household account books are an excellent source for investigating the reality of working life for women, the wages they were paid and the tasks they performed, rather than the ideal portrayed in advice manuals or the tropes portrayed in literature. The household account books chosen focus

⁹ Amanda Vickery, 'Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history' in *Gender and History in Western Europe* ed. by Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent (London: Arnold, 1998), p.211.

¹⁰ Vickery 'Golden age to separate spheres?', p.211; Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1919), pp. 5 – 13;

¹¹ Judith M. Bennett, 'History That Stands Still: Women's Work in the European Past', *Feminist Studies*, 14.2 (1988), p.280.

primarily on a particular female experience: that of rural working-class women working primarily in agriculture and in the household.

Many historians, such as Alice Clark, Ivy Pinchbeck and Bridget Hill, attempt to look at all aspects of women's work: rural and urban, farming and manufacture, the household economy and commerce.¹² This all-encompassing approach is problematic due to the significant variations between localities and sectors, making it difficult to reach a meaningful conclusion regarding the issues surrounding women's work. Anthony Fletcher stresses that 'much more research is needed on the micro-economies of early modern England' as local studies show the reality of women's working patterns.¹³ Pamela Sharpe, a historian of women's work who has specialised in individual case-studies, says that 'women's wages, and indeed, other aspects of women's work were subject to traditional, local cultural differences which it is only possible to penetrate by producing detailed case studies of early modern communities'.¹⁴ Samantha Williams, who has researched the effects of the English Poor Law on two Oxfordshire communities, champions what she calls 'micro-cosmic history', saying that 'the local is the site for the consideration of much wider issues; it is a testing ground for research questions that can only be answered accurately by detailed analysis at the parochial, familial and local level'.¹⁵

Therefore, a more focused approach on particular localities and sectors is needed to meaningfully investigate issues such as the gender division of labour and the gender pay gap. This thesis uses household account books from rural, agricultural estates to provide such a focus. Previous studies using household account books have often only focused on one estate. This can be problematic as, whilst a useful source, account books have their idiosyncrasies as recording practices differ in detail and information according to the needs of each estate. One solution to this is to use household account books from different estates to mitigate these idiosyncrasies. This thesis uses household account books from

¹² Clark and Erikson (ed.), *Working Life of Women*; Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*; Bridget Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989).

¹³ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500 – 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p.252.

¹⁴ Pamela Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism: Working Women in the English Economy, 1700 – 1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), p.150.

¹⁵ Samantha Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760 – 1834* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), p.1.

three separate estates: an approach which makes it easier to see patterns in women's work, and which also highlights individual practices specific to certain locales. This combination highlights the universalities of female working life as well as showing how individual experiences differ.

1.1 Historiography of women's work

Women's work has only been investigated in any detail in the last hundred years. The development of social and gender history from the mid twentieth century onwards has helped the study of the topic progress beyond its beginnings. As women became a more accepted topic of historical study, their employment patterns came into clearer focus. Economic historians have concentrated on wages as a means to discuss female work, whilst social historians have studied women's work in relation to marriage, the household and the family. This section explores the general development of the historiography of women's work in early modern England. More detailed historiographies of the themes and debates relating to the specific issues of women's work are given at the beginning of each chapter.

The field of economic history emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a reaction to political history, and from a desire to study the involvement of the masses in trade, agriculture and the wider economy. Economic historians used sources such as censuses and trade records that had hitherto been unexplored. Amongst this new field of research in the United Kingdom emerged a significant number of female historians, some of whom made a point of consciously including women and their work in the burgeoning economic historiography.¹⁶ One pioneering historian in the study of women's labour was Alice Clark, who published *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* in 1919. Clark was writing to prove that women had working lives outside the home in the past in order to justify women moving into the workplace in her present, the early twentieth century. As part of this, she excluded housework and care work from her study and focused instead on women working in agriculture, textiles, crafts and trades and the professions. Clark's arguments align with the 'golden age' theory of women's work. She implies that female working opportunities were greater in the seventeenth century before the onset of

¹⁶ Pat Hudson, 'Economic History' in *Writing History: Theory and Practice* ed. by Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003), pp.226 – 228.

industrialisation. As the household was the primary location of production, women enjoyed a respected economic role and worked alongside their husbands in a relatively equal partnership. However, industrialisation created a clear demarcation between work and home. As the latter became the accepted place for women, their work roles and status lessened considerably, and they were forced into either idleness (for the wealthy) or drudgery (for the less well off).¹⁷ Clark's study was reissued with an introduction by Amy Louise Erikson in 1992, who reminds us that Clark's findings are 'as regularly confirmed as they are disputed' and that the book still remains 'the most comprehensive introduction to women's everyday lives in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.'¹⁸ Clark's emphasis on the equal contribution made by men and women to the family economy, and on the contribution of women's work to the family's survival as essential rather than supplementary, has stood the test of time. However, her suggestion that early modern men took an equal share in household chores and childcare was somewhat optimistic: as Erikson notes, 'a practical day-to-day complementarity of work co-existed with a powerful theory of female subordination' in the early modern period.¹⁹

Another early historian of women's work, Ivy Pinchbeck, published the classic *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750 – 1850* in 1930. Although Pinchbeck's study notionally begins in 1750, much of what she wrote about the eighteenth century was relevant to the earlier period. Pinchbeck recognised the economic partnership of husbands and wives collaborating in the pre-industrial household economy, but her views often differed from Clark's. She believed that the Industrial Revolution had a positive effect on female work. According to Pinchbeck, the emergence of man as the 'breadwinner' who could command a higher wage than a woman, a concept which originated in this period, freed the wife from toil and exploitation as a wage earner. This had not always made sense economically as 'her earnings rarely balanced the loss to the family from the non-performance of more important domestic duties; her own labour was often exploited and in many instances women's earnings only served to keep their husband's wages at the level of individual subsistence'.²⁰ This argument is

¹⁷ Clark, *Working Life of Women*, p.9.

¹⁸ Amy Louise Erikson, 'Introduction' in *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century, Third Edition* by Alice Clark (London: Routledge, 1992), p.viii.

¹⁹ Erikson, 'Introduction', pp.xx-xxi.

²⁰ Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, p.312.

disputed by modern feminist thinking, but Pinchbeck believed that 'the assumption that men's wages should be paid on a family basis' and the subsequent relegation of female labour to the unpaid domestic sphere 'prepared the way for the more modern conception that in the rearing of children and in home-making, the married woman makes an adequate economic contribution'.²¹ In the case of single women, Pinchbeck concluded that the Industrial Revolution caused 'her distinct gain in social and economic independence' as it meant that she received an individual wage and could become independent from her family.²² As this thesis and other studies of early modern work have shown, female servants, agricultural labourers and textile workers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have disagreed that this was a new phenomenon. Pinchbeck did concede that female domestic servants, craft workers and agricultural labourers did not reap these benefits, as low wages and bad conditions prevailed due to an over-supplied labour market, and women from the middle and upper classes were enforced into idleness to conform to Victorian notions of female refinement and gentility.²³ Therefore, Pinchbeck's conclusions were not always in opposition to Clark's views. The competing and intertwining theses of Clark and Pinchbeck have influenced every subsequent generation of scholars on women's work, and they are still widely cited as classics in the field.

One problem with the scholarship of Alice Clark and Ivy Pinchbeck is that their conclusions on women's work and the family are not grounded in demographic evidence. This is through no fault of their own, as the discipline of social history did not gain momentum until after the Second World War, when there was a renewed interest in the lives of everyday people. Although irrevocably intertwined with economic history, in which it had its foundations, social history broke away to uncover the historical experiences of the working class, which primarily meant working-class men to begin with.²⁴ Research on demographic and population history with evidence from parish registers and censuses helped to shape understandings of the female life-cycle and the construction of the family. Historians such as E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, who compiled a comprehensive history of the English population from 1541 to 1871 using 404

²¹ Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, p.313.

²² Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, p.313.

²³ Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, p.315.

²⁴ Thomas Welskopp, 'Social History' in *Writing History: Theory and Practice* ed. by Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003), p.205.

parish registers, as well as Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, who studied the structure of the pre-modern family and household, provide the demographic framework within which issues surrounding women's work can be explored.²⁵ The results of such demographic research means that historians now have a more accurate knowledge of demographic facts such as the average age adolescents left home, the average age of marriage and death for men and women, and the average family size, all of which help to shape experiences of work.

One example of research into women's work which has used demographic history to great effect is the study of early modern Colyton by Pamela Sharpe, who reconstructed the social structure of the parish to help explain its unique female employment patterns.²⁶ This is an example which this thesis follows by focusing on individual localities and using parish records to reconstruct the lives of the female workers found in the household account books. By doing this, this thesis avoids the sweeping conclusions made by Clark and Pinchbeck, utilises methods, sources and conclusions pioneered by social and demographic historians which were unknown to Clark and Pinchbeck, and places women's work into its local context in order to reach meaningful conclusions about how the female life-cycle and demographic milestones such as marriage, motherhood and ageing affected individual women on these three southwestern estates.

Despite the importance of the studies undertaken by Clark, Pinchbeck and others, the topic of women's work remained on the periphery of historical research. It was not until the 1980s and beyond that academic history began to see a renewed interest in women's work, amongst other aspects of women's lives.²⁷ The second wave of feminism that reached its height in the 1970s and 1980s, itself influenced by the social movements of the 1960s, inspired the creation of women's studies departments and a new field of historical research: women's history. Its aim was to integrate women into the historical narrative, to uncover important women and to explore women's lives in the past. In doing so, these historians were following

²⁵ E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541 – 1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). These are only two examples of the field and more can be found in the historiographical discussion on work and the female life-cycle.

²⁶ Pamela Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish: Reproducing Colyton, 1540 -1840* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

²⁷ Jane Whittle, 'A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy', *Past and Present*, 243 (2019), pp.4-5.

the likes of Alice Clark and making a political statement of their own about the value of the female experience, the historical subordination of women and the need for gender equality. It became clear that, in order to understand the differences between the ways that men and women were treated in the past and how this had developed towards the present day, historical understandings of sexual difference and the construction of gender and social roles had to be explored. This marked the transition from 'women's history' to 'gender history', the latter of which became more popular after the publication of Joan Scott's seminal article on gender as a category of historical analysis in 1986 and became dominant from the mid-1990s onwards.²⁸ Amongst all this, the topic of women's working lives remained an important focus. This thesis is a product of both women's and gender history, as it not only uncovers more details about the lives of women in the past but also studies how modern issues such as the gender division of labour and the gender pay gap were present in the past and why they were perpetuated.

Bridget Hill's monograph *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* was published in 1989 and was the first comprehensive book-length study of women's work in the early modern period since Clark and Pinchbeck, effectively updating their conclusions.²⁹ It covered not only work and production within the household and family economy, but service, apprenticeship, agricultural work and the effects of the life-cycle, although her definition of housework and exploration of unpaid labour was confused and incomplete.³⁰ Hill concluded that the work of women was hard, multi-occupational and often unpaid; when waged at all it was often part-time and seasonal. Over the course of the eighteenth century, women's working opportunities (especially in agriculture and trade) became limited and the gender division of labour became more marked, relegating women even more into low-skilled and ill-paid jobs.³¹ Alice Clark's influence is evident here and Hill explicitly cites the scholarship of Ivy Pinchbeck, maintaining that her conclusion did not rebut Pinchbeck's thinking and only

²⁸ Laura Lee Downs, 'From women's history to gender history' in *Writing History: Theory and Practice* ed. by Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003), pp. 262-3; Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review*, 91.5 (1986), 1053 – 1075.

²⁹ Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*.

³⁰ Whittle, 'A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work'', p.9.

³¹ Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, pp.259-60.

marked a disagreement in when exactly after the Industrial Revolution an improvement in women's working opportunities occurred.

Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, like Hill, argues that the conditions of women's work changed over time. Her 2005 monograph on working women from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries used new evidence from manorial court rolls and equity court records.³² She agreed with Judith Bennett that women's work was undervalued and viewed negatively, characterized by its low pay and status. These were the defining common factors of female employment, as the lack of female specialization meant that they drifted between different occupations. Demographic crises such as the Black Death widened opportunities but not to a significant extent. The shortage of available labour after the Black Death meant that women had more work opportunities and could command higher wages for a time; but ultimately this did not prevail due to a population which grew faster than the economy and caused a glut in labour and a drop in wages by 1600.³³ Therefore, whilst the extent of female opportunities in work varied at different points in time, female work was consistently undervalued and ruled by patriarchal norms which limited women's opportunities in terms of wage earning and job choices in comparison to men.

However, not all historians believe that there was change over time in the conditions of women's work, instead arguing for continuity over change regarding the female experience as a whole, including women's work. Judith Bennett is one of the most influential historians with this view. She postulated that, instead of the past halcyon era of opportunity before industrialisation proposed by Alice Clark, the lot of working women throughout history has remained relatively stable, with women consistently occupying low-status, low-skilled and low-paid jobs.³⁴ Whilst allowing that the immediate aftermath of the Black Death may have led to an increase in wages for some women, this period was not a 'golden age' for women: she maintains that 'these changes were a short-term phenomenon, confined to

³² Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society, 1300-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

³³ McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society*, p.8.

³⁴ Bennett, "History that stands still", pp.269-283.

the peculiar circumstances of a population ravaged by disease.’³⁵ Bennett argues that the evidence for such changes is limited, and should be ‘placed within a context of enduring continuities in the circumstances, status and experiences of women workers’. She instead asserts that there was no transformation, and that across the centuries women ‘tended to work in low-skilled, low-status, low-paid jobs, and they also tended to be intermittent workers, jumping from job to job or juggling several tasks at once’.³⁶ In a published conversation with Judith Bennett, Bridget Hill explicitly rejected the thesis that women experienced more continuity than change in their lives throughout the centuries. She stated that the argument for continuity cast women as eternal victims and relegated women’s history to outside the mainstream academy, betraying the earlier generation of women’s historians who fought hard to win its recognition.³⁷ By studying the conditions of women’s work at individual estates, and comparing these to each other and other local and national studies, this thesis provides more evidence for women’s working lives which can be used by historians who are concerned with continuity and change in women’s history.

There has also been more attention paid to women’s work in the field of economic history in the last few decades. Joyce Burnette has used a wide range of farm accounts to study the relationship between male and female wages in the eighteenth century and to suggest reasons for the all-prevalent gender pay gap. She found that female wages were related to market forces and changed over time in the same way that male wages did, using this as evidence that the gender pay gap was due more to lesser female productivity rather than gender discrimination.³⁸ More recently, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf have composed the first female wage series, using a wide variety of sources from across England to chart the levels of female wages for both day workers and servants from 1260 to 1850. They found that female day workers benefited from the post-Black Death demand for labour in the same way as their male counterparts but that women working as servants did not. Wage levels for

³⁵Judith M. Bennett, ‘Medieval Women, Modern Women: Across the Great Divide’ in David Aers (ed.), *Culture and History 1350 – 1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), p.162.

³⁶ Bennett, ‘Medieval Women, Modern Women’, p.158.

³⁷ Bridget Hill, ‘Women’s History: a study in change, continuity or standing still?’, *Women’s History Review*, 2 (1993), pp.5 – 22.

³⁸ Joyce Burnette, ‘The wages and employment of female day-labourers in English agriculture, 1750 – 1850’, *The Economic History Review*, 57.4 (2004), p.686.

servants show that demand for their services varied over time. Moreover, industrialization in the long-term offered few gains to married women who could not commit to full-time work: 'it was largely single women free from family responsibilities who could profit from the momentous economic changes.'³⁹ This thesis tests Burnette's explanations for the gender pay gap in a local context and compares Humphries and Weisdorf's wage series to wages paid on three rural estates, showing the reality of women's wages in these three localities, as a contrast to the national picture which often anonymizes women's experiences.

In the twenty-first century, new studies of unpaid work allow paid work to be set in a wider context. Recent projects using court records have inspired new definitions and methodologies of women's work and have resulted in new studies and conclusions. Sheilagh Ogilvie used church court records from 1646 to 1800 in a micro-analysis of Wurttemberg in south-west Germany examining the economic opportunities and working life of women. These yielded 2828 observations of work, a third of them relating to women.⁴⁰ The 'Gender and Work in Early Modern Sweden' project headed by Maria Ågren and based at Uppsala University in Sweden used Swedish court records from 1550 to 1799.⁴¹ They collected examples using the 'verb orientated method', which meant that instances of work were identified from the verbs used, and as a result this encompassed unpaid work and work performed in and around the home.⁴² Another project which uses an innovative methodology to study court records is the 'Women's work in rural England, 1500 – 1700' project headed by Jane Whittle at the University of Exeter. Whittle, alongside her research fellows Mark Hailwood and Charmian Mansell, defined work using the 'third-party criterion' pioneered by Margaret Reid, which says that any unpaid task which could also be achieved either through delegation to a waged worker or by purchasing goods should be classed as work.⁴³ The results of Whittle's project have challenged established

³⁹ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260 – 1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), p.430.

⁴⁰ Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, p.24.

⁴¹ Maria Ågren (ed.) *Making A Living, Making A Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁴² Maria Ågren, 'Introduction: Making A Living, Making A Difference' in *Making A Living, Making A Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* ed. by Maria Ågren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p.13.

⁴³ Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern England', *The Economic History Review* (2018), pp.1 – 30. This thesis was conceived of and funded as part of the 'Women's work in rural England' project and supervised by Jane Whittle.

thinking about women's work; most notably finding that in the early modern period, women spent as much of their time in agriculture as in housework and care work and that they participated in commerce at an equal rate with men. The projects headed by Ogilvie, Ågren and Whittle are examples of how new sources and approaches can change the way that historians look at women's work. This thesis provides evidence of the tasks which women performed on three individual estates and compares this evidence with conclusions from Ågren's and Whittle's projects, in order to analyse the gender division of labour in the early modern period, and challenge traditional assumptions about women's work.

1.2 Sources and Methodology

This thesis explores the working lives of women in the south of England during the second half of the seventeenth century. Household account books are used to tell the stories of their female workers, not only as individual women but also as a collective group, in order to analyse the gendered experience of paid employment. These seemingly dry financial records, paired with local parish registers, can yield much information about the paid work of women. Issues such as the gender division of labour, the gender pay gap and the effects of ageing, marriage and motherhood on female working patterns are analysed using information from the household account books of three gentry estates from rural southern England. These rich case-studies are compared with other local, regional, national and international studies of women's work. Therefore, this thesis pays attention to both the average and individual experience, contextualising findings to the broader, national picture whilst keeping the lives of individual women in focus.

The three estates used as case-studies are Leyhill in Payhembury, Devon (owned by the Willoughby and then the Trevelyan families), Herriard Park in Herriard, Hampshire (owned by the Jervoise family) and Barrow Court in Barrow Gurney, Somerset (owned by the Gore family). These estates combined large gentry households with attached farmland and therefore employed many people. For example, in 1666 the Gore family at Barrow Court retained two nurses, three male servants, four female servants, a dairymaid and a mill keeper, as well as employing eleven female and thirty-six male day workers throughout the year. To keep track of the employment and payments of all these people, as well as other payments and income, the Gore family and families like them kept account books.

These sources can provide a valuable insight into the lives of the less wealthy women and men who laboured for these families.

There are many advantages to using household accounts to study paid work in the seventeenth century. Firstly, they place work patterns within the context of the household and estate, which is important as their size, status, specialisation and income have a significant bearing on the tasks performed and wages paid. This can be lost when the data are placed in wage series or a national study.⁴⁴ Secondly, as Joyce Burnette has noted, they provide evidence of the work actually performed, unlike contemporary conduct literature which portrayed only the prescriptive ideal or reports by parliamentary committees who were aiming to prove a certain point.⁴⁵ They are also not subject to the same biases as court records. Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, who use court records, have found that they can be skewed towards work connected with crime and the legal processes and work performed by men, as they were more likely to be called as witnesses.⁴⁶

However, household account books, like any primary source, also have their own, idiosyncratic issues. Firstly, they vary greatly in detail. This is perhaps only to be expected, as these are private documents and each household had different priorities, needs, economies and practices. This can result in differing levels of information, with some books recording only a name and a wage, and others providing details of the task performed. In extreme cases, only a surname or other designator (such as 'woman' or 'daughter/wife of') is recorded. Dates can sometimes be missing. Some books fail to record how many days a person has worked or only record a single wage for a group of people, making it difficult to determine who was paid what amount. Secondly, they vary in presentation, depending on the preference and priorities of the individual compiling the accounts. Dates can be recorded in many styles, with different combinations of year, month, date and day. Accounts can be kept by the week, month, quarter-year, year or by another periodisation of the author's choosing. Some early modern accountants prefer the neat appearance of columns and grids, others a

⁴⁴ Pamela Sharpe is a key proponent of the need to use localised sources when researching women's work, see her monograph *Adapting to Capitalism*, p.4. Within this work, Chapter Four 'Agriculture: The Sexual Division of Labour' shows how account books can be used in this way. A. Hassell-Smith has also extolled this virtue of the account book in his now seminal article, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk [Part I]', *Continuity and Change*, 4.3 (1989), pp.11-12.

⁴⁵ Burnette, 'The wages and employment of female day-labourers in English agriculture', p.666.

⁴⁶ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', pp.6, 9.

blank page. The lack of standardised spelling is also an issue, particularly regarding names which can have different spellings in the same manuscript, making it difficult to track workers through the accounts.⁴⁷

Despite these drawbacks, household account books are extremely valuable. They provide information that can shed light on a lot of issues to do with work and women's work in particular. Although their individual nature can make them idiosyncratic, Rebecca Connor argues that 'the very individuality of... account-books offers insight into the economic management of the household.'⁴⁸ As the very purpose of these three sets of household accounts are to record wage payments, they are ideal for studies on wages and the gender pay gap. If accurately dated, it is possible to measure the gender distribution of labour and see the different ways and frequencies with which men and women were likely to be employed. It can be possible to distinguish whether women are working as servants or as casual labourers. Accounts can also contain information on the nature of tasks performed by male and female workers allowing an analysis on the gender division of labour. Finally, accounts can be used in conjunction with parish registers to show how the life-cycle affected working patterns. Individuals in the accounts can be matched to records of age, place of birth and marital status in the parish registers. These identifications enable analysis of how age, marriage and motherhood affected female working patterns, and the extent of migration to find work.

Studies of individual household accounts provide examples of the many ways in which the rich material in these sources can be used. These case studies are valuable in providing detailed analysis from estates and in highlighting localised differences. The information provided by household accounts is useful for comparative and contextual purposes. Therefore, the following section briefly reviews previous studies of household account books in order to show their potential for studying women's work.

⁴⁷ Helen Speechley, 'Female and child agricultural day labourers in Somerset, c.1685 – 1870', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 1999), pp.19-26.

⁴⁸ Rebecca Elisabeth Connor, *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in eighteenth-century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p.9.

Deborah Youngs utilised the accounts of Humphrey Newton for his estate of Newton, Cheshire from 1498-1520.⁴⁹ The majority of the work on that estate adhered to a gender division of labour: women brewing, dairying and spinning and men undertaking forms of manual labour that necessitated greater physical strength.⁵⁰ The one exception to this was at harvest time, when wives as well as single women were paid to reap and gather.⁵¹ Youngs found that Newton's female servants were more likely than the men to terminate their contracts early.⁵² A. Hassell Smith examined the wage-books and accounting records that were kept between 1587 and 1597 by Nathaniel Bacon, the owner of an estate in Stiffkey, Norfolk.⁵³ His resident servants were mostly male, although two or three dairymaids (either married or single) were employed annually and also did laundering and spinning.⁵⁴ Labouring women performed a variety of tasks in all seasons and comprised the majority of the casual labour force at Stiffkey. These female employees were a diverse group both in age and marital status, implying that the life-cycle had little effect on women's work. However, even though women made up a large proportion of the workers on the estate, they were only paid half the male wage, in a clear example of the gender pay gap.⁵⁵ Youngs and Hassell Smith both provide examples of how useful account books can be in the study of work. However, they both focused on single estates in the sixteenth century. More research needs to be conducted on how these issues persisted into the seventeenth century, and evidence needs to be gathered for different estates to provide a comparison and show the similarities and differences in hiring practices.

Pamela Sharpe has examined records from two estates and compared the results: a wage book and a hired labour agreement book from the Antony estate near Plymouth covering the period 1673-1714 and a day labourers book from the

⁴⁹ Deborah Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne: the case of Newton, Cheshire, 1498-1520', *The Agricultural History Review*, 47.2 (1999), pp.145-160.

⁵⁰ Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', pp.151-2.

⁵¹ Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', p.157.

⁵² Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne', p.149.

⁵³ A. Hassell-Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk [Part I]', *Continuity and Change*, 4.3 (1989), 11-52; A. Hassell-Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk [Part II]', *Continuity and Change*, 4.1 (1989), 367-394.

⁵⁴ Hassell-Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: [Part I]', pp.15-7.

⁵⁵ Hassell-Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: [Part I]', pp.29-30.

1790's for the Shute Barton estate in east Devon.⁵⁶ At Antony, the gender distribution of labour meant that women were only employed in the summer months.⁵⁷ When women undertook strenuous labour they were paid more, implying that productivity was a factor for the gender pay gap. Shute Barton displayed a different gender distribution of labour as women were employed for most of the year, although this may have been due to the absence of men in the Napoleonic wars. These women were all single, in their early twenties and related to the male workers. At both estates, Sharpe found that recruitment was facilitated by social and familial networks and women were paid considerably less than their male counterparts even for the same tasks, concluding that the gender pay gap became wider over time.⁵⁸ Sharpe's study is a model for how accounts can be used to yield information on women's work and how they can be compared and contrasted with one another. However, the accounts were from different time periods, with eighty years between them. This thesis uses account books from three estates during the same period, the second half of the seventeenth century, which allows for a more meaningful comparison.

One example of a study of household accounts from the second half of the seventeenth century is that done by Carole Shammas on the household of Margaret Askew Fell Fox at Swarthmoor Hall, Lancashire, from 1673-8. This is a detailed study which looked at the gender pay gap, the gender division of labour and how the life-cycle influenced women's work. In terms of the life-cycle, Shammas divides her female workers by marital status and shows that, whilst a quarter of all women regardless of marital status worked in agriculture at Swarthmoor Hall, unmarried women were more likely to work as servants and wives as peddlers and textile workers.⁵⁹ Shammas finds that there was a clear gender division of labour in agriculture, with men performing most of the arable farm work (except haymaking, which women shared), animal husbandry and gardening, whilst women weeded and looked after the flax and hemp ground.⁶⁰ A gender pay gap was present, with women only ever being paid more than male

⁵⁶ Pamela Sharpe, 'Time and Wages of West Country Workfolks in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Local Population Studies*, 55 (1995), pp.66-68.

⁵⁷ Sharpe, 'Time and Wages of West Country Workfolks', p.66

⁵⁸ Sharpe, 'Time and Wages of West Country Workfolks', p.68.

⁵⁹ Carole Shammas, 'The World Women Knew: Women Workers in the North of England during the Late Seventeenth Century' in *The World of William Penn* ed. by Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp.106-7.

⁶⁰ Shammas, 'The World Women Knew', pp.109-10.

workers when those male workers were boys. Shammass discounts the argument that women were paid less due to their lesser strength as she points out that the gender pay gap was still present in tasks which did not require brute strength. She suggests that female involvement in reproduction and childcare was instead to blame for the gender pay gap, although she does not provide any evidence for this.⁶¹ This thesis investigates Shammass' hypothesis that women's role as wives and mothers was a reason for the gender pay gap at Swarthmoor Hall. Shammass shows how household account books can be used to yield information on important issues concerning women's work in the seventeenth century for a particular locale, but more work needs to be done on more estates and in other regions than the north.

Helen Speechley has also used account books to study female labour in considerable detail. Her thesis looked at nine sets of farm accounts from Somerset from the period 1682 – 1871. She found that women constituted twenty percent of agricultural labourers in Somerset during this period, more than previously imagined, and that there was a gender division of labour present which remained consistent rather than growing more acute over time.⁶² Speechley also noted the presence of the gender pay gap, and believed that explanations such as lesser female productivity and women's reproductive role did influence this to some extent, but that they also worked hand-in-hand with patriarchal custom to keep women's wages lower than men's.⁶³ Speechley's thesis is an example of how several individual case studies of household accounts from a region can be analysed and compared to yield valuable information on women's work, challenge previously held assumptions and restore forgotten workers to the historical record. However, it mainly covers the later periods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This thesis concentrates on the late seventeenth century to capture the situation before the agricultural and social changes of the eighteenth century.

It has been shown how household account books have been used and what sort of evidence they can provide on women's work. Historians such as Youngs and Hassell Smith have used them to study the sixteenth century, whilst Speechley

⁶¹Shammass, 'The World Women Knew', pp.110-11.

⁶² Speechley, 'Female and child agricultural day labourers in Somerset', p.201.

⁶³ Speechley, 'Female and child agricultural day labourers in Somerset', p. 202.

has studied the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Shammass has looked at the seventeenth century but for only one estate in the north of England. Sharpe has studied two estates in the south-west, but for different time periods. This thesis builds on the work of these historians but for the late seventeenth century and focuses on three estates in the same time period and region in order to show consistencies in women's work while highlighting the differences caused by individual employers, estates and localities. Fifty-nine sets of accounts from the south-western counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire were considered for detailed study at the outset of the research. The three case-studies of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court have been chosen because they were not only the most legible and clearly and consistently formatted, but they all contained female workers and they all covered several years or decades in the estate's history. This allows for detailed analysis, and examination of trends in hiring and payment to be discovered and discussed. Although male workers are more dominant in the accounts, women are present in the paid workforce in significant enough numbers to make meaningful comparisons possible and to enable analysis of many areas of work, namely the gender distribution and division of labour, the gender pay gap and the effects of the life-cycle on women's work.

Methodology

Table 1.1 below shows the quantity of data gathered from the three sets of account books. Throughout this thesis, servants are analysed separately from workers who were paid by the day or the task. Servants were workers who lived in the household and were employed for longer periods: they are easily identified in the accounts as they are paid for periods such as a quarter, half a year or a year rather than by the day. These payments are often grouped together, sometimes under the heading of 'servant's wages'. The traditional English quarter days for wage payments were 25 March (Lady Day), 24 June (Midsummer), 29 September (Michaelmas) and 25 December (Christmas), although some households deviated from this norm and paid their workers at a time more convenient to their needs; one such household was Leyhill, which preferred to pay its servants in February, May, August and November. It can be seen that 890 payments to servants were made in the Leyhill accounts, 473 in the Herriard

Park accounts and 16 in the Barrow Court accounts, adding up to 1379 payments to servants in total.

Table 1.1a: The number of labour instances of day and task workers gathered from the case-studies of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

Estate	Female Labour Instances	Male Labour Instances	Total Labour Instances
Leyhill	2802.0	19385.5	22187.5
Herriard Park	5585.5	13788.5	19374.0
Barrow Court	344.0	762.0	1106.0
Total	8731.5	33936.0	42667.5

Table 1.1b: The number of servant payments gathered from the case-studies of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

Estate	Female Servant Payments	Male Servant Payments	Total Servant Payments
Leyhill	342	548	890
Herriard Park	98	375	473
Barrow Court	12	4	16
Total	452	927	1379

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

Work performed by day and task labourers, rather than servants, has been processed differently, as 'labour instances' rather than payments. This is because there were two different ways of paying casual workers in the accounts: by the day and by the task. However, both methods of payment were used for the same non-servant workforce and they needed to be analysed together. Therefore, for work paid by the day, a labour instance was a day worked, meaning that a single payment for five days work was counted as five separate instances. This explains why labour instances are not always integers, as workers could be paid for half a day's work or even less. For work paid by the task, each labour instance was a specific task that constituted a separate payment in the accounts, such as the payment of 6d to Little John's sister for 'bringing a barrel from Exeter' to Leyhill in March 1651.⁶⁴ Table 1.1 above shows that there was a total of 42667.5 labour instances collected from all three estates: 22187.5 from Leyhill, 19374 from Herriard Park and 1106 from Barrow Court. Out of the overall total of 42667.5 labour instances, 8731.5 (20.5%) referred to women and 33936 (79.5%) referred to men.

Table 1.2 below shows the breakdown of labour instances, and the percentage of both male and female labour instances that were paid by the day and then by

⁶⁴ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/4.

the task. It can be seen that the majority of work for both sexes was paid by day. As a whole, over ninety per cent of labour instances across the three estates was performed by workers paid by the day. Only 4.97% of female labour instances were paid by the task, and only 8.94% of male labour instances were.

Table 1.2: The percentage of male and female labour instances, divided by day payments and task payments

Estate	Female Instances of Labour		Male Instances of Labour	
	% Days	% Tasks	% Days	% Tasks
Leyhill	30.68	1.41	54.72	2.41
Herriard Park	60.75	3.22	34.28	6.35
Barrow Court	3.60	0.34	2.07	0.18
Total	95.03	4.97	91.06	8.94
	100.00		100.00	

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS) *Leyhill*

(Payhembury, Devon)

The estate of Leyhill was situated in Payhembury, a small east Devon village twelve miles from the county capital city of Exeter. The estate documents are now part of the Trevelyan family papers at Somerset Heritage Centre in Taunton. The collection has sixty-two boxes of material ranging from the twelfth to the twentieth century. Within this is a group of eighteen account books from the Leyhill estate at Payhembury, ranging over a period of forty-seven years, from 1644 to 1691. Unfortunately, the run is not continuous, but the accounts cover the years 1644-6, 1650-1, 1655-9, 1661-2, 1665-9, 1673-84 and 1690-1, as can be seen in Table 1.2 below. The accounts feature a multitude of different hands, understandable when the long time period is considered. The hands change even within the books themselves, and sometimes alternate, suggesting that more than one person at a time held responsibility for account keeping. Despite the breaks in the accounts, their long run means that patterns relating to women's work can be identified and an analysis of an estate can be constructed over a timeframe of almost fifty years. Overall, as Table 1.3 shows, 22187.5 work instances were collected from the household account books of Leyhill, comprising 19385.5 male instances and 2802 female instances. It is the case-study with the largest overall number of work instances, although not the largest number of female work instances. There were also 890 payments to servants throughout the Leyhill account books.

Table 1.3a: The number of labour instances from day and task workers at Leyhill

Document No.	Date Range	Female Labour Instances	Male Labour Instances	Total Labour Instances
DD/WO/52/3/3	1644-6	305.5	2388.0	2693.5
DD/WO/52/3/4	1650-1	140.5	778.0	918.5
DD/WO/52/3/5	1655-6	47.5	1038.0	1085.5
DD/WO/52/3/6	1656-7	147.0	1025.0	1172.0
DD/WO/52/3/7	1658-9	14.0	1344.0	1358.0
DD/WO/52/3/8	1661-2	8.0	409.0	417.0
DD/WO/52/3/9	1665-6	152.0	1600.5	1752.5
DD/WO/52/3/10	1666-7	122.0	1112.0	1234.0
DD/WO/52/3/11	1668-9	143.0	1007.5	1150.5
DD/WO/52/3/12	1673-4	183.5	1034.6	1218.1
DD/WO/52/3/13	1674-5	245.0	1207.0	1452.0
DD/WO/52/3/14	1675-6	320.0	1083.4	1403.4
DD/WO/52/3/15	1676-7	142.0	672.0	814.0
DD/WO/53/5/50	1677	0	300.5	300.5
DD/WO/52/3/16	1677-8	241.0	1016.0	1257.0
DD/WO/52/3/17	1679-80	232.0	1299.5	1531.5
DD/WO/52/3/18	1681-4	164.5	1092.0	1256.5
DD/WO/52/3/19	1690	52.0	387.5	439.5
DD/WO/52/3/20	1690-1	142.5	591.0	733.5
Total	-	2802.0	19385.5	22187.5

Table 1.3b: The number of servant payments at Leyhill

Document No.	Date Range	Female Servant Payments	Male Servant Payments	Total Servant Payments
DD/WO/52/3/3	1644-6	25	38	63
DD/WO/52/3/4	1650-1	16	34	50
DD/WO/52/3/5	1655-6	23	31	54
DD/WO/52/3/6	1656-7	9	13	22
DD/WO/52/3/7	1658-9	23	35	58
DD/WO/52/3/8	1661-2	25	36	61
DD/WO/52/3/9	1665-6	24	25	49
DD/WO/52/3/10	1666-7	24	27	51
DD/WO/52/3/11	1668-9	19	27	46
DD/WO/52/3/12	1673-4	18	36	54
DD/WO/52/3/13	1674-5	19	41	60
DD/WO/52/3/14	1675-6	31	57	88
DD/WO/52/3/15	1676-7	12	20	32
DD/WO/53/5/50	1677	11	20	31
DD/WO/52/3/16	1677-8	17	32	49
DD/WO/52/3/17	1679-80	21	37	58
DD/WO/52/3/18	1681-4	25	39	64
DD/WO/52/3/19	1690	0	0	0
DD/WO/52/3/20	1690-1	0	0	0
Total	-	342	548	890

Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

Leyhill was purchased by Richard Willoughby, a clothier of Molland and Exeter, for his family home in 1583 from Hugh Wylston, an Exeter merchant. The

Willoughby family was already a large one: Richard and his wife Agnes had eight underage children by the beginning of 1583 and by the close of the year were to have two more, with their eleventh and final child being born in 1586. The sales deed describes 'the messuages, buildings, gardens, etc of La Hill in Payhembury'.⁶⁵ In the Devon Hearth Tax Returns of 1674, 'Willowby Esq' was chargeable for sixteen hearths, making Leyhill the largest house in the area.⁶⁶

The historian can also estimate population size by using hearth tax records, as these list the number of householders in the parish. A multiplier can then be used to gain the general population, with a generally agreed multiplier being 4.5.⁶⁷ There were seventy-four householders listed in the Payhembury hearth tax returns for 1674, including pauper households who were exempt from the tax, making an estimated population of 333 people in this year.⁶⁸ Sixty-three of these householders had legible surnames, and thirty-eight of these (over half) had surnames that matched with that of labourers and servants in the account books. This shows the extent of gentry employment amongst the local population.

Leyhill was situated in south-east Devon. This was an area known for its extensive dairy industry and its flourishing trade in market gardening, especially in the Exeter hinterlands where Payhembury was located.⁶⁹ The dairy industry grew in the seventeenth century as a response to declining wool prices. Dairying was seasonal, as many cows went dry in winter, and butter-making and cheese-making in east Devon was plentiful. There was also an extensive amount of lime and chalk in the soil, which enabled improvements to the land.⁷⁰ The second half of the seventeenth century saw a growth in cider production increasing the importance of orchards in the area.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Todd Gray 'Introduction' in *Devon Household Accounts, 1627 – 59 Part I: Sir Richard and Lady Lucy Reynell of Forde, 1627-48, John Willoughby of Leyhill, 1644-6 and Sir Edward Wise of Sydenham, 1656-9*, ed. by Todd Gray (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1995), p.xxxviii.

⁶⁶ *Devon Hearth Tax Return: Lady Day 1674* ed. by T. L. Stoate (Bristol: Devon Record Office, 1982)

⁶⁷ *The Hampshire Hearth Tax Assessment 1665 with the Southampton Assessments for 1662 and 1670* ed. by Elizabeth Hughes and Philippa White (Southampton: Hampshire Record Series, 1991), p.xiv.

⁶⁸ *Devon Hearth Tax Return: Lady Day 1674*, pp. 30 – 31.

⁶⁹ Giles V. Harrison, 'The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume V, 1640 – 1750: Part 1, Regional Farming Systems* ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 358, 372.

⁷⁰ Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, p.129.

⁷¹ Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, p.132.

An inventory at the time of Richard Willoughby's death in 1602 shows household furnishings and cattle worth £222 12s 11d at Leyhill, with the sum of 'goods withindoors' being £76 15s 9d and the sum of 'goods withoutdoors' totalling £145 17s 2d.⁷² The latter was mainly livestock: at this time, the estate had ten cows, one heifer, one bull, six oxen, three steers, three calves, five young horses, six young bullocks, one lame mare, thirty-seven sheep, thirty-three ewes, thirty-one lambs and ten hogs.⁷³ It also reveals that Leyhill had a number of rooms dedicated to work activities: the buttery, buttery chamber, little buttery, dairy, kitchen, brew house, kitchen loft, malt house, spinning chamber and wool loft.⁷⁴ From this it can be surmised that the household had an active dairy producing cheese, butter and milk, was brewing its own ale and beer, and also engaged in textile and wool production. This is supported by the receipt sections in the back of each household account book, which show that the estate sold various agricultural products. These included sheepskins, presumably after their wool had been gathered for textile production. There are also regular payments and receipts for heifers, from which it can be inferred that there was a cattle presence on the estate. This was related to dairy production: four female servants were referred to as dairy maids throughout the account books and their produce is evident in the receipts. In August 1644, 87lb of butter was sold, whilst over 800lb of cheese was sold between June and December of the same year.⁷⁵ Apple trees, apples and hogsheads of cider also feature prominently in the receipts, implying that there was an orchard at Leyhill and that they produced their own cider. From the accounts themselves, it is evident that there was wheat being grown on the estate, in addition to the planting of beans and peas. There were regular entries for making faggots and many tasks relating to wood husbandry. One foodstuff that was consistently purchased was meat, namely beef, veal and mutton. This implies that either the estate was not rearing meat on a large enough scale to provide for its own table, or that they raised livestock to be sold to a butcher, rather than farming them for their own consumption. In 1647, there were 63 cattle, 144 sheep and 16 pigs at Leyhill.⁷⁶

⁷² SHC, DD/WO/40/5/1.

⁷³ SHC, DD/WO/40/5/1.

⁷⁴ SHC, DD/WO/40/5/1.

⁷⁵ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3.

⁷⁶ Gray, 'Introduction', p.xxxi.

In 1644, when the surviving household accounts begin, Leyhill was the residence of John Willoughby I and his wife of forty-six years, Margaret (known as “Peggy”, whose natal family were the Stayninges of Honicote in Somerset). They were only the second generation of the Willoughby family to live at Leyhill, as John was the heir of Richard Willoughby. The couple had four children, Agnes (b. 1602), Susannah (b. 1604), Bridget (b. 1607) and John II (b. 1611).⁷⁷ By 1644, Agnes, Susannah and Bridget had all married, and were presumably living away from Leyhill, whilst John II was also married with two children, and may have been living in the household at Payhembury.⁷⁸ At this point, John Willoughby I was seventy-three and the first book of accounts, which date from 1644 to 1646, were compiled by him during the tumult of the English Civil War. During this period, he travelled across Devon and Somerset for fifteen months, visiting relatives and particularly his daughters, whilst his son John II remained at Leyhill.⁷⁹

Unfortunately for John Willoughby, there were many demands on his purse and his financial situation throughout the first half of the seventeenth century was much strained. His brother Nicholas and his family were living in Ireland and sending frequent begging letters.⁸⁰ He was not the only member of the wider Willoughby connection to ask for money: John’s nephew Amas Steynings begged for support, his friend William Wyderslade asked for a loan and his son John II sent continuous funding demands whilst he was studying at Wadham College, Oxford, although he insisted that ‘I love not to be prodigal, but rather frugal in my expenses’.⁸¹ His daughter Bridget also felt hard done by, persuading her husband John Turbevill to write asking ‘to give her so much as to any of your other daughters... she never had but 20 marks... the rest have had, as she says, above £40’ and did not hesitate to employ some emotional manipulation in the hope of funds ([she] many times... tells me that she hath no father...’).⁸² The English Civil

⁷⁷ Willoughby Family Tree’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III* ed. by Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan and Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan (Camden Society, 1872), insert.

⁷⁸ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1; Willoughby Family Tree’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, insert.

⁷⁹ Gray, ‘Introduction’, pp.xlvi-xlvii.

⁸⁰ ‘Nicholas Willoughby to John Willoughby’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part II*), pp.102-4; ‘Nicholas Willoughby to John Willoughby’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, pp.214-5; ‘Nicholas Willoughby to John Willoughby’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, pp.218-20;

⁸¹ ‘Amas Steynings to John Willoughby’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, p.179; ‘William Wyderslade to John Willoughby’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, pp.146-8; ‘John Willoughby to his father’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, pp.173-4; ‘John Willoughby to his father’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, pp.175-7; ‘John Willoughby to his father’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, pp.177-9.

⁸² ‘John and Bridget Turbevill to John Willoughby’ in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, pp.274-5.

War took its toll on John Willoughby and the Leyhill estate as a whole. Nicholas Willoughby, in yet another letter requesting funds, tried to hedge his demands with the knowledge that his brother was suffering financially due to taxes, billeting and plundering during the war.⁸³ Devon, especially Exeter and its environs which suffered two sieges, was an arena for much of the fighting as both the Royalists and Parliamentarians struggled for mastery of the region. John Willoughby attempted to play both sides during this time in the hope of protecting Leyhill and Payhembury from the worst effects of war, and obtained signed documents both from the Parliamentarian General Fairfax and the Royalist commanders Ralph Hopton and John Berkeley, which ordered soldiers to spare Willoughby and his land during their damaging excursions.⁸⁴ This is the strained and vulnerable economic context of the estate for the duration of the first few account books.

John Willoughby I's poor health meant that he surrendered the responsibility of account keeping to his son and heir John Willoughby II, the author of the second surviving account book, which begins in 1650 after a four-year hiatus. John Willoughby I's death in 1658 at the age of eighty-seven led to John Willoughby II becoming master of Leyhill.⁸⁵ John Willoughby II married three times. His first wife, Elizabeth Bampfield of Poltimore, died less than two years after their marriage in 1632.⁸⁶ Willoughby married his second wife, Mary Davie, in 1634. Mary bore Willoughby three children before her death, Margaret (born and died in 1636), Mary (died 1689) and Julian (died 1651). At the time of his inheritance in 1658, his sole surviving child Mary was already married to Sir George Trevelyan, meaning that there was only a small household at Leyhill for this period, apart from visitors. The two families were close. Mary appears frequently in the accounts as 'daughter Trevelyan', often in receipt of gifts, money or loans, alongside Sir George as 'son Trevelyan'. The Trevelyan family property of Nettlecombe Court near Wilton in Somerset also reoccurs regularly throughout the account books, as John Willoughby visited or sent goods there.

In 1681, John Willoughby II died and the estate at Leyhill passed into the hands of the Trevelyan family due to Mary's marriage to Sir George, who had died in

⁸³ 'Nicholas Willoughby to John Willoughby his brother' in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, pp.262-5.

⁸⁴ See SHC, DD/WO/55/6/18 for General Fairfax's order and SHC, DD/HCK/9/1/1 for the Royalist command.

⁸⁵ Gray, 'Introduction', p.xxxvii-xlvi.

⁸⁶ John Willoughby II and Elizabeth Bampfield's marriage contract is in SHC, DD/WO/57/9/5.

1671. From this period the account keeping for Leyhill becomes more sporadic, presumably as it was only a secondary residence. When the Trevelyan family were at Payhembury, it would have been a busy household. Sir George and Lady Mary Trevelyan had seven children, with five still alive by 1681: Mary (born 1659), Juliana (born 1664), John (born 1670) and two more daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, whose birth dates are unknown. Their two other sons, Willoughby and George, had died in infancy in the years 1656 and 1668 respectively.⁸⁷ The widowed Lady Trevelyan did not live long after inheriting Leyhill and died in 1689, when her only surviving son, John Trevelyan, was nineteen years of age. The last two account books date from the period of his tenure, in 1690-1.

Herriard Park (Herriard, Hampshire)

The estate of Herriard Park was in the parish of Herriard in Hampshire, roughly five miles from the nearest town of Basingstoke. The estate documents and family papers are now in the Hampshire Archives and Local Studies Centre in Winchester. Table 1.3 shows that the accounting and record keeping relating to workers and payments were rather haphazard. Instead of an established set of account books like at Leyhill, regular in purpose and presentation even if not continuous, there are many different documents. Some, like documents 44M69/E7/2, 4MM69/E7/3, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7 and 44M69/E8/3/1 are account books compiled in the same fashion as at Leyhill or Barrow Court. Others, such as 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/7/4 and 44M69/E8/7/14, are bundles of loose wage payments, bills, receipts and other similar financial documents that required much sorting. Interestingly, 44M69/E8/8/1 and 44M69/E8/8/2 were both sets of continuous accounts but written on large sheets of paper and folded up into bundles rather than in books. As can be seen in Table 1.4, these documents contained a total of 19374 labour instances at Herriard Park: 13788.5 for men and 5585.5 for women. This makes it the second largest case study, but the case study that contained the largest number of female labour instances. It also contained 473 examples of servant wage payments.

Table 1.4a: The number of labour instances from day and task workers at Herriard Park

Document No.	Date Range	Female Labour Instances	Male Labour Instances	Total Labour Instances
44M69/E7/1	1653-6	1.0	3.0	4.0

⁸⁷ 'Trevelyan Family Tree' in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, insert.

44M69/E7/2	1655-61, 1663-4, 1666	2099.5	3022.0	5121.5
44M69/E7/3	1664-9	1139.0	3324.5	4463.5
44M69/E7/21	1668-87	1.0	37.0	38.0
44M69/E7/45	1675-7	50.0	0	50.0
44M69/E7/53	1677-95	64.0	53.25	117.25
44M69/E8/7/4	1690	0	13.0	13.0
44M69/E8/8/1	1692-6	783.5	1844.5	2628.0
44M69/E8/8/2	1693-5	782.0	2823.75	3605.75
44M69/E8/2/5	1696-9	444.5	2263.75	2708.25
44M69/E8/7/14	1697-8	2.0	6.0	8.0
44M69/E8/2/7	1699	155.0	52.5	207.5
44M69/E8/2/8	1699	1.0	5.0	6.0
44M69/E8/3/1	1699	63.0	340.25	403.25
Total		5585.5	13788.5	19374.0

Table 1.4b: The number of servant payments at Herriard Park

Document No.	Date Range	Female Servant Payments	Male Servant Payments	Total Servant Payments
44M69/E7/1	1654-7, 1673	22	22	44
44M69/E7/2	1655-6, 1663-4	0	115	115
44M69/E7/21/17	1677	0	4	4
44M69/E7/3	1664-9	5	85	90
44M69/E7/45	1675-7	28	29	57
44M69/E7/53	1687-8	13	36	49
44M69/E8/2/5	1696-9	18	54	72
44M69/E8/2/7	1699	0	2	2
44M69/E8/2/8	1699	1	5	6
44M69/E8/7/4	1690	4	8	12
44M69/E8/7/5	1671	5	7	12
44M69/E8/8/1	1692	2	8	10
Total		98	375	473

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

Herriard parish covers an area of 2978 acres. In the 1665 Hampshire hearth tax returns, it was listed as having six households, whilst its neighbouring parish of Southrope (also owned by the Jervoise family) had thirty-eight households, with fifteen of them being exempt from paying the tax.⁸⁸ Using a multiplier of 4.5, the general population of both parishes can be estimated at 198 people. Out of these thirty-eight householders, twenty-nine had surnames that corresponded with workers in the Herriard Park account books, showing the extent to which the Jervoise family recruited from the general population.

It is located in the Hampshire Downs, part of the farming area known as the 'great chalk Downs of Wessex'.⁸⁹ This area tends to have acidic soils with a few inches

⁸⁸ *The Hampshire Hearth Tax Assessment, 1665*, pp.218-9, 208-9.

⁸⁹ E. G. Brodie and A. M. Hendy, 'Herriard' in *The Victoria History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight: Volume Three* ed. by William Page (London: Archibald Constable and Company Limited, 1908), p.366; J. R. Wordie 'The South: Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume V, 1640 – 1750: Part 1*,

of clay and the farms mostly specialise in arable crops and sheep.⁹⁰ In Herriard parish in the nineteenth century, there was 902 acres of arable land which were given over to crops of wheat, oats and roots.⁹¹ The agricultural nature of the estate in the seventeenth century can be seen from the payments to day workers and servants. Some of the servants at Herriard Park had occupational titles such as brew maid, dairymaid, cowherd, shepherd and ox man, showing that the household brewed its own beer and had a dairy, and kept animals such as cows, sheep and oxen. Day workers were paid for looking after coach horses, for shearing and washing the sheep and for 'keeping hogs', an entry which implies the presence of pigs as well. The crops of wheat, peas, oats, barley, beans and hops were all grown on the Herriard Park estate. Herbs were grown in the garden and there was an orchard of apples, some of which went towards making cider. There was also woodland on the estate, as there were payments concerning planting trees, making faggots and other tasks relating to forestry. The receipt sections of the accounts are full of transactions for livestock, sheepskins and cowhides, bushels of wheat, barley and other crops, and cheeses that were sold either at fairs, or to people in the surrounding neighbourhood.

During the period covered by the accounts, Herriard Park was owned by the Jervoise family. However, it was not their ancestral home. Sir Richard Paulet of Herriard Park bought the wardship of fourteen-year-old Thomas Jervoise in 1601 for £1100, with the purpose of marrying him to his only child and sole heiress, Lucy. Thomas Jervoise came from a successful and well-connected London family. His grandfather Richard (born 1500) had made his fortune as a mercer after he had moved to London from the Worcestershire market town of Kidderminster. The marriage between Thomas Jervoise and Lucy Paulet took place in 1601 and, when Sir Richard Paulet died in 1614, Thomas became the first Jervoise owner of the Herriard estate.⁹² He was knighted by James I in 1611 before being appointed High Sheriff for Shropshire in 1616 and becoming a Member of Parliament for Whitchurch in 1621, 1628, and the Short and Long

Regional Farming Systems ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.329.

⁹⁰ Wordie, 'The South', p.329.

⁹¹ Brodie and Hendy, 'Herriard', p.366.

⁹² For the marriage certificate of Thomas Jervoise and Lucy Paulet see HALS, 44M69/F4/20/3; F. H. T. Jervoise, 'The Jervoises of Herriard and Britford', *The Ancestor*, 3 (1902), p.3.

Parliaments of Charles I. He then declared for the Parliamentary cause during the Civil War before retiring from active service in 1644.⁹³

His second son and eventual heir, Captain Thomas Jervoise (born 16 March 1615), was an enthusiastic Parliamentarian. Captain Jervoise served under Sir William Waller and then General Fairfax from April 1643 to the close of the war. It was at this point, a decade before the surviving account books begin, that Herriard and its environs (especially Odiham, Alton and Basingstoke) became a location for military action. Southrope Manor, which was a mile away from Herriard and also Jervoise property, was commandeered by Cromwell himself and subsequently suffered so much damage from the billeting of troops that it was almost destroyed.⁹⁴ Herriard's proximity to all this action caused it to suffer an estimated £6000 worth of damage to property, cattle and corn. The Jervoise family sought to claim compensation for the damage. After a series of complex legal and political machinations, reparations were eventually made in 1651.⁹⁵

Sir Thomas Jervoise died on 20 October 1654.⁹⁶ The household account books begin in 1655, with Captain Thomas Jervoise as the master of Herriard Park. In this year, there were two female servants (Barbary Burron and Susan Cheeke) and seven male servants (Daniel Rowell, James Lee, Jeffery the under-ox man, John Hockley, John Winkworth, Nicholas Warden and Thomas Marriner). Captain Jervoise married Mary Purefoy in her home parish of Great Faringdon in Berkshire on 30 July 1657.⁹⁷ They are frequently reported as having had two sons and four daughters.⁹⁸ However, the records of the births, marriages and deaths of the Jervoise family in the Herriard parish register were very haphazard and it seems that the family may have held some of these ceremonies in other parishes which cannot be traced. Their eldest son and eventual heir, Thomas Jervoise III,

⁹³ Jervoise, 'The Jervoises of Herriard and Britford', pp.3-4.

⁹⁴ Anne Pitcher, *Herriard and Lasham* (privately published, 1981), p.4.

⁹⁵ Jervoise, 'The Jervoises of Herriard and Britford', pp.5-7.

⁹⁶ Jervoise, 'The Jervoises of Herriard and Britford', p.5.

⁹⁷ 'England, Select Marriages, 1538-1973' online database at https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=TnJ207&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=9852&gsfn=Mary&gsln=Purefoy&msgdy=1657&msgdm=7&msgdd=30&new=1&rank=1&uidh=u38&redir=false&msT=1&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=5&h=32501669&recoff=&ml_rpos=6 [accessed online, 03/07/19].

⁹⁸ Jervoise, 'The Jervoises of Herriard and Britford', p.7.

was born 6 September 1667.⁹⁹ A subsequent son, Richard, was born in 1669.¹⁰⁰ There are burial records for two of Thomas and Mary Jervoise's daughters in the parish records of Herriard, Katherine, who was buried on 9 October 1680 and the younger Mary who was buried 28 April 1685.¹⁰¹ Their birthdates are unknown, but taking into account the date of their parents' marriage and the gap between this and the birth of Thomas and Richard, they could have been in their late teens or early twenties. There is evidence of another daughter, Lucy, who married Henry Killigrew on 9 February 1692 and died on 21 November 1729 - again no record of her birth has been found, although assuming she was at least sixteen upon her marriage, it could have been any time between 1657 and 1676.¹⁰² In the hearth tax assessment of 1665, 'Thomas Jarvis esquire' (Captain Jervoise) in Herriard was charged for twenty-five hearths, the most in the parish.¹⁰³ He followed in his father's footsteps by becoming prominent in county affairs, being appointed High Sheriff for Southampton in 1667 and a Member of Parliament in 1689.

Captain Jervoise's wife, Mary Purefoy Jervoise, was buried 25 May 1687.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, in the thirty years between 1657 and 1687, the household at Herriard Park contained the master and mistress, and five (potentially six) of their children at different times as they were born and grew up, some of them tragically dying young and some of them going away to school at Oxford. In 1677, the girls were

⁹⁹ Paula Watson and Ivar McGrath, 'JERVOISE, Thomas (1667-1743), of Herriard, Hants.' in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690 – 1715* ed. by D. Hayton, E. Cruikshanks and S. Handley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.501.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Jervoise is recorded as having matriculated at Oxford on 22 March 1685, aged sixteen. 'Oxford University Alumni, 1500 – 1886' online database at https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/8942/RDUK1500_0004-0839?pid=525904&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=%3DTnJ209%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D8942%26gsfn%3DRichard%26gsln%3DJervoise%26new%3D1%26rank%3D1%26uidh%3Du38%26redir%3Dfalse%26msT%3D1%26gss%3Dangs-d%26pcat%3D37%26fh%3D0%26h%3D525904%26recoff%3D%26ml_rpos%3D1&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=TnJ209&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true [accessed online, 03/07/19].

¹⁰¹ HALS, TRA159/1.

¹⁰² Evidence for the marriage of Lucy Jervoise and Henry Killigrew at <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/109556902/person/380072503718/facts> [accessed online, 03/07/19]; the obituary of Mrs Lucy Killigrew can be seen in 'England, Extracted Parish and Court Records' online database at https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=TnJ211&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=61519&gsfn=Lucy&gsln=Killigrew&msydy=1692&msydm=2&msydd=9&msddy=1729&new=1&rank=1&uidh=u38&redir=false&msT=1&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=0&h=77174&recoff=&ml_rpos=1 [accessed online, 03/07/19].

¹⁰³ *The Hampshire Hearth Tax Assessment, 1665*, p.218.

¹⁰⁴ HALS, TRA159/1.

still alive whilst the sons were twenty and eight years old respectively, making it a full household even if Thomas III was only at home occasionally. At this point, there were seven female servants: an unnamed nurse, Thomasin Collier, Mary Austin, Grace Edwards, Margery Motts, Sara May and Sarah the dairy maid. There were also eight male servants: Bartholomew Rivers, Francis Ostis, Peter Wigg, James Pinke, Richard Richarson, Henry Richarson, Jo Corbie and George Holloway.

In the years between 1687 and 1693, Captain Jervoise was the sole household head. His heir Thomas III married Elizabeth Clarke on 18 February 1691 and his daughter Lucy married in 1692.¹⁰⁵ In 1692 there were only two female servants employed, Mistress Collier and Margaret Acreman, alongside six male servants (John Young, John Batchelor, Henry Craddock, Hermis Hawkins, Thomas Lee and Wigg), indicating a smaller household. Captain Jervoise himself was also buried at Herriard on 13 May 1693.¹⁰⁶

His heir, Thomas Jervoise III, had begun his parliamentary career representing Stockbridge, a corrupt borough whose votes he bought for £285 in 1691.¹⁰⁷ When he became master of Herriard Park in 1693 he was already married. Therefore, for the last seven years of the account books, Herriard Park was once again the home of a young, growing family. Thomas Jervoise III and Elizabeth Clarke Jervoise had three children: Elizabeth (baptised 21 July 1693), Mary (baptised 5 July 1694 and buried 12 August 1694) and their heir Thomas IV, who was born before his mother's death in July 1695.¹⁰⁸ In 1695, Thomas Jervoise III estimated his annual income as £2736. Thomas Jervoise III would not remarry until 1700, after these accounts end.¹⁰⁹ There are no records of payments to servants between 1693 and 1695. In 1697, when Thomas Jervoise III was a widower with two young children, there were four female servants (Elizabeth Stevens, Margaret Whale, Elizabeth Morrall and Sarah Bulbeck). The number of male servants had increased to fourteen. The old manor house of Herriard Park was consumed by fire around 1704 and a 'new' Herriard House was built. Therefore,

¹⁰⁵ Jervoise, 'The Jervoises of Herriard and Britford', p.7

¹⁰⁶ HALS, TRA159/1.

¹⁰⁷ Jervoise, 'The Jervoises of Herriard and Britford', p.7; Andrew M. Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire 1649 – 1689* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.232.

¹⁰⁸ HALS, TRA159/1.

¹⁰⁹ He married Elizabeth Stonehouse on 9 August 1700 in London. Watson and McGrath, 'JERVOISE, Thomas (1667 – 1743)', p.502.

the buildings lived and worked in by the Jervoise family and their servants and labourers have disappeared along with the world they inhabited.

Barrow Court (Barrow Gurney, Somerset)

Amongst the archives in the Somerset Heritage Centre at Taunton are the household accounts of Dame Philippa Gore of Barrow Court.¹¹⁰ Barrow Court was a manor house on the site of a Benedictine nunnery in the village of Barrow Gurney, which was between five and six miles from Bristol in Somerset. The accounts were begun in 1666 and were kept at first by Dame Philippa herself. There was then a long hiatus before they were opened again for the years 1686 to 1688. It was not unusual for gentlewomen to be able to read, write and keep accounts: the household was the domain of women, and wives were expected to be proficient in managing the house and servants.¹¹¹ For an unknown reason, Dame Philippa stopped recording the accounts in her own hand and the task was continued by different servants for part of 1666 and again from 1686 to 1688. As such, there are four different hands with varying degrees of legibility in the accounts, although the format was kept mostly homogeneous, with a table on each page comprising of date, subject and price columns. Much of the account book is given over to consumption, and purchases of goods and food for the kitchen are frequent. As can be seen in Table 1.5 below, this is the smallest case study in terms of employment records, with 1106 instances of labour (344 female instances and 762 male instances) and sixteen payments made to servants.

Table 1.5a: The number of labour instances from day and task workers at Barrow Court

Document No.	Date Range	Female Labour Instances	Male Labour Instances	Total Labour Instances
DD/GB/113	1666 1686-8	344	762	1106

Table 1.5b: The number of servant payments at Barrow Court

Document No.	Date Range	Female Servant Payments	Male Servant Payments	Total Servant Payments
DD/GB/113	1666 1686-8	12	4	16

Sources: SHC, DD/GB/113

¹¹⁰ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹¹¹ Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.10.

Barrow Gurney is situated in the north-east of Somerset. The parish was part of the Hartcliffe hundred, whose hearth tax returns for the period are missing, meaning that it is difficult to estimate the population in the same method used for Payhembury and Herriard. Somerset was distinctive for its crops of wheat, beans and peas, and was also famous for dairying.¹¹² Unlike Leyhill and Herriard Park, the accounts contain very little internal evidence as to the agricultural nature of the estate. Some evidence can be inferred from the labour records, such as occupational titles and the tasks that employees performed. The employment of a dairy maid shows that there was a dairy at Barrow Court which would have produced butter and cheese for at least their own use, and this is corroborated by the purchase of cheese cloths and cheese vats. There was a man employed to keep the malt mill, implying that the family milled its own malt for beer, and may have also charged to do this for others. Female day workers were paid for brewing, suggesting that the household brewed its own beer, and also for weeding in the garden and possibly the fields. The small receipts section of the accounts show that wheat was the primary crop, as this was mainly what was sold at fairs and to third parties. The household bought in the majority of its meat from a butcher, and paid villagers for bringing in poultry, fowl and eggs. In terms of livestock, bullocks, sheep, heifers and pigs are present in the accounts, and female task workers were paid to help with the milking. The Gore family kept a stable and horses, as shown by bills for horse-shoeing and veterinary care.

The Gore family had acquired this estate only recently at the time of these accounts, Barrow Court having been purchased by William Gore in 1659. During the period for which these accounts survive, Barrow Court was occupied by Sir Thomas Gore and his wife, Dame Philippa. The couple had eight children in total, whose baptismal records can be found in the register of the Church of St Mary and St Edward in Barrow Gurney. These were William (b. 1665), Thomas (b. 1666), Jane (b. 1667), Mary (b. 1669), Anne (b. 1670), Edward (b. 1672), John (b. 1673, d. 1675) and Philippa (b. 1674).¹¹³ Therefore, for the account book of 1666 the household consisted of Sir Thomas and Dame Philippa and their two infant sons, William and Thomas. There was also young William's wet-nurse, referred to in the accounts as Simon Smith's wife, and another nurse, who was unnamed

¹¹²Harrison, 'The South-West', p.370.

¹¹³ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

in the accounts. She was perhaps the wet-nurse of baby Thomas as, although she was not referred to explicitly as a wet-nurse, she was paid the same amount as Simon Smith's wife. Four female servants (Alice Tooke, Mary Smale, Mary Councill and Anne Merven) were also present, as well as a dairy maid (Katherine) and three male servants called John Clarke, Morgan Even and William Bes.

Sir Thomas Gore was buried on 15 October 1675.¹¹⁴ Consequently, for the accounts which covered the years 1686-8, William Gore was the master at Barrow Court. He had married Ruth Tibbett in 1684, with their only child Mary baptised on 23 February 1687.¹¹⁵ This marriage was controversial as Ruth's mother, the widowed Ruth Tibbett of Dundry, filed a petition that year claiming that her thirteen year old daughter had been held captive by Dame Philippa Gore herself whilst visiting Barrow Court and forced into marriage with William Gore, at this point nineteen. It seems that young Ruth Tibbett's fortune was the motive for this dispute, as she had been the sole heiress of her recently deceased father.¹¹⁶ It is unknown whether Dame Philippa and her younger children were still in residence at Barrow Court during the years 1686-8. As well as William and Mary Gore and their infant daughter Mary, there were also a cook maid (Margaret) and four other female servants (Mary, Joyce, Ann Hollestow and Elizabeth Phillips). Ruth's death in 1689 and her burial on 19 December as 'Lady Ruth Gore wife of William Gore' shows that her mother's legal objections were not successful.¹¹⁷ Dame Philippa remained a widow until 1692, when she married Joseph Court and moved to Bristol until her death in 1703.¹¹⁸ She was buried alongside her first husband Sir Thomas Gore in Barrow Gurney on 28 January 1703, with the burial record in the parish register showing her preferred identification in death: 'the honourable Lady Philippa wife of Sir Thomas Gore Knight'.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹¹⁵ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹¹⁶ See SHC, DD/GB/148 for widowed Ruth Tibbett's petition.

¹¹⁷ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹¹⁸ See SHC, DD/GB/37 for Dame Philippa's will.

¹¹⁹ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

1.3 Research Questions and Thesis Outline

Using evidence taken from the household accounts of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Gurney this thesis examines women's waged work in south-west England, between 1644 and 1700. It builds on the foundations laid by Alice Clark and Ivy Pinchbeck but uses a local lense, as recommended by Sheilagh Ogilvie and Pamela Sharpe, to examine issues surrounding women's work in a local context. The next three chapters explore three key aspects of women's working lives. The first explores their working patterns, including how they were employed and which tasks they performed, engaging with recent research on the gender division of labour conducted by Maria Ågren and Jane Whittle. The second chapter looks at women's wages and the gender pay gap, testing explanations proposed by Joyce Burnette amongst others, whilst the third chapter is influenced by social and demographic history and uses parish records to reconstruct the lives of women workers and explore how the life-cycle affected women's work.

The Gender Distribution and Division of Labour

The first chapter examines gendered patterns of labour in the day and task workforce. Firstly, it compares the differing employment patterns of men and women, such as whether labouring women were seen as a subsidiary workforce, and employed mainly on a casual, seasonal and part-time basis, in contrast to men who were engaged in regular employment. This chapter charts the distribution of both male and female labour instances across the year, by month and by season, to assess the regularity and consistency of work and whether there was a gendered difference in working patterns. This is described as the gender distribution of labour. It also includes female marital status in the analysis, to determine whether the familial responsibilities of wives and mothers influenced the gender distribution of labour and if so, whether this truly was the reasoning behind the casualisation and seasonality of women's work.

Secondly, this chapter asks: which tasks were women paid to do in the south-west of England and how did this compare to male tasks? Was there a clear gender division of labour on these estates and, if so, to what extent? The gender division of labour refers to men and women performing different tasks based on societal perception of gender difference. Sometimes these perceptions are founded in reality, such as the tendency for men to have more upper body

strength leading to them being preferred for tasks which involved heavy labour and carrying. Other times, they are rooted in a society's religious or secular beliefs with no real foundation in biological fact, for example the exclusion of women from educated professions due to an entirely unfounded belief in their intellectual inferiority. To measure this, this thesis uses a similar methodology to that used by Jane Whittle in her project on women's work in rural England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹²⁰ The work tasks performed by both day and task labourers are classified on an individual level and in larger categories, the same categories as used by Whittle and her researchers. This allows for an analysis of the gender division of labour by sector, to see whether men or women were more likely to work in the agricultural sector compared to the craft and construction sector, or in housework and care work compared to legal and administrative work. This methodology also allows for a more detailed exploration of the gender division of labour within each sector. The similar methodology facilitates meaningful comparison on a regional level with Whittle's project, and on a European level with the project headed by Maria Ågren on gender and work in early modern Sweden.

Wages and the Gender Pay Gap

The second chapter in this thesis builds on research by economic historians such as Joyce Burnette and Jane Humphries. It discusses the wages paid to women and how these were affected by the task performed, their marital status and their gender. Only day workers and servants are included in this chapter as, unlike task workers, their wages can be calculated by the day and this aids comparison and analysis. The gender pay gap refers to the discrepancy in wages paid to men and women. This difference in pay is a common thread throughout studies of women's work from the past to the present day, and it is still an issue which is heavily debated and discussed as part of the struggle for gender equality in the twenty-first century. The pattern of wage payments and the extent of the gender pay gap at the three estates are discussed separately, to show the common features of women's wage payments but also the differences on an individual, local level. These findings are then compared not only to each other, but also to early modern wage assessments and national wage series to show how they fit into the wider regional and national picture of women's wages. The tasks

¹²⁰ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.9.

performed by female day workers illustrate which tasks were the most profitable for women to undertake on each estate. The wages of household servants are also analysed and compared in this way.

After detailing the extent of the gender pay gap on the three estates of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court, this chapter then considers the explanations for the gender pay gap. Many reasons for the gender pay gap have been debated in the historiography and modern commentary. Historians such as Joyce Burnette focus on the issue of productivity, citing women's weaker physiology and their household and reproductive duties as reasons why they performed less paid work and then received lower wages. These debates over the gender pay gap also involve the gender division of labour, arguing that because women predominantly worked in lower-status, less-skilled jobs they tended to receive lower wages. The chapter assesses whether these explanations for the gender pay gap are valid for the three estates by comparing the tasks performed by male and female day workers, and by using marital status to see whether or not wives and mothers were paid less than women of unspecified marital status. Ultimately, this chapter asks whether the gender division of labour and differences in productivity are valid explanations for the gender pay gap on these estates, or whether custom rooted in patriarchal discrimination also played a part. To what extent were these factors interlinked? By looking at individual estates this thesis grounds such questions in a local reality, rather than generalising on a more national scale as economic historians such as Burnette, Humphries and Weisdorf did.

The Stages of the Life-cycle and the Effect on Women's Work

The third chapter in this thesis asks to what extent demographic events such as marriage, motherhood and ageing influenced women's work and how their working lives altered with each life-cycle stage. In the twenty-first century marriage is no longer a legal impediment to female career progression in the west, but the responsibilities which came along with becoming the mistress of a household, however small, did have an effect on women's paid work in the seventeenth century. Modern discussions of gendered employment patterns often feature the negative impact of the life-cycle stages of pregnancy and motherhood on female career advancement due to discrimination, formal or otherwise. The reproductive role of women also altered their interactions with paid employment in the early modern period, as did ageing, which severely limited the

nature of work they could perform and how much they were paid for it. Lower class families used the 'economy of makeshifts', utilising every piece of paid work and every resource available to them. The term 'economy of makeshifts' was first coined by Olwen Hufton in her monograph on the poor of eighteenth-century France; she defined it as 'an accumulation of innumerable forms of subsidiary income or means whereby the family did not have to support some of its members'.¹²¹ This was not just to scrape by, but was crucial for survival and women, especially wives and mothers, were key proponents of the 'economy of makeshifts' as they combined paid casual work with utilising the natural resources available, selling anything extra that remained from what they produced at home. This thesis takes inspiration from demographic and social historians such as Pamela Sharpe to reconstruct women's lives outside of work from parish records to show how the life-cycle affected women's working patterns.

Unmarried women are the first topic of analysis. How far, if at all, were unmarried women willing or able to migrate for work? This question is answered by matching female servants in the household accounts to records of birth, marriage and burial in the surviving parish registers for the areas in and around the estates, to show the different distances that women migrated between each life-cycle stage. Secondly, were unmarried women more likely to work as live-in servants because they lacked the household responsibilities of wives? Was service primarily a 'life-cycle stage' which trained both men and women in work and helping them save in order to establish a household upon their marriage? Marriage records from the surviving parish registers are used to show that this was indeed the path for a large number of women working as servants on these estates, who often met their future husbands at work and married soon after leaving service. However, this was not exclusively the case, as the parish records also show that many women of unspecified marital status were labouring as casual day workers.

The second section focuses on wives and mothers. Were they excluded from service due to their household and reproductive responsibilities? Marriage records show that there were some married women working as servants on the three estates, and that they were usually employed alongside their husbands. Marriage records also show the prevalence of wives and mothers amongst the

¹²¹ Olwen H. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750 – 1789* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974), pp.15 – 16.

day workforce. As we saw at the start of the introduction, certain female workers can be identified in the parish registers as having had 'typical' working lives; progressing from employment as a household servant to then marrying and becoming a day worker. However, casual labour was not the only employment route for married women. It is shown that wives and mothers could also gain work as wet-nurses.

Finally, how did ageing affect women's working patterns in the seventeenth century? Appellations given to female workers by the account keepers included 'widow', 'gomer' (a regional variation of 'grandma') and 'old'. The employment records of these women are analysed by task and by wage to see if age correlates with the type of work being performed and the level of payment these women were receiving. It is shown that, in the absence of a formal welfare system and a legal retirement age, many women worked for as long as their health allowed in order to survive. This chapter in particular focuses on uncovering the experiences of individual women in the past and telling their stories and their struggles. This personalises real historical issues and places them in their context, as advocated by Ogilvie and Sharpe, and shows how they worked on three southwestern estates, rather than resorting to the generalisation which is necessary in national studies.

Researching the history of women's work is beset by complexities: the under recording of women's work in the sources, the difficulties of accounting for unpaid work, the myriad and co-existing employments of women struggling to survive. For over a century, historians have grappled with these complications to produce research on women's working lives, from Alice Clark in 1919 to Jane Whittle in 2019. This thesis adds to this body of research and provides real evidence of women's working lives in the pre-modern period to engage with the long-running debates on the female experience, such as whether women enjoyed a historical 'golden age' or whether women's experiences and opportunities are more continuous down the ages rather than subject to change. It chooses to focus on three topics which are central not only to the history of women's work but also to women's working lives both historically and in the twenty-first century. These are the gender division of labour, the gender pay gap and the effect of the female life-cycle on women's employment. By exploring these three areas using sources from three different estates in southern England, this thesis measures whether

national trends in women's work are present at a local level, and in doing so it shows the reality of working life for individual women such as Hannah Jarman in the late seventeenth century

2. The Gender Distribution and Division of Labour

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates two key gendered patterns of work, namely the gender distribution of labour and the gender division of labour, and the shape they took at the three south-western estates of Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park. A dataset of tasks performed by both male and female workers was collected, including work paid by the day and work paid by the task. This is used to analyse the similarities and the differences in male and female labour patterns with regard to the regularity and permanence of their employment, the sectors in which they worked and the tasks which they performed.

The gender distribution of labour is a term coined in this thesis to refer to employment patterns and the ways in which they were distinctly gendered. Women have historically been a marginal workforce, working casually, part-time and seasonally in multiple occupations, often because of the reproductive and household duties embedded in what society identified as their primary roles as wives and mothers. This has led to their work being undervalued and under-recognised by historians and society at large.¹ The existence of this has been acknowledged and studied by Jane Humphries, Joyce Burnette and Jane Whittle, amongst others, and their contribution to the literature are discussed in further detail in the historiography section below.

The gender division of labour is a well-known concept that has been applied to countries and periods far beyond early modern England. It is still the topic of much discussion in the modern western world, used to describe the situation of men and women performing different work tasks based on their gender. It is grounded in custom, ideology and social norms, with these often being equal or more significant determinants of a gender division of labour than intelligence,

¹ Catherine Hakim, *Key Issues in Women's Work: Female Diversity and the Polarisation of Women's Employment, Second Edition* (London: The GlassHouse Press, 2004), p.22.

competence, physical characteristics or the nature, location and availability of work.²

In seventeenth-century England, the theoretical subordination and inferiority of women was enshrined in the Bible and religious teachings as well as in secular academic thought. The creation of Eve from the rib of Adam in Genesis, followed by her disobedience and weakness in eating the apple and allowing sin to enter the world, was a primary religious justification for female sinfulness and subordination, and the Bible is littered with further examples of sinful women as well as prescriptions for ideal female behaviour: silence, chastity, domesticity. Classical and medieval thinkers further entrenched such views; Aristotle depicted women as imperfect males and St Thomas Aquinas described female inequality as being inherent in creation.³ When William Tyndale translated the New Testament into English in 1526, the description of women as ‘the weaker vessel’ quickly entered common parlance.⁴ The propagation of such viewpoints throughout the centuries, shaping legal codes, religious teachings, literature and social norms, engrained the notion of female physical and mental weakness into the fabric of early modern society. This ideology influenced the ‘ideal’ gender division of society and labour in early modern England. Mendelson and Crawford write that ‘the gender order of society was both expressed and defined in terms of work’ and popular advice manuals and ballads not only propagated these ideals but also mocked reversals of work roles.⁵ These situated women in the home, working in her ideal role as mother and housewife, and placed men in the public sphere, where they worked in professions and trades which required formal education and training, and in tasks which necessitated physical strength.⁶ Women faced institutional boundaries to professions and trades due to a lack of access to grammar schools, universities and apprenticeship. Instead, women were concentrated in the service, textile and care sectors, and formed a casual, low-paid workforce in agriculture. Therefore, the status of women’s work, in

² Deborah Simonton, *A History of European Women’s Work: 1700 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.2.

³ Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.11-14.

⁴ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500 – 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p.60.

⁵ Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550 – 1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.256.

⁶ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England*, p.229.

comparison to men's, was consistently 'low-status, low-paid and low-skilled': an unchanging situation which formed a key part of Judith Bennett's argument for continuity over change in terms of women's working opportunities.⁷ A large amount of women's labour was unpaid and centred around their reproductive ability and their household and familial responsibilities. The positioning of women in marginal, low skilled and low-paid industries has traditionally been used as an explanation for the gender pay gap, which will be given full attention in the chapter on wages.

Historians should not give total credence to traditional assumptions about men's and women's work. Ideology often has a complex relationship with practice and this issue is no exception, as Deborah Simonton notes 'the image of woman as persistently subordinate to man was always mediated by a range of influences, while women's experience often belied stereotypes.'⁸ Despite religious prescriptions, women did perform managerial duties. Social norms and marriage advice literature prescribed domestic and household work as the sphere of women, yet women still worked in the fields and performed physical labour. There have been numerous studies on the gender division of labour in the early modern period, which are discussed in further detail below.

This thesis separates female and male instances of labour into task categories, to ascertain which sectors men and women were most active in, and uses these figures as a basis to analyse the gender division of labour at Barrow Court, Herriard Park and Leyhill on both an aggregate and an individual level. Twelve task categories have been used: agriculture and land, care work, crafts and construction, commerce, food processing, housework, managerial, mining and quarrying, legal and administrative, transport, unspecified and other. Ten of these are categories used by the 'Women's work in rural England' project at the University of Exeter (hereafter referred to as the 'Women's work' project) to clarify work tasks. They are used here to aid comparison of the findings and also because this thesis was undertaken as part of the same project.⁹ Its focus on waged labour complements the project results, which include a large amount of

⁷ Judith M. Bennett, 'Confronting Continuity', *Journal of Women's History*, 9.3 (1997), p.74.

⁸ Simonton, *A History of European Women's Work*, p.1.

⁹ These findings by the project are presented in Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern England', *The Economic History Review* (2018), pp. 1-30 .More information on the project itself can be found at <https://earlymodernwomenswork.wordpress.com/>.

unwaged labour. The remaining two categories, legal and administrative, and unspecified, were added due to the nature of the data collected for this thesis from the account books. The nature of the evidence from court depositions means that no labour goes unspecified, as it was only collected when witnesses described exactly what they were doing at the time of the incident in question.

However, household account books can contain a large amount of unspecified labour. Some account keepers saw no need to painstakingly record what work each labourer performed, especially if they were paying by the day: presumably it would have been laborious to record a large variety of tasks being performed in a single day, or the account keepers saw no need to record what was evident to them. The only quantifiable data they were concerned with was a record of payments and who was paid to undertake the work. This is especially the case at Leyhill, the case-study with the largest amount of unspecified labour. On the other hand, the account keepers at Herriard Park often went into great detail as to the nature of the labour performed by their workers, showing that the level of detail depended on the aims, nature and needs of the person keeping the accounts. The legal and administrative category was added to include tasks such as surveying and writing writs, work which was deliberately excluded from the 'Women's work' project as the legal and administrative nature of their court sources would have distorted the data in the favour of that category.

In the analysis here, the commerce category is composed of payments to people buying, selling, and going to market on behalf of the employer: their labour in making transactions is what is being paid for, rather than the product itself, which means that it has been classified as a work task. The simple supplying of goods to the household is omitted as, whilst it still necessitates labour by the supplier and payment by the recipient, the latter party (in this case, the employers and account keepers on the three estates) was paying for the product, rather than hiring the supplier as a labourer. It therefore does not fit the definition of waged labour used by this thesis. In counting and categorising tasks, the same methodology is used to measure both the gender distribution and the gender division of labour; instances of labour for each task have been calculated by adding together two sets of data, one for work paid by the day and one for work paid by the task.

This chapter therefore analyses the gendered patterns of labour in two ways. Firstly, it looks at the gender distribution of labour by mapping instances of female labour across the months and the seasons and compares this to male data in order to chart the extent and regularity of employment. It also uses records of workers' marital status to analyse whether marriage and motherhood influenced the gendered distribution of labour. Secondly, it analyses the gender division of labour, beginning by looking at each estate individually before drawing together the findings from the three estates as a whole, comparing the results to those gathered by the two recent, large research projects on gender and labour, the 'Women's work' project and the 'Gender and Work in Early Modern Sweden' project at Uppsala (hereafter referred to as the 'Gender and Work' project).¹⁰ These comparisons serve to offer a regional picture of both waged and unwaged work in the south-west of England in the early modern period, and then place this picture into a European context by comparing English findings on the gender division of labour to the Swedish data. The results are also compared against advice literature from the same period as the account books, to examine how those ideological sources differ from the wage labour recorded in household accounts.

2.2 Historiography of gendered patterns of labour

Whilst the working life of women now has a growing historiography, much of it is focused on wages and there are very few monographs specifically devoted to the gender division of labour and the gendered patterns of work. Instead, the tasks worked by women are often discussed as part of more general studies on women and work. In recent decades, the gender division and distribution of labour has become a popular research topic and is the subject of detailed regional case studies, mostly in the form of articles. Much research has been done on the periods which bookend the timeframe of this thesis, with a specific focus on the eighteenth century and whether the industrial revolution transformed the tasks performed by women and female working patterns. Whilst this debate is beyond the remit of this thesis, the historiography of work in the late medieval period and in the eighteenth century is relevant as there was much continuity which ignored

¹⁰ The results of these projects are published in Maria Ågren (ed.), *Making A Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). For more information on the project, visit <http://gaw.hist.uu.se/>.

artificial periodisation. However, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have also been the subject of research into this topic, a burgeoning historiography within which this thesis is situated. Recent research projects based in Exeter and Sweden have used court records to pioneer new methodologies for studying women's work and have made the gender division of labour and gendered patterns of work their main focus.¹¹ This section will examine the historiography by period and by source, looking first at the contemporary advice literature which has influenced the ways in which people conceptualise men's and women's work to the modern day.

Published advice literature which was read in the seventeenth century has often been used as historical evidence for working patterns of both women and men and of the gender division of labour. Some of these works which offer detailed descriptions of gendered work in farming households are *The Book of Husbandry* by 'Master Fitzherbert' (1534) and Thomas Tusser's instructional poem entitled *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* (1573), alongside *The English Husbandman* (1613) and its subsequent companion *The English Housewife* (1615) by Gervase Markham.¹² However, it is important to remember that these are merely examples of prescriptive and ideological literature, and not a portrayal of gendered working patterns in reality.

Fitzherbert's focus is on husbandry. He advises farmers how best to plough, sow and graft crops, spread dung, ditch and how to look after livestock.¹³ However, he also includes a section on the general duties of a wife, with headings entitled 'a prologue for the wife's occupation', 'a lesson for the wife', 'what things the wife is bounden of right to do' and 'what works a wife should do in general'.¹⁴ Fitzherbert begins by informing husbands that they will not thrive without a wife and her labour, and telling wives never to be idle, to love their spouses and to

¹¹ The 'Women's work in rural England, 1500 – 1700' project at the University of Exeter, led by Jane Whittle, and the 'Gender and Work in early modern Sweden' project at Uppsala University, led by Maria Ågren.

¹² Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The Book of Husbandry by Master Fitzherbert* (London: Trubner and Co, 1882); Thomas Tusser and William Fordyce Mavor (ed.), *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry, together with a Book of Huswifery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Gervase Markham and John Dixon Hunt (ed.), *The English Husbandman* (London: Garland Publishing, 1982);

¹³ Skeat (ed.), *The Book of Husbandry*; Gervase Markham and Michael R. Best (ed.), *The English Housewife* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986).

¹⁴ Skeat (ed.), *The Book of Husbandry*, pp.93 -8.

honour their God.¹⁵ Once this advice is out of the way, Fitzherbert proceeds to inform wives of their chores, a long list which includes sweeping the house, dressing the children, milking the cows, sending the corn to the mill, making butter and cheese, gathering eggs, ordering the garden, producing hemp and making sheets, towels and shirts, keeping the accounts, going to market and even helping their husbands in the fields if necessary.¹⁶ Fitzherbert makes it clear that women 'shalt have so many things to do, that thou shalt not well know where is best to begin'.¹⁷ In his text, it is clear that men and women have their separate spheres of work and influence; men in the fields and women mainly in and around the household, although he acknowledges that women's work may sometimes take them further afield, describing them going to market, and emphasises the marital relationship as a partnership.

Thomas Tusser divides his advisory poem by month, to show the husbandman what agricultural tasks he should be doing when. He then proceeds to inform the housewife 'that huswifery matters have never an end' and that 'the woman the name of a huswife doth win/by keeping her house and of doings therein', thereby placing her firmly within the confines of the household.¹⁸ This section of the poem is divided by day rather than month. The housewife is reminded to be dutiful, a loving partner and neighbour and a kind but firm mistress to her servants. Each of her duties is described in its own set of verses; they include brewing, baking, cookery, dairying, scouring, washing and malting: a familiar list of domestic household chores. For Tusser, then, the work of each spouse and the location of that work were segregated along familiar lines: the husband tending to the crops and livestock outside, and the wife tending to the family, servants and household within.

Markham's dual approach in advising both male and female spouses on their appropriate duties makes it easier to measure the ideal gender division of labour.¹⁹ *The English Husbandman* is concentrated mainly on farming and agricultural practice, with detailed sections on ploughing, planting, grafting, gardening, forestry, angling and the seasons. In contrast, the focus of *The English*

¹⁵ Skeat (ed.), *The Book of Husbandry*, pp. 93-4.

¹⁶ Skeat (ed.), *The Book of Husbandry*, pp. 95-8.

¹⁷ Skeat (ed.), *The Book of Husbandry*, p.97.

¹⁸ Tusser and Mavor (ed.), *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, pp. 239, 241.

¹⁹ Markham and Hunt (ed.), *The English Husbandman*.

Housewife is more domestic, containing chapters on medicine, cookery, perfumery, textile production, dairying and brewing.²⁰ The gender division of labour is evident in Markham's books: men's work is agricultural and outside; women's work is focused on cooking, clothing and caring, and located within the household.

It has been seen that Master Fitzherbert, Thomas Tusser and Gervase Markham are united in their views on the gender division of labour and the separate spheres of men and women. Studying this advice literature, it is evident where assumptions and misconceptions of women's work being mainly domestic have originated. However, this advice literature was not necessarily grounded in reality. This thesis studies the working patterns of men and women in practice, by using the wage lists in household account books to measure whether the gender division of labour on these three southwestern estates in the seventeenth century had much in common with the ideological ideal.

Although two or three centuries earlier than the focus of this thesis, the late medieval period shares many features with the early modern period in terms of agricultural practices and the working and everyday lives of the lower classes. Historians of the late medieval period have also used similar methodologies to historians of the seventeenth century in studying work, making their conclusions relevant to the study of work in the early modern period. Due to the paucity of the surviving medieval records nationally, research has tended to focus on those individual manors and neighbourhoods that have a comparatively rich survival of primary sources. Judith Bennett used the records of the manor of Brigstock in Northamptonshire to study, amongst other issues, women in the rural medieval economy.²¹ With regards to the gender division of labour, she concluded that it was clear, but flexible. Men in the medieval countryside were responsible for heavy agricultural labour such as ploughing, carting and forestry, and worked mainly in the fields and forests. Bennett stated that women helped their menfolk in the fields planting, weeding and gleaning, alongside helping in the harvest, but spent the rest of their time in and around the household gardening, dairying, raising poultry and in cleaning, spinning, food production and childcare. However,

²⁰ Markham and Best (ed.), *The English Housewife*.

²¹ Judith M. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

these divisions were not rigid and, when needed, either sex could cross the gender divide.²² As these tasks rarely appear in manorial records, Bennett is relying on the advice literature here, and indeed cites literary sources such as 'The Ballad of the Tyrannical Husband' and *Piers Plowman* for her conclusions on the gender division of labour. Although these sources do not necessarily provide an accurate picture of gendered work in reality, Bennett's conclusions do correlate with the results of more quantitative evidence gathered for the early modern period and, to some extent, with the results from the household account books.²³ This chapter explores the gender division of labour further, using evidence from household account books to build a realistic picture of work and gender and to test if Bennett's conclusions for thirteenth and fourteenth-century Brigstock hold true for the south-west in the seventeenth century.

Marjorie Keniston McIntosh's monograph on working women from the fourteenth to early seventeenth centuries focuses heavily on female participation in the market economy, especially in production, trade and commerce, and deliberately excludes unpaid household work and agricultural labour on pragmatic grounds.²⁴ McIntosh's work is useful, and unusual, as it bridges the gap between the late medieval and the early modern periods (a boundary commonly set at the artificial date of 1500), recognising that these centuries often display more similarities than differences regarding women's working patterns. Her conclusions are drawn from the rich source material offered by the manorial court records of small towns, as well as narrative petitions to royal equity courts between 1470 and 1620, with 283 petitions studied in total. McIntosh's analysis is in agreement with the majority of other studies on gendered patterns of labour: namely that, whilst 'most types of labour were assigned either to men or to women in later medieval and early modern England... this gender division of labour was not rigid'.²⁵ The production of food, drink and textiles employed a large number of women, although again they were clustered around the casual and poorly remunerated end of the spectrum.²⁶ In cloth production, women undertook the preparatory roles of washing and spinning, whilst men performed the higher status and better paid

²² See Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside*, pp.115 – 129 for this discussion.

²³ Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside*, p.116.

²⁴ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society, 1300 – 1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.5.

²⁵ McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society*, p.7.

²⁶ McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society*, pp.250-1.

roles of weaving and finishing the cloth. These tasks of cooking, brewing, washing and spinning were associated with the female domestic role and could be undertaken at home on a part-time basis if need be. The results of this thesis are largely related to agricultural labour, but a significant minority of both male and female tasks involved textile production. This thesis uses household account books, rather than court records and petitions, to analyse the gender division of labour in cloth production during the seventeenth century.

The first historian to study working women at any great length was Alice Clark in her 1919 book *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*.²⁷ Clark deliberately made no reference to women's unpaid labour in her study and excluded housework and childcare with the justification that these 'though essentially productive... transcend[ed] the limitations of economics.'²⁸ Clark was trying to prove and show that women worked for wages outside the domestic environment before the Industrial Revolution, as part of her aim to legitimise paid work for women in her own time. In her section on agriculture, she quoted at length from Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry*, to show that the dairy, poultry, garden and orchard were the domain of the farmer's wife in addition to the kitchen and the household.²⁹ However, she also used diaries, wage assessments, household accounts and quarter session records to show that women were competent in both business and market transactions, and in farm management.³⁰ She wrote about how the wives of husbandmen also worked mainly in these sectors, on a smaller scale in relation to their wealth, alongside spinning and the additional necessary harvest work.³¹ Clark quoted the seventeenth-century farmer Henry Best to show that women worked alongside men mowing, shearing, gathering, picking and thatching, saying that 'there was hardly any kind of agricultural work from which women were excluded'.³² Again, she found that the gender division of labour became less rigid the lower down the social scale one went. This thesis builds on Clark's work, but uses household account books to study the labour patterns of rural women rather than relying on Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry*, which is a prescriptive, ideological source compared to the records

²⁷ Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1992).

²⁸ Clark, *Working Life of Women*, p.4.

²⁹ Clark, *Working Life of Women*, pp.46-50.

³⁰ Clark, *Working Life of Women*, pp.50-56.

³¹ Clark, *Working Life of Women*, pp.58-64.

³² Clark, *Working Life of Women*, p.62.

of wage labour found in account books. This thesis also does not exclude housework and care work like Clark, instead investigating the extent to which men and women undertook paid work in these sectors.

In their monograph on women in early modern England, Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford looked at women's work and the pattern and nature of their labour in comparison to men, using a variety of different sources including household accounts, court records, diaries and letters. They acknowledged the ideological gender division of labour in society drawn from advice literature and notions of order and conceded that, although there were regional variations, there was a generally accepted notion that some work should be performed by men and some by women, and these were often upheld to some extent. Mendelson and Crawford maintained that housework and care work was the sole responsibility of women regardless of social status. However, it will be seen later in this chapter that the quantitative data from the recent projects by Ågren and Whittle that study gendered work in court records disproves this to some extent and shows that men did participate in this work. Mendelson and Crawford did agree that the gender division of labour was more permeable amongst the lower levels of society, as financial hardship and a lack of opportunities meant that women had to participate in the 'economy of makeshifts' and take work wherever it was available.³³ Mendelson and Crawford's work was a survey of all women in early modern England, from the Queen downwards, and explored all facets of female life rather than just work, meaning that their treatment of this issue was brief by necessity. This thesis looks specifically at the work of women (and men) from the rural labouring class on three different estates and therefore tests the gendered pattern of labour in a more detailed and localised manner.

Michael Roberts has written extensively on the gender division of labour in the early modern period and used a variety of sources to do so. His article on gender roles at harvest time, which utilised wage payments and pictorial evidence alongside a detailed study of the farming books of Henry Best, found that men monopolised mowing due to the strength required to handle a scythe and that, as the scythe was adopted to mow more crops such as wheat and rye, women became more excluded from this highly paid, specialised harvest work and were

³³ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.256.

relegated to the lower status tasks of gleaning and picking.³⁴ Roberts has also studied contemporary literary sources to analyse opinions on women's work patterns.³⁵ He described how the lack of education combined with inheritance practices effectively barred women from many occupations and limited them to low paid and poorly regarded labour and service.³⁶ Ultimately, this meant that men's work was taken more seriously as an occupation, whereas women's work was regarded merely as the natural duties of a wife, with her marital status more prominent in the records.³⁷ Another set of sources used by Michael Roberts was household advice manuals, which he studied for evidence of how male and female work was regarded. He concluded that, whilst husbands and wives had strictly gendered tasks, during the early modern period both were equally respected in their efforts to maintain the household.³⁸ He acknowledged the need to read literature, especially advice manuals, such as those written by Gervase Markham, Thomas Tusser and 'Master Fitzherbert', as ideological rather than prescriptive and to not take their exhortations on the gender division of labour at face value.³⁹ As Roberts advises, this chapter uses primary documents such as household account books to find the reality behind the ideology of the gender division of labour on these three southwestern estates. The agricultural focus of these account books also means that Roberts' conclusions on the gender division of labour at harvest time can be tested in a local context.

Another source which can be used to examine gendered patterns of labour in the early modern period is probate documents (inventories, accounts and wills) which, through their listing of goods and bequests, can show evidence of women's work and tools. Jane Whittle has used these sources to examine women's work from the late fifteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁰ Whilst advice literature prescribed a gender division of labour, the actual evidence

³⁴ Michael Roberts, 'Sickles and Scythes: Women's Work and Men's Work at Harvest Time', *History Workshop*, 7 (1979), pp.3 – 28.

³⁵ Michael Roberts, "'Words they are Women, and Deeds they are Men": Images of Work and Gender in Early Modern England' in Lindsey Charles and Lorna Duffin (eds.), *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England* (Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd, 1985), pp. 122-180.

³⁶ Roberts, "'Words they are Women, and Deeds they are Men", p.138.

³⁷ Roberts, "'Words they are Women, and Deeds they are Men", p.144.

³⁸ Michael Roberts, ' "To bridle the falsehood of unconscionable workmen, and for her own satisfaction": what the Jacobean housewife needed to know about men's work, and why', *Labour History Review*, 63.1 (1998), pp.4 – 30.

³⁹ Roberts, ' "To bridle the falsehood of unconscionable workmen', p.4.

⁴⁰ Jane Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440 – 1650: Evidence of Women's Work from Probate Documents', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15 (2005), pp.51 – 74.

from probate inventories shows that the reality was somewhat different.⁴¹ Households which contained materials and tools associated with women's work, such as milk cows, spinning wheels and baking and brewing equipment, did not always employ female servants, and the households with evidence of female employment did not always contain these traditional markers of women's work.⁴² Her findings were that the smaller the household, and the lower its position in the social scale, the more likely it was to only employ one servant and that a woman.⁴³ This supports the notion that the gender division of labour was more flexible on smaller, poorer landholdings, as that one female servant would have had to perform a considerable amount of labour both inside and outside the home. Whittle concluded that the evidence from these probate records showed that women of all ages and statuses had varied work patterns and laboured both in the home and on the farm, performing a range of tasks necessary for the survival of the household.⁴⁴ Probate inventories are a useful source for material culture, but they are a static picture of objects owned. They do not tell us who used these tools, their wages or their employment pattern; household account books, with their wage lists, provide this information. This chapter uses account books from large estates with a number of workers and servants to analyse the gender division of labour and its flexibility, and to test whether it was less flexible than establishments that were lower down the social scale.

A different set of sources that can be used to find out more about gendered patterns of work and the gender division of labour in the early modern period are court records. Whilst the recording of work tasks is not their main objective, a lot of incidental evidence about work can be garnered from the statements of witnesses, who would often give evidence as to what task was being performed at a certain time, and where they were performing that task. Recently, two large research projects on work and gender in the early modern period have used court records as their main sources of evidence. One of these was 'Women's work in rural England, 1500 – 1700: a new methodological approach', funded by the Leverhulme Trust and headed by Jane Whittle at the University of Exeter. Whittle and her team used the same definition of work as the early twentieth-century

⁴¹ Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England', p.64.

⁴² Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England', pp. 66-68.

⁴³ Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England', p.61.

⁴⁴ Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England', p.74.

economist Margaret Reid, who introduced the concept of the ‘third party criterion’ – namely, that any unpaid labour which could also be achieved by delegating it to a hired worker or by purchasing goods should be considered as work alongside paid labour.⁴⁵ This definition is important, as it means that tasks which are usually regarded as purely domestic housework, such as childcare, cleaning and food production, are counted as work tasks and therefore female labour is measured and valued more accurately. The sources used by the project were records from the coroner’s courts, church court depositions and quarter sessions examinations from the five south-west counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire. There were 4300 work tasks recorded overall and 29.4% of the tasks were performed by women.⁴⁶

An important finding of the ‘Women’s Work’ project was that housework only made up 21% of women’s work tasks, and care work 11%, showing that women spent less than a third of their time on what has traditionally been seen as ‘women’s work’ – household and domestic chores. In fact, women’s tasks involved working in agriculture as much as in housework and involved commercial activities as much as care work. To measure the gender division of labour, all work tasks were sorted into ten broad categories: ‘agriculture and land’, ‘care work’, ‘commerce’, ‘crafts and construction’, ‘food processing’, ‘housework’, ‘management’, ‘mining and quarrying’, ‘transport’ and ‘other’. At this level, there was a lot of overlap between male and female work, with not a single category being single sex only. However, once these categories were broken down further, it was clear that a lot of labour was being performed along gender segregated lines.⁴⁷ Much of this segregation was predictable and adhered to the advice literature and prevailing societal norms and ideals. Women were in the majority of those working in laundry, cleaning, childcare, midwifery and dairying, whilst men dominated tasks such as hunting, fishing, building work, forestry, operating mills and heavy transport. It is important to note that there was some fluidity as men were recorded doing some of the female dominated tasks listed above and some women were recorded as ploughing and driving carts, but they were in the minority.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Whittle and Hailwood, ‘The gender division of labour’, pp.1 – 30.

⁴⁶ Whittle and Hailwood, ‘The gender division of labour’, p.9.

⁴⁷ Whittle and Hailwood, ‘The gender division of labour’, p.13.

⁴⁸ Whittle and Hailwood, ‘The gender division of labour’, p.14.

However, Whittle and her research fellows Hailwood and Mansell also found that the extent of gender segregation varied between different sectors of the economy. In the agricultural sector, although certain tasks were more likely to be performed by one sex over another, there was a degree of flexibility between men's work and women's work. Women performed a wide range of agricultural labour, particularly sowing, reaping, harvesting and weeding. A third of work tasks in the field, and half of work tasks in animal husbandry, were performed by women.⁴⁹ Women were also heavily involved in the textile sector, but here there was a sharper gender division of labour: women dominated the preparatory processes, especially spinning, and men performed the finishing processes such as dyeing, weaving and fulling the cloth.⁵⁰ In the commercial sector, both men and women bought and sold products, in direct contradiction to early modern commentators who prescribed that men should sell products and women should buy them. Both genders were therefore active in commerce, and the products they dealt with were only slightly gendered. Women did make up 60% of food and drink retailers and 68% of clothes dealers, but they also traded in textiles, livestock, grain and wool – in other words, in goods that required further processing, rather than consumer items.⁵¹ Therefore, by using this new methodology and relying solely on court records, Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood found that the gender division of labour, whilst undeniably present, was less rigid than previously supposed and much more flexible than was suggested in the advice literature.

The 'Gender and Work in Early Modern Sweden' research project at Uppsala University, Sweden, led by Maria Ågren, has also used mainly court records (alongside other types of records such as diaries) to study gendered work patterns in the early modern period. To measure work, they adopted what they coined as the 'verb-oriented method', using the verbs present in the sources as a marker of which work tasks were being performed. Using this methodology, a dataset of 16182 work tasks from the years 1550 to 1799 was constructed, with 22% of these tasks being performed by women.⁵² Maria Ågren and her project

⁴⁹ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', pp.14-15.

⁵⁰ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.16.

⁵¹ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.17.

⁵² Maria Ågren, 'Introduction' in *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* ed. by Maria Ågren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.13-14.

team found that, in early modern Sweden, there was a flexible gender division of labour which was a result of the diversity of tasks performed by both genders in order to earn a living.⁵³ When work tasks were sorted into larger categories, women were present working in every part of the economy save the military sector. This includes not only 'care', 'food and accommodation' and 'teaching' but also 'agriculture and forestry', 'administration and justice', 'crafts and construction', 'credit', 'hunting and fishing', 'managerial work', 'trade' and 'transport'.⁵⁴ This ubiquity of women working in (almost) every sector is similar to the findings of the 'Women's work' project and, like that project, gender differences become apparent only when one looks closer. For example, 24% of male work tasks were in the 'administration and justice' sector compared to only 8% of female work tasks.⁵⁵ The largest category of female work tasks was 'trade', which accounted for 22% of the work tasks undertaken by women.⁵⁶

The quantitative data arising from the 'Gender and Work' project is in line with the quantitative data from the 'Women's work in rural England' project: whilst the different genders dominated different sectors of the economy, both men and women were generally present in every sector (bar the military for women), and the gender division of labour within these sectors was more flexible than previously assumed by earlier historians, who had been influenced by early modern advice literature. Therefore, court records are valuable sources of information on both paid and unpaid work in early modern Europe, and this chapter builds on the recent research of Whittle, Ågren and their teams by using account books to show the gender division amongst paid workers on gentry-owned, agricultural estates. The usage of account books rather than court records enables a focus on paid work and shows the differences in employment patterns and in tasks performed by servants and day workers as opposed to work which was unpaid.

Another key focus in the historiography of women's work is on the effects of the Industrial Revolution on female working patterns. This is beyond the remit of this thesis, which ends in 1700; however, there were many continuities in women's

⁵³ Jonas Lindstrom, Rosemarie Fiebranz and Goran Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work' in *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* ed. by Maria Ågren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 26.

⁵⁴ Lindstrom, Fiebranz and Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work', pp.19-20.

⁵⁵ Lindstrom, Fiebranz and Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work', p.31.

⁵⁶ Lindstrom, Fiebranz and Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work', p.31.

work from the seventeenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century. One of these is *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution* by Ivy Pinchbeck, first published in 1930.⁵⁷ Pinchbeck touched on the inclusive nature of women's work in an unspecified past before the industrial revolution and emphasised female physical strength. She noted that working class women were often employed in domestic industry, such as spinning and lacemaking, in addition to hiring out their labour for heavy agricultural tasks, in building sites and as carriers of goods. The fact that women's work was subsidiary and therefore cheap meant that they suffered economically when the Industrial Revolution placed work outside of the household and the family economy. Pinchbeck describes the tasks performed by women in agriculture in the eighteenth century in much detail, using husbandry manuals and agricultural reports such as those written by William Marshall and Arthur Young. She asserted that farmers' wives were responsible for the pigs, poultry and the dairy, and for selling the surplus of the goods they produced themselves at market, as well as spinning and knitting. The dairy especially was a female domain, a space occupied by the mistress of the household and her dairymaids. Female servants in husbandry worked outdoors on the farm alongside men, engaging in physically difficult and taxing tasks, and Pinchbeck details how, in the West Country and Devon in particular, this feature of women's work continued into the nineteenth century. She quoted a former female servant's deposition to the 1843 commissioners into childrens' employment as evidence, who said that she was 'employed in... anything that came to hand like a boy... I worked more in the fields than in the house.'⁵⁸ The wives of cottagers and day labourers had work duties which involved taking care of the garden and animals and exploiting common rights, in addition to their household responsibilities, food production, childcare, and hiring themselves out as seasonal wage labour. They were full participants in the 'economy of makeshifts' practised by the rural lower classes. Although Pinchbeck used mainly qualitative sources such as parliamentary reports, newspapers and pamphlets, more recent economic

⁵⁷ Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750 – 1850* (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1977).

⁵⁸ 'Mary Puddicombe' in *Report on Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture 1843* quoted in Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, pp.17 – 18.

historians using quantitative data often agree with her descriptions and conclusions on women's work.⁵⁹

Bridget Hill has followed Ivy Pinchbeck in researching women's work in the eighteenth century, using diaries, literary sources and agricultural reports to flesh out existing secondary literature.⁶⁰ Hill, in an echo of Pinchbeck, extrapolates from these sources that 'in agriculture there were areas of farm work which traditionally had always been the monopoly of women' and described their work dairying, spinning, milking, gardening, going to market, sowing, weeding, gleaning, cooking, baking and brewing, alongside assisting with harvesting and haymaking at peak times.⁶¹ This conclusion is nothing new, but Hill proceeds to add the caveat that the gender division of labour and its extent could vary from region to region.⁶² Her main example is the observation by eighteenth-century travel writer E. D. Clarke, who commented upon the complete lack of a gender division of agricultural labour in Wales: 'labour seems equally divided between men and women, and it's as common to meet a female driving the plough, as it is to see Taffy seated at the milk pail'.⁶³ However, by the end of the eighteenth century it was increasingly considered immoral and untoward to employ women in agricultural labour, and these comments, made as they were by a gentleman from southern England with an othering tone towards the Welsh country folk, should be considered in that context. Therefore, the assertion of a complete absence of a gender division of labour in certain regions requires more evidence, ideally quantitative data from household account books or court records from these regions in this period. Hill was on firmer ground when she recounted how a gender division of labour in agriculture was less evident on smaller farms and in the lower levels of society, as tasks needed to be done quickly regardless of the sex of the worker present.⁶⁴ Pinchbeck's and Hill's detailed descriptions of women's work and the gender division of labour rely on qualitative literary sources and reports which are mostly filtered through the narrative of the employer, even

⁵⁹ Joyce Burnette, 'Review Essay: Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution', published on EH.Net https://eh.net/book_reviews/women-workers-and-the-industrial-revolution-1750-1850/ [accessed online 11/07/19].

⁶⁰ Bridget Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989).

⁶¹ Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, p.30.

⁶² Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, p.35.

⁶³ E. D. Clarke quoted in Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, p.35.

⁶⁴ Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, p.35.

if they are often corroborated by more quantitative studies. This chapter uses wage data from household account books, sources which record actual tasks performed by workers, to provide evidence of the gender division of labour from the second half of the seventeenth century.

Another historian who has assessed the effect of the industrial revolution on women's working patterns is Pamela Sharpe. Her monograph *Adapting to Capitalism*, which looks at the period from 1700 to 1850, is focused on the county of Essex, and uses a wide range of manuscript sources including farm accounts, parish records, court records, private family papers such as letters and diaries, parliamentary papers, and even newspapers and oral history for the latter end of the period.⁶⁵ One section is devoted entirely to the gender division of labour in agriculture and contains a lot of information for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sharpe aimed to test Keith Snell's conclusion that the eighteenth century witnessed a sharp increase in the sexual specialisation of agriculture and a lack of opportunities for women in the sector.⁶⁶ Sharpe's wider range of sources and use of household and estate accounts, rather than Snell's single source base of settlement examinations, show a more complex picture. Instead of agricultural work becoming more subject to a gender division of labour in the eighteenth century, Sharpe argued that there was such a division present in the sixteenth century, which continued relatively consistently through to the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ Female labour was concentrated on seasonal harvest work, gleaning, supplying goods to richer households, hopping and dairying.⁶⁸ Women also made up a large part of the labour force working in market gardens and orchards.⁶⁹ However, Sharpe agreed with Snell that, by the nineteenth century, factors such as the onset of mechanisation, agricultural depression, the moralistic condemnation of women working in the fields and the domestic ideal of the housewife all combined to reduce the number of women working in agriculture.⁷⁰ This thesis' use of account books from the south-west, rather than Essex, provides evidence of the gender division of labour from a different region and

⁶⁵ Pamela Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism: Working Women in the English Economy, 1700 – 1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996).

⁶⁶ K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1600 – 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), chapter 1.

⁶⁷ Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism*, p.99.

⁶⁸ Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism*, pp.78-92.

⁶⁹ Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism*, p.94.

⁷⁰ Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism*, pp.98-99.

corroborates Sharpe's conclusions that a gender division of labour was present before the eighteenth century, especially in agriculture.

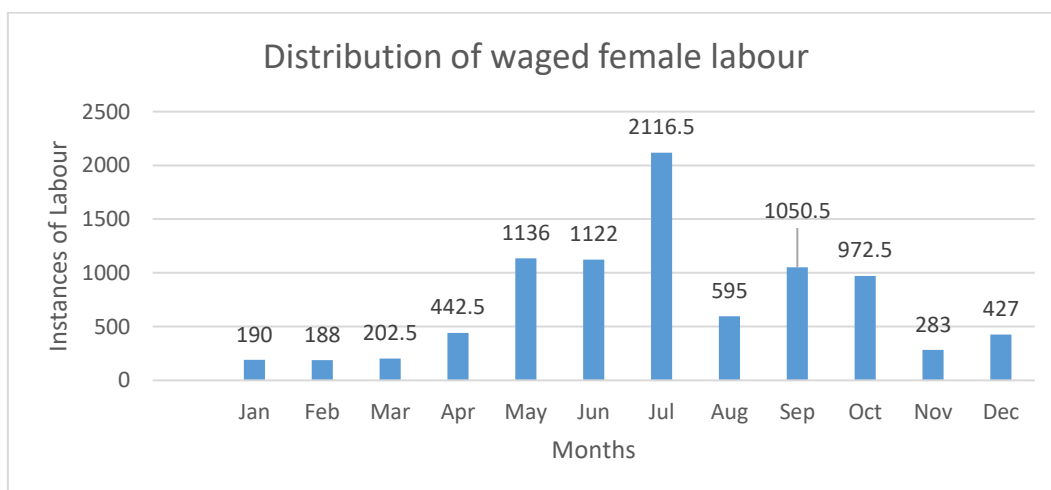
This section has demonstrated the extent of the historiography on gendered work patterns from the late medieval period to the eighteenth century, including work on the gender division of labour and the development of new methodologies which reveal a more realistic and encompassing picture of women's work in the past. This thesis adds to the growing wealth of literature on the seventeenth century as a century worthy of investigation, rather than being merely a transitional period. By using household account books, this thesis provides evidence of women's work and situates the tasks which they performed and their working patterns in practice on these three southwestern estates, rather than within prescriptive and ideological bounds. It shows how contemporary advice literature such as that written by Tusser, Markham and Fitzherbert was reflective of social ideals rather than day-to-day realities, and that historians should not build conclusions based upon the assumption that real life was reflected in this ideology, or in the literary sources and parliamentary reports written by the employer class. Instead, this chapter uses data from wage lists in account books to show that labouring women performed much more outdoor and agricultural labour than previously thought, and that they worked in all sectors of the early modern economy. It provides more evidence of the employment of married women outside the household and in the fields. The findings presented in this chapter of necessity focus on waged work, and therefore complement the results of studies into court records, which provide evidence of unwaged labour alongside paid employment to provide a more holistic view of the gender division of labour in the early modern period.

2.3 The Gendered Distribution of Labour

In this chapter, the term 'gender distribution of labour' is used to refer to the gendered elements of male and female working patterns, including whether one sex was more likely to be engaged in seasonal and casual work, and how labour was distributed throughout the year. As detailed above, historians of gender and work such as Judith Bennett and Pamela Sharpe, amongst others, have asserted that men and women had different working patterns. Whilst men worked regularly and consistently, women's paid labour in agriculture outside the home was seasonal and casual in agriculture, peaking during times such as harvest, when

there was a high demand for agricultural labour and the work to be done was time-sensitive. Other historians who have studied certain estates, such as A. Hassell Smith in his research on Stiffkey in Norfolk, have confirmed this pattern.⁷¹ To measure this assertion of the gendered distribution of labour, the amount of days worked by female day workers have been analysed by the months of their payment. The same has been done for work performed by women which was paid by the task, rather than by the day, and added to the results from female day workers. The quarterly wages paid to servants, and the unspecified labour they undertook to earn these wages, have not been included. However, tasks and work performed by household servants which were recorded and paid separately from their quarterly wage are included, on the basis that the separate record and payment meant that the work was not performed as part of their normal duties and therefore could have been performed by other workers. The total of these two sets of information (work paid by the day plus work paid by the task) gives us the total instances of labour performed by women, by month, across all three estates. From this data, the distribution of female labour across the year can be clearly seen.

Figure 2.1: The distribution of female labour across the year for the estates of Leyhill, Barrow Court and Herriard Park.



Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

The seasonal pattern of women’s work is evident in Figure 2.1. July was the month with the most female work activity, closely followed by May, June,

⁷¹ A. Hassell Smith, ‘Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk [Part I]’, *Continuity and Change* 4.1 (1989), pp.30-1.

September and October. These months align with the traditional harvest season, when farms were in need of all available labour to harvest and store the crops before the adverse change in weather conditions. The number of female work instances in May can possibly be explained by women employed to weed the fields before the harvest; out of the 1136 female work instances for May, nearly half of them (49.6%) were for weeding and a further 24.5% were for unspecified labour. In this period, the hay harvest was usually in June and July and the grain harvest in August and September.⁷² There is a noticeable dip in female labour instances in August; this may either be because payments for grain harvesting were sometimes made in September and October, once all the work had been completed and reckoned, or because in certain years the harvest was late. Instances of women's work dipped in the winter, with February being the month with the least female work activity, followed by March, January and November.

This evidence aligns with the findings of K. D. M. Snell in his study of seasonal agrarian unemployment; in the seventeenth century, both men and women were likely to work the most during the summer harvest months and suffer underemployment or unemployment during the winter.⁷³ Snell then shows that the distribution of female labour changed from the late eighteenth century onwards, with women becoming more likely to work in the spring whilst men's role in the summer harvest became entrenched. The evidence from the household account books regarding the amount of women working in the spring weeding and picking, suggests that this shift began earlier than Snell thought. The difference here may be due to the sources used, as Snell studied settlement examinations rather than account books. This thesis corroborates Helen Speechley's findings on female employment in Somerset from household account books, namely that women were more likely to work during the spring and summer but experienced a lull in employment between November and March.⁷⁴

When broken down by estate, all three households studied in this thesis followed a similar pattern regarding the seasonal distribution of women's work. At both

⁷² Mark Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500 – 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 12, 14.

⁷³ Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, pp. 19 -22.

⁷⁴ Helen Speechley, 'Female and child agricultural day labourers in Somerset, c.1685 – 1870', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 1999), pp.72-3.

Leyhill and Barrow Court, women were recorded as undertaking the most tasks in June, whilst at Herriard Park it was July – both months being in the summer and during peak hay harvest time. At Leyhill and Barrow Court the majority of female labour in these months was unspecified. It can only be inferred that this labour was harvest-related as the time of year makes this the most likely explanation. There is little explicit evidence of women working in the grain or corn harvest, and this may be hidden amongst the unspecified labour. Other odd jobs performed by women in these months were washing and milking at Barrow Court and nursing, washing, making and starching clothes and schooling children at Leyhill – hardly seasonal tasks. At Herriard Park, however, the recording of tasks performed was done in much more detail. Harvest payments in July can be clearly seen, one example being in July 1658 where eighteen payments were made to women for haying, for lengths of time varying from four days (Goody Mare) to fourteen days (Dorothy Edwards and Mary Hall).⁷⁵ In fact, haying was the dominant task performed by women at Herriard Park in July: 1012 out of the 1571.5 instances of labour for this month involved haying. Other harvest related activities such as reaping and raking did not occur in June or July at all, with the majority of payments for raking occurring in October and payments for reaping in September, October and December.⁷⁶ The rest of the tasks performed by women in July at Herriard Park involved weeding, gathering, picking stones from the meadows, hopping, making faggots for fuel, spreading dung on the fields, turning peas, milking, working in the garden and spinning. This shows a mixture of seasonal work dependent on both the seasonal and agricultural calendar, and tasks which needed to be performed throughout the year.

The months with the lowest incidences of recorded female labour varied between the estates. At Leyhill it was January, when women were hired to bring wild fowl, weed, wash, spin, fill a barrel of brine and for unspecified labour.⁷⁷ February at Herriard Park was the month with the lowest instances of female paid work: Bridget Hall was employed to lease (or glean) wheat, Mary Harmwood, Julian Prouting and Goody Lee were paid for hopping, Goody Elcock and Goody Willis span wool and Goody Dredge brought letters and rabbits up to the house.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ HALS, 44M69/E7/2.

⁷⁶ See the discussion on the gender division of labour in Herriard Park for more information of female day workers in the harvest.

⁷⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/4, DD/WO/52/3/10, DD/WO/52/3/14, DD/WO/52/3/16-18, DD/WO/52/3/20.

⁷⁸ HALS, 44M69/E7/2-3, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/8/1-2.

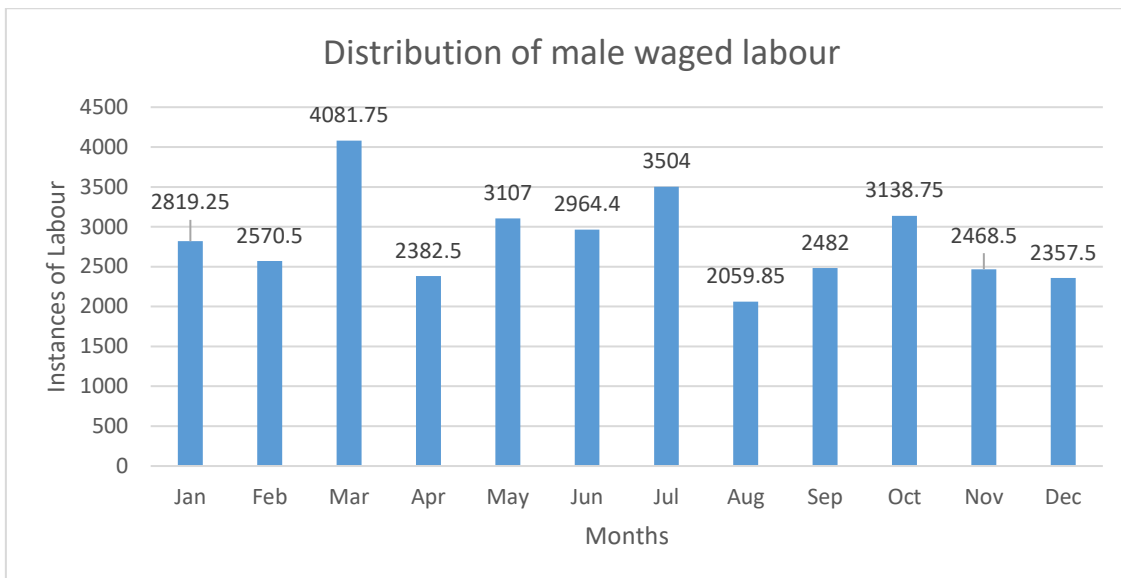
These latter two tasks were unseasonal but hopping and leasing (or gleaning) wheat are not tasks traditionally associated with the month of February – perhaps the women were being paid for work done at other points in the year. Barrow Court only had two instances of female labour in March; Goody Cottle and her daughter were paid for weeding.⁷⁹ These three months were all in the winter season, in keeping with the theory that female waged labour outside the institution of service was seasonal and peaked during the harvest seasons when farms required more labour.

In contrast, male waged labour was more consistently in demand throughout the year, as can be seen from Figure 2.2. Using the same methodology utilised to calculate the total of female instances of labour, the total days of work paid by the day and the number of records of work paid by the task for men have been added together to find the total of male instances of labour which was then divided by month so that the seasonal distribution could be measured. Again, this does not include the work of male servants. Whilst there are peaks and troughs as the number of work tasks performed by men varied between the months, and the difference between labour demand in the summer and winter seasons can be clearly seen, the distribution of male work tasks over the twelve months of the year is evidently much more consistent than the female labour distribution in Figure 2.1. Many male daily labourers were in regular employment at the estates and were paid weekly for their work. One example is a father and son team (William Jarman senior and junior) who worked at Leyhill, and were each paid weekly from 1644 to 1646 and consistently thereafter.⁸⁰

Figure 2.2: The distribution of male labour across the year for the estates of Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park

⁷⁹ SHC, DD/GB/113.

⁸⁰ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3-20, DD/WO/53/5/50.



Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

There are occasional instances of some women being regularly listed alongside men in the daily labourer payment list, suggesting consistent weekly employment for longer periods, but these are the exceptions rather than the rule. Examples include Judy Bryant, who worked twenty-nine days during 1666 at Barrow Court, Susan Weeks who worked 159.5 labour instances during the 1640s and 1650s at Leyhill, as well as Agnes Saunders who worked 497.5 labour instances from 1675 to 1682 at Leyhill and Julian Jarman, who worked 175 labour instances at Leyhill from 1656 to 1677.⁸¹ Table 2.1 shows the number of days worked per year for these women.

⁸¹ SHC, DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-6, DD/WO/52/3/13-20.

Table 2.1: The number of days worked per year for regular female day workers

Year	Days worked
Judy Bryant (Barrow Court)	
1666	29.0
Susan Weeks (Leyhill)	
1644	29.0
1645	26.5
1646	22.0
1650	4.0
1651	49.0
1656	14.0
1657	15.0
Agnes Saunders (Leyhill)	
1675	49.0
1676	112.0
1677	84.0
1678	52.5
1679	37.0
1680	41.0
1681	58.0
1682	29.5
1690	34.5
Julian Jarman (Leyhill)	
1657	21.0
1658	6.0
1662	6.0
1665	44.0
1666	41.0
1667	6.0
1669	2.0
1674	2.0
1675	5.0
1676	34.0
1677	8.0

Sources: SHC, DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-6, DD/WO/52/3/13-20.

It can be seen that rarely did these women exceed over fifty days worked per year, with only Agnes Saunders for the years 1676-8 and 1681 working over this number of days. These were some of the female workers who appeared the most regularly in the accounts, yet some of them did not work more than ten days annually (Susan Weeks in 1650 and 1659, Agnes Saunders in 1683 and Julian Jarman in 1656, 1658, 1662, 1667, 1669, 1674-5 and 1677). There were also gaps lasting a couple of years or more where they did not work any days at all. All of these female workers had the most labour instances recorded in the spring and summer, although they were paid for work throughout the year. Even though these women stood out as unusually persistently employed in the accounts, they were not employed as much as many male workers. For example, in 1644 Susan Weeks worked 29 instances whilst a regular male employee, William Jarman Jr., worked 180.5 instances.⁸² This analysis of the days worked by some of the

⁸² SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3.

women who appeared the most regularly in the accounts makes the casual, sporadic and part-time nature of women's work clear.

The precariousness of the labouring household economy often made it a necessity for wives and mothers to engage in paid work whenever it was offered as part of the 'economy of makeshifts', the survival mechanisms employed by the poor to maximise revenue by cobbling together many different forms of income gathering. This is often framed as benefiting the employer rather than the female worker, with women wanting to work for wages to increase household income but only being employed when there was a demand for labour. However, casual labour may have suited some women at certain times. Jane Humphries has shown that labouring families could profit much more from the keeping of a cow or a pig, or by exploiting commons rights such as gleaning and gathering, digging turf (turbary rights) or cutting wood (estover rights), than by waged labour.⁸³ In these cases, it made more economic sense for women to invest time in pursuing these activities rather than labouring for wages. This frustrated farmers when there was an acute demand for labour, such as at harvest, but workers sometimes preferred to invest time in these other profitable pursuits rather than supply the labour required by landholders. Humphries ultimately reminds us that 'labourers with livestock, with gardens, and with rights of turbary and estover were not always at the farmers' beck and call. Nor were their wives and children only a seasonal labour reserve readily mobilised out of want and worklessness.'⁸⁴ The reality was likely to be a mixture of both scenarios, with women sometimes needing waged work and suffering from under-employment or unemployment, and at other times preferring to prioritise other avenues of money-making that did not require hiring out their own labour. This can be seen in the presence of regular workers at Leyhill who were also mothers, such as Susan Weeks and Agnes Saunders, whose employment was discussed above. Their work is evidence that mothers often sought increased amounts of waged work when their children became old enough either to be left at home unsupervised or to work in the fields

⁸³ Jane Humphries, 'Enclosures, Common Rights, and Women: The Proletarianisation of Families in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Journal of Economic History*, 50.1 (1990), pp. 23-29.

⁸⁴ Humphries, 'Enclosures, Common Rights, and Women', p.29.

alongside them. This aligns with Craig Muldrew's argument that the wage labour of a working mother was valuable to a poor family.⁸⁵

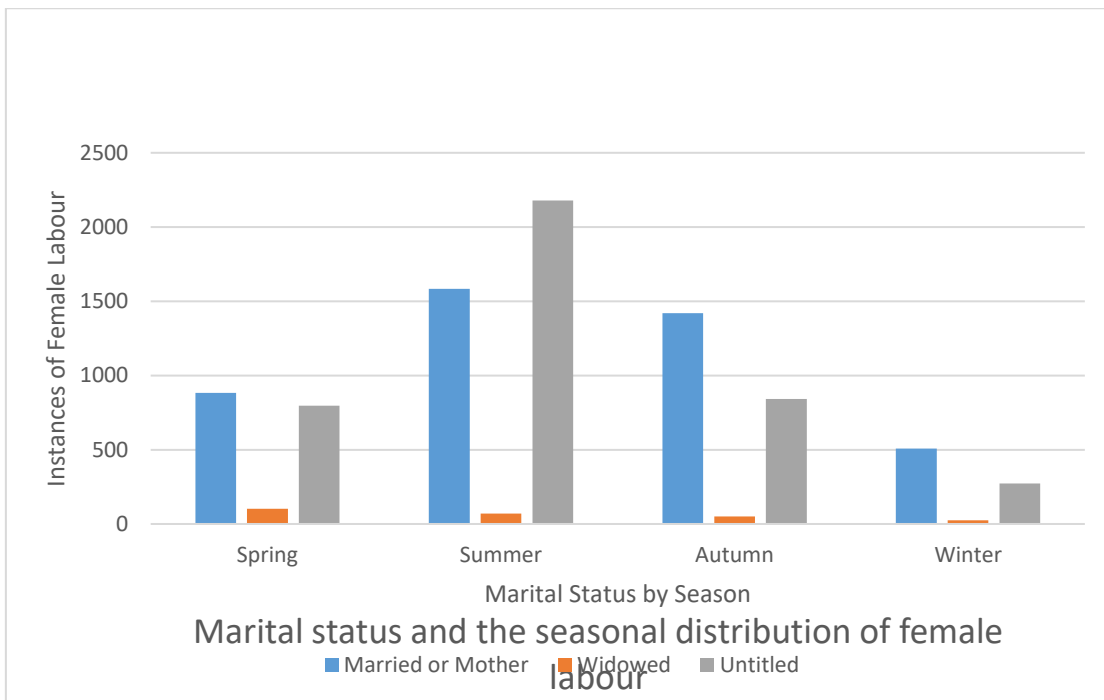
The seasonality and the casual nature of female work has traditionally been explained as being due to women's household and caring responsibilities as wives and mothers. To measure this explanation, women were divided into categories depending on their marital status.⁸⁶ Then, their labour instances were analysed by the month worked. If the seasonality of female labour was due to a woman having to spend time caring for children and performing housewifery duties for her family, then the labour instances of wives and mothers should be concentrated more seasonally and sporadically, and the labour instances of women of unspecified marital status should be more consistent throughout the year. Women who were married or mothers would have worked the most in the summer season during the harvest, when their labour was most in demand. However, Figure 2.3 below shows that wives and mothers did not work exclusively or even mostly during the summer harvest season but were engaged in casual work throughout the year.⁸⁷

Figure 2.3: The distribution of female labour by marital status and season across the three estates of Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park

⁸⁵ Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550 – 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.257.

⁸⁶ For an explanation of this methodology, see the Life-Cycle chapter.

⁸⁷ The months have been categorised into seasons as follows: Spring (March, April, May), Summer (June, July, August), Autumn (September, October, November), Winter (December, January, February).



Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

If the casual nature of women's day labour was due to their household responsibilities as wives and mothers, then single women should have found more consistent employment. Figure 2.3 also shows the employment of women of unspecified marital status in agriculture was just as seasonal as their married counterparts. This shows that single women, who were part of this workforce of women of unspecified marital status, did not just restrict themselves to working in service, but also participated in the casual labour force whenever they were needed. This presence of single women in the casual labour force suggests that female working patterns were not irregular, casual and seasonal because work needed to be fitted around their household responsibilities as wives and mothers, but because women workers were seen as a subsidiary labour pool. The high number of female labourers of unspecified marital status in the summer may be a result of these women migrating from parish to parish to take advantage of the need for harvest workers and earn as much money as possible. This again shows that women were not always victims of the casual labour market and could work it to their advantage.

Another way to illustrate this idea of women as a subsidiary labour force is to show the number of instances of labour by women and compare it to the number of instances of labour by men. If this idea is correct, then the amount of labour

performed by men should be clearly higher than the amount of labour performed by women. These figures have been broken down in Table 2.2, which shows the number of labour instances performed by both men and women at each estate alongside the percentage of the workforce that each gender comprised.

Table 2.2: The gender distribution of labour across all three estates of Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park

Estate	Female Instances of Labour		Male Instances of Labour	
	No.	%	No.	%
Leyhill	2802.0	13	19385.5	87
Herriard Park	5585.5	29	13788.5	71
Barrow Court	344.0	31	762.0	69
Total	8731.5	20	33936.0	80

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

This breakdown of the day and task workforce by gender for each estate shows a similar picture, with male workers being in the clear majority, but the gender proportions differ slightly from estate to estate. Barrow Court shows the most equal gender distribution of labour, with 69% of the workforce being men and the remaining 31% women, a rough two-thirds male, one-third female split. Barrow Court's proximity to Bristol may be an explanation for it having a larger female workforce, as the prospects for work in shipping and sailing may have attracted men to the city and away from Barrow Gurney. At Herriard Park, 71% of the workers were men and 29%, or just over a quarter, were women. Leyhill is the estate at which the gender distribution of labour is most marked, with 87% of the workforce being men and just 13% being women. Alternative employment may also have had an effect here. Leyhill was in east Devon, an area researched by Pamela Sharpe. In her study of the nearby parish of Colyton, she found a skewed sex ratio in favour of women and concluded that Colyton's economy of predominantly lace-making and other textile work, as well as dairying and fruit gathering, attracted more women to the parish.⁸⁸ South-east Devon, especially Colyton and Honiton, had been a centre for lace-making since the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁸⁹ Men had fewer employment opportunities in lace-making and therefore sought to work elsewhere; not only to larger towns and cities or overseas, but also to farms in the district.⁹⁰ Shute Barton, another estate

⁸⁸ Pamela Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish: Reproducing Colyton, 1540 – 1840* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), pp.162, 170.

⁸⁹ Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, p.94.

⁹⁰ Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, p.172.

in the area, also had a workforce made up of primarily men in the late seventeenth century.⁹¹ Leyhill, a prosperous gentry estate some thirteen miles away, may have been an attractive option for a man who wished to stay in the locality and work in agriculture, whilst women may have taken advantage of the higher wages paid elsewhere, in the centres of the lace industry.

Table 2.2 also shows that a total of 80% of the workforce across the three estates were men, meaning that women made up a fifth of the labour force as a whole. This is exactly the same as the proportion of labour found by Helen Speechley for nine estates in Somerset.⁹² This shows that rural gentry estates (or at least the rural gentry estates of Barrow Court, Herriard Park and Leyhill) drew the bulk of their labour force from the male population and that female workers were a sizeable minority, but a minority nonetheless. It has to be remembered that this data does not include the work performed by household servants, male or female, but only workers who were paid by the day or task. It does therefore not reflect the gender make-up of the household or the complete picture of male and female work on the estates. As so much of the work performed by both servants and labourers was unspecified in the accounts, and some work may have gone unrecorded or been unpaid labour performed by the household members, a complete picture of work can never fully be constructed in any case. It does, however, show the gender make-up of the local workforce paid to perform the necessary agricultural and other tasks which could not be performed by the household servants or the family themselves.

These differing proportions remind the historian of work that each household, estate and farm, whilst it may roughly conform to the general pattern, had its own preferred hiring and labour pattern, which suited the needs of the individual employer, workplace and the locale, and the reasons for which were often unrecorded and unclear to those attempting to study them. However, whilst the proportions of men and women employed may have differed, the gendered seasonality of labour kept to a similar pattern, with men being employed more consistently across the year, and female working opportunities peaking in the spring and summer.

⁹¹ Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, p.154.

⁹² Speechley, 'Female and child agricultural day labourers in Somerset', p.201.

2.4 The Gender Division of Labour at Herriard Park

Herriard Park is the case study which is the most informative about the gender division of labour, as its account books provide the greatest detail about the actual nature of the tasks performed by its labourers. Out of the total 19373.5 instances of labour performed by both men and women, only 1813 instances are unspecified, or 9.4%. Broken down by sex, this is 4.03% of female labour and 11.52% of male labour. Although Leyhill is the case study with the largest number of total instances of labour, Herriard Park is the case study with the largest number of female instances of labour, with 5585.5 instances to Leyhill's 2802 instances and Barrow Court's 344 instances. The smaller number of unspecified labour instances in the Herriard Park accounts and its relatively larger number of female labour instances creates a larger pool of examples of the different tasks performed by both genders, and therefore allows a more thorough analysis of the gender division of labour.

Table 2.3: The instances of labour at Herriard Park, divided by task category and sex

Task Category	No. & % of female instances of labour	No. & % of male instances of labour
Agriculture and Land	5052.5 (90.46%)	6063.25 (43.97%)
Care work	84.0 (1.5%)	3.0 (0.02%)
Commerce	4.0 (0.07%)	8.0 (0.1%)
Crafts and Construction	12.0 (0.21%)	718.5 (5.21%)
Food Processing	1.0 (0.02%)	4034.25 (29.26%)
Housework	34.0 (0.61%)	-
Managerial	2.0 (0.04%)	-
Mining and Quarrying	-	25.0 (0.18%)
Legal and Administrative	2.0 (0.04%)	28.5 (0.21%)
Transport	169.0 (3.03%)	1236.0 (8.97%)
Other	-	84.0 (0.61%)
Unspecified	225.0 (4.03%)	1588.0 (11.52%)
Total	5585.5	13788.5

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

Table 2.3 above shows the initial breakdown of the gender division of labour at Herriard Park.⁹³ The instances of labour have been broadly categorised by task and Table 2.3 displays both the number and resulting percentage of instances of labour for each task by gender. Many of the categories contain so few instances of labour as to render them practically insignificant. The categories of commerce, food processing, housework, managerial and legal and administrative each made

⁹³ This table, and the ones which follow, will round the percentages to two decimal places, to properly represent each category as, if rounded to one decimal place, some categories would have been reduced to 0%.

up less than 1% of female waged labour, whilst the same is true for the categories of care work, commerce, mining and quarrying and legal and administrative for male waged labour. Explanations for this can be found in the local estate economy and in how work was allocated and paid between different forms of workers. For example, the low proportion in the housework category, which featured no men and made up only 0.61% of female labour, can be explained by the fact that these tasks were usually the domain of the household servants rather than the labourers. The odd payments made to female labourers for household tasks included 360d (£1 10s) to an unnamed woman for washing.⁹⁴ This is an extremely large figure for a casual worker. An explanation for this may be that the woman was a regular laundress for the household at Herriard Park and had made an arrangement with her employers to be paid at intervals rather than daily or weekly. There was also a shilling paid to Shergold's wife for 'helping in the kitchen' and for Goody Bellamore working nine days 'within doors' and Grace Winter working twenty days 'in the kitchen'.⁹⁵ These women were likely to have been employed as extra assistance if a servant became ill or there was an unusual amount of work to be done. The same explanation is also likely the case for the small amount of payments to women for food processing, for which there was only one payment to Goody Bellamore who earned 4d for working 'about the cider'.⁹⁶ The majority of the day-to-day cooking would have been performed by household servants, not female labourers. The fact that food processing made up 29.26% of male labour instances is due to male labourers being employed in threshing and butchery. No women were employed in threshing and butchery on the Herriard estate, which shows a stark gender division of labour in certain tasks.

The legal and administrative category also made up a very small amount of both male and female labour instances at Herriard. For men, legal and administrative labour constituted surveying lands, engrossing a court roll, measuring and plotting land, and arresting people; for women it amounted to Goody Carpenter being paid a shilling for 'assisting to value Mr Dormer's timber'.⁹⁷ Services involving valuation, surveying and legal processes can be vital in estate management but are not necessarily very frequent and, due to the lack of formal

⁹⁴ HALS, 44M69/E8/2/8.

⁹⁵ HALS, 44M69/E7/3, 44M69/E8/2/5.

⁹⁶ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/2.

⁹⁷ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/2.

education for women and working-class men, were usually performed by men from the middling sectors of society. Goody Carpenter's occupational surname suggests that she may have gained some practical experience of valuing timber, which could explain why she performed this task. The managerial category constituted the same proportion of female labour as the legal and administrative category – 0.04%. This amounted to two payments, one to Mr Bly's maid for paying the porter and one to Goodwife Winter for her children keeping sheep on the common, an example of arranging and apportioning a work task.⁹⁸ No men were paid for managerial tasks, which may at first seem surprising. However, this may be accounted for by the fact that managing was not a task which men were paid for separately but was in fact incorporated as part of their other tasks and their occupation in a self-evident manner, which made it invisible in the account books. Senior servants would also have organised and managed work. This can also be an explanation for the lack of women being paid explicitly for management. Senior female household servants would almost certainly have needed management qualities and utilised them daily, as would the lady of the household, and female labourers working in groups may have been left to work independently with one woman in the group as its recognised yet unofficial head. Therefore, this lack of evidence for managerial activity amongst labourers is likely a result of recording practice and it is difficult to surmise a gender division of labour from these results.

Commerce was also a category with a low level of participation from both genders, making up 0.07% of female instances of labour and 0.1% of male instances of labour. Goody Rowell and Goodwife Winkworth were both employed to buy clothes, whilst Mistress Mary bought cheese cloth in June 1655 and Mary ordered coal in February 1698.⁹⁹ Men purchased a hawk, fish, seed barley, geese and wine, whilst Thomas Rivers was paid for selling wheat at Farnham and Anthony for selling two horses.¹⁰⁰ It can be seen that the women's purchases were primarily domestic. The men also bought domestic goods such as fish and wine for household consumption, but they also purchased high status items such as a hawk and agricultural products such as barley and were tasked to sell potentially high cost items such as wheat and horses. Therefore, whilst both men

⁹⁸ HALS, 44M69/E7/2, 44M69/E8/8/1.

⁹⁹ HALS, 44M69/E7/2, 44M69/E8/2/5.

¹⁰⁰ HALS, 44M69/E7/2-3, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/2.

and women facilitated monetary transactions and engaged in commerce in similar proportions, there was a gender division of labour in the type and status of the goods involved. Men were entrusted to buy and sell more high status and high cost items as well as agricultural produce, in contrast to female purchases of domestic items for the household.

Mining and quarrying is another extremely small category of labour at Herriard Park. Perhaps unsurprisingly, no women undertook a task which could have been placed in this category. Different men were paid for twenty-five instances of mining and quarrying, tasks which involved the processes of quarrying chalk and lime, such as 'drawing chalk' and 'making a chalk pit'.¹⁰¹ These substances would have been spread onto the fields to increase agricultural yields, as can be seen in the analysis of the agriculture and land category. Large amounts of chalk and lime were also bought in bulk, with eighteen payments for chalk in the 1690s, which may explain why only a small number of men were employed in mining and quarrying. The soil of Herriard parish consisted mainly of chalk and clay, which may be an explanation for these references to chalk.¹⁰² If so, the work tasks could be traced back to general maintenance of the estate. Although mining and quarrying was a small category of labour at Herriard Park, the complete lack of any female labour instances is positive evidence for a strong gender division of labour in these tasks.

A task category which had a significantly low proportion of men was care work, with only 0.02% of male labour instances at Herriard involved in such activity. This constituted three payments. The first was to Old Thomas for 'helping me to a chapman'.¹⁰³ A 'chapman' in this period was a pedlar, and whether Old Thomas was physically helping his master to a chapman or just recommending one is unclear; the verb 'help' and the sentence structure has led to this task being placed in the care category. The second and third payments were to Mr Farrier, who was paid 1128d (nearly £5) for 'teaching the children' and to Mr Lawrence who was paid ten shillings for 'curing James Sims' arm'.¹⁰⁴ As denoted by their titles of Mr and the activities in which they were engaged, both Mr Farrier and Mr

¹⁰¹ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/1-2, 44M69/E8/2/5.

¹⁰² E. G. Brodie and A. M. Hendy, 'Herriard' in *The Victoria History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight: Volume Three* ed. by William Page (London: Archibald Constable and Company Limited, 1908), pp. 367.

¹⁰³ HALS, 44M69/E7/1.

¹⁰⁴ HALS, 44M69/E8/2/8, 44M69/E8/8/1.

Lawrence would have been professional, educated men, teaching and providing medical care to the community.

In contrast, care work made up 1.5% of female labour – not a large proportion in itself, but a much larger proportion than the 0.02% of male labour. This may seem surprisingly low at first glance as women have been traditionally associated with care work both historically and in modern times. However, much of the daily care work of looking after the Jervoise children of Herriard Park would likely have been performed by a household servant rather than a day or task worker. One type of care work which was infrequent, and which would have necessitated extra payment records in the account books, was nursing. Three women were paid for eighty-one days' worth of nursing in the Herriard Park account books, and three more women were paid for individual tasks relating to nursing. Nurse Winkworth and Sara Rook were both employed in 'laying out master's corpse' in 1693 and paid two shillings each for the work.¹⁰⁵ In April 1695, Goody Hall was paid 16d for tending Thomas Cocker for four days during an unspecified illness, and a month later was paid a shilling for 'washing Thomas Cocker'.¹⁰⁶ Goody Dredge was paid 120d for five weeks' worth of attending on the servants in May 1698, at the same time as an unnamed nurse was employed for attending on Mr Jervoise for a month and Margaret Whale (then a household servant) for a fortnight.¹⁰⁷ There was evidently some sort of contagious illness infecting the inhabitants of Herriard Park at this time. It seems to have been serious enough that outside care had to be contracted in to nurse the patients, instead of them being tended to by family members and servants, as was often the first recourse.¹⁰⁸ Two of these women (Nurse Winkworth and the unnamed nurse, who may of course have been one and the same) were accorded the title of nurse, one of the few occupational titles used for women in this period. This was different from a wet-nurse, who breast fed babies- the terms were only just becoming distinct in the seventeenth century. Nurses were not required to have formal educational qualifications, but they would have learnt their trade from other practitioners and this, combined with looking after the sick in their community, would have given them invaluable

¹⁰⁵ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/1.

¹⁰⁶ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/2.

¹⁰⁷ HALS, 44M69/E8/2/5.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Dingwall, Anne Marie Rafferty and Charles Webster, *An Introduction to the Social History of Nursing* (London: Routledge, 1988), p.9.

practical experience and knowledge.¹⁰⁹ Healthcare was seen as women's work in the home and published advice literature such as Markham's *The English Housewife* elaborated extensively on the need for housewives to be knowledgeable about 'physic and surgery, [and] plain approved medicines for the health of the household, also the extraction of excellent oils fit for those purposes'.¹¹⁰ It is notable that Goody Dredge was attending the majority of the servants whilst it was Nurse Winkworth who was attending the master. Nurse Winkworth was also attending the servant Margaret Whale, who possibly had a more virulent strain of the infection and needed more dedicated care from a professional. The Herriard Park account books again show a clear gender division of labour here, with no men being paid to nurse, a lower status task of supervising and tending the patients. It was a man, Mr Lawrence, who 'cured' an arm and provided the formal medical treatment.

A clear gender division of labour is also evident in crafts and construction tasks at Herriard Park. The crafts and construction category comprised 0.21% of female instances of labour and 5.21% of male instances of labour. This is a larger gap between the genders than in other categories featuring both men and women such as care work, commerce and the legal and administrative categories. Not only was a noticeably larger proportion of men involved in crafts and construction, the gender division of labour is even starker when the category is broken down by task. The twelve instances of female labour in this category were all related to textile production. There were eight instances of women spinning either yarn or wool and two payments made to Goody Hall for winding wool, plus a payment to Susanna Chick for knitting three pairs of stockings and a payment to Goody Bellamore for 'drawing hackles', which referred to the process of combing out flax, hemp or other fibres with a bar set with steel pins called a hackle.¹¹¹ In contrast, only twelve out of 718.5 instances of male labour in the crafts and construction category involved textile production. One of these was a payment to George Elderfield for two days of drawing hackles, the only task in the crafts and

¹⁰⁹ Margaret Connor Versluysen, 'Old Wives Tales? Women Healers in English History' in *Rewriting Nursing History* ed. by Celia Davies (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1980),

¹¹⁰ Markham and Best (ed.), *The English Housewife*, p.5.

¹¹¹ HALS, 44M69/E7/2-3, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E8/8/1-2; 'hackle, n.2' in Oxford English Dictionary online database at <https://oed.com/view/Entry/83054?rskey=Kr0cU3&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed online, 03/07/19].

construction category which was performed by both genders.¹¹² Richardson was paid to sew the coach harness, but the other male tasks related to textile production were to Hugh Rowell for making clothes such as suits, coats and underclothes for the Jervoise family and their household servants.¹¹³ It is likely that Hugh Rowell was a tailor to the gentry by profession, as opposed to the female textile workers who were from the regular estate pool of labour and hired on a casual basis. Therefore, even when both genders were paid to work with textiles at Herriard Park, both their working patterns and the products they produced were different.

Men also performed a wide array of other crafts and construction tasks at Herriard Park, the majority of which required either formal training as an apprentice or physical strength. Work involving building, construction and masonry accounted for 247 of the male instances of labour, whilst 257.5 instances concerned thatching and 89 instances concerned carpentry. Other male labour involved occupations such as cooperage, glazing, shoemaking, smithing and making wheels. These occupations required either formal training or an apprenticeship, which women found difficult to access. Remaining male tasks in this category involved the maintenance of estate buildings such as paving, painting and tiling, or the repair of household and farm items or the production of raw materials needed for construction such as brickmaking. Therefore, there was a clear gender division of labour regarding crafts and construction at Herriard Park, with female labour concentrated around the casual employment of spinning and knitting, and men being employed in construction work, estate maintenance and trades requiring apprenticeship. Even when men were employed working with textiles, it was in the context of a profession and producing high status clothing intended for the gentry, with only one man being paid in the cloth making process ('drawing the hackles') in the same manner as a woman.

Transport is another category which, although small, shows a gender division of labour in both proportion and task. This category made up 3.03% of female labour (169 instances) and 8.97% of male labour (1236 instances). The bulk of these female tasks was performed by Goody Dredge, who delivered letters (and one set of Acts of Parliament) to the Jervoise family at Herriard Park 135 times over

¹¹² HALS, 44M59/E7/2.

¹¹³ HALS, 44M59/E7/2-3.

the course of the period.¹¹⁴ Other items that women were paid to fetch, carry or bring to the household were poultry, fish, rabbits, dogs, fruit and vegetables, lobsters, pigeons, sugar loaf, herbs, honey and hops. These were all relatively small items which could plausibly be carried or led by the women themselves, and the majority were foodstuffs or livestock destined for the kitchen. In only three out of these 169 instances were locations other than the parish of Herriard mentioned: these were the nearest town of Basingstoke (six miles away), the village of Totford (eight miles away) and London (roughly fifty miles away). Basingstoke and Totford were both within the county and were feasibly near enough for return travel to be accomplished in a day, especially if the women were in a cart or on horseback. London, from which Goody Noyce brought back a sugar loaf for the household, was much further, although it will be seen later in this chapter that women from Leyhill in Devon also travelled to London.¹¹⁵ In any case, it is unlikely that the sugar loaf was Goody Noyce's primary reason for going to London. Rather, it was just an errand she performed whilst there for another reason.

In contrast, male participation in this category involved much more variation in terms of location and items transported. Out of the 1236 instances of male labour in transportation, 1050 instances involved carting large quantities of agricultural or building materials such as wood, food crops, chalk, dung, brick, stone, bushes, earth and rubbish. Carting was exclusively a male domain, with no women being paid to cart. Men were also paid to bring, fetch and carry goods in the same manner as women. These goods included household goods, foodstuffs, small livestock and letters of the same sort that women carried, but men also carried bulkier items such as furniture, stones, trunks, wool, crops, plants and bricks. Men were also paid to escort other people, such as the Jervoise children and maidservants who would have needed either supervision or protection on the road, and had the responsibility of fetching the doctor, possibly late at night. Driving lambs, sheep, horses and cattle to the fair or in between fields were also jobs for men only. The locations traversed by men were more varied and widespread. Men not only travelled between Herriard and neighbouring Hampshire villages, and visited Basingstoke and London like women did, but also

¹¹⁴ HALS, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/8/1-2.

¹¹⁵ HALS, 44M69/E7/3.

made journeys across county boundaries to Worcestershire and 'the north' and to other major English cities such as Reading, Salisbury and Southampton. It is clear that not only was a higher proportion of men engaged in transportation, but also that there was a gender division of labour within this category. Apart from the one exception of London, women were more likely to be paid to travel shorter, local distances and to transport smaller domestic items destined for the household or the kitchen. In contrast to this, men were hired to traverse much longer distances, to escort and protect other people and, in the main, to use carts to transport weightier and larger quantities of goods in an agricultural and construction context.

It is evident that by far the largest proportion of tasks performed by both male and female workers at Herriard Park fell into the category of agriculture and land, with an overwhelming 90.46% of female instances of labour and 43.97% of male instances of labour being in this category. The higher percentage of women in the agricultural labour force may be due to the fact that male servants participated in agriculture and land tasks more than female servants, meaning that a smaller proportion of male labourers needed to be hired to do this work. This is a pattern similar to A. Hassell Smith's findings at Stiffkey in the sixteenth century, where between a third and a half of the household staff were male servants in husbandry and there was extensive employment of female day workers in agriculture.¹¹⁶ Therefore, at Herriard Park and elsewhere, there clearly was no prohibition on women doing agricultural labour in the fields - but was there a gender division of labour within the category of agriculture?

Table 2.4: The instances of labour in the Agriculture and Land category at Herriard Park, divided by task and sex

¹¹⁶ Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England (Part 1)', pp. 15, 28.

Agriculture and Land Tasks	No. & % of female instances of labour	No. & % of male instances of labour
Animal husbandry	2.0 (0.04%)	423.5 (6.98%)
Collecting fuel	4.0 (0.08%)	201.5 (3.32%)
Field work	4583.5 (90.72%)	3591.5 (59.23%)
Gardening	371.5 (7.35%)	567.75 (9.36%)
Gathering food	23.5 (0.47%)	-
Hedging	-	546.0 (9.01%)
Hunting and fishing	-	1.0 (0.02%)
Milking	67.0 (1.33%)	-
Wood husbandry	1.0 (0.02%)	732.0 (12.07%)
Total	5052.5	6063.25

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

It can be seen from Table 2.4 that there were certain agricultural and land tasks that were only performed by members of one sex at Herriard Park: for example, only women were paid for milking and gathering food, and only men were paid for hedging and hunting and fishing. This is highly suggestive of a strict gender division of labour in these areas. Other tasks, such as collecting fuel, animal husbandry and wood husbandry, employed a larger proportion of men than women. Animal husbandry consisted of 6.98% of male agricultural labour instances but only 0.04% of female agricultural labour instances. The only two instances of female labour in animal husbandry were both performed by Ann Dredge, who was paid 8d for two days 'keeping hogs' on 23 October 1693.¹¹⁷ The care of poultry was likely the domain of the household servants. The involvement of men in animal husbandry was more varied as they engaged with horses, cattle, pigs and sheep – feeding them, performing veterinary care and shearing and washing them – on a larger scale.

Men also spent much more time than women on wood husbandry. Only one woman was paid for a task relating to wood husbandry: Goody Hawkins, who was employed to strip poles in July 1660.¹¹⁸ In contrast, there were 732 male instances of labour involving wood husbandry on the Herriard Park estate. Some of this involved stripping poles but the majority consisted of felling trees, making wood and bark and cleaving and hewing timber. Similarly, collecting fuel made up 3.32% of male agricultural labour instances and 0.08% of female agricultural labour instances. All the payments in this category for both genders were for making or collecting faggots, and the three percent difference in male and female

¹¹⁷ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/2.

¹¹⁸ HALS, 44M69/E7/2.

participation is not hugely significant overall. Still, it signifies that men were preferred for this task. Therefore, although an extremely small minority of women were involved in collecting fuel, animal husbandry and wood husbandry, these were tasks that were mostly performed by men: the gender division of labour in these areas may not have been insurmountable, but it was firmly in place. Gardening was a task that was performed by between five and ten percent of men and women, making up 7.35% of female labour and 9.36% of male labour. As these payments just referred to labourers 'gardening' or 'in the garden', it is not possible to do a more detailed task breakdown.

For both male and female agricultural labourers, field work constituted the largest proportion of the tasks performed. Field tasks made up 90.72% of female agricultural work tasks and 59.23% of male agricultural work tasks. Herriard Park is the case study with the most comprehensive information on the gender division of labour on agricultural work that took place in the fields looking after the crops, and as such merits more detailed analysis. Herriard Park aligns with both Leyhill and Barrow Court in that they employed more female than male labourers in field work, and the explanation for this is likely the same: that male servants performed a lot of the agricultural work in the same way that female servants likely performed most of the domestic house and care work. Male servants were often employed as 'servants in husbandry' purposefully to perform regular labour on the farm and wider estate.¹¹⁹ To take one year as an example, in 1697 fourteen male servants were employed at Herriard Park compared to four female servants. Most of these men would have been working on the farm, performing the agricultural work which was coded male by the gender division of labour. When extra labour was needed, the casual workforce was employed, and these were more likely to be women. The individual field tasks have been separated into Table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5: The instances of labour in the Field Tasks sector at Herriard Park, divided by task and sex

¹¹⁹ Although women could also be employed as servants in husbandry. Ann Kussmul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.15.

Field Tasks	No. & % of female instances of labour	No. & % of male instances of labour
Haying	1989.0 (43.39%)	579.25 (16.13%)
Weeding	1578.5 (34.44%)	86.5 (2.41%)
Hopping	444.5 (9.7%)	292.5 (8.14%)
Raking	224.0 (4.89%)	90.5 (2.52%)
Leasing (gleaning) wheat	142.0 (3.1%)	-
Harvesting	59.0 (1.29%)	380.75 (10.6%)
Picking stones	42.0 (0.92%)	30.0 (0.84%)
Setting, cutting and picking beans	39.0 (0.85%)	3.0 (0.08%)
Hacking and turning peas and vetches	31.0 (0.68%)	45.0 (1.25%)
Reaping	21.0 (0.46%)	105.0 (2.92%)
Mowing	7.5 (0.16%)	308.5 (8.59%)
Spreading dung and mud	3.0 (0.07%)	48.0 (1.34%)
Grubbing	2.0 (0.04%)	54.0 (1.50%)
Digging	1.0 (0.02%)	359.0 (10%)
Other	-	1209.5 (33.68%)
Total	4583.5	3591.5

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

As Table 2.5 shows, women working in the fields at Herriard Park were engaged mostly in haying and weeding, occupations which made up over three quarters of female labour instances in field work (3567.5 out of 4583.5). Haying was a seasonal activity which necessitated the hiring of as much additional labour as possible, and many women would have welcomed this casual labour to contribute to the family budget. Weeding was a task associated with and mainly performed by women over all three estates, as can be seen in the chapter on wages. Ivy Pinchbeck asserted that weeding did not become a significantly female activity until the late eighteenth century.¹²⁰ However, this statement is clearly refuted not only by this thesis but also by data from the 'Women's work' project and other studies on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹²¹ Hopping, 'leasing' (gleaning) wheat, raking crops and harvesting made up a further 869.5 of female labour instances in field work. Hopping referred to the gathering of hops which would be used to make beer.¹²² Harvesting and hopping again were seasonal. Unpaid gleaning was a traditional prerogative for women and a valuable part of the 'economy of makeshifts' performed by labouring families and especially

¹²⁰ Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, p.61.

¹²¹ Jane Whittle, 'Women's work in early modern agriculture: evidence from court records', unpublished paper given at the British Agricultural History Society Conference, 27 March 2018, p.7. Cited with permission of the author.

¹²² 'hopping' in Oxford English Dictionary online database at <https://oed.com/view/Entry/88410?rskey=8DOVUe&result=4&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed online, 03/07/19].

women and children.¹²³ However, these women were being paid to glean by their employer and receiving monetary wages to do so, rather than keeping the remnants of grain for their own family's consumption. The gleaning of wheat was a cleaning operation and benefitted farmers, hence why the unpaid gleaning of wheat was tolerated more than the unpaid gleaning of barley and beans, which could be used to feed livestock.¹²⁴ It is unclear why the Jervoise family paid women to glean, unless they were concerned that unpaid gleaners would be tempted to rob the stock. This was why farmers usually opposed unpaid gleaning until the stock was clear; perhaps at Herriard Park they did not want to wait until after harvest for the fields to be cleaned. They may have believed or calculated that the profit in keeping the gleanings outweighed the cost of wages, as they could amount to several bushels of wheat. In any case, the strong association of women with gleaning is likely why it is the only field task performed solely by women. The remaining 146.5 female labour instances in field work involved the setting, cutting and picking of beans, digging, grubbing, the hacking and turning of peas and vetches, picking stones, spreading dung, reaping and mowing. Again, Pinchbeck believed that picking stones and setting crops were only performed by women in the late eighteenth century, but evidence from this thesis and the 'Women's work' project, amongst others, shows differently.¹²⁵

It can be seen in Table 2.5 that there was some overlap of male and female tasks in the field. There were also instances of men haying, weeding, hopping, harvesting, raking, reaping, mowing, spreading dung, picking stones and setting and cutting crops, as well as women. However, haying and weeding, two occupations which made up 77.93% of female labour instances in field work, only made up 18.54% of male labour instances in field work. Whilst haying made up 43.39% of female instances in field work, it only made up 16.13% of male instances in field work. Weeding made up 34.44% of female instances of field work but only 2.41% of male instances of field work. Therefore, whilst there was a slight overlap of men and women performing the same tasks, the tasks most performed by women were largely dominated by them. This suggests a permeable but present gender division of labour in haying and weeding at

¹²³ Humphries, 'Enclosures, Common Rights, and Women', pp.34-5.

¹²⁴ Humphries, 'Enclosures, Common Rights, and Women', p.34.

¹²⁵ Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, p.60; Whittle, 'Women's work in early modern agriculture', p.7.

Herriard Park. The same seems to have been the case for digging, mowing and harvesting, tasks which were largely the preserve of men. Digging made up only 0.02% of female labour instances in the field, with one payment to Goody Wool for digging in 1693.¹²⁶ This was compared to 10% of male labour instances in the field and the physical strength needed for digging may have been a factor here.

Harvesting consisted of 1.29% of female labour instances in the field compared to 10.6% of male instances. This low number of women involved in harvesting is surprising, as this was the season where the most amount of labour was needed and therefore women were more likely to be hired. However, the majority of payments in this category were extremely unspecific as to the actual nature of the tasks, with the records just stating 'in harvest' or 'harvest work'. Women may have been hired to perform specific tasks within the harvest that were then recorded more descriptively, whilst male labour in the harvest may have been more varied, hence the vaguer terminology.

Mowing was an activity which made up 8.59% of male labour instances in the field and only 0.16% of female instances. The larger proportion of men mowing is in line with the research of Michael Roberts, who found that mowing was historically the domain of men by this period due to the usage of the scythe, which required strength. The association of male strength and mowing with the scythe was strong in the seventeenth century and contemporary preacher Richard Baxter commented that mowing 'constantly pulls forth a whole man's strength.'¹²⁷ This association was so strong that the presence of any women mowing at all is surprising. In the 'Women's work' project, Whittle and Hailwood found no evidence of women mowing.¹²⁸ At Herriard Park, Goody Dyer mowed for six days in 1688 and Goody Bellamore for 1.5 days in 1697.¹²⁹ The task descriptions were 'mowing' and 'at mow' so there cannot be any confusion over what work was actually done. Both women were paid a daily wage of 6d compared to the daily wage of 12d commonly paid to male workers, which may have been a reflection on their real or perceived strength and productivity. Raking and reaping were also harvest related tasks. For these tasks, there was a minimal difference in the proportion of male and female labour, with both tasks making up less than five

¹²⁶ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/2.

¹²⁷ Roberts, 'Sickles and Scythes', p.9.

¹²⁸ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.15.

¹²⁹ HALS, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5.

percent of the workload of either sex. More men than women worked reaping (2.92% of male labour instances to 0.46% of female labour instances) and more women than men worked raking (4.89% of female instances to 2.52% of male instances), but there is not enough difference to heavily imply a gender division of labour in either raking or reaping.

Some field tasks attracted roughly the same proportion of male and female labour, such as hopping which made up 9.7% of female labour instances and 8.14% of male labour instances. This may have been because the gathering of hops was time-sensitive, and it was a task which required no upper body strength and could therefore be performed by both men and women. Other tasks such as picking stones from the meadows, setting, cutting and picking beans, grubbing, hacking and turning peas and vetches and spreading dung and mud made up less than two percent of the labour instances of either sex. These tasks, whilst repetitive and tiresome, were not ones which required great physical strength, which perhaps explains why a roughly equal amount of men and women were hired to perform them at Herriard Park and there did not seem to be a strict gender division of labour in these tasks.

As can be seen in Table 2.5 above, 33.68% of male field labour categorised as 'other' involved tasks that were not performed by any women at all. These tasks included spreading chalk on the meadows, filling in holes with stones, ground pinning, working and pitching around the ricks, making and maintaining ponds, binding wheat and other crops, cutting and making grass, ditching, sowing and planting crops, ploughing, drawing straw, cleaning barns and 'burnbaking', which was a regional term for burning off the rough turf of the fields in order to improve their yield and fertility.¹³⁰ The fact that these tasks were exclusively performed by male workers signifies a rigid gender division of labour in these areas.

A close analysis of field work at Herriard Park, which has been made possible by the detailed record keeping of the accountants, shows that some tasks were subject to a strict gender division of labour. For example, leasing or gleaning wheat was exclusively performed by women whilst many tasks including ploughing and land and barn maintenance were performed by male labourers only. Some tasks adhered to a gender division of labour in the main, but a division

¹³⁰ 'burn-beat, v.' in Oxford English Dictionary online database at <https://oed.com/view/Entry/25033?redirectedFrom=burn-beat#eid> [accessed online, 30/07/19].

that was flexible when the circumstances required, such as haying and weeding for which women were mainly hired, and digging, mowing and harvesting for which men were generally preferred. Other tasks, such as raking, picking stones from the meadows, setting, cutting and picking beans, hacking and turning peas and vetches, reaping, spreading dung and mud and grubbing, were not subject to a gender division of labour and were performed in roughly equal measure by both genders. This shows that, at Herriard Park at least, both male and female labourers were firmly present in agriculture and in the fields, although a gender division of labour was often visible with varying degrees of rigidity at an individual task level.

2.5 The Gender Division of Labour at Leyhill

At Leyhill, the large number of unspecified instances of labour makes a gender division of labour difficult to construct. A typical entry in the Leyhill accounts reads 'Susan Weeks 5 days 0 0 10', which means that Susan Weeks was paid 10d for five days' worth of unspecified labour, and this was recorded as five instances of unspecified labour.¹³¹ In total, when the labour of both men and women are taken into account, 20362.75 out of the 22187.5 instances of labour recorded at Leyhill (a colossal 91.78%) were unspecified. This amounted to 93.13% of male instances and 82.39% of female instances. Therefore, whilst Leyhill has served as a valuable case study for the gender pay gap and for the demographic make-up of the workforce on a gentry estate, its contribution to an analysis of the gender division of labour is limited to the results from a mere 8.22% of the day and task instances recorded. However, this percentage amounts to 1824.75 instances of labour, a sum which is slightly larger than the total number of instances of labour collected from the smallest case-study of Barrow Court, making an analysis still worthwhile. Table 2.6 below shows the instances of labour at Leyhill broken down by task category and sex.

Table 2.6: The instances of labour at Leyhill, divided by task category and sex

¹³¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3.

Task Category	No. & % of female instances of labour	No. & % of male instances of labour
Agriculture and Land	382.5 (13.62%)	413.0 (2.1%)
Care work	11.0 (0.39%)	9.0 (0.05%)
Commerce	4.0 (0.14%)	3.0 (0.02%)
Crafts and Construction	45.0 (1.61%)	498.75 (2.57%)
Food Processing	5.0 (0.21%)	62.0 (0.34%)
Housework	20.0 (0.71%)	2.0 (0.01%)
Managerial	3.0 (0.11%)	1.0 (0.01%)
Mining and Quarrying	-	2.0 (0.01%)
Legal and Administrative	-	20.0 (0.1%)
Transport	21.0 (0.75%)	281.5 (1.45%)
Other	2.0 (0.07%)	39.0 (0.2%)
Unspecified	2308.5 (82.39%)	18054.25 (93.13%)
Total	2802.0	19,385.5

Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

Due to the large amount of unspecified labour, the majority of these categories record only small amounts of labour, and most have less than one percent of the total instances of labour for each sex. However, it can be clearly seen that some categories of task were not performed by certain genders, signifying a strict gender division of labour. There are no examples at Leyhill of women being involved in mining and quarrying tasks or in legal and administrative tasks. Both categories also had very few men participating in them – with 0.01% of the male instances involving mining and quarrying, and 0.1% being classed as legal and administrative. These twenty male instances in the legal and administrative category consisted of two payments for rent collecting, six for collecting tithes, one for surveying, seven for legal tasks such as drawing up leases and jointures, one for sending a letter and two for dealing with accounts: all performed by men exclusively. Drawing up legal documents required a formal education denied to women during the seventeenth century. The arithmetic and writing skills needed to survey, keep accounts and collect rents may not have been taught to all labouring women, but nor would all labouring men have these skills, and women were often expected to be able to keep track of their own domestic accounts. Nonetheless, no women were recorded as performing these tasks at Leyhill, which implies a gendered division of labour among the daily workforce at least (senior female servants may well have had account keeping duties). However, whilst 0.11% of the female tasks were classed as managerial, just 0.01% of male tasks were. This amounted to three payments to women for paying other workers: Elizabeth Hart gave money to ‘a maid that came and went away again’, Joyce Bennett gave Thomas Hart ‘money to go to Wells’ and Sarah was paid for ‘taking

money to children in Exeter.¹³² There was only one payment made to a man for a managerial task at Leyhill: Emanuel (probably Emanuel Trehane, a household servant), was paid 6d for 'paying servants legacies' in April 1682.¹³³ This 0.1% difference in the proportion of male and female tasks involving managerial tasks is extremely minimal. However, overseers and bailiffs (job titles more likely to be held by men) would regularly administer payments to workers on behalf of their employers in the course of their normal duties, which may explain why there is only one example of men engaging in managerial practices in the Leyhill account books.

Care work was another category which made up an extremely small proportion of both male and female labour. It consisted of less than one percent of both male and female work tasks, specifically 0.39% of female instances and 0.05% of male instances. This amounted to seven payments to women for medical care and four for education. Three of these were payments to an unnamed midwife.¹³⁴ Midwifery as an occupation was almost exclusively female in this period, before the advent of male midwives who, by the end of the eighteenth century, were seen as a status symbol for the gentry.¹³⁵ A further three payments were for nursing, two to an unnamed nurse and one to Nurse Styling, although no further details were given.¹³⁶ The last payment for medical care was to Martha Squire, a household servant, who had evidently performed a task outside her normal duties by 'dressing Mark's head'.¹³⁷ Four payments were for educational provision, all within a single year. Widow Bayly was paid 16d for 'schooling of Harrant's boy' in March 1658 and two shillings for 'three children's schooling for one month' in May 1659.¹³⁸ In July 1659, a month later, an unnamed woman was paid 28d for 'three poor children's schooling', possibly Widow Bayly again.¹³⁹ Jarman's wife was also paid for schooling that year, this time 8d in November 1659, but it is unclear who her pupils were.¹⁴⁰

¹³² SHC, DD/WO/52/4, DD/WO/52/3/9, DD/WO/52/3/13.

¹³³ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18.

¹³⁴ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/5, DD/WO/52/3/9.

¹³⁵ Helen King, 'Midwifery, 1700 – 1800: The Man-Midwife as a Competitor' in *Nursing and Midwifery in Britain since 1700* ed. by Anne Borsay and Billie Hunter (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 107 – 127.

¹³⁶ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/6.

¹³⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18.

¹³⁸ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/7.

¹³⁹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/7.

¹⁴⁰ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/7.

There are nine payments to men at Leyhill for care work and four of them were to men with the title of Doctor for medical care. Doctor Browne was paid 120d for attending Betty Bampffield, a household servant, in June 1645 and his man was also paid a shilling at the same time, whilst Doctor Marwood and Doctor Losse were paid for giving advice and Doctor Bond for 'attending my father in his sickness.'¹⁴¹ Mr Marwood, who was also paid for giving advice, was likely the same person as Doctor Marwood. Mr Lowdam was paid £3 for 'curing Mark Ford'.¹⁴² Mr Austin was paid £1 for a 'quarter's schooling for Sir John' in May 1683.¹⁴³ Therefore, whilst both men and women were involved in both the medical and educational aspects of care work, the degree and professionalization of this work varied between the genders. In terms of education, widows and wives were paid to teach local and poor children, whilst it was a man, Mr Austin, who was paid to teach the young master. Medical occupations were also delineated along gender lines, with male doctors and female nurses; Mr Lowdam was paid for 'curing Mark Ford' whilst Martha Squire assisted by 'dressing Mark's head.' Therefore, whilst almost the same proportion of male and female tasks involved care work, and both genders were engaged in medical care and education, there was a clear gender division of labour when the prestige and professionalization of the tasks were taken into account. This aligns with the evidence from Herriard Park.

Alongside care work, other categories that made up less than one percent of instances of labour for both genders were commerce, food processing and housework. In total, tasks related to commerce made up 0.14% of female instances of labour and 0.02% of male instances of labour. All four female instances of labour in the category of commerce involved a household servant, Martha Flee, being paid to go to market (at Honiton or to an unspecified market), a payment made in addition to her normal wages.¹⁴⁴ The 0.02% of male instances of labour included Ned Browne for buying thread at Broadhembury (the neighbouring parish to Payhembury) and William Venn for buying heifers.¹⁴⁵ All these instances involve both genders being involved with buying and selling

¹⁴¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3-5, DD/WO/52/3/9.

¹⁴² SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18.

¹⁴³ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18.

¹⁴⁴ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/9-10.

¹⁴⁵ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/8-9.

supplies for the household and estate outside of the parish and likely without supervision. A gender division of labour is not evident from the limited evidence.

Food processing as a category comprised 0.21% of female instances of labour and 0.34% of male instances of labour. Both Christopher Flee's wife and Martha Squire were paid for making barley malt, whilst Ann Marker was paid 14d for roasting a pig.¹⁴⁶ Joan Saunders was paid for working in the dairy and Martha Squire was paid 6d for distilling wine.¹⁴⁷ Here, the disparity between the genders in terms of total instances of labour becomes apparent, as 0.23% of female labour was only five instances of labour, whilst 0.35% of male labour was sixty-two instances. Forty-five of these involved the butchery of animals and here one worker predominated: Richard Gover. However, Christopher White was paid twice for making cider and Henry Palmer the cook for 'dressing a dinner when Sir P Prideaux was here'.¹⁴⁸ There was also twelve days' worth of threshing by men. Here there seems to be evidence of a slight division of labour: dairying was strongly associated with women in the seventeenth century hence the payment to Joan Saunders, whilst no women were paid for threshing on the Leyhill estate and men dominated the butchering of animals. However, both men and women were involved in alcohol production, and there was a named male cook in employment, so it seems as if the gender division of labour could be flexible upon occasion.

Housework also engaged less than one percent of both male and female labourers, with 0.71% of female instances of labour and 0.01% of male instances of labour contributing to this category. This extremely low number of labourers being involved in housework is common to all three case studies and can be explained by the fact that such tasks in the main would be undertaken by household servants. The only two male tasks which involved housework were 'scouring the bed' and 'washing five coverlets', a task which was undertaken by 'old Tucker' who may have been employed to do stereotypically female work because his age limited his ability to perform stereotypically male farm tasks.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ SHC, DD/WO/53/3/3, DD/WO/52/3/10, DD/WO/52/3/18.

¹⁴⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/5, DD/WO/52/3/18.

¹⁴⁸ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3, DD/WO/52/3/7.

¹⁴⁹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18. There is also the possibility that old Tucker was female. However, when it came to assigning gender to workers, a rule was made that any worker without a title, first-name or other gender identifier (e.g. pronouns) was categorised as male. This was likely to have been true in the majority of cases, but it does mean that a few possible female workers may have been misidentified.

All of the female labour categorised as housework also involved washing (meaning laundering), of unspecified garments and of Mrs Prat's curtains specifically. Due to the scarcity of payments, Susan Weeks and Agnes Saunders, alongside the male workers, were likely hired to perform household washing on occasions when the servants were overworked or unable to do it themselves. Amongst the labouring population at least, there does not seem to be a gender division of labour when it came to housework at Leyhill as both genders were paid to help with the washing and laundry. However, the picture is likely to have been different if the household servants who performed the bulk of the housework were taken into account.

The two categories of crafts and construction and transport both constituted less than 3% of the labour of both genders, but due to the large difference in the number of instances of labour collected for men and women, numerically there were a lot more male instances than female instances of labour. For example, the crafts and construction category made up 1.61% of female labour and 2.57% of male labour; but in numerical terms there were only 45 instances of female labour to 498.75 instances of male labour. The majority of female tasks in the crafts and construction category involved textiles with 28 instances of spinning, one of knitting, three of dyeing cloth, four of making clothes and one of weaving. Weaving was typically a male activity in this period; they wove cloth with the yarn that women prepared.¹⁵⁰ In this instance, it was Susan Weeks who was paid to weave in December 1650.¹⁵¹ The remaining eight tasks involved repairing household items such as candlesticks, spoons, sieves and locks, mending a bridle and one instance of shoeing a mare. This was the only example of a woman engaged in smithing, to 'Bess' who was paid 8d in November 1656.¹⁵² The single occasions of women engaged in the traditional male tasks of weaving and smithing (the only occasions in this thesis) may be the exception that proves the rule; in other words, they were employed to do so because no men could be found. It does show, however, that some women did have the knowledge and capability to perform these traditionally male tasks. In contrast, only 39 out 498.75

¹⁵⁰ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.16.

¹⁵¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/4.

¹⁵² SHC, DD/WO/52/3/5.

instances of male labour involved textiles (eleven weaving, two dyeing cloth and the rest making clothes and hosiery).

The majority of the remainder of male work in the crafts and construction category involved tasks that required a formal trade apprenticeship or that necessitated heavy physical labour. Ninety-eight instances involved carpentry, 67.5 involved masonry, 59.25 involved cooperage, fifty-two involved thatching and forty-two involved smithing. Other crafts performed by men on a lesser scale were bookbinding, chandlery (candle making), clock making and repair, portraiture, glazing windows, locksmithing, plumbing, shoemaking and making wheels, alongside the making and repairing of household and farm items and building maintenance work such as tiling, painting and plastering. Therefore, although there was less than one percent difference between the proportion of male and female tasks involved in crafts and construction, a gender division of labour becomes clear once the exact nature of the tasks is examined. Skilled trades such as carpentry and cooperage required training as an apprentice, an avenue that was mostly closed to women, whilst at Leyhill women seemed to be excluded from the heavy labour of building work.

A similar situation occurs in the transport category, which constituted 0.75% (or twenty-one instances) of female labour and 1.45% (281.5 instances) of male labour. Eleven out of the twenty-one female instances involved going to places such as Alston, Exeter, Honiton, Ottery and Nettlecombe on unspecified errands. Nettlecombe was the Somerset home of the Trevelyan family, into which the Willoughby heiress had married. Betty Fulford, the worker paid to go there, was also on the list of household servants and it is likely the payment was for expenses for the journey as she travelled there whilst attending members of the family. Honiton and Ottery were roughly five or six miles from Payhembury, whilst Exeter was approximately fourteen miles away and Alston seventeen miles. Whilst none of these locations were in the immediate vicinity of Payhembury, they were in the locality and, as is explained in the chapter on work and the life-cycle, several of the servants and labourers at Leyhill migrated from these parishes to work for the Willoughby family. A further three payments specified both the location and the errand: Little John's sister brought a barrel from Exeter in March 1651, John Harding's wife brought a sturgeon 'and other things' from Exeter in April 1683 and John Bishop's wife brought a little box of fringe from London in the

same month.¹⁵³ London, of course, is the odd location out here as being not only the capital city but also roughly 159 miles from Payhembury. However, there was much traffic of people, goods and messages between Payhembury and London, as John Willoughby was well connected and had contacts in London including John Turbevill, his son-in-law. There are examples of female servants making this journey and the story of Ann Ralph, who worked for both John Willoughby in Payhembury and John Turbevill in London, is explored in the later chapter on women's work and the life-cycle. It was not unusual for ordinary labouring people to have contact with the capital, as between an eighth and a sixth of those surviving to adulthood in this period lived in London at some point in their lives; late seventeenth-century London needed 8000 migrants annually to sustain its rate of growth.¹⁵⁴ The transport category also included women fetching items such as a cap, a lamb, some wild fowl, a quart of cream and an earthen pot home to Leyhill from unspecified locations. These items carried and fetched by women were in the main small and singular and could often have been plausibly carried by the women themselves.

When looking at the male transport tasks, the picture is rather different. Whilst smaller items such as letters, books and honey were carried by men, the majority of the items fetched and brought to Leyhill by male workers were heavier and larger in quantity. Examples include livestock such as sheep and cattle, building materials such as stone, bricks and wood, and agricultural materials such as dung, hay and straw, alongside other bulky items such as bottles of alcohol and oil, furniture and barrels of tar. Therefore, there emerges a clear gender division of labour in the types of goods transported, with men being preferred to women for the carriage of heavy and multiple items. Men also escorted persons who were deemed to need extra supervision or protection, such as maids between different households, and the young master between Leyhill and school; no woman was paid to escort another person. Men travelled to and from a variety of different locations: local towns and villages such as Exeter, Honiton and Topsham, in addition to other counties such as Cornwall, Somerset and Dorset, and further afield to London. Although men are recorded as having travelled to a larger

¹⁵³ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/4, DD/WO/52/3/18.

¹⁵⁴ Jeremy Boulton, 'London 1540 – 1700' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume II, 1540 – 1840* ed. by Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.316-17; E. A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650 – 1750', *Past and Present*, 37 (1967), p.46

number of different places than women (with thirty locations compared to the six locations travelled to by women), this may just be a reflection of the larger number of male tasks recorded. In terms of distances, women were also paid to travel and run errands to nearby Devon towns and villages, across county borders to Somerset and also to London, which suggests that the hiring of workers to travel long distances was not dependent on their gender.

Agriculture and Land was the category which made up the highest percentage of specified female labour, involving 13.62% instances. It was also the second largest category for specified male labour after Crafts and Construction, involving 2.1% of male instances of labour. Therefore, this category has been further broken down into tasks, as shown in Table 2.7. This breakdown also facilitates comparison with the other estates.

Table 2.7: The instances of labour in the Agriculture and Land category at Leyhill, divided by task and sex

Task	No. & % of female instances of labour	No. & % of male instances of labour
Animal husbandry	3.0 (0.52%)	42.0 (9.51%)
Collecting fuel	-	23.0 (5.61%)
Field work	370.5 (97.12%)	216.0 (52.68%)
Gardening	9.0 (2.36%)	21.0 (5.12%)
Gathering food	-	-
Hedging	-	53.0 (12.93%)
Hunting and fishing	-	1.0 (0.24%)
Milking	-	-
Wood husbandry	-	57.0 (13.9%)
Total	382.5	413.0

Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

Most women working in agriculture at Leyhill were involved in field work, which constituted 97.12% of female agricultural instances of labour. Out of 370.5 instances of field work, 254.5 instances involved weeding. Leyhill had a large number of female weeders, in common with the other two case-studies of Herriard Park and Barrow Court, suggesting that the association of women with weeding was strong. Other field tasks performed by women at Leyhill were clotting (breaking up clods of earth), harvest work, griping (cutting trenches to aid drainage) and hopping and setting peas and beans.¹⁵⁵ Again, this list of tasks is familiar as women were also involved with most of these at Herriard Park. Field work made up 52.68% of male instances of labour in agriculture at Leyhill. This

¹⁵⁵ 'clot, v.' in Oxford English Dictionary online database at <https://oed.com/view/Entry/34645?rskey=f3LHwl&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed online, 03/07/19].

smaller proportion of male instances compared to female instances in field work is again reminiscent of Herriard Park and perhaps also because much of this work was being done by male servants. Field work tasks performed by both men and women at Leyhill were weeding, clotting, hopping and harvest work. However, most field work tasks were exclusively performed by members of a specific sex. For example, no men were employed in griping or setting crops and no women were employed in sowing, raking, ditching, ploughing, dyking, hay making, mowing or reaping. This shows a general gender division of labour in field work and especially in certain tasks.

In the agricultural category overall, both genders were involved in gardening, which consisted of 2.36% of female agricultural labour instances and 5.12% of male agricultural labour instances. This sector involved more men, but a more specific breakdown of tasks cannot be ascertained due to the generic nature of such labour being recorded as simply 'gardening' or 'in the garden', as at Herriard Park. Animal husbandry employed both genders but a larger number of men than women. Only 0.52% of female labour involved animal husbandry (one instance of 'curing a cow' and one instance of 'clatting', or removing the dirty wool from a sheep in preparation for shearing).¹⁵⁶ This is compared to 9.51% of male labour, which mainly involved sheep shearing and drenching (the forcible administration of medicine), and the bleeding or curing of cattle, although there were also instances of clatting, the same as for women.¹⁵⁷ Within the category of animal husbandry, there were four instances of animal castration. Three of these were for William Saunders for 'cutting lambs', but one was to a woman, Ann Ballerman, for 'cutting a bull'.¹⁵⁸ Ann Ballerman was also a household servant at this time. She was paid extra to castrate the bull, perhaps because she had experience or because no man could be found, or both. No women were paid to gather fuel, for hedging, for hunting and fishing or for wood husbandry, all tasks which were performed by men only. This complete exclusion of women shows a clear and rigid gender division in these areas on the Leyhill estate, at least in those cases where the tasks were recorded and specified. Therefore, whilst both men and

¹⁵⁶ 'clat, v.2' in Oxford English Dictionary online database at <https://oed.com/view/Entry/33916?rskey=WTaUKy&result=4#eid> [accessed online, 03/07/19].

¹⁵⁷ 'drench, v.' in Oxford English Dictionary online database at <https://oed.com/view/Entry/57658?rskey=SUH018&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed online, 03/07/19].

¹⁵⁸ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/5, DD/WO/52/3/12.

women worked in agriculture and in the fields, and there was a degree of overlap of the tasks which they performed, certain tasks were subject to a strict gender division of labour.

2.6 The Gender Division of Labour at Barrow Court

Barrow Court is the smallest case study, with only 1106 instances of labour, 344 female and 762 male, as the surviving account books only cover three years. Overall, 75.86% of the instances were unspecified, amounting to 54.7% of female labour instances and 85.4% of male labour instances. This leaves only a quarter of the work performed open to an analysis of the gender division of labour. Whilst this proportion is much less than the nine tenths of the Herriard Park work tasks detailed enough to allow analysis, it is still a larger fraction than the one tenth of specified work tasks at Leyhill. Therefore, whilst it is impossible to undertake a complete analysis of the gender division of labour at Barrow Court as there is such a high proportion of unspecified tasks, an exploration into the remainder of specified labour is possible and worthwhile. The breakdown of tasks performed at Barrow Court, separated by category and gender, is shown in Table 2.8 below.

Table 2.8: The instances of labour at Barrow Court, divided by task category and gender

Task Category	No. & % of female instances of labour	No. & % of male instances of labour
Agriculture and Land	100.0 (29.07%)	31.0 (4.1%)
Care work	-	-
Commerce	-	-
Crafts and Construction	8.0 (2.33%)	37.0 (4.9%)
Food Processing	2.5 (0.73%)	-
Housework	41.0 (11.92%)	-
Managerial	1.0 (0.3%)	5.0 (0.7%)
Mining and Quarrying	-	-
Legal and Administrative	-	-
Transport	-	33.5 (4.4%)
Other	3.0 (0.9%)	5.0 (0.7%)
Unspecified	188.5 (54.8%)	650.5 (85.4%)
Total	344.0	762.0

Sources: DD/GB/113 (SHC)

At Barrow Court, neither gender was paid for tasks in the care work, commerce, mining and quarrying, or legal and administrative categories. The lack of mining and quarrying tasks can be explained by the absence of such industries in the local economy. The Gore estate had to import lime from elsewhere, as can be shown from the payment of a shilling to Simon Smith for 'going to Compton for

lime' in November 1666.¹⁵⁹ The lack of payments for care work is surprising at first glance, as it can be surmised from the baptismal records in the parish register that the Gore family included one young infant in 1666: William, the eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas and Lady Philippa, who had been baptised on 31 January 1665. William's wet-nurse was Simon Smith's wife, but she was recorded in the accounts as a household servant and paid 960d for half a year's work on 11 August 1666.¹⁶⁰ More information on wet-nursing and Simon Smith's wife can be found in the chapter of women's work and the life-cycle. Thus, it seems that at Barrow Court servants and family members cared for the children, and care work was not contracted out to day or task workers. The absence of any payments for medical care in the accounts could be because there was either no severe illness in the years 1666 and 1686-8, or the Gore family recorded such payments separately with individual bills and receipts rather than itemising them in the accounts. This second explanation could also be a reason as to why there were no payments for commerce or legal and administrative tasks in the household accounts, as they may have been recorded and processed separately. If this is the case, then it is an example of the idiosyncratic nature of account keeping, as these types of tasks were often recorded in the Leyhill and Herriard Park account books.

A gender division of labour can be inferred from the fact that three task categories were exclusively performed by one gender. No men were paid for tasks in the food processing or housework categories. This could suggest a strong gender division of labour with no men being involved in the stereotypically feminine sector of housework and preparing meals. This is in contrast to Herriard Park, where there was a large proportion of men in the food processing category performing threshing and butchering. In contrast, 11.92% of female tasks involved housework, which was the second largest category after agriculture when unspecified labour is removed from consideration. All the housework was laundry; more specifically, thirty-nine days' worth by both Goody Court and Goody Hilbert in the years 1686 and 1687 and two payments to Goody Court for washing in 1666.¹⁶¹ At both Leyhill and Herriard Park, this essential task is almost invisible in the accounts, the most likely explanation being that it was performed mostly by

¹⁵⁹ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹⁶⁰ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹⁶¹ SHC, DD/GB/113.

the female household servants. At Barrow Court, it seemed to be a regular occurrence that female labourers would be hired to help with the laundering, although whether it was as additional help for the female household servants or whether they worked independently is unclear. Laundry was a task traditionally associated with women, and that was performed exclusively by women workers down the centuries, so a gender division of labour here is unsurprising.¹⁶²

However, less than one percent (0.73%) of female tasks involved food processing, which does not equate to a large difference between the genders. This proportion amounted to a mere 2.5 days' worth of brewing by Goody Hilbert in 1687.¹⁶³ This is likely to be another case, along with care work, where most of the tasks in these categories of housework and food processing were being performed by household servants. Similarly, no woman was paid for a task involving transport, compared to 4.4% of male tasks falling into this category. Twenty-six men were paid by the task in the transport category. Seven of these involved the carriage of goods, such as hauling wood and stone, 'carrying back my brother William Gore's mare from Oxford' and 'bringing up four sheep'.¹⁶⁴ Nineteen of these tasks consisted of men being paid to go on journeys and conduct errands outside of the parish of Barrow Gurney, mostly to Bristol. In addition, men were paid for 7.5 days that were categorised as travelling, including 60d to John Stevens for five days travelling to the Bath Assizes.¹⁶⁵ This suggests that there was a rigid gender division of labour regarding transport on the Barrow Court estate, with men being preferred to undertake travel outside the parish boundaries on potentially sensitive matters. Men were also seen to have the strength necessary to be employed on carriage and haulage tasks. This is particularly likely as no female daily labourer was employed in this category, and female household servants were highly unlikely to have performed such tasks which took them away from the household and its immediate environs for days at a time. Therefore, the task categories of housework, food processing and transport appear to have been subject to a strict gender division of labour at Barrow Court.

¹⁶² Although 'old Tucker' was employed to wash coverlets at Leyhill. Either he was the exception who proved the rule or, as discussed in fn. 172, 'old Tucker' was actually female. Aritha van Herk, 'Invisibled Laundry', *Signs*, 27.3 (2002), 894.

¹⁶³ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹⁶⁴ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹⁶⁵ SHC, DD/GB/113.

A minimal proportion of the labour of either gender was involved in the category of crafts and construction. Out of the forty-five instances of labour making up that category, eight were performed by women and thirty-seven by men. This constituted 2.33% of female instances and 4.9% of male instances. All the female tasks in crafts and construction were textile based. Half of the female tasks in this category involved spinning, whilst Goody Court was paid a shilling for making two shirts, and Kate Morgan was paid twice for stocking hose (knitting?) and Mrs Briggs once for darning stockings.¹⁶⁶ In contrast, all the male tasks in the crafts and construction category involved either carpentry, smithing, window glazing or building. Therefore, although on the surface crafts and construction made up a similarly small amount (less than five percent) of the total instances of labour for both men and women, the tasks performed within these categories were clearly segregated along gender lines, as seen in the other households. Women engaged in textile-based crafts and men worked in construction and trade-based crafts. Carpentry, smithing and glazing were all trades which required formal training and apprenticeship which was difficult for women to access, which explains this gender division of labour.

Less than one percent of the instances of labour performed by both genders were managerial, with the precise amount being 0.3% (or one instance) of female labour and 0.7% (or five instances) of male labour. The one example of a woman performing a managerial role was Goody Stephens, who paid Dick Stephens on 27 April 1687 for his journeying to Bristol to fetch two horses.¹⁶⁷ The five instances of male managerial labour all involved one man, Thomas Turner, who was employed to collect tithes.¹⁶⁸ These are both examples of men and women being paid to handle the transfer of money, either its collection or its distribution, between their employer and a third party and therefore there is not an immediate gender division of labour apparent in managerial tasks at Barrow Court. However, presumably Goody Stephens was handling money informally on behalf of her family, whilst Thomas Turner was operating on a more formal basis and within a wider financial community. Unfortunately, this extremely small number of recorded cases makes it difficult to speculate further on the exact nature and existence of a gender division of labour, and the picture may alter if household

¹⁶⁶ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹⁶⁷ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹⁶⁸ SHC, DD/GB/113.

servants were considered, or if we had account books surviving from a broader period.

As with the other case studies, tasks in the agricultural and land category comprised the largest proportion of specified female labour at Barrow Court, making up 29.07% of female instances with one hundred instances of labour. In contrast, and in line with the other case studies, tasks in this category only made up 4.1% of male labour, or thirty-one instances. Again, this may seem as if women were performing more agricultural labour than men but as described above it is likely that male servants would also be undertaking a lot of the work in agriculture and this is an explanation for fewer male labourers being hired in this category.

Table 2.9: The instances of labour in the Agriculture and Land category at Barrow Court, divided by task and gender

Agricultural Tasks	No. & % of female instances of labour	No. & % of male instances of labour
Animal husbandry	1.0 (1%)	3.0 (9.68%)
Collecting fuel	-	-
Field work	96.0 (96%)	22.0 (70.99%)
Gardening	-	-
Gathering food	-	-
Hedging	-	1.0 (3.23%)
Hunting and fishing	-	-
Milking	3.0 (3%)	-
Wood husbandry	-	5.0 (16.13%)
Total	100.0	31.0

Sources: DD/GB/113 (SHC)

As can be seen in Table 2.9 above, within the agricultural sector at Barrow Court both genders were mainly engaged in field work, with 96% of female instances in agriculture being in field work, and 70.99% of male instances. However, a breakdown of tasks shows that within field work, there was a gender segregation of labour. For women, these ninety-six instances all involved weeding. This is similar to the situation at Herriard Park and Leyhill, as a large proportion of women were also involved in weeding at these estates. In contrast, only one instance of male labour involved weeding, with men also being paid to plough, dig, cut turf, mow and make hay. The rest of agricultural tasks outside of field work are also clearly gender segregated. Whilst both genders were engaged in animal husbandry, the one female instance of this task was 'looking to the heifers', whilst the men were working with horses and bullocks. Only men worked in hedging and wood husbandry, and only women worked in milking. Therefore,

whilst on the surface both male and female labourers at Barrow Court spent a lot of their specified time working in agriculture, initially suggesting the lack of a gender division of labour, when the specific tasks performed by each gender were examined there was a rigid gender division of labour within agriculture on the estate. Ultimately, with such a large proportion of unspecified labour for both men and women, it is difficult to make a concrete analysis of the gender division of labour at Barrow Court.

2.7 The Gender Division of Labour across all three estates

Now that Herriard Park, Leyhill and Barrow Court have been studied individually, the gender division of labour is analysed across all three of the estates. In total, 42667.5 instances of labour have been collected from the three households in Devon, Somerset and Hampshire; when the figures are broken down by gender, they show 8731.5 female work instances and 33936 male work instances. Out of these instances of labour, 23014.75, or 53%, were unspecified, which amounted to 2722 (or 31.17%) of the female instances of labour and 20292.75 (or 59.8%) of the male instances of labour. That leaves almost half of the total work tasks for both genders and two-thirds of the total female work tasks specified and open to analysis.

Table 2.10: The instances of labour at the three estates of Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park, divided by task category and gender

Task Category	No. & % of female instances of labour	No. & % of male instances of labour
Agriculture and Land	5535.0 (63.38%)	6507.25 (19.17%)
Care work	95.0 (1.1%)	12.0 (0.04%)
Commerce	8.0 (0.09%)	12.0 (0.04%)
Crafts and Construction	65.0 (0.74%)	1254.25 (3.7%)
Food Processing	8.5 (0.11%)	4096.25 (12.08%)
Housework	95.0 (1.1%)	2.0 (0.01%)
Managerial	6.0 (0.07%)	5.0 (0.01%)
Mining and Quarrying	-	27.0 (0.08%)
Legal and Administrative	2.0 (0.02%)	48.5 (0.14%)
Transport	190.0 (2.18%)	1551.0 (4.57 %)
Other	5.0 (0.06%)	128.0 (0.38%)
Unspecified	2722.0 (31.17%)	20292.75 (59.8%)
Total	8731.5	33936.0

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

Table 2.10 clearly shows how much the account books were dominated by both unspecified labour and work in agriculture and land. Only 5.45% of female labour instances and 21.03% of male labour instances were outside these two categories. Five task categories were extremely small, with less than one percent

of the labour instances for either gender. A strict gender division of labour is evident in the mining and quarrying category, which employed no women at either of the three estates, and only made up 0.08% of male instances of labour. These insignificant proportions in mining and quarrying can be attributed to the local estate economies which did not boast these industries and therefore their labourers had very little involvement with them. The categories of commerce, managerial, legal and administrative, and other were all also extremely small. As has been explored above in the analysis of the individual estates, these minor proportions are likely due to recording practices (with legal and commercial activities being processed with separate bills and receipts) and the absorption of such work (for example, managerial labour) into other tasks. Housework and care work were also very small categories. Both made up 1.1% of female labour instances but less than 0.1% of male labour instances. This was because this work was largely the domain of the female household servants whose duties were not recorded in these account books. The differences in proportion between male and female labour instances in these categories are all extremely small, making it difficult to draw significant conclusions on the gender division of labour. Both the care work and housework categories have slightly higher levels of female labour, as may be expected from the prescriptions of contemporary advice literature written by Gervase Markham, Thomas Tusser and Master Fitzherbert. Work in the commerce and legal and administrative categories had slightly higher levels of male labour. The latter especially adheres to expectations as legal and administrative tasks would often have required a higher level of education and professional legal training which was barred to women. Managerial tasks made up very slightly more female instances than male instances. Although again this may have been due to the fact that managerial labour was often absorbed into other work and hence was under recorded. It does however show that women performed managerial labour at a rate similar to, if not higher than men, and that having such responsibility was not seen as being inappropriate for women or as being beyond their capabilities.

The category of crafts and construction made up less than five percent of male and female labour instances across the three estates and made up a slightly higher proportion of male instances than female instances, suggesting a propensity for men to be hired in these tasks. The crafts and construction

category made up 0.74% of female labour instances and 3.7% of male labour instances. It has been shown in the discussions of the individual estates that men and women were often favoured for different tasks within this category. Women mostly worked in textiles, with 57 out of 65 instances classified as such. Forty of these instances involved spinning. In contrast, only 51 out of 1254.25 male instances in the crafts and construction category were in textiles, with none of them involving spinning. Rather, men were employed as tailors making clothes for the family and household servants, and in weaving. There were eleven male instances of weaving, compared to only one female instance, performed by Susan Weeks at Leyhill in December 1650.¹⁶⁹ This accords with a gender division of labour in textile production in which women prepared the wool by spinning, and men finished the cloth by weaving.¹⁷⁰ Instead, the bulk of male activity in crafts and construction across all three estates involved skilled trades and construction work. There were 703.5 instances of male labour involving a skilled trade other than textiles, the main ones being carpentry, thatching, cooperage and smithing. A further 427.5 instances were classed as building, construction and masonry work, whilst the remaining 72 instances involved the making and repairing of small household and estate items and tools. Therefore, whilst both men and women were employed in the crafts and construction sector in small proportions, the higher proportion of men involved suggested a preference for male workers and this was linked to the clear gender division of labour in this category. The majority of women were employed in the textiles sector, whilst the majority of men were employed in construction and trades. Women had far less opportunities for apprenticeship than men. Ilana Ben-Amos has shown that female apprentices were in the minority, with only 2.2% of apprentices in Bristol between the years 1600 and 1645 being female. A fifth of these female apprentices were parish or charity apprentices, bound over for the authorities to earn their own support. Female apprentices during this period were also wholly placed in the textile and service industries.¹⁷¹ Therefore, necessary and important jobs such as thatching, and cooperage had to be performed by men. The training and education processes in this sector (and in other sectors such as legal and administrative) which favoured men over women created and perpetuated a gender division of

¹⁶⁹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/4.

¹⁷⁰ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.16.

¹⁷¹ Ilana Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp.135-9.

labour that had its origins in patriarchal institutions and engrained societal norms concerning the appropriate roles for each gender. Whilst women could gain a foothold in more casual work, such as agricultural and field labour, and go some way towards challenging the prescriptive gendered work norms perpetuated by the contemporary advice literature, the training qualifications for formal, occupational work did not allow women to permeate the gender division of labour in these sectors.

Transport was another sector which made up only a small number of work instances for both men and women with a slightly higher proportion of men in the category. It made up 2.18% of female labour instances and 4.57% of male labour instances across all of the three estates. It has been shown in the analysis of the individual estates that, within this category, there was a gender division of labour. Whilst women carried, fetched and travelled just as men did, they operated on a smaller scale. There are examples of female workers being paid for bringing back items from London but, in the main, women tended to fetch and carry locally or, in the case of female workers from Leyhill travelling to Nettlecombe, within the familial sphere. Women also mostly carried single or small items and animals, which tended to be destined for domestic use within the household and kitchen. In contrast, men travelled more widely and were involved in the carriage of heavier goods such as stone, chalk and wood in larger quantities for commercial sale or for use in construction or agriculture. They were also employed as escorts for vulnerable travellers such as children and female servants and dispatched with haste and potentially at night to fetch doctors. Therefore, across the three estates as a whole, the perceived strength of men and their lack of vulnerability led to the perpetuation – permeable at times but ever present – of a gender division of labour within the transport sector.

Food processing shows a more significant gender division of labour, as it made up 12.08% of male instances of labour but only 0.11% of female instances of labour. This initially seems surprising, given the association of women with the preparing and cooking of food in the prescriptive literature. The majority of male instances in the food processing category (4018.25 out of 4080.25) involved threshing the harvested wheat to prepare it for milling. There were no women paid for threshing at either of the three estates, which shows a rigid gender division of labour in this regard. A further 62 male instances involved butchery.

Butchering was the visceral act of slaughtering livestock and making it fit for the kitchen; the size of animals such as bulls and heifers made it a very physical task. Butchering was also an apprenticed trade. However, although a strict gender division of labour in butchery was found in this thesis (with no women involved), this was not universal. Whittle and Hailwood found twenty examples of women involved in butchery in the court records of south-west England.¹⁷² This was mainly sheep and reflective of the high rate of court cases related to sheep stealing, as the thief would butcher and cook the sheep as soon as possible to prevent its concrete identification. These circumstances may explain the more flexible gender division of labour in butchery found by Whittle and Hailwood, as the gender of the butcher did not matter as much when the slaughter of the animal was a priority.

The largest specified task category was Agriculture and Land. This category had the largest number of female labour instances and also made up a higher proportion of female labour than male labour. There were 5535 instances (63.38%) of female labour in the agricultural category, compared to 6507.25 instances (19.17%) of male labour. It is further broken down by task for a more detailed analysis in Table 2.11 below.

Table 2.11: The instances of labour in the Agriculture and Land category at all three estates of Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park, divided by task and gender

Agricultural Tasks	No. & % of female instances of labour in agriculture	No. & % of male instances of labour in agriculture
Animal husbandry	1.0 (0.09%)	468.5 (7.16%)
Collecting fuel	4.0 (0.07%)	224.5 (3.45%)
Field work	5050.0 (91.25%)	3829.5 (58.88%)
Gardening	380.5 (6.88%)	588.75 (9.05%)
Gathering food	23.5 (0.42%)	-
Hedging	-	600.0 (9.22%)
Hunting and fishing	-	2.0 (0.03%)
Milking	70.0 (1.26%)	-
Wood husbandry	1.0 (0.02%)	794.0 (12.21%)
Total	5535.0	6507.25

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

A strict gender division of labour is immediately evident in four of the categories of agricultural tasks, as they were only performed by one gender. No women worked in hedging or hunting and fishing, and no men worked in milking or

¹⁷² Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', pp.12, 28.

gathering food in any of the three estates. Both wood husbandry and animal husbandry were performed by men more often than women, with animal husbandry making up 0.09% of female work instances compared to 7.16% of male instances, and wood husbandry making up 0.02% of female instances compared to 12.21% of male instances, suggesting a gender division of labour in these areas which was generally applied but which could vary according to circumstance. Gardening and collecting fuel were also two tasks that were performed by more men, although here the difference in proportion was not as large, with 0.07% of female instances involving collecting fuel compared to 3.45% of male instances, and 6.88% of female instances involving gardening compared to 9.05% of male instances.

Field work was the agricultural sector which employed the largest proportion of both men and women, making up 58.88% of male labour instances and an overwhelming 91.25% of female labour instances in agriculture. At the three estates of Herriard Park, Leyhill and Barrow Court, over half of all female labour instances (57.84%) were in field work alone, making it the largest employment sector for women. This is a reflection on the purpose of these three account books, rather than female labour as a whole; their aim is to record the paid work performed by the additional team of hired labourers on a rural estate. The general running of the household and the domestic labour it entailed was the domain of the household servants, whose payments were recorded but not their tasks. Occasionally, factors such as sickness, a surplus of work or other extraordinary circumstances necessitated the hiring of additional labourers to perform household tasks such as washing, but in the main labourers were hired to do outdoor estate work, hence the domination of agriculture in female labour instances. However, although the nature of the sources may distort the overall picture, it is valuable for revealing the number of women who were employed to work outdoors in the fields and farms on these three southwestern estates and reminding the historian of this, as opposed to the domestic precepts of the contemporary advice literature which has influenced modern assumptions of a woman's traditional place in the home. The further dominance of field tasks emphasises the part-time and casual nature of such work which was influenced by the seasonal and cyclical nature of crop farming.

2.8 Comparisons with court records from south-west England and Sweden

The 'Woman's work' project at the University of Exeter collected a dataset of 4300 examples of male and female work tasks in the south-west of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This geographical coverage across five counties spanned two centuries and offers a wider outlook than the fifty-four years and three estates covered by this thesis, but it enables both sets of results to be compared at a regional and at a local level. The project's methodology has been described in more detail in the historiographical review at the beginning of this chapter; the crucial elements being that the project used court records as its primary source and included both waged and unwaged labour in the study. This thesis has relied on household account books as a primary source which means, by definition, only evidence of waged work has been collected. It also means that the data relates to labour employed by wealthy households and on relatively large farms, in contrast to the 'Women's work' project data which relates to broader swathes of society. Whilst the 'Women's work' project offers a holistic view of both waged and unwaged work and shows a snapshot of the tasks performed by men and women for their own households and in employment, this thesis looks specifically at the tasks performed by women in employment. The lack of specification for servants' tasks also means that this thesis can only analyse with certainty the gender division of labour amongst the workers who were hired by the day or task. These differences need to be taken into account when comparing the two sets of results. However, the 'Women's work' project's inclusion of unpaid work complements the results gathered by this thesis of paid work and together they can present a more complete view of gendered work patterns, paid and unpaid.

Tables 2.12a and 2.12b show a comparison of findings. As has been detailed earlier in this chapter, the nature of the sources used by the 'Women's work' project meant that they had no legal and administrative or unspecified categories, so a comparison of these cannot be undertaken. The proportion of female instances from the court depositions is noticeably higher in care- work, commerce, crafts and construction, food processing, housework, managerial and transport. For example, housework made up 17.3% of female tasks in the 4300 work tasks drawn from court depositions and only 1.11% of female tasks in the

three sets of household accounts. Similarly, commerce made up 28% of female tasks from the court depositions and only 0.01% of female tasks from the accounts. In contrast, the agriculture and land category made up 63.84% of female tasks in the accounts, and only 16.9% of female tasks in the court depositions.

There are four explanations for this. The first is the effect of including unpaid labour in the court depositions. This means that tasks which men and women performed as part of their own family economy were more likely to be recorded. The second interconnected reason is the lack of information on servants' tasks in the household accounts. They would have performed most of the housework and care work on the estates, and may also have performed agricultural and other labour, which meant that task and day workers would not have been hired for these tasks. Both reasons explain the disparity between the two sets of results in the housework and care work categories especially, although they would also have influenced the crafts and construction and commerce categories. Thirdly, it is also a reflection on the location of work; this thesis is focused primarily on rural gentry estates and therefore the results are weighted towards agricultural labour. The court records covered wherever people happened to have, or witness, a dispute, including private homes and public spaces such as the street and village squares. People were more likely to be performing a variety of different tasks other than agriculture in these spaces. A fourth reason, already touched upon, is the sources used and the tendency of the household account books to leave the nature of labour unspecified, whereas this was not the case in the court records used by the project, as evidence was only collected when work was specified. This had an impact on the household account findings as it reduced the proportion of labour instances in the other categories.

Table 2.12 below shows the number and percentage of labour instances from both the household account books and the court depositions from the 'Women's work' project, divided into task categories. In other words, Table 2.12a shows the break-down of women's work by task and how many instances of women's labour was in which task category. For example, out of 8583.5 total instances of women's labour in the account books, 95 of them were tasks related to 'housework'. Table 2.12b then translates these numbers into percentages;

following on from the previous example, 1.11% of female labour instances gathered from the household account books were in the 'housework' category.

Table 2.12a: The instances of labour for the account books from Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park compared to the court depositions from the 'Women's Work' project, divided by task category and gender

Category	Account book results (no. of instances)		Court deposition results (no. of instances)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Agriculture and Land	5535.0	6507.25	213.0	864.0
Care work	95.0	12.0	106.0	67.0
Commerce	8.0	12.0	353.0	834.0
Crafts and Construction	65.0	1254.5	108.0	335.0
Food Processing	8.5	4096.25	73.0	228.0
Housework	95.0	2.0	218.0	79.0
Managerial	6.0	5.0	73.0	148.0
Mining and Quarrying	-	27.0	3.0	25.0
Legal and Administrative	2.0	48.5	N/A	N/A
Transport	190.0	1551.0	106.0	414.0
Other	5.0	128.0	8.0	45.0
Unspecified	2772.0	20292.75	N/A	N/A
Total	8731.5	33936.0	1261.0	3039.0

Table 2.12b: The percentages of instances of labour for the account books from Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park compared to the court depositions from the 'Women's Work' project, divided by task category and gender¹⁷³

Category	Account book results (% of instances)		Court deposition (% of instances)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Agriculture and Land	63.38	19.17	16.9	28.4
Care work	1.10	0.04	8.4	2.2
Commerce	0.01	0.04	28	27.4
Crafts and Construction	0.76	3.70	8.6	11
Food Processing	0.11	12.08	5.8	7.5
Housework	1.11	0.01	17.3	2.6
Managerial	0.07	0.01	5.8	4.9
Mining and Quarrying	-	0.08	0.2	0.8
Legal and Administrative	0.02	0.14	N/A	N/A
Transport	2.18	4.57	8.4	13.6
Other	0.06	0.38	0.6	1.5
Unspecified	31.17	59.80	N/A	N/A

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC) 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS); Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern England', *The Economic History Review* (2018), p. 13.

As Table 2.12 shows, the 'Women's work' project found instances of both female and male labour in every applicable category. However, when these categories

¹⁷³ When comparing the results in percentages from the account books with the results in percentages from the court depositions, two decimal places have been used. This was a conscious decision to show more accurately the differences between the data, as the numbers involved are so small.

were broken down into more specialist sub-categories, some work was found to be highly gendered. This is similar to the results from the accounts: both studies found that hunting and fishing, wood husbandry, building, carpentry and carting were overwhelmingly male activities, and that dairying, midwifery and laundry were female activities.¹⁷⁴ The results from the court depositions in the crafts and construction category are also similar to the results from the accounts: women were starkly absent as workers in trades which required apprenticeship.¹⁷⁵ Both sets of sources show a gender division of labour within the textile and clothing industry. Women prepared and spun the wool, whilst men did the weaving. Women worked on making shirts and knitting stockings, whilst men were occupied as tailors and made suits, cloaks and other clothing for the gentry families and their servants.¹⁷⁶

Table 2.13 shows the percentage of instances from each task category which were performed by women, as opposed to men, in both the accounts and the court depositions. This takes each task category separately and shows the gender break-down in each task category; for example, in the account books, 10.91% of the tasks in the 'transport' category were performed by women. This is different to Table 2.12b, which shows the percentages of all work performed by women. Both the care work and the housework categories were overwhelmingly performed by women. In the accounts, women performed 88.79% of care work and 97.94% of housework, whereas in the court depositions women performed 79.2% of care work and 86.9% of housework. The lower percentages garnered from the court depositions is likely to be because they included unpaid work. In other words, where there was a choice between hiring a man or a woman, an employer would have chosen a woman, but when the task had to be performed in the home and only a man was present, then he would have performed the task instead of waiting for a woman to be there.

¹⁷⁴ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.14.

¹⁷⁵ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.17.

¹⁷⁶ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', pp.16 - 17.

Table 2.13: The percentage of work tasks carried out by women as opposed to men in the account books from Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park and in the court depositions from the 'Women's Work' project¹⁷⁷

Category	% Female (account books)	% Female (court depositions)
Agriculture and Land	45.75	37.30
Care work	88.79	79.20
Commerce	42.11	50.50
Crafts and Construction	5.14	43.70
Food Processing	0.23	43.60
Housework	97.94	86.90
Managerial	50.0.0	54.30
Mining and Quarrying	-	22.40
Legal and Administrative	4.49	N/A
Transport	10.91	38.20
Other	3.88	30.00
Unspecified	11.94	N/A

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS); Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern England', *The Economic History Review* (2018), p. 10.

The difference made by the inclusion of unpaid work can also be seen in the commerce, crafts and construction, food processing and transport categories, all of which had a higher proportion of female workers in the court depositions. Employers such as the Gore, Willoughby and Jervoise families may have preferred to have hired men for these jobs, but for smaller employers or in a private household the job could be performed just as well by a woman. Interestingly, in both sources' women made up roughly fifty per cent of workers in the managerial category, showing that women were not excluded from responsibility when working, confirming the managerial skills needed for women who were heads of their own households. In the accounts, women made up 45.75% of workers in agriculture, compared to 37.3% in the court depositions, and this also reflects the sources used. It is unsurprising that household account books recording the employment of labourers on rural estates should show a higher proportion of women working in agriculture, as women made up the casual labour pool on such estates and large quantities of the regular agricultural work were undertaken by male servants.

Agricultural labour was the biggest task category for women in the accounts which has made it a focus of this chapter; therefore, this category is compared to

¹⁷⁷ These figures for the court depositions have been adjusted by Whittle and Hailwood to account for the under-reporting of women's work in the court records. The figures for the household account books do not need to be adjusted to account for the under-reporting of women, as they feature true reporting of the days worked by men and women on these estates.

the results from the court depositions in more detail to see whether a similar gender division of labour was maintained in individual estates and in the wider region. Table 2.14 below shows a breakdown of the gender division of labour within the agriculture and land category for the three estates represented in the accounts compared to the results for south-west England from the court depositions.

Table 2.14a: The instances of labour in the Agriculture and Land category for the account books from Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park and the court depositions from the 'Women's Work' project, divided by task and gender

Agriculture and land tasks	Accounts results (no. of instances)		Court deposition results (no. of instances)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Animal husbandry	1.0	468.5	38.0	205.0
Collecting fuel	4.0	224.5	10.0	25.0
Field work	5050.0	3829.5	64.0	331.0
Gardening	380.5	588.75	1.0	2.0
Gathering food	23.5	-	39.0	21.0
Hedging	-	600.0	-	16.0
Hunting and fishing	-	2.0	-	86.0
Milking	70.0	-	53.0	3.0
Wood husbandry	1.0	794.0	3.0	65.0
Total	5535.0	6507.25	208.0	754.0

Table 2.14b: The percentage of instances of labour in the Agriculture and Land category for the account books from Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park and the court depositions from the 'Women's Work' project, divided by task and gender

Agriculture and land tasks	Accounts results (% of instances)		Court deposition results (% of instances)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Animal husbandry	0.09	7.16	18.30	26.90
Collecting fuel	0.07	3.45.0	4.80	3.30
Field work	91.25	58.88	30.77	44.10
Gardening	6.88	9.05	0.50	0.30
Gathering food	0.42	-	18.80	2.80
Hedging	-	9.22	-	2.10
Hunting and fishing	-	0.03	-	11.50
Milking	1.26	-	25.50	0.40
Wood husbandry	0.02	12.21	1.40	8.70

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS); Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern England', *The Economic History Review* (2018), p.28.

There are some similarities: in both sets of results there were no women in the hedging and hunting and fishing categories, showing a stark gender division of labour; there were also larger proportions of men working in animal husbandry and wood husbandry and a larger proportion of women milking in both sets of results. When the results diverge, it usually appears to be the result of using

different sources, namely the fact that the court depositions also included unpaid work and the work of servants. Animal husbandry is a much larger sub-category in the court depositions, and this is likely because on the three estates the caring for livestock (as a daily, regular activity) was the domain of the servants in husbandry. The only cases of women working with animals in the accounts were one instance of 'looking to the heifers' at Barrow Court, two instances of 'keeping hogs' at Herriard Park and instances of 'cutting the bull', 'curing a cow' and 'clatting' (removing the dirty wool from the sheep) at Leyhill.¹⁷⁸ The court depositions also had records of women looking after pigs and caring for cattle. There were no examples of women shearing sheep at any of the three estates, whilst the court depositions did contain records of this, and some of these records were for paid day labour.¹⁷⁹

Field work was a smaller sub-category in the court depositions and there was a higher proportion of men in this category. This was because it included work that people were performing on their own landholdings, and as servants. Men were more likely to perform field work on their own land, and as servants on their employer's land. As previously explained, the higher proportion of women in field tasks in the accounts was because women were more likely to be employed as seasonal day labour on large estates. However, women performed similar field tasks in both the accounts and the court depositions. Weeding was also highly feminised in the court depositions, which had female weeders working in groups for pay in the same fashion as they did in the accounts.¹⁸⁰ Whittle also found examples of women preparing the ground by breaking up clods of earth, which can be compared to women being paid for 'clotting' at Leyhill, as well as women picking stones from the meadows as they did at Herriard Park. Interestingly, they also have records of women 'burning' and 'righting beat', a task which sounds very similar to the 'burnbaking' performed at Herriard Park which was exclusively male.¹⁸¹ Whilst both the 'Women's work' project and other studies have found that only men mowed, the accounts have two examples of women mowing: Goody Dyer, who was paid for six days of mowing in August 1688 and Goody Bellamore, who was paid for 1.5 days 'at mow' in 1697.¹⁸² This is a very small

¹⁷⁸ SHC, DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/5, DD/WO/52/3/9, DD/WO/52/3/18; HALS, 44M69/E8/8/2.

¹⁷⁹ Whittle, 'Women's work in early modern agriculture', pp.5, 9.

¹⁸⁰ Whittle, 'Women's work in early modern agriculture', p.7.

¹⁸¹ Whittle, 'Women's work in early modern agriculture', pp.6-7.

¹⁸² HALS, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5.

number of female mowers but is still evidence of the fact that this task was not always strictly gendered and that at Herriard Park this task was sometimes done by women. These are all clear examples of the existence of localised gender divisions of labour, or its flexibility, a situation which is often missed when studies focus on either just one estate or large national datasets.

The results collected from the 'Gender and Work' project based at Uppsala University in Sweden and headed by Maria Ågren have many similarities in common with the 'Women's work' project. Both had court records as their main source, and therefore cover paid and unpaid work in a variety of circumstances and in both public and private spaces outside of formal employment. As a result, both projects have found similar proportions of female work tasks in each category: for example, in neither project did agricultural work make up as high a proportion of female tasks as in this thesis. In the 'Gender and Work' project, agricultural labour made up 8% of female tasks and in the 'Women's work' project it made up 16.9%, compared to the 63.84% in this thesis. Similarly, both projects found a larger proportion of women engaged in commercial and trading activity (22% of female tasks in the Gender and Work project, 28% in the 'Women's work' project and only 0.01% in this thesis).¹⁸³

Beyond the differences caused by using different types of source, there are similarities between the results from the accounts and the results from the court records in the 'Gender and Work' project, however. The 'Gender and Work' project found that, in Sweden, both men and women worked across the spectrum in every different work category bar the military.¹⁸⁴ However, within each work category, each gender tended to have its own responsibilities and tasks, and this is similar to what the accounts and the 'Women's work' project found for south-west England. Where the results from Sweden and England differ is as to what tasks tended to be performed by each gender. The Swedish results show that in agriculture men were more likely to perform field work and forestry, and women gardening and rearing livestock.¹⁸⁵ This thesis has also found that men dominated wood husbandry and forestry, however at Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park, the largest proportion of female work tasks were in field work and

¹⁸³ Lindstrom, Fiebranz and Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work', p.31.

¹⁸⁴ Lindstrom, Fiebranz and Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work', p.29.

¹⁸⁵ Lindstrom, Fiebranz and Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work', p.33.

men were just as likely to work in the garden and more likely to work with livestock. This shows that the gender division of labour can vary according to the balance of agricultural tasks in a particular locality or country. Tasks which were common were less likely to exclude women as they needed to be performed regularly, regardless of the gender of the available worker, whilst more specialist, less regular tasks were more likely to be done by men alone.

The 'Gender and Work' project has shown that the gender division of labour in pre-industrial Sweden was more flexible than usually thought, especially on smaller landholdings and when there was a scarcity of workers. Tasks had to be completed regardless whether a worker of the 'appropriate' gender was available to perform them and, in these circumstances, gendered expectations of work were cast aside.¹⁸⁶ The 'Women's work' project found the same for south-west England.¹⁸⁷ As the sources of this thesis come from gentry estates it cannot confidently corroborate the higher flexibility of the gender division of labour on smaller farms and in the home. However, both the 'Gender and Work' project and the accounts show that labouring people had multiple employments, in what the Swedish project calls a 'diversity of livelihoods' and what this thesis refers to as the 'economy of makeshifts'- the necessity for the poorer people in society to work multiple jobs to keep themselves and their families alive. The 'Gender and Work' project illustrates this through the stories of Christina Rudbeck and Elias Jonsson, who are recorded as having performed tasks in fourteen and thirteen categories of the sixteen established by the project.¹⁸⁸ This thesis has many examples of labourers engaged in multiple occupations, such as Goody Bellamore at Herriard Park who worked in the agricultural, crafts and construction, food processing and housework categories, and Susan Weeks who worked in the agricultural, crafts and construction, housework and transport categories at Leyhill. In the early modern period, the reality of poverty and scraping a living in multiple occupations was the same whether one's home was the Devonshire village of Payhembury (Susan Weeks) or in the northern Swedish province of Hälsingland (Elias Jonsson).

¹⁸⁶ Lindstrom, Fiebranz and Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work', pp.33 – 34.

¹⁸⁷ Whittle and Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour', p.23.

¹⁸⁸ Lindstrom, Fiebranz and Ryden, 'The Diversity of Work', pp. 50 – 51.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed both the gender distribution and the gender division of labour on the three south-west estates of Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park amongst workers employed by the day or task. With regard to the gender distribution of labour, it has confirmed the theory put forward by Joyce Burnette and others that female labour was more casual and seasonal than male labour and peaked during times of high labour demand such as the harvest period. It has shown that, contrary to the assertion of Ann Kussmaul and others that unmarried women were more likely to work in service, there was a significant number of women working as day workers in agriculture whom we can assume were mostly unmarried.

It has provided overwhelming evidence that the strict gender division of labour prescribed by early modern authors such as Master Fitzherbert, Thomas Tusser and Gervase Markham was not upheld in actual work patterns. On the three estates, women were present in every task category bar one, that of mining and quarrying, which itself was very poorly represented. Contrary to the long-held assumption that historically a woman's place was in the home performing domestic duties, the largest proportion of female labour instances were in the agriculture and land task category. This was in part because of the type of source used, account books, were more likely to record casual labour in the fields than work done in the home. Tasks were often gendered within these sectors. In the agriculture and land category, tasks involving hedging, wood husbandry, animal husbandry, collecting fuel and hunting were largely, if not entirely, performed by men, whilst women were preferred for milking and gathering food. Interestingly, they also made up a larger proportion of field task workers, in contrast to the prescriptions of early modern advice literature. The conclusions of Alice Clark, Ivy Pinchbeck and Bridget Hill that female workers in agriculture were concentrated in dairying, harvesting, gardening and hopping, whilst based mainly on literary evidence and advice manuals, have been upheld by the evidence from the account books. This chapter also corroborates the results found by Pamela Sharpe in her study of female agriculture workers in Essex account books, namely that they were often found in seasonal harvest work, performing tasks such as gleaning, hopping, dairying and gardening, and shows that a similar pattern was present in the south-west. With regard to harvesting, this chapter has

shown that male workers dominated mowing, as Michael Roberts asserted, but did find evidence of two female mowers, a rare example.

The crafts and construction category showed that women were not employed in trades such as carpentry, smithing, cooperage, thatching and others. Men also dominated building and construction work due to their upper body strength. Female participation in the crafts and construction category was mostly in the textile industry, which itself was highly gendered; with women spinning, knitting and making shirts and men working as tailors and creating clothing for the gentry and their servants. In the transport category, men were preferred for carting heavier goods (often agricultural or building materials) in larger quantities across longer distances, whereas women were more likely to fetch smaller goods destined for domestic consumption and remain within the locality. Although there were examples of women travelling further afield and to the capital, they were in the minority. Care work also showed a gender division of labour, with women working as midwives as well as nursing and teaching poor children, and men working professionally as doctors and tutors to the children of the gentry. This presence of women in most task categories combined with a general division of labour on an individual task level is a finding that this chapter shares with the recent projects headed by Jane Whittle and Maria Ågren on gendered work patterns in the early modern south-west of England and Sweden respectively, although there are variations between the three sets of results when the tasks are broken down. It aligns with Pamela Sharpe's conclusions that a gender division of labour was present before the eighteenth century, rather than emerging from that period as proposed by Keith Snell.

Through the comparison with the 'Women's work' and 'Gender and work' projects, which used court records as their main source, this chapter has clearly shown the differences between waged and unwaged labour, and between work on gentry estates and work for their own household or for smaller employers. By focusing by necessity on waged labour by the day and task, it has shown by omission which jobs were usually performed by contracted servants: namely housework, care work, food processing and managerial work and, within agriculture, animal husbandry and male field tasks. The large proportion of women working in agriculture and especially in field tasks is evidence of this, as they comprised the bulk of the casual, seasonal pool of labour. This clearly shows

that early modern gender ideology, as propagated by Fitzherbert, Tusser and Markham, was not adhered to in practice, and historians who rely on their advice for the gender division of labour in agriculture, such as Judith Bennett, end up with a distorted picture. Therefore, not only has this study of household accounts provided evidence of the gender distribution and gender division of labour in reality, but it has also shown the different pictures that can be seen when different sources for work are used and compared. As Sharpe has shown, they can be extremely detailed sources. The account books of Herriard Park in particular are rich in information about male and female agricultural workers, often corroborating the assertions of the more literary sources used by historians such as Clark, Pinchbeck and Hill. However, when analysing the gender division of labour as a whole, they need to be placed within the wider context of women's work, and female unpaid labour, as well as work performed by servants, need to be considered. This is when other sources, such as the court records used by Whittle and Ågren, are beneficial, and an ideal analysis uses a wide range of sources in a holistic approach.

3. Women's wages and the gender pay gap

3.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses trends and rates of female wages for Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park, before comparing them with each other and with national figures for the period. Data from the accounts create a detailed picture of payments and employment over the years in which they are kept. A dataset was compiled listing tasks, wage payments and the gender and name of each employee. This was used to calculate the average daily wage by task for each gender and then the average daily wage for men and women overall. Areas that have been explored include the average daily wage for women on each estate, which jobs were the most and least profitable for women to undertake and whether a woman's marital status had an influence on her earning power. The data is focused on two types of seventeenth-century worker. The first are those who worked by the day or the week and lived in their own homes, whilst the second are those who were contracted to work by the year or quarter and resided in their employer's household. These two groups are referred to as day workers and household servants. The other group of workers in the household accounts, task workers, are not included in this chapter as they were paid by the task rather than by the day and therefore cannot be compared in the same way.

The nature of household accounts means that they provide useful evidence for the study of wages. They give an accurate picture of work from a direct source at the 'coalface', rather than an opinion from a parliamentary report or observer. These direct sources were written by employers who had a vested interest in accuracy, as they were accounting for their own money. Household accounts include data on wages paid to both women and men and therefore allow comparison between the genders on a particular estate. This data can then be contextualized and compared with other estates to form a wider regional picture.

There are admittedly some difficulties. Firstly, accounts may not record the whole story, as labourers may have found additional work with a different employer or have performed tasks which either went unrecorded or were documented elsewhere. This is beyond the remit of this study, which is purely focused on employment in the three named estates. The issue is therefore not a substantial one. Secondly, workers may have been paid in different forms, with food, drink, clothing and board being part of the wage. Sometimes this is recorded but often

it is not. One solution to this is to apply early modern calculations of the cost of food and drink. Robert Loder, a Berkshire farmer who kept accounts for a decade from 1610 to 1620, recorded how much it cost to keep a servant in food, drink, board and clothing.¹ In their landmark wage series for women, Humphries and Weisdorf incorporated early modern costs of food, fuel and rent in their annual wages for servants by using Robert Allen's 'respectability' consumption basket, which outlined what families needed to consume in order to survive.² These methods are not used in this thesis, as prices of such items varied from year to year and by region to region, meaning that an accurate analysis cannot be conducted. Additionally, none of the case-studies in this thesis provides substantial information on whether day workers were paid with food or in kind as well as with monetary wages. Servants presumably received bed and board, and possibly clothing, but no details of this were recorded in the accounts. For these reasons, monetary wages are the sole focus of this section; the benefits of studying wages from household accounts outweigh any difficulties that the problems pose.

In this study, the term 'wages' is used to refer to the payments that are recorded in the account books in return for the work done. This is not necessarily reflective of the actual income received by the workers. It has been recognized by historians such as Craig Muldrew and Steven King that, whilst in theory workers should have been paid regularly in cash, the limited availability of ready money in the early modern period meant that this was not always the case in reality.³ It has been estimated that, in the late 1660s, there was only £6-7 million worth of physical money in circulation in England, a situation which meant that employers did not always have ready cash on hand when payday arrived.⁴ In response to this, a system developed whereby regular cash wages were substituted with or supplemented by the provision of food and drink, the pasturing of animals, the negotiation of rent

¹ Robert Loder and G. E. Fussell (ed.), *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610-1620* (Camden Society, 1936).

² Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260 – 1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), pp. 405 – 447.

³ Craig Muldrew and Steven King, 'Cash, wages and the economy of makeshifts in England, 1650 – 1800' in *Experiencing Wages: Social and Cultural Aspects of Wage Forms in Europe since 1500* ed. by Peter Scholliers and Leonard Schwarz (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), p.156.

⁴ D. W. Jones, *War and Economy in the Age of William III and Marlborough* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1998), pp. 15 – 16.

payments or simply a promise to pay later.⁵ This was so ubiquitous in early modern England that it is highly likely that some or all of these practices were occurring on the three estates, but they leave no recorded presence in the surviving account books. Therefore, it is only possible to analyse the wages with reference to the intended payment, which may or may not have been paid in full, but nevertheless was an agreed sum thought by the employer to have been reflective of a worker's labour and productivity. The wages studied in this chapter are 'nominal', rather than 'real'. In other words, they are the stated sum earned by the worker rather than an amount adjusted in line with inflation to calculate the wages' real worth in terms of goods and services. Some historians of wages, such as Gregory Clark, use 'baskets of consumables' to measure the purchasing power of wages in real terms.⁶ These 'baskets' comprise the necessities of living in the early modern period, with the prices of items such as bread and candles in certain years listed from recorded documentary evidence. This study will not include consumption baskets, like Clark and Humphries and Weisdorf, for two reasons. Firstly, the baskets are standardized and do not take into account the variation of prices by region and throughout the year. Secondly, this study is concerned with the payment of wages and the differences between male and female wages, rather than purchasing power. For this purpose, nominal wages are sufficient.

This chapter firstly discusses the historiography of wages and wage labour in the early modern period, including the debate surrounding the gender pay gap. It then begins the analyses of the case studies by describing the situation for daily wage labourers of both genders at each of the three estates, Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park. It sets out the mean, mode and range of these wage payments and discusses how representative these figures are of the everyday experiences of male and female workers on the estates. These figures are compared across all three estates and to the national wage series compiled by Gregory Clark for men and Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf for women. It then explores the task distribution of female day workers at the estate, analysing which jobs they were more likely to be employed for and which tasks were the most profitable for women to undertake at each estate. This leads onto a detailed discussion of the

⁵ Muldrew and King, 'Cash, wages and the economy of makeshifts', p.162.

⁶ Gregory Clark, 'Farm wages and living standards in the industrial revolution: England, 1670 – 1869', *The Economic History Review*, 54.3 (2001), p.492.

gender pay gap at Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park, presenting evidence from the three estates and exploring the possible reasons for such a discrepancy between male and female wages, such as different hours worked, different tasks performed and the idea that men were the breadwinners, whilst women had household and childcare responsibilities to attend to as well as paid work. The chapter then moves on to the household servants present in the account books and analyse their wages by each individual estate, in comparison with the other estates and against contemporary wage assessments.

3.2 Historiography of wages in the early modern period

There is no shortage of literature on wages in the early modern period due to the development of economic history as a field of study in the nineteenth century and its firm establishment as a discipline in the twentieth century.⁷ However, gender has only been considered by economic historians in the last thirty years and the discipline as a whole was slow to react to the advent of women's history.⁸ This is despite the fact that the inter-war period saw a large number of female economic historians such as Alice Clark, Ivy Pinchbeck, Eileen Power, Dorothy Marshall. This was a product of the extension of university education for women and the suffrage and peace movements which led women to study economic history in a bid to explore female work, and was fostered by the nurturing environment of Girton College, Cambridge and the London School of Economics. However, after the Second World War, the participation of women in economic history plummeted, along with historical interest in women's work.⁹ A case in point was the publication of monographs investigating women's work by Alice Clark in 1919 and Ivy Pinchbeck in 1930; they were pivotal benchmarks in women's economic history but, despite being classics of the field, they did not bring the topic into the mainstream.¹⁰ One reason for the late development of women's economic history may have been because there is less data regarding women's economic lives in the past. Working women are less easy to find than men in early modern sources

⁷ Alexander J. Field, 'Economic History' in Steven N. Durlaf and Lawrence E. Blume (eds.), *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics (Second Edition)*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) [accessed online 05/11/16]

⁸ Pamela Sharpe, 'Continuity and Change: Women's History and Economic History in Britain', *Economic History Review*, 48.2 (1995), pp.353 – 369.

⁹ Maxine Berg, 'The first women economic historians', *Economic History Review*, 45.2 (1992), pp. 308 – 310.

¹⁰ Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: George Routledge and Son, 1919); Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750 – 1850* (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd, 1930).

for many reasons. For instance, in sources such as court records, women were primarily designated by their marital status rather than their occupation, an administrative practice which served to hide their working lives. This almost wholesale omission of women from economic history in past decades, according to Joan Scott, 'makes the historian an unwitting party to the politics of another age', unintentionally reinforcing historical patriarchal practices to propagate the invisibility of the everyday woman in the past.¹¹

The varying reasons for the gender pay gap are a key debate in the historiography of gender and wages in the early modern period. An interrelated debate has centred on whether women benefited from a rise in pay after the Black Death of 1348-9. Although this period is earlier than the focus of this study, the debate contains many issues that are pertinent to the seventeenth century. A pay rise for women after the Black Death may seem logical as the high death rate resulted in a scarcity of labour: because there were fewer workers available, the surviving labour force could demand higher wages. It could therefore be reasonably assumed that labourers of both genders benefited from this situation in terms of higher wages. One of the first historians to advance this theory was James Thorold Rogers in 1903, stating confidently that 'women's work, when of what we may call an unskilled kind, was equally well paid with that of men.'¹² The influential medievalist and economic historian Rodney Hilton found evidence from the Midlands that female agricultural labourers were paid equal wages with men, but qualified his statement with the caveat that this was not true for manorial servants.¹³

Simon A. C. Penn researched women's wages using presentments made before justices under the Statute of Labourers (1351).¹⁴ This statute was meant to prevent workers taking higher wages than those offered before the Black Death and presentments include a wealth of information about wages and work. Penn is clear that 'whatever the actual task involved, the women were being paid at the same rate as the men' hence, there was no gender pay gap.¹⁵ However, Penn

¹¹ Quoted in Sharpe, 'Continuity and Change', p.354.

¹² James E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co, 1903), p.329.

¹³ R. H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p.102 – 103.

¹⁴ Simon A. C. Penn, 'Female Wage-Earners in Late Fourteenth-Century England', *Agricultural History Review*, 35.1 (1987), pp.1 – 14.

¹⁵ Penn, 'Female Wage-Earners in Late Fourteenth-Century England', p.8.

has been criticized for not putting his small number of examples into context or realizing the possibility that, without accurate demographic data, he may have been comparing healthy adult female labourers to the less productive parts of the male workforce, such as old men, young boys and the disabled. This would certainly not be equal pay for women.

A debate on this topic between Sandy Bardsley and John Hatcher, published in *Past and Present*, contained many points concerning the gender pay gap which can also be applied to the seventeenth century. Sandy Bardsley disagreed that women saw a substantial or permanent rise in wages after the Black Death.¹⁶ Bardsley studied rolls of the peace sessions for the East Riding of Yorkshire between March 1363 and May 1364 and found that the average female worker earned only seventy-one per cent of the wage of the average male worker. She explained that it is erroneous to say that, just because there was sometimes an overlap in wages between the lowest-paid men and the highest-earning women, men and women were paid an equal amount, as on average men received a much higher income. Bardsley also noted that when the genders were paid the same wage for the same task in the records this was not necessarily a marker of gender economic equality as these men earning the same amount as women were usually elderly men or boys. She concludes that women were classed as part of a 'second-rate' work force which also included boys and elderly and disabled men, and were paid accordingly: 'gender was not the only determinant of wages, but it was a significant and enduring determinant.'¹⁷ The Black Death therefore did not herald a new age of gender wage equality, and gender discrimination played a significant role in the gender pay gap.

John Hatcher, in a response to Sandy Bardsley, stressed the complexities and ambiguities of the debate over reasons for the gender pay gap.¹⁸ According to Hatcher, the concept of the gender pay gap needs careful definition: does it mean equal payment for time spent, or for work completed? Historically, the former was known as a time-rate and the latter as a piece-rate. He points out that Bardsley reached her conclusion by studying time-rates, whilst if she had looked at piece-

¹⁶ Sandy Bardsley, 'Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 165.1 (1999), pp.3-29.

¹⁷ Bardsley, 'Women's Work Reconsidered', p.23.

¹⁸ John Hatcher, 'Debate: Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), pp.191 – 198.

rates she would have seen that men and women were often in receipt of the same wages when they were paid by the amount of work produced. He maintained that 'wage discrimination rather than wage differentiation... is neither rational nor efficient. In fact, systematic discrimination of this type is extremely hard to sustain in competitive markets, such as those prevailing for agricultural labour in later medieval England.'¹⁹ Therefore, the gender pay gap was not due to discrimination against women but merely differences in productivity and working hours between the genders: women were weaker physically and also spent less time in the fields and this is why they received lower wages than men. In a reply to Hatcher, Bardsley acknowledges that men and women have different levels of strength but maintains that this does not account for the entirety of the gender pay gap. It does not explain fluctuating female wages over period and regions (when one can assume that the differences in male and female strength are on average consistent) or the fact that stamina can be just as important as strength in labouring tasks. According to Bardsley, gender discrimination is one of many reasons for a gender pay gap, but it is a significant reason nonetheless.²⁰

There is a shortage of studies on the gender pay gap for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a lacuna which this thesis aims to fill. However, many historians have worked on the gender pay gap in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their methodology and conclusions are relevant and applicable to the seventeenth century. Joyce Burnette has argued that the wage gap in agriculture between 1740 and 1860 was due to differences in productivity between the genders, giving two reasons for this. Firstly, she suggests that women worked shorter hours than men due to their household duties as wives and mothers. Secondly, she adds that female day workers had a lower productive output than their male counterparts, saying that this was because women's lesser physical strength led to them being allocated lighter tasks, and to them being less productive than men even when they were performing the same tasks.²¹ Biologically, men on average have a larger proportion of muscle mass than women and 'the largest gap between the sexes in physical ability occurs in the ability to move external objects, which is exactly what is required for heavy

¹⁹ Hatcher, 'Women's Work Reconsidered', p.195.

²⁰ Sandy Bardsley, 'Reply', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 199 – 202.

²¹ Joyce Burnette, 'The Wages and Employment of Female Day-Labourers in English Agriculture, 1740-1850', *Economic History Review*, 57 (2004), pp.675 - 677.

manual labour'.²² Another reason proposed by Joyce Burnette for the gender pay gap was occupational crowding caused by the gender division of labour: the higher number of workers (in this case, women) concentrated in a particular occupation, the less output an individual worker could produce.²³ Therefore, Burnette argued against the gender pay gap being rooted in customary discrimination against women. According to Burnette, the gender wage gap did exist but was due to lesser levels of productivity by women as a result of their lesser upper body strength and working fewer hours due to their household duties, and not due to any customary discrimination against them.²⁴

Penelope Lane also studied women's wages in this period and focused on the East Midlands between 1700 and 1840.²⁵ Like Burnette, she examined differences in productivity due to the disparity of strength between men and women and the fact that men often worked more hours than women. She agreed that 'men in general were, and are, stronger than women' but qualified this by showing that 'women were... capable of regular back-breaking manual labour... and there were also others of such Amazonian proportions that they were the equal of most men'.²⁶ Not only that, but not all agricultural tasks required a large amount of upper body strength. Haymaking and gardening are only two examples of such tasks which, although arduous, could be performed by both genders with minimal differences in productivity; yet women were still paid less than men. Lane also found the differences in working hours between men and women an unsatisfactory explanation for the gender pay gap. She examined women's wages on basis of marital status and found that the slight differences in pay between married women and their unmarried and widowed counterparts was much smaller than the differences in pay between men and women, suggesting that it was not the household duties associated with marriage and motherhood that caused such a large disparity in wages. Lane concluded that it was the fact

²² Joyce Burnette, 'Testing for occupational crowding in eighteenth-century British agriculture', *Explorations in Economic History*, 33 (1996), p.325.

²³ Burnette, 'Testing for occupational crowding', p.321.

²⁴ Joyce Burnette, 'Labourers at the Oakes: Changes in the Demand for Female Day-Labourers at a Farm near Sheffield during the Agricultural Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 59 (1999), pp. 41-67; Burnette, 'The Wages and Employment of Female Day-Labourers', pp. 675 - 677.

²⁵ Penelope Lane, 'A Customary or Market Wage? Women and Work in the East Midlands, c.1700 – 1840' in Penelope Lane, Neil Raven and K. D. M. Snell (eds.), *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600 – 1850* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 102 – 118.

²⁶ Lane, 'A Customary or Market Wage?', p.107.

that women were confined to lower status jobs that meant they received lower wages. According to Lane, the gender division of labour was the underlying cause of the gender pay gap.

However, some historians have argued that the primary explanation of the gender pay gap was customary discrimination. Pamela Sharpe, in her study of female workers in Essex for the period 1700 to 1850, noted that the gender pay gap was persistent throughout the medieval and early modern periods and survived through the industrial revolution despite economic, social and demographic change.²⁷ Female wages may have risen and fallen in response to these changes but they were always persistently lower than male wages, hence Sharpe's conclusion that 'an element of the female wage was certainly governed by custom rather than the market'.²⁸ Donald Woodward has analysed the gender pay gap in early modern England in terms of urban northern labourers, and also believes that the reasons for the pay gap were purely discriminatory. Woodward maintains that to explain the gender pay gap by invoking the notion of 'custom' is meaningless: customary practices have to originate from somewhere. Lower wages for women were not related to supply and demand or productivity but, according to Woodward, instead 'were rooted in convictions about their physical, economic and social, intellectual and political inferiority... which were underscored by biblical authority'. Wage rates could shift up and down due to demographic and economic changes, but women were consistently paid less than men and could earn equal wages 'only in truly exceptional circumstances.'²⁹ These competing explanations for the gender pay gap have sparked historiographical debate, and there is still little consensus over the primary reason for the gender pay gap, or indeed whether there was one explanation or several interlocking reasons.

Economic historians have produced statistical analyses of wages and wage trends for the early modern period. One such historian is Gregory Clark who in 2001 formulated a national agricultural wage index covering every year from 1670 to 1850.³⁰ He utilised documentary sources such as account books and published

²⁷ Pamela Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism: Working Women in the English Economy, 1700 – 1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), pp. 80, 152.

²⁸ Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism*, p.100.

²⁹ Donald Woodward, 'The Determination of Wage Rates in the Early Modern North of England', *Economic History Review*, 47 (1994), pp. 36 – 8.

³⁰ Clark, 'Farm wages and living standards in the industrial revolution', pp. 477 – 505.

material and created a data set of 12746 instances of either daily or weekly wages for men. This was split into four regional sub-sections; the north, the midlands, the south-east and the south-west. Clark found that, whilst male agricultural workers were generally employed for most of the year, their summer wages were usually greater than their winter ones. This was due to the importance and intensity of harvest work, resulting in long working days as the harvest needed to be brought in as quickly as possible. Clark widened his scope in an article published in 2007 and created a wage series spanning from 1209 to 1869.³¹ This series was constructed around piece wages for threshing. It measured not only daily wages for a male agricultural worker but also the marginal product of that labour and the purchasing power of that wage.

Gregory Clark's analysis contributed greatly to the study of wages, but it is not without its faults. The danger of such a statistical study is that it culminates in a picture of averages which bears little or no resemblance to the reality of any individual's working life. Reducing this to just numbers means that a primary aim of history, that of recapturing the experience of people in the past, is lost. This is not the only issue with statistical wage series. Using daily wages and the prices of subsistence goods to calculate real wages does not measure the actual income of labourers, many of whom took on multiple jobs and utilised cottage gardens and home industry to increase their income. It is erroneous to extrapolate yearly income from wage series, as total working days can never be correctly estimated in an economy where work could be seasonal and unpredictable. Furthermore, the adult male was not the only person to contribute to the family income as children and wives also worked within and outside the household, meaning that this wage series is not an accurate reflection of family income.³²

Clark has been criticised by Craig Muldrew.³³ According to Muldrew, Clark's reliance on averages was distortive as wages could differ dramatically from village to village, let alone on a regional basis.³⁴ Other parts of Clark's

³¹ Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review*, 60 (2007), pp. 97-135

³² John Hatcher, 'Unreal Wages: Long-Run Living Standards and the "Golden Age" of the Fifteenth Century' in Ben Dodds and Christian D. Liddy (eds.), *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Richard Britnell* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), pp.1 -24.

³³ Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³⁴ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p.209.

methodology were also subjected to criticism. For example, to measure the purchasing power of wages Clark used a standardised basket of consumables for the entire country without accounting for regional price differences and availability.³⁵ Furthermore, Clark used winter wages as a constant without factoring in the higher harvest wages or any payments in kind.³⁶ However, allowing for such variation would have been almost impossible in such a national wage series. Muldrew himself favoured a different approach, using the family unit and household to understand wages. He demonstrates in detail how demographic factors could influence household income, such as the number and ages of children. The presence of young children inhibited family income, as the children could not work and kept the mother at home; the presence of older children ensured more income as they could either work or look after younger siblings to allow their mother to work.³⁷ Instead of using either custom or economic factors to explain the low rate of pay for women, Muldrew conceded that it was most likely a mixture of both.³⁸

A comparable analysis of wages for women was not accomplished until 2015, when Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf published a series of women's wages for the period 1260 to 1850.³⁹ They utilized a large quantity of sources, from archives, printed primary sources and fellow academics' data sets, including, but not limited to, manorial, farm and household accounts, chamberlains' and churchwardens' accounts, wage books, settlement examinations, diaries and memoirs. The wage series is separated into two sections to reflect the two ways in which women could be employed, one for daily wage labour and the second for service contracted annually: both focusing specifically on unskilled work. The Humphries and Weisdorf series is equivalent to Gregory Clark's wage series for male labourers which they use as a comparison, although unfortunately there is no similar study for male servants.⁴⁰ Humphries and Weisdorf found that women's earnings from annual contracts remained on a similar level from 1300 to 1500, with a brief spike after the Black Death, although this was not sustained. In contrast, casual day wages for women rose after the Black Death and continued

³⁵ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p.210.

³⁶ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p.211.

³⁷ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p.213.

³⁸ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p.239.

³⁹ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England', pp.405 – 447.

⁴⁰ Clark, 'The Long March of History', pp.97-135.

to rise until the late fifteenth century, following the upward trend in male wages. Until 1550, women on annual contracts earned less, but then this trend reversed, and casual work became less rewarding for women. In the late seventeenth century casual work again started to become more profitable until the early eighteenth century. How did women fare in comparison to men? The data set shows a widening gender pay gap after 1500, although this narrowed slightly in the seventeenth century. According to Humphries and Weisdorf, this helps to explain conflicting evidence as to whether the Black Death caused an increase in women's earning power: there was a change, but it was not long lasting.

Another way to study wages has been through studies of individual estates, by using household account books. This is the method used in this thesis. Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, in their 2012 monograph on the Le Strange of Hunstanton accounts from 1610 to 1653, found that men employed to perform stereotypically female tasks such as weeding earned the same amount as women: in other words, it was the task rather than the worker's gender which was significant in determining the rate of pay.⁴¹ Deborah Youngs focused on the estate of Humphery Newton in Cheshire from 1498 to 1520. She found that day workers were being paid much less than their counterparts in the south of England, and that the genders were paid the same amount for harvest related tasks.⁴² Another study of this nature was that of A. Hassell Smith who looked at Nathaniel Bacon's estate of Stiffkey in Norfolk from 1582 to 1597. One finding relevant to gender and wages was that female labourers earned fifty percent less than male labourers and both genders suffered from low wages and casual employment, creating a prevalent and enduring 'economy of makeshifts.'⁴³ Pamela Sharpe studied the Antony estate near Plymouth and the Shute Barton estate in East Devon, finding that female agricultural day workers were paid consistently less than men, even when they were doing comparable work, and

⁴¹ Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.224.

⁴² Deborah Youngs, 'Servants and Labourers on a late medieval demesne: the case of Newtown, Cheshire, 1498 – 1520', *The Agricultural History Review*, 47.2 (1999), pp. 154, 158.

⁴³ A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk [Part I]', *Continuity and Change*, 4.1 (1989), 11 – 52; A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case-study from north Norfolk [Part II]', *Continuity and Change*, 4.3 (1989), 367 – 394.

that wage levels were differentiated between regions.⁴⁴ In-depth case studies such as these are valuable due to the level of information produced about individual people and estates, and also because they can confirm national trends at the same time as emphasizing the differences in regional experience.

A different method of measuring and comparing wages in seventeenth-century England is to study wage assessments. The first national attempt to legislate wage rates was the Ordinance of Labourers (1349) which attempted to halt the rising wage levels caused by the Black Death. The Statute of Artificers (1563) ordered that each county should set a maximum level of wages for certain jobs and reassess them each year in line with the cost of living. Wage assessments were made by the Justices of the Peace in individual counties and determined the maximum amount workers could be paid, differentiating by age, gender, experience and skill.⁴⁵ The survival rate is patchy but many have been published as they have come to light, ranging from a simple reproduction of the document to analysis on change through time in a particular county.⁴⁶ The study of wage assessments has produced some debate. The issue most relevant to this chapter is whether wage assessments bore any resemblance to wages in reality. James Thorold Rogers, one of the first historians of the subject, believed that wages in reality tended to be higher than those set by the wage assessments and R. H. Tawney was in agreement.⁴⁷ W. E. Minchinton supported this theory after investigating the situation for Chester, Durham, Kent and Lancashire.⁴⁸ In contrast, W. A. S. Hewins maintained that there was not much difference between the wage assessments and market wages.⁴⁹ R. Keith Kelsall, however, stated that the wage assessments and market wages tended to be fairly similar until

⁴⁴ Pamela Sharpe, 'Time and Wages of West Country Workfolks in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Local Population Studies*, 55 (1995), pp.66 – 68.

⁴⁵ Jane Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440 – 1580* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p.275.

⁴⁶ W. A. J. Archbold, 'An Assessment of Wages for 1630', *English Historical Review*, 12 (1897), pp.307-311; R. Keith Kelsall, 'A Century of Wage Assessment in Herefordshire', *English Historical Review*, 57 (1942), pp.115-119; J. C. Tingey, 'An Assessment of Wages for the County of Norfolk in 1610', *English Historical Review*, 13 (1898), pp.522-527; B. H. Putnam, 'Northamptonshire Wage Assessments of 1560 and 1667', *Economic History Review*, 1 (1927), pp.124-134.

⁴⁷ R. H. Tawney, 'The Assessment of Wages in England by the Justices of the Peace', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 11 (1914), p.564.

⁴⁸ W. E. Minchinton, 'Wage Regulation in Pre-Industrial England' in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *Wage Regulation in Pre-Industrial England* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles Publishers Ltd, 1972), p.26.

⁴⁹ W. A. S. Hewins, 'The Regulation of Wages by the Justices of the Peace', *Economic Journal*, 8 (1898), pp. 340-346.

halfway through the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ On the other hand, Jane Whittle has studied ten sets of household accounts from across the country for the period 1450 to 1650 and found that the average wages for both male and female servants were always much higher than the wage assessments prescribed, meaning that wage assessments should not be read as accurate depictions of wages in reality.⁵¹ Whilst wage assessments may not be a conclusive authority on actual wages, they are a useful tool with which to compare and contrast evidence of wages paid. In this chapter they are compared to the household accounts studied if they survive for the appropriate year and location.

This chapter follows the lead of Whittle and Griffiths, Youngs, Hassell Smith and Sharpe by discussing women's wages within the context of individual estates and relating arguments made regarding the gender pay gap at a national level to a local environment. To measure whether the gender division of labour was a cause of the gender pay gap, as proposed by Penelope Lane, it shows the average daily wage for each task performed by female day workers and compares these figures with the male equivalents where they are available. Instead of assuming that women were paid less due to their familial and household responsibilities, as Joyce Burnette has argued, it uses marital status as a means of analysis to determine whether wives and mothers were paid less in reality. Ultimately, it highlights the gender pay gap in the early modern period whilst also presenting the importance of the local picture, which can provide exceptions to the rule and show the complexities and individualities of women's wages on different estates.

3.3 Day workers at Leyhill

The keepers of the accounts at Leyhill recorded 2679 days worked by female labourers and 18568.5 days worked by male labourers. Therefore, women made up 12.6% of the day workforce at Leyhill during the period 1644-90. The account books of Leyhill vary considerably in detail regarding the recording and payment of day workers. This may be due to the multiple changes in accountants, the

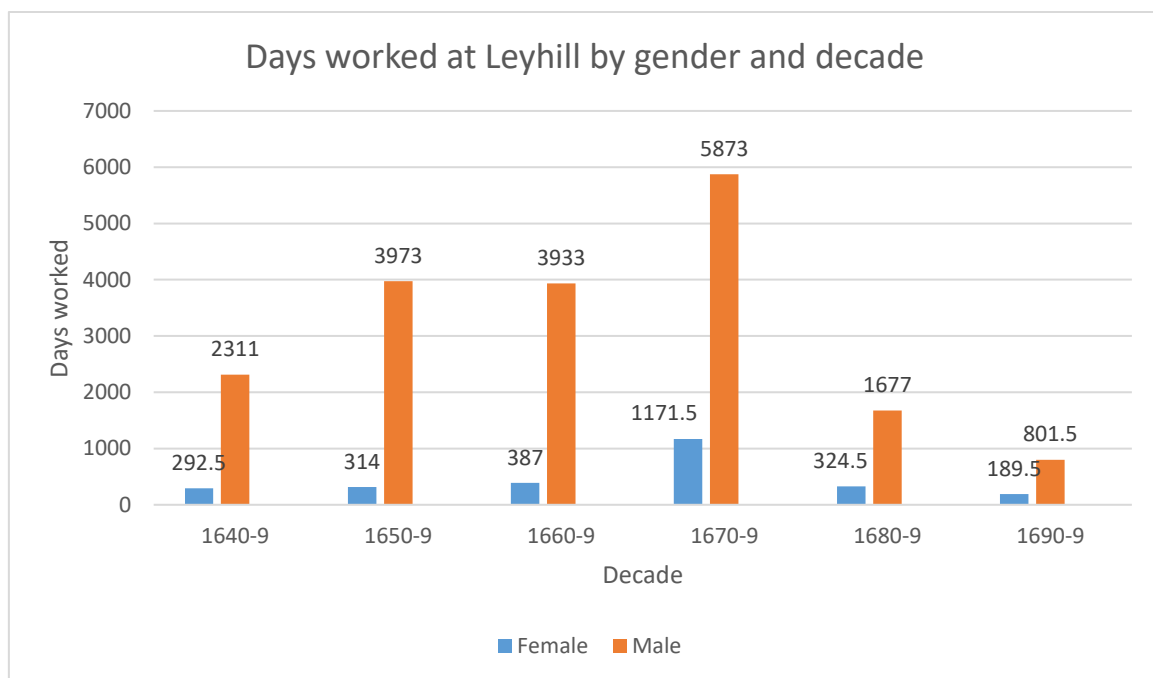
⁵⁰ R. Keith Kelsall, 'Wage Regulation under the Statute of Artificers' in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *Wage Regulation in Pre-Industrial England* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles Publishers Ltd, 1972), pp. 118 – 119.

⁵¹ Jane Whittle, 'Servants in rural England, c.1450-1650: hired work as a means of accumulating wealth and skills before marriage' in *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain 1400-1900* ed. by Maria Ågren and Amy Louise Erikson (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), p.95; Jane Whittle 'A Different Pattern of Employment: Servants in Rural England c.1500-1660' in *Servants in Rural Europe, 1400- 1900* ed. by Jane Whittle (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp.71-2.

several hiatuses between account books, or perhaps just the changing needs and requirements of the account keepers, the owners and the estate itself. This causes difficulties when analysing data and trends regarding day workers at Leyhill.

The distribution of days worked at Leyhill by gender and decade can be seen below in Figure 3.1. The variation is evident here and can be ascribed to the fact that not each decade is comprehensively covered by the surviving account books. The 1650s, 1660s and 1670s each have seven years of accounts, which is supported by Figure 3.1 as they are also the decades with the most days worked in total. Another issue is that, for the years 1658-9 and 1661-2, only a few women are mentioned as day workers. The data for each account book has been calculated and analysed in the same way, regardless of the number of female day workers in them, but the lack of women in some books must be taken into account in the analysis.

Figure 3.1: The number of days worked by day workers at Leyhill by gender and decade



Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

Table 3.1 shows the wages paid to men and women at Leyhill. The average daily wage for a female day worker at Leyhill was 4.1d. However, out of the 2679 instances of work paid by the day, only 57 instances featured a daily wage of between 4 and 5d. This suggests that the average is not the best way of exploring the overall experience of working women at Leyhill. There are also significant outliers. The daily wages paid to female labourers have a large range of 23d,

going from 1d, the lowest daily wage paid, to the highest at 24d. Whilst it is important to take these outliers into account, they are not representative of the female labour force. In this instance, an inter-quartile range can be more effective in showing a representative wage for women on the Leyhill estate, as it ignores the outliers. The inter-quartile range shows that women were more likely to be paid between 3d and 6d at Leyhill. This corresponds with the mean of 4.1d and emphasises the abnormality of the largest wage of 24d per day. There were 86 instances of women being paid 1d per day, all for unspecified labour. These involved four women; one of whom, Gomer Short, may have been paid less due to her age. There were two instances of the highest daily wage of 24d, both to Mary Salter for two days of unspecified work in August 1678.⁵² The month of the payment suggests it may have been for harvest work, which generally commanded higher wages as a rule. This can be seen in the Devonshire wage assessments for 1654, which advised that female labourers should be paid 6d daily for 'labouring at hay', 8d daily in the corn harvest and a lesser rate of 5d daily 'at other work'.⁵³ These may not be reflective of the actual wages paid, but shows the accepted opinion that harvest work deserved a higher wage. However, 24d is unusually high for a female day worker, and there is much more of a disparity between this and the average wage than the 1-3d difference between harvest work and other work specified in the wage assessment.

Is the modal daily wage of 3d more representative of the experience of the majority of the women at Leyhill? Out of 2679 days worked, 999 (or 37.3%) were paid at 3d a day, such as Ann Saunder who in August 1680 was paid 18d for six days of unspecified labour.⁵⁴ This is over a third of the total days worked, a significant amount, but the distribution of other payments should not be ignored. Another 855 days (31.9%) were paid 6d per day. For instance, Agnes Chancellor was paid 6d daily for three days weeding in May 1646.⁵⁵ Therefore, 69% of the days worked by women at Leyhill involved a payment of 3d or 6d per day. This shows a distinct trend of female payment at the estate, where the majority of

⁵² SHC, DD/WO/52/3/16.

⁵³ A. H. A. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne: Illustrations of Local Government and History drawn from Original Records (Chiefly of the County of Devon)* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1878), p.163.

⁵⁴ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18.

⁵⁵ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3.

women's work was for low pay. This is supported by the fact that only 46.5 days worked, or 1.7%, involved payments of 8d or over.

Table 3.1: The wages for male and female day workers at Leyhill from 1644 – 91.

Gender	No. days worked	Highest wage (d)	Lowest wage (d)	Mean wage (d)	Modal wage (d)	Range of wages (d)
Male	18568.5	48.0	1.0	8.1	12.0	47.0
Female	2679.0	24.0	1.0	4.1	3.0	23.0

Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

This is thrown into sharp relief when it is considered that the mean wage for male day workers at Leyhill was 8.1d, as can be seen in Table 3.1. Therefore, men were paid, on average, 65.6% more than women at Leyhill. Only 36.5 days worked by women (or 1.4%) involved payments higher than 8.1d. Out of the 18568.5 days worked by men at Leyhill, 689.5 (3.7%) of them involved a daily wage between 8d and 9d. As was the case with the female dataset, this unrepresentative average is a result of significant outliers which create a range of 47d. Table 3.1 shows that the highest male daily wage at Leyhill was 48d. This sum was paid to only two men: Tinker on 10 September 1659 and Simon Prat in July 1666, both for unspecified tasks.⁵⁶ This amounted to two days worked. The lowest sum paid to a man for a day's work was 1d, a wage which six male workers received for twenty days of work in total. These paltry payments span the entire period at Leyhill, from 1646 to 1690 and only two of them are explicitly labelled as children ('little boy' and 'Searle's little son'), who may be expected to receive such a low wage. The only thing that all the 1d daily wage payments had in common is that they were all paid for an unspecified task. These two outliers are hardly representative of such a large sample and they distort the average. The inter-quartile range for men is 8d, which is close to the mean of 8.1d. Therefore, although the range of male wages was extensive (with a difference of 47d between the highest and lowest average daily wage for men), in practice the inter-quartile range of 8d suggests that most wages clustered around the mean. This suggests that the average daily wage at Leyhill, for both men and women, was a good representation of a 'normal' wage on the estate. In fact, 46.1% of the days worked by men at Leyhill were for more than 8.1d per day, as the mode of 12d can testify. Out of the total days worked by men, 6381.5 (34.4%) received a daily wage of 12d. The majority of these payments were for unspecified tasks, although the mason James Haycroft received 12d per day in June 1659, as did a quarry

⁵⁶ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/7, DD/WO/52/3/9.

man for 'laying the pond' on 20 July 1666.⁵⁷ Only 38.9% of the days worked by men at Leyhill received a daily wage of 12d or over. A daily wage of 4d, similar to the female average of 4.1d was paid for 24.8% of the days worked, showing that the picture of male and female wages at Leyhill was more nuanced than first glance allows. Although men were paid a higher daily wage than women according to both the mean and the modal figures, there was an overlap in male and female wages in the first quartile range (bottom twenty-five percent of earners) At this lowest level of wages, there was more similarity between male and female earnings, with men earning an average of 4d and women 3d. However, the disparity is more apparent in the upper quartile range. The top twenty-five percent of male workers earned significantly more per day than their female counterparts, with an average daily wage of 12d compared to 6d for women. This shows that, whilst some women earned similar wages to some men, they were mostly to be found amongst the lower earners of either gender. Women did not generally have the same opportunities to become higher earners, and they did not typically earn similar wages to their highest paid male peers.

Was there any change over time at Leyhill? Table 3.2 shows that the mean male daily wage experienced a large increase over the five decades, from 4.0d during the 1640s to 9.9d in the 1690s. There were some fluctuations: it rose steadily by 2 or 3d every decade from the 1640s to the 1660s. During the 1660s and 1670s it stagnated and remained between 9 and 10d, then dropped again to 7.3d in the 1680s before rising in the 1690s to its highest level at 9.9d. In contrast, the mean female daily wage remained at the same level at the end of the century, from 5.2d in the 1640s to 5.3d in the 1690s. Its lowest point was 2.5d in the 1660s, whilst it was between 4 and 5d for the 1650s, 1670s and 1680s. Why was there such a drastic dip in the 1660s? One explanation may be that, out of 387 days worked by women during that decade 159 days (or 41.1%) were worked by widows, Widow Walter and Widow Montsteven, who may have been older women and therefore paid less. Only 11 of the 159 days worked by widows in this decade had an average daily wage of more than 3d, with all these payments being made to Widow Montsteven. Widow Walters, in contrast, was paid between 1.25d and 3d per day. Another twelve days were worked by women with the title of 'gomer' which signified old age, all being paid average daily wages of 1d or 1.5d. This

⁵⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/7, DD/WO/52/3/10.

large proportion of potentially older female workers (making up 44.2% of the overall days worked by women) may be an explanation for the lower wages in the 1660s. Therefore, the overall picture was unchanging for female day workers, with women at the end of the seventeenth century earning a similar wage to their counterparts at the century's midpoint. This is contrast to male day workers, who saw their average daily wage rise by nearly 6d between the 1640s and 1690s.

Table 3.2: The average daily wage at Leyhill by gender and decade

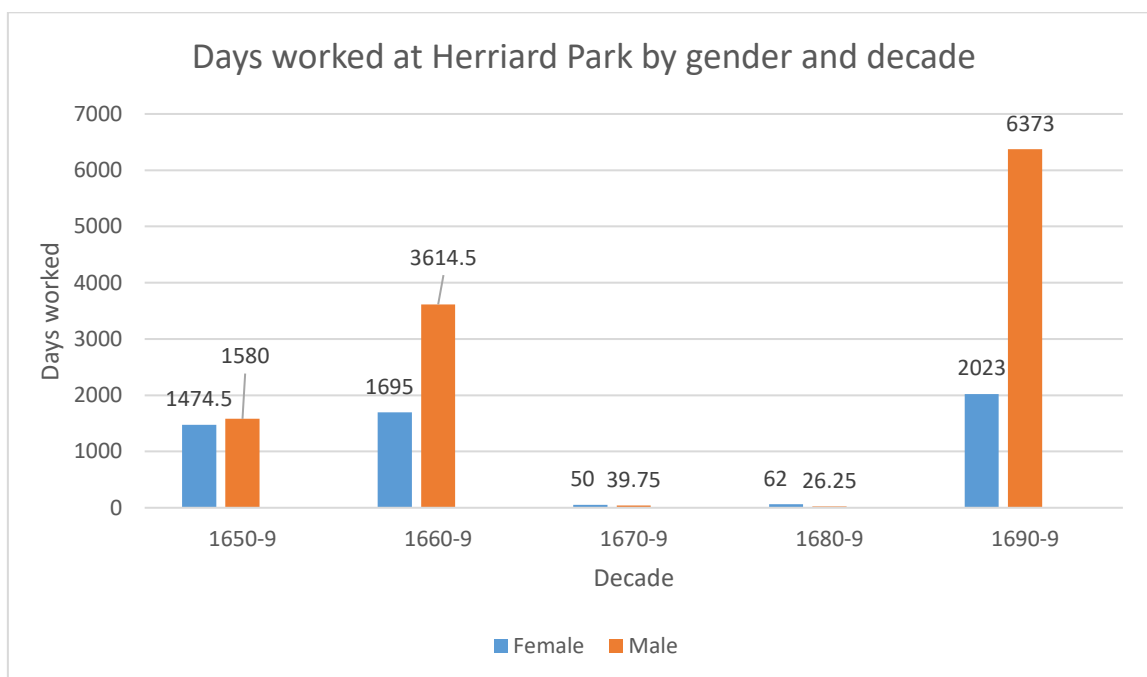
Decade	No. of days worked by women	Average female daily wage (d)	No. of days worked by men	Average male daily wage (d)
1640-9	292.5	5.2	2311.0	4.0
1650-9	314.0	4.1	3973.0	7.2
1660-9	387.0	2.5	3933.0	9.7
1670-9	1171.5	4.4	5873.0	9.2
1680-9	324.5	4.0	1677.0	7.3
1690-9	189.5	5.3	801.5	9.9

Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

3.4 Day workers at Herriard Park

The Herriard Park collection does not contain a run of continuous account books in the same manner as Leyhill. Instead, the data on day workers has been gathered not only from complete account books (some kept by the Jervoise family themselves, others by their bailiff Thomas Austen) but also lists of employees and payments secured in bundles amongst other bills and receipts. This means that, like Leyhill, some parts of the second half of the seventeenth century are covered more comprehensively than others. A total of 16938 days were worked at Herriard Park and recorded in the account books. Herriard Park is the case study with the highest number of days worked by women, the figure being 5304.5 compared to 11633.5 days worked by men. Therefore, women constituted 31.6% of the day workforce at Herriard Park during the second half of the seventeenth century. The distribution of days worked at Herriard Park by gender and decade can be seen in Figure 3.2 below. The 1670s and 1680s suffer from a lack of documented daily labour, and there is no material for the 1640s. This is a reflection of the nature of the surviving material: no full-length account books survive from those decades and any data has been pieced together from individual payment receipts in bundles. However, there are larger amounts of data from the 1650s, 1660s and 1690s.

Figure 3.2: The number of days worked by day workers at Herriard Park by gender and decade



Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

The issues that affect the Leyhill data, with the mean being unrepresentative due to large outliers, are less evident for Herriard Park. Table 3.3 shows the wages paid to men and women at the estate. As can be seen, the mean daily wage for a female day worker was 4.1d. This is exactly the same as the mean daily wage for women at Leyhill. Only thirty-eight (or 0.7%) of the days worked by women had a mean daily payment of 4.1d and were all to Bridget Hall or her daughter for haymaking.⁵⁸ However, out of the total days worked by women, 4139.25 had a daily wage payment between 4d and 5d. This amounted to 78% of the total days worked by women, suggesting that the average daily wage of 4.1d was reasonably representative. The highest daily wage paid to a woman at Herriard Park was 17.1d. This was to an unnamed nurse for forty-two days nursing Mr Jervoise and a servant, Margaret Whale.⁵⁹ Depending on the severity of the illness and taking into account that for part of the time the nurse was attending to the master of the household, this personal medical care may be a reason why

⁵⁸ HALS, 44M69/E7/2.

⁵⁹ HALS, 44M69/E8/2/5.

this wage was so high. In contrast, the lowest daily wage paid to a female day worker was 1d, a payment which was recorded for sixty-seven days. These payments also shared a task in common: milking, or helping to milk, and were paid to Goody Rice and Goody Winter.⁶⁰ The small sum of 1d may reflect the fact that milking did not take an entire working day.

Table 3.3: The wages for male and female day workers at Herriard Park

Gender	No. of days worked	Highest wage (d)	Lowest wage (d)	Mean wage (d)	Modal wage (d)	Range of wages (d)
Male	11633.5	60.0	1.1	8.3	8.0	58.9
Female	5304.5	17.1	1.0	4.1	4.0	16.1

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

The average daily wage for a male day worker at Herriard Park, like at Leyhill, was higher than his female counterpart. Table 3.3 shows that the male average wage of 8.3d is 67.7% higher than the female average wage of 4.1d. Also like the female figures, the male mean at Herriard Park (8.3d) is similar to the mode (8d), making it a more representative calculation. Whilst no men were paid precisely 8.9d, 6993.75 of the days worked by men (60.1%) had payments between 8d and 9d. Examples are as diverse as John Woodman cleaving wood for his master's chamber in November 1657, Richard Dredge shearing sheep on 30 June 1666 and Chandler carrying rubbish into the stable on 13 March 1698.⁶¹ The most extraordinary thing about this set of data is the range, and this is due to an extreme outlier. The highest daily payment made to a man in the Herriard Park accounts was 60d (five shillings), an unprecedented amount. This was paid to Jo Heath on 5 April 1698 for a day's work valuing ash trees.⁶² This task can explain the unusually high wage that Heath received. It was not an everyday laboring job and required specialist skills such as a high-level knowledge of both the wood and its markets. Jo Heath appeared only twice in the Herriard Park accounts, once for valuing ash trees and once for measuring them; suggesting that this was his primary occupation and that Herriard Park was not his place of residence. He may have had to travel, and the payment included his expenses. Whilst this piece of data is informative, it is not reflective of day-to-day life on the estate and skews the range of payments. The lowest wage at Herriard Park given to a man working

⁶⁰ HALS, 44M69/E7/2.

⁶¹ HALS, 44M69/E7/2-3, 44M69/E8/2/5.

⁶² HALS, 44M59/E8/2/5.

for a daily wage was 1.1d. There was only one instance of this: Joseph Parry, who was paid 3d for two and three-quarter days hopping on 18 September 1673.⁶³ He could not be identified in the parish registers, so it cannot be ascertained whether he was paid less due to youth or old age.

Table 3.4: The average daily wage at Herriard Park by gender and decade

Decade	No. of days worked by women	Average female daily wage (d)	No. of days worked by men	Average male daily wage (d)
1650-9	1474.5	3.8	1580.0	8.1
1660-9	1695.0	4.1	3614.5	7.8
1670-9	50.0	3.1	39.75	6.5
1680-9	62.0	4.2	26.25	8.5
1690-9	2023.0	4.4	6373.0	8.6

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

It can be seen from Table 3.4 above that both the average male and female wage rose slightly at Herriard Park over the second half of the seventeenth century: the female wage by 0.6d and the male wage by 0.5d. There were subtle fluctuations in the averages between decades. For female day workers, the variation was very slight and can most notably be seen in the drop of a penny between the 1660s and the 1670s. In terms of the male average, the most obvious change was the dip from 7.8d in the 1660s to 6.5d in the 1670s and then the subsequent 2d rise to 8.5d in the 1680s. Both the male and the female average daily wage was at its lowest in the 1670s. This was also the decade with the least number of days worked due to issues of record survival, a factor which may be the reason behind a dip in the average wage. Whilst both men and women ended the seventeenth century with a higher average wage, the difference was very slight: less than 1d for both genders. This is very similar to the small rise in the average daily female wage at Leyhill from 5.2d to 5.3d across the period. However, it has been seen at Leyhill that the rise in the average male daily wage was much more significant, from 4d to 9.9d. This difference between the two estates is likely due to the fact that the male wage during the 1640s at Leyhill was uncharacteristically low.

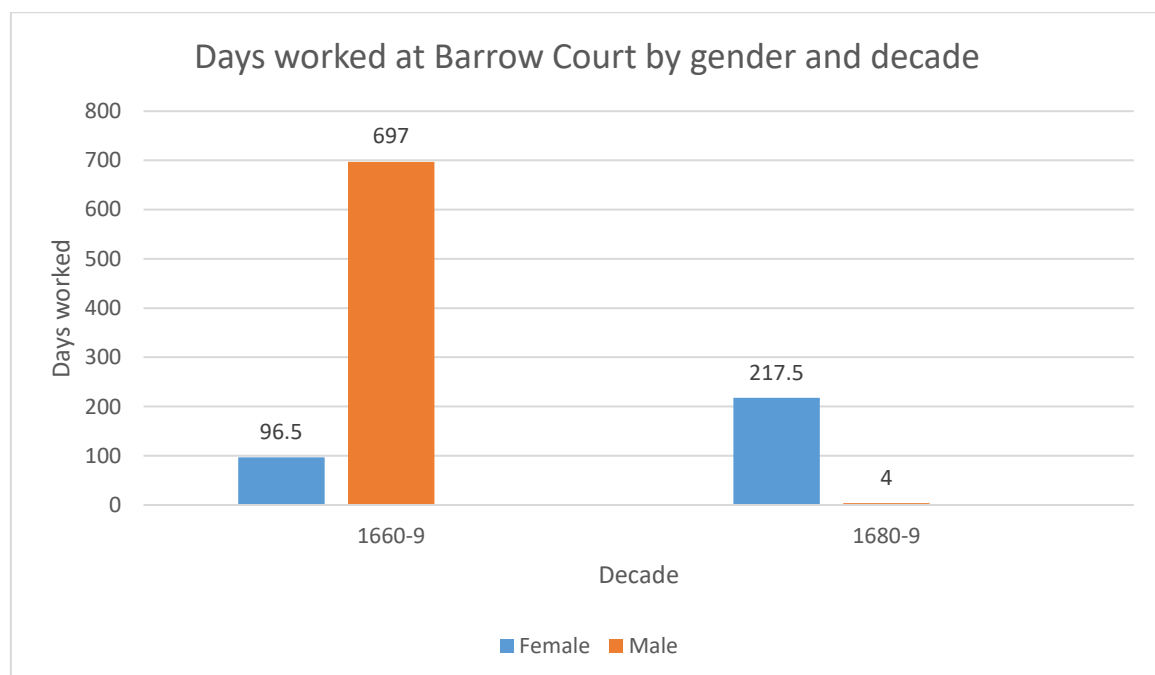
3.5 Day workers at Barrow Court

At Barrow Court the smallest number of days worked overall was recorded, at 1015 days in total. Out of this number, 314 days were worked by female day workers and 701 days were worked by male day workers, meaning that women

⁶³ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/2.

made up 30.9% of the day workforce at Barrow Court for the years 1666 and 1686-8. These numbers have been broken down further in Figure 3.3, which shows the distribution of hours worked by gender and decade. As can be seen, there are only records for day workers for the decades 1660-9 and 1680-9 because the account book only covers the years 1666 and 1686-8. A significant majority of the days worked by men came from the 1666 section of the accounts, with only four recorded days worked by men in the period 1686-8. In these latter years, the accounts become less standardized and more focused around the household and its immediate environs. This goes some way towards explaining the lack of male labourers for these years and the increase of female day workers, who were paid to perform tasks such as weeding, washing and brewing which were centered in the house and garden.

Figure 3.3: The number of days worked by day workers at Barrow Court by gender and decade



Sources: DD/GB/113 (SHC)

Table 3.5 below shows the wages paid to both men and women at Barrow Court. As can be seen, the average daily wage for a woman working at Barrow Court was 5.8d. The mode was 6d (with 68% of the days worked by women having an average daily wage of 6d). This suggests that the average was reasonably representative. The highest recorded daily wage paid to a woman over the period was 16.5d. Only two of the days worked by women (or 0.6%) had a payment of

this figure: both to Goody Morgan's daughter for working 'at feast and tates'.⁶⁴ It is unclear what this highly paid task was. The month of payment was December and Goody Morgan's daughter was paid alongside her mother for unspecified labour and Goody Court for washing; a context which does not lend many clues. In contrast, the lowest recorded payment to a female day worker at Barrow Court was 2d, giving a large range of 14.5d across all women and tasks. Twenty-four of the days worked by women (7.6%) had average daily wage payments of 2d. They were all made to Goody Cottle's daughter in 1687 for either weeding or unspecified labour.⁶⁵ Although the label of daughter does not necessarily connote age, if Goody Cottle's daughter was a child then this could explain her low wage. Not only would a child have been less productive than a grown woman, it was also customary for children to be paid less than an adult. However, the female worker who received the highest daily wage was also referred to as a daughter. This shows that one should not assume the age of workers with this title: they may be children, adolescents or adult women. According to the parish registers of Barrow Gurney, in 1686 Goody Morgan had two living daughters. They were both teenagers: Elizabeth, aged 17, and Katherine, aged 15.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the age of Goody Cottle's daughter cannot be ascertained, as neither she nor her mother have been identified in the parish registers. Even if they were roughly the same age, different wages may be reflective of different levels of productivity, hours worked, or the task performed.

Table 3.5: The wages of male and female day workers at Barrow Court, 1666 and 1686 – 8.

Gender	No. of days worked	Highest wage (d)	Lowest wage (d)	Mean wage (d)	Modal wage (d)	Range of wages (d)
Male	701.0	24.0	4.0	12.7	12.0	20.0
Female	314.0	16.5	2.0	5.8	6.0	14.5

Sources: DD/GB/113 (SHC)

According to Table 3.5 above, the average daily wage for male day workers was 12.7d, which was 74.6% higher than the average female wage of 5.8d. Again, this is similar to the modal average daily wage, which was 12d. Out of the total days worked by men, 44.5% had a daily wage of 12d, suggesting that both the average and the mode were somewhat representative of male experience. The highest daily wage for a man at Barrow Court was 24d. Only twenty of the days

⁶⁴ SHC, DD/GB/113.

⁶⁵ SHC, DD/GB/113.

⁶⁶ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

worked by men (a mere 2.9%) had this payment. Seventeen of them were worked by John James, a carpenter, suggesting that the high wage was paid for skilled craftsmanship. The other three were worked by John Brown, Daniel Doubting and 'Prim'. Elsewhere in the accounts, both John Brown and Daniel Doubting were paid lower daily wages of 12d and 18d, which supports the hypothesis that the high wage was related to the task performed, not a specific worker. The lowest daily wage paid to a male worker at Barrow Court was 4d. This amounted to three days worked by men, only 0.4% of the whole. All of these were worked by 'Turner's boy'. The second lowest daily wage, 6d, made up 14.8% of the total days worked by men and there is also a clear pattern of young workers in this wage group. Out of the 103.5 days that had a wage of 6d, 71.5 of them were worked by boys – Henry Collins' boy, Walter Williams' boy and Thomas Turner's boy. A further 23 days were worked by men with the surname of Williams and these may have been the same individual as Williams' boy, but referred to by their whole name rather than a family relationship to another worker. This propensity for boys being paid 6d supports Sandy Bardsley's argument that women only achieved equal pay to males who were elderly, disabled or children, as at Barrow Court the majority of women were paid 6d or less.⁶⁷

Was there change over time at Barrow Court in terms of wages? As Table 3.6 below shows, the mean daily wage for female day workers decreased between the two periods, from a mean of 6.9d in 1666 to a mean of 5.3d for the years 1686-8. This downward turn in wages is also reflected in the contemporary wage assessments for Somerset as the Quarter Sessions records show that every category pertaining to day labour, for both genders, saw a reduction in wages between 1666 and 1685.⁶⁸ This trend is not corroborated by Humphries and Weisdorf's female wage series, which shows an average daily wage for female casual workers of 4.7d for the decade 1660-70 and then a rise to 6.3d for 1680-90. However, Humphries and Weisdorf's averages are for the entire country, over a whole decade: these results pertain to a localized picture for specific years. Neither the average female daily wage for Leyhill or Herriard Park dropped to such an extent, which also shows the local nature of this pattern. The drastic drop in the male average daily wage from 12.7d in 1666 to 6d for the years 1686-8 can

⁶⁷ Bardsley, 'Women's Work Reconsidered', p.27.

⁶⁸ Andrew Browning, *English Historical Documents 1660 – 1714* (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1953), pp. 469-70.

be explained by the fact that there were only four recorded days worked by men in that period; an issue of the sources, their survival and the changing recording practices, rather than being reflective of change on the estate.

Table 3.6: The average daily wage at Barrow Court by gender and decade

Decade	No. of days worked by women	Female Average Daily Wage (d)	No. of days worked by men	Male Average Daily Wage (d)
1660-9	96.5	6.9	697.0	12.7
1680-9	217.5	5.3	4.0	6.0

Sources: DD/GB/113 (SHC)

3.6 Day workers at all three estates

Another aim of the thesis is to compare the wages paid on the three estates with each other to measure the effect of the local economy on daily wages. To do this, the average daily wage for labouring women on each of the three estates for each decade was calculated and compared, in Table 3.7 below, to yield a fuller picture of female day wages in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Table 3.7: The average daily wage by decade for female day workers at Leyhill, Barrow Court and Herriard Park

Decade	Average female daily wage (d)		
	Leyhill	Barrow Court	Herriard Park
1640-9	5.2	-	-
1650-9	4.1	-	3.8
1660-9	2.5	6.9	4.1
1670-9	4.4	-	3.1
1680-9	4.0	5.3	4.2
1690-9	5.3	-	4.4
Total	4.1	5.8	4.1

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

What is immediately evident from Table 3.7 is that women at Barrow Court were paid significantly more than their counterparts at Leyhill and Herriard Park, even though all three estates are in the south of England and some distance from London. This shows that generalisations across regions can be unhelpful and inaccurate, and that the analysis must go deeper to county, district and even village level. One reason to explain this disparity in wages could be the fact that Barrow Court was only six miles from Bristol. This city benefited from its location at the mouth of two waterways: the Bristol Channel, linking it to the south-west counties and South Wales, and the network of the Rivers Severn and Wye, which

connected Bristol to the Welsh marches and the midlands.⁶⁹ As a result, it had engaged in overseas and local trade since the medieval period. The 1650s saw the beginnings of the lucrative American trade, the proceeds of which would make Bristol the second largest city in England after London by 1700, with a population of 20,000.⁷⁰ This can be illustrated by the fact that six thousand tonnes of shipping was processed by Bristol in the year 1670 alone.⁷¹

As well as being a focal point for national and international trade, Bristol was a focal point for local produce and labour, and its fairs (St. Paul's Fair in January and St James' Fair in July) dominated the social and business life of the neighbouring counties.⁷² In the *Cambridge Urban History*, Bristol is described as being 'a magnet for labouring men and women seeking sustenance and employment' in this period.⁷³ In his study on migration in English provincial towns, David Souden used enumerations made by the city authorities to show that Bristol had a female skewed sex ratio, with 80.2 men to every 100 women in 1696.⁷⁴ As urban centres could only maintain population growth through migration in this period, the larger proportion of women in Bristol shows that it was a magnet for female migration. This proximity to a large city with a thriving port, industries and other opportunities for employment meant that the Gore family had to provide an incentive for labourers, especially female labourers, to work for them by paying higher wages. Robert C. Allen, in his survey of European wages and prices, found that wages were higher in cities than in rural communities.⁷⁵ This is also corroborated by wage assessments, set by local Justices of the Peace to control wage rates in their area. In 1595, female day workers were to be paid no more than 3d per day with meat and drink according to the Exeter wage assessment, whilst the Devonshire wage assessment stipulated the maximum sum of 2d with

⁶⁹ W. E. Minchinton, 'Bristol: Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 (1954), p.71.

⁷⁰ Kenneth Morgan, 'Building British Atlantic Port Cities: Bristol and Liverpool in the Eighteenth Century' in *Building the British-Atlantic World: Spaces, Places and Material Culture, 1600 – 1850* ed. by Daniel Maudlin and Bernard L. Herman (University of North Carolina Press, 2016), p. 212.

⁷¹ S. J. Jones, 'The Historical Geography of Bristol', *Geography*, 16.3 (1931), p.180.

⁷² Minchinton, 'Bristol: Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century', pp. 73 – 80.

⁷³ David Harris Sacks and Michael Lynch, 'Ports 1540 – 1700' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume II: 1540 – 1840* ed. by Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.401.

⁷⁴ David Souden, 'Migrants and the population structure of later seventeenth-century provincial cities and market towns' in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600 – 1800* ed. by Peter Clark (London: Hutchinson and Co, 1984), p.150.

⁷⁵ Robert C. Allen, 'The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War', *Explorations in Economic History*, 38 (2001), p. 432.

meat and drink.⁷⁶ Although it has been proven that wage assessments were not reliable indicators of what was paid in practice, by showing differences between prescribed wages in rural and urban areas they reflect the expectation that wage rates would be different in the countryside and in towns. Both Leyhill and Herriard Park were further away from urban centres of employment than Barrow Court. The closeness to an urban, competitive job market explains why some estates pay higher wages than others. This is confirmed by existing research on wages, such as Gregory Clark who, when compiling wage series for farm workers in the period 1209 to 1869, had to account for the constant rise in wages in and around towns compared to other areas.⁷⁷

3.7 Comparison with national figures

The wages series constructed by Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, and by Gregory Clark, were collected from locations across the country. Therefore, they can be used to compare wages from the household accounts to a national average. Table 3.8 below shows the average daily wage for both genders and for each decade at all three estates, compared to the figures from the two wage series.

Table 3.8a: The average daily wage for female day workers by decade at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court compared to Humphries and Weisdorf's national wage series

Decade	Average female daily wage (d)			
	Leyhill	Herriard Park	Barrow Court	Humphries & Weisdorf
1640-9	5.2	-	-	4.9
1650-9	4.1	3.8	-	4.3
1660-9	2.5	4.1	6.9	4.7
1670-9	4.4	3.1	-	6.0
1680-9	4.0	4.2	5.3	6.3
1690-9	5.3	4.4	-	5.8

⁷⁶ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume III* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 144, 151.

⁷⁷ Clark, 'The long march of history', p. 102.

Decade	Average male daily wage (d)			
	Leyhill	Herriard Park	Barrow Court	Clark
1640-9	4.0	-	-	8.0
1650-9	7.2	8.1	-	11.7
1660-9	9.7	7.8	12.7	10.9
1670-9	9.2	6.5	-	11.5
1680-9	7.3	8.5	6.0	10.1
1690-9	9.9	8.6	-	10.4

Table 3.8b: The average daily wage for male day workers by decade at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court compared to Gregory Clark's national wage series

*Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS); Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260 – 1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), pp.405 – 447; Gregory Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review*, 60 (2007), pp.97-135.*

As can be seen in Table 3.8, workers of both genders at Barrow Court were in receipt of higher daily wages than the corresponding national figures during the 1660s. Women were paid a daily average of 6.9d in the 1660s compared to Humphries and Weisdorf's figures of 4.7d, whilst men were paid on average 12.6d per day in the 1660s compared to the 10.9d daily average calculated by Clark. This again could be explained by the proximity of Barrow Court to Bristol and its labour market. Women (and men) who worked for Sir Thomas and Lady Philippa Gore were in receipt of a higher rate of pay than many of their contemporaries across the country. However, this effect is not visible in the 1680s when women were paid less at Barrow Court than the national average, although still more than at Leyhill and Herriard Park. The 4.1d difference between male wages at Barrow Court and Clark's national averages for the 1680s can be explained by the lack of recorded days worked by men during that decade, as discussed earlier on in this chapter.

However, this was not the case for workers at the other two estates of Leyhill and Herriard Park. Table 3.8a also shows that from the 1650s onwards, the national averages for female day workers as calculated by Humphries and Weisdorf was consistently higher than the wages paid at Leyhill; whilst the women who worked at Herriard Park never obtained an average daily wage equal to the national

averages. However, these differences may be due to differing assumptions about the number of days worked by women. To calculate their figures, Humphries and Weisdorf assumed that women and men both worked 260 days per year.⁷⁸ As was demonstrated in Section 2.3 on the gendered distribution of labour, female day workers were recorded as working significantly fewer days per year than their male counterparts in the household account books. This may account for why Humphries and Weisdorf's figures for female wages are higher than those at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court.

For male daily wages, Table 3.8b shows that Clark's national averages were higher for every decade at both Leyhill and Herriard Park. Therefore, only women at Leyhill in the 1640s and both genders at Barrow Court in the 1660s were in receipt of a mean wage that exceeded the national average. These figures further illustrate that local and regional economies could differ drastically from the national economy and need to be studied in detail in order to avoid the generalisation of local and individual experience. This analysis suggests that, with the exception of those living in settlements close to large population and trading centres, rural workers in the south-west suffered lower wages than the rest of the country.

3.8 Tasks and their wages

How much were labouring women paid daily for specific tasks, and which tasks were paid the most? As with the previous sections, the data in this section are only for female day workers. Data on women paid by piece, or for a specific task or service, are not included. The tasks are also heavily skewed towards more outdoor and agricultural labour. This is because, as discussed in the previous chapter on the gender division of labour, indoor and household work were more likely to be performed by servants.

Table 3.9 below shows the tasks undertaken by female day workers at Barrow Court, and the average amount which they were paid for each one. There were four distinct tasks: weeding, washing (meaning laundry), brewing and 'being at feast and tates', the meaning of which is unclear. There are also instances of women being paid by the day without their tasks being recorded, which has necessitated the creation of an 'unspecified' category. This category was the

⁷⁸ Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260 - 1850', p.417.

largest, with 188.5 days worked by female day workers (60%) being unspecified. The next most common tasks performed by female day workers were weeding, with 82 days worked (26.1%), and washing, with 39 days worked (12.4%). The tasks least recorded for female day workers were brewing, with 2.5 days worked (0.8%) and being 'at feast and tates', with 2 days worked (0.6%).

Table 3.9: The average daily wage by task for female day workers at Barrow Court

Task	No. of days worked	Average daily wage (d)
Unspecified	188.5	6.1
Weeding	82.0	4.6
Washing	39.0	6.0
Brewing	2.5	6.0
'at feast and tates'	2.0	16.5
All tasks	314.0	5.8

Sources: DD/GB/113 (SHC)

The best paid task at Barrow Court for a female day worker was working 'at feast and tates', which averaged 16.5d a day. This was an extremely high wage for a female worker but without more information on the task, it cannot be ascertained why this high wage was paid. Women who performed unspecified labour were on average paid 6.1d per day. Brewing was paid at 6d a day. This was also the average daily wage for women who did the laundry. The lowest paid daily task for women at Barrow Court was weeding which yielded on average 4.6d per day.

Table 3.10 shows the same information for tasks performed by female day workers at Leyhill. On this estate, unspecified labour was also the largest task category, with 2306.5 days worked, or 86.1% of the total. There were six other specified tasks performed by female day workers. Weeding was the second most common specified task, making up 254.5 (9.5%) of the days worked by women at Leyhill. Setting peas and beans made up 45 (1.7%) of the days worked by women whilst clotting, which described the breaking up of clods of earth in fields after harrowing, made up 42 (1.6%) of the days worked by women at Leyhill. Some lesser performed tasks were washing, which made up 18 (0.7%) of the days worked by women, work in the garden which made up nine days (0.3%), and greeping (or griping, meaning cutting trenches in the fields to aid drainage) which made up four days, or 0.1% of the total.

Table 3.10: The average daily wage by task for female day workers at Leyhill

Task	No. of days worked	Average daily wage (d)
Unspecified	2306.5	3.8
Weeding	254.5	6.5
Setting peas/beans	45.0	6.0
Clotting	42.0	9.2
Washing	18.0	2.0
In the garden	9.0	6.0
Greeping/gripping	4.0	4.5
All tasks	2679.0	4.1

Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

The most profitable task for a woman on the Leyhill estate was ‘clotting’, which averaged a daily wage of 9.2d. Breaking earth was a labour-intensive activity, which explains the high wages. The second highest paid task at Leyhill for women was weeding, with an average daily wage of 6.5d. This contrasts sharply with the findings from the Barrow Court accounts where weeding was the least profitable task for women to undertake. The fact that weeding was so highly paid an activity at Leyhill throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century is certainly at odds with expectations: weeding was an unskilled activity usually reserved for casual female labourers, all factors which explain why historically it is viewed as an ill-paid activity.

A slightly less well-paid activity was ‘setting’, meaning planting, (mostly beans, with one instance of planting peas) which averaged a daily wage of 6d. Agnes Saunders and her two daughters who spent nine days ‘in the garden’ in June 1690 were paid 6d each.⁷⁹ Five women in August 1666 and August 1667 were paid for four days “greeping” or “gripping” on average 4.5d per day. All of these specified tasks paid a daily wage higher than the overall average, which was brought down by the overwhelming amount of unspecified labour performed by female day workers at Leyhill, for which the average wage was 3.8d. The least profitable task for female day workers in the Leyhill accounts was washing or doing the laundry. There was only one payment relating to this, which was to Susan Weeks who worked 18 days washing in August 1651 and was paid an average of 2d per day.⁸⁰ The likely reason for the scarcity of payments for

⁷⁹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/19.

⁸⁰ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/4.

washing at Leyhill is because it was regularly undertaken by the maidservants rather than hired labour and that Susan Weeks had been employed as an extra pair of hands on a one-off basis, due to an extraordinary amount of washing or the fact that a maidservant was ill or working elsewhere. This low wage is puzzling, since Susan was regularly employed on the estate with an average wage of 3.4d, and it could be assumed that she would not consent to working for considerably lower wages than usual. However, Susan's wages were not consistent and across the account books she was paid anywhere between 1.2d and 7d per day. Weeding regularly earned her 6d or 7d per day, whilst she was paid a much lower wage for unspecified work and washing – a sign that it was perhaps the task, and not the skills or strength of the worker, which dictated the levels of wages paid to women at Leyhill. However, this average wage of 2d per day paid at Leyhill was much lower than Barrow Court, which paid on average 6d per day for the laundry. The varying wages of Susan Weeks implies that this was not a payment reflective of a worker's abilities. The difference in wages for washing may be explained by differences in employment structure, as Barrow Court regularly employed day workers to do the laundry in comparison to Leyhill, who seemed to prefer household servants for this task. Another explanation may be that Susan did not spend the entirety of the day washing and merely lent a hand at certain stages in the process.

As can be seen in Table 3.11 below, the range of tasks is much better recorded at Herriard Park, meaning that there is much less unspecified labour. There were only 225 days (4.2%) of unspecified labour by female day workers at Herriard Park, with an average wage of 3.8d. Four specified tasks were all performed more regularly. Haying made up 1986 (37.4%) of the days worked by women at Herriard Park and had an average daily wage of 4d. Weeding made up 1565.5 (29.5%) of the days worked by women and had an average daily wage of 3.9d. Hopping made up 442.5 (8.3%) of the days worked with an average wage of 4d, whilst gardening made up 371.5 (7%) of the days worked and had an average wage of 3.8d. Two more tasks, raking the crops and leasing wheat (or gleaning), made up a similar proportion of tasks performed by female day workers. Raking made up 220 of the days worked and had an average wage of 5.9d, whilst leasing wheat made up 142 of the days worked and had an average wage of 4d. All of these tasks, which made up the bulk of female day labour at Herriard Park, had

a similar wage to the overall estate female average wage of 4.1d, with only raking commanding a noticeably higher wage. When unspecified labour is added to these tasks, they make up 4952.5 out of the 5304.5 days worked by women, a massive 93.4% of the total days worked by women at Herriard Park. Therefore, the most frequent tasks performed by female day workers at Herriard Park were not the most profitable.

Table 3.11: The average daily wage by task for female day workers at Herriard Park

Task	No. of days worked	Average daily wage (d)
Haying	1986.0	4.0
Weeding	1565.5	3.9
Hopping	442.5	4.0
Gardening	371.5	3.8
Unspecified	225.0	3.8
Raking	220.0	5.9
Leasing wheat	142.0	4.0
Nursing	81.0	10.7
Milking	67.0	1.1
Harvesting	59.0	6.0
Picking apples/beans/meadows	48.5	4.0
Turning peas/vetches	21.0	5.4
In the kitchen	20.0	4.0
Gathering herbs/poppies/red weed	15.0	4.1
Reaping	14.0	11.6
Within doors	9.0	4.0
Mowing	7.5	6.0
Textiles	3.0	4.7
Keeping hogs	2.0	4.0
Washing bottles	2.0	4.0
Cutting beans	2.0	6.0
About the cider	1.0	4.0
All tasks	5304.5	4.1

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

Table 3.11 above shows that the two most profitable tasks a woman could undertake at Herriard Park were reaping, with an average daily wage of 11.6d, and nursing, with an average daily wage of 10.7d. Reaping was performed in the harvest which may explain its higher wage, but only fourteen days worked by women (0.3%) involved this task. Nursing made up 81 days (1.5%) worked by women. It was an occupation which required specialist skill and experience, even if nursing practitioners did not receive formal education in the same way as male doctors. Nurses may also have been working longer, unsociable hours, another explanation for their higher wage. It is interesting that harvest work, traditionally well-remunerated as the need for labour was great, was not one of the highest paid tasks on this estate. Recording practices are partly to explain for this, as

reaping (one of the highest paid tasks) is harvest related but sometimes listed separately in the wage lists. However, its average daily wage of 6d was still higher than the average daily wage for women on the estate as a whole, which was 4.1d. Other field work such as turning peas and vetches, mowing and cutting beans also paid higher wages to women than the average, perhaps also because they tended to be time-sensitive. The lowest paid task at Herriard Park was milking, which earned an average wage of only 1.1d per day. This may be explained by the fact that milking cows was not an all-day task, and only needed doing in the morning and the evening. The reduced time spent on it meant that it was paid a lesser wage.

The different estates studied varied on the tasks which they employed women to perform, but all three employed a significant proportion of their women to weed. Therefore, weeding can be used to make a comparison between the three estates. Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park were all owned by middling gentry families who employed local labour on their home farm, the primary difference between them being their location, as well as the years that the wages were paid. How did this affect the wages which they paid for the common task of weeding? Leyhill paid the most for this labour, at 6.5d per day, followed by Barrow Court at 4.6d per day, whilst Herriard Park paid the least for weeding, at 3.9d per day. The Barrow Court wages for weeding can be explained by its proximity to Bristol. Weeding was the least profitable task for women on the estate. In contrast, the average daily wage for a woman weeding at Leyhill (6.5d) was higher than the average daily wage for women overall on the estate (4.1d).

One explanation for this may be the economic situation in Devon in the 1640s, the period when many payments for weeding occur. Out of the 254.5 days worked by women weeding, 160.5 days (63.1%) took place in the 1640s. During this decade, Devon was severely affected by the English Civil War, with Exeter suffering two sieges in the years 1643-6.⁸¹ The surrounding countryside felt the results of the prolonged blockades of Exeter and the resultant military presence through forced provisioning and billeting, higher rates and the pervasive fear of

⁸¹ M. J. Stoye, '“Whole Streets Converted to Ashes”: Property Destruction in Exeter during the English Civil War' in *The English Civil Wars: Local Aspects* ed. by R. C. Richardson (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1997), pp. 133 – 138.

damage, plunder and death.⁸² There is evidence that the Civil War directly influenced Leyhill's prospects, as John Willoughby wrote in a letter to his brother Nicholas how he had been 'undone by compositions, impositions, rates, taxes, free quartering of soldiers, plundering and other heavy burdens', so much so that he was finding it difficult to run the Leyhill household.⁸³ Prolonged, heavy warfare naturally made a population more susceptible to illness, and the West Country was ravaged by plague, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases from 1644-8.⁸⁴ Pamela Sharpe recounts in her study of Colyton, a nearby market town, that not only had there been a plague outbreak from November 1645 to December 1646 but in 1647 the price of wheat was unusually high.⁸⁵ In this uncertain and difficult climate, food production would have been prioritised even more than usual, which may go some way towards explaining the high wages being paid for weeding the crops.

However, the average daily wage for female weeders at Leyhill during the 1640s was 6d, which was lower than the 6.5d average daily wage for female weeders at Leyhill across the period 1644-90. When the payments for weeding in the 1640s are removed, the average daily wage for female weeders from 1650-90 was even higher, at 7.3d. Therefore, whilst the turmoil of the English Civil War did have an effect on the wages of weeders at Leyhill, it was a negative one which kept wages lower, perhaps predictably taking into account the financial straits of John Willoughby. This is a concrete example of wage rates being affected by local circumstances, but the rationale behind the high wages for weeding at Leyhill still remains unclear. The average daily wages for weeding at Leyhill during the 1640s was still higher than the average female daily wage overall.

This section has shown that there was no rule or custom to indicate which female tasks were the highest paid, and that it differed from estate to estate dependent on individual circumstances. Weeding was the most obvious example, with its high wages at Leyhill. The rise in wage rates for weeding after the 1640s was

⁸² Donald Pennington, 'The War and the People' in *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642 – 1649* ed. by John Morrill (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1982), pp. 115 – 135.

⁸³ 'Nicholas Willoughby to John Willoughby his brother, 1647' transcribed in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III* ed. by Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan and Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan (Camden Society, 1872), p. 262.

⁸⁴ Ian Roy, 'England Turned Germany? The Aftermath of the Civil War in its European Context', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 28 (1978), p.142.

⁸⁵ Pamela Sharpe, 'Poor Children as Apprentices in Colyton, 1598 – 1830', *Continuity and Change*, 6.2 (1991), p.260.

possibly caused by the unusual amount of fighting and disease in the locality during that decade due to the Civil War. Different households employed workers in different ways, which could affect the wages paid: for example, at Barrow Court washing was the highest paid task by female day workers whilst at Leyhill it was the lowest paid task. This is likely due to employment patterns as Barrow Court regularly hired day workers to do the laundry whilst Leyhill utilised servants for this work and employed day workers only on occasion, perhaps as extra help in a busy spell. There were some trends which seem to be present across the three estates. Labour-intensive tasks such as clotting at Leyhill and seasonal tasks such as planting and harvesting crops at Herriard Park were often amongst the highest paid work for women. Specialised occupations also received higher wages for women, with nursing being one example.

3.9 The 'gender pay gap' for day workers

The gender pay gap, where men receive higher wages than women, is a historical consistency across period and region, which has persisted into the twenty-first century. There has been much discussion in the modern media regarding the fact that women are on average in receipt of lower wages than their male counterparts, in many instances even when performing the same tasks. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the gender pay gap was prevalent in the past and widespread during the early modern period.⁸⁶ Why did the gender pay gap exist in the early modern period and how can it be explained on these three estates? Were women paid less due to the lower levels of productivity, which was related to their lesser upper body strength and their fewer working hours due to their wifely and motherly responsibilities, as suggested by Joyce Burnette?⁸⁷ Connected with this, did its causes lie in a gender division of labour, where women were employed in jobs that paid less, as Penelope Lane concluded?⁸⁸ Or was it down to unquestioned custom that women received less pay, either because of direct discrimination or something more insidious such as the unconscious undervaluing of women's work, a view espoused by Pamela Sharpe and Donald Woodward?⁸⁹ Some of these possible reasons, such as direct discrimination and undervaluation, cannot be measured at such a distance.

⁸⁶ Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England, c.1450-1650', p.95.

⁸⁷ Burnette, 'The Wages and Employment of Female Day-Labourers', pp.675 - 677

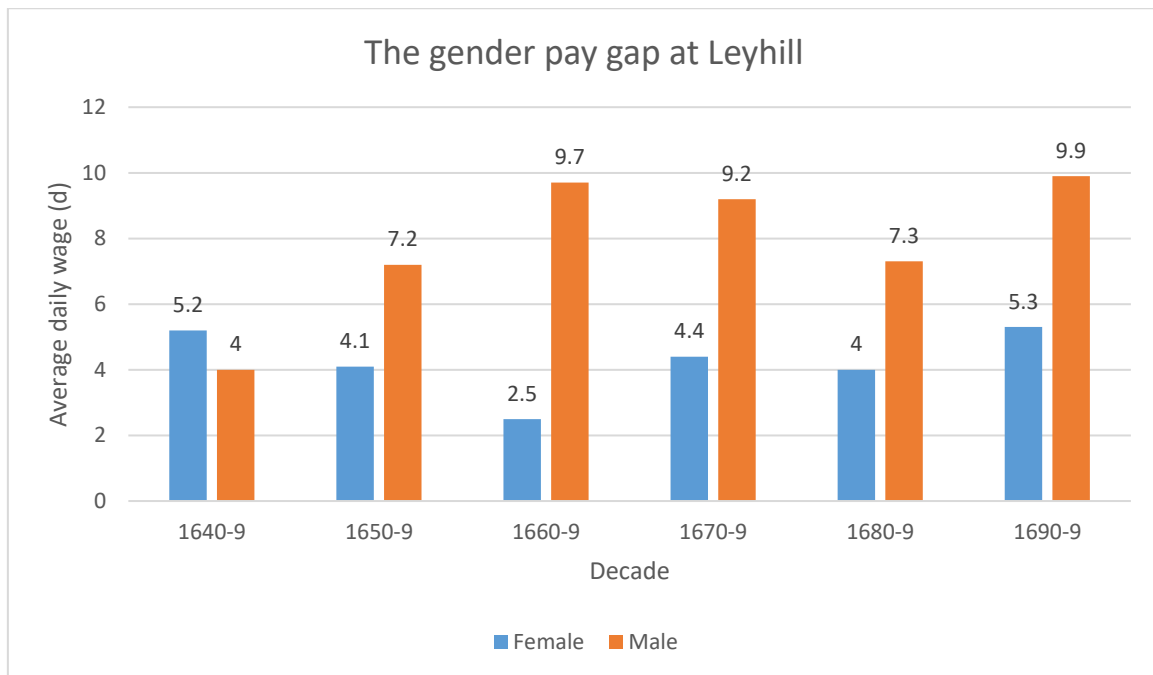
⁸⁸ Lane, 'A Customary or Market Wage?', p.118.

⁸⁹ Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism*, p.100; Woodward, 'The Determination of Wage Rates in the Early Modern North of England', pp. 36 – 8

However, if the answer lies in the gender division of labour, or in the dual roles of women as wives and mothers as well as workers, some analysis is possible. The vast majority of research into the gender pay gap has focused either on the medieval period (particularly post-Black Death) or on the eighteenth century and beyond, as has been discussed in section 3.2 above. Therefore, there is a lacuna on studies for the gender pay gap in the seventeenth century, in which this thesis situates itself. The three estates are firstly examined separately for evidence of a gender pay gap. Secondly, women's wages at the estates are analysed in relation to the tasks they performed and their marital status in order to assess whether the gender division of labour and women's household responsibilities are plausible reasons for the gender pay gap at these locations.

Figure 3.4 below shows the clear gender pay gap at Leyhill for day workers. The average daily wage for a female labourer on the Leyhill estate in Payhembury from the years 1644 to 1691, based on the extant account books, was 4.1d. In comparison, the average daily wage of male labourer across all eighteen account books was 8.1d. Therefore, across the whole period, men averaged a higher daily wage than women by a total of 4d. It can be seen in Figure 3.4 that for 1660s and 1670s, the average daily wage for male labourers was more than double than that paid to their female counterparts, creating a gender pay gap of over fifty percent. The gender pay gap for 1660-9 is the largest, with a difference of 7.2d. During the 1650s, 1680s and 1690s, the gender pay gap was present but slightly smaller, with a difference of 3.1d, 3.3d and 4.6d respectively.

Figure 3.4: The gender pay gap at Leyhill by decade



Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

However, figure 3.4 above also shows that in the 1640s women were paid a higher average daily wage than men; challenging our assumption about the early modern gender pay gap: from 1644-6 at Leyhill, women were paid an average daily wage of 5.2d compared to men's 4d (a 1.2d difference). This is surprising, as it is the opposite of what we would expect and have found in other examples. One explanation could be that this was during the English Civil War. As has already been discussed, Devon was an important theatre in the conflict as both sides fought for control of Exeter and its locale as the key to the entire south-west peninsula. The four years between August 1642 and April 1646 were especially damaging to the county. By December 1643, the Royalist army had succeeded in capturing Exeter and were to be in control until April 1646 and the end of the First Civil War. Therefore, the period of 1644-6 covered by the first account book witnessed mass army movements, sieges and skirmishes, the formal toll of warfare in terms of higher taxes, purveyance, billeting and conscription, and the more informal effects of plunder and destruction.⁹⁰ Throughout the 1644-6 accounts, there are payments made by John Willoughby for rates on local garrisons. In theory, this trouble could explain why female wage rates were high as there was a shortage of working men due to army recruitment, and this caused women to be hired in greater numbers. This demand for female labour meant a

⁹⁰ For more information on the Civil War in Devon, see Eugene A. Andriette, *Devon and Exeter in the Civil War* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971).

favourable job market for women who could negotiate higher wages and receive them, as was the case in seventeenth-century Colyton where women were needed in lace manufacturing.⁹¹ However, this plausible theory is not supported by the account books. From 1644-6, during the Royalist occupation, there were fifty different men working on the estate as day workers, compared to twenty-one women. This does not support the argument that higher wages for female labourers were due to a lack of male labourers, as this shortfall evidently did not exist. Some women were being paid to perform unspecified tasks, but it is unclear whether these tasks were traditionally male ones; the high number of men also performing unspecified labour suggests that women were working alongside them, not replacing them altogether. It does not explain why, for these years, men were being paid less.

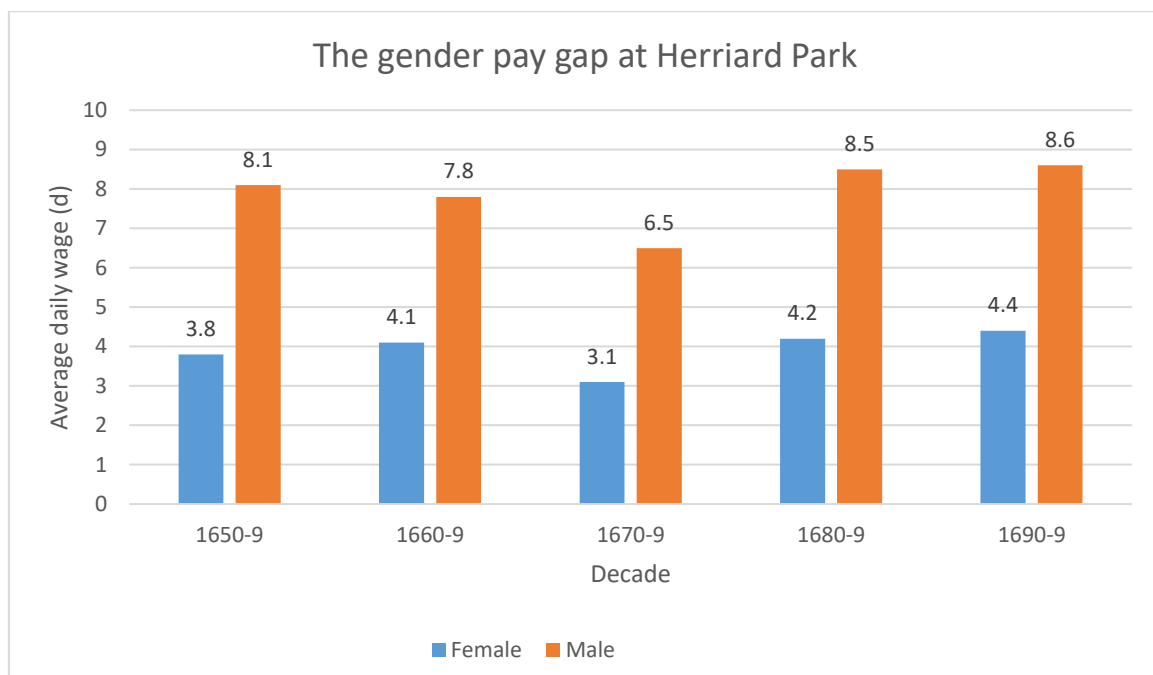
Another possible reason for women's higher pay is weeding. The account books concerned have a high proportion of female weeders in them and, during this period on the estate, weeders were paid 6d or 7d per day. When this figure is compared to the 4d or 5d which men were being paid for unspecified labour in these years, it is clear how the gender pay gap becomes reversed. The average daily wage for a woman weeding was 6d from 1644-6, whilst the comparable figure for women performing unspecified labour was 4.1d, which implies that it was the specific task of weeding which was well paid, rather than tasks performed by women in general. In later account books, women are still being paid similar sums for weeding, but there are often considerably more instances of them doing unspecified labour for a lower wage, whilst the average wage for a man performing unspecified labour increases. This explains why the reversed gender gap does not continue for the rest of the Leyhill account books but does not explain why men were being paid so little during this time. It also remains unclear why female weeders were paid so highly at Leyhill, or why male labour was so poorly paid in the 1640s compared to other decades. Leyhill in the 1640s was the only example of women being paid more than men on average from the estates studied.

The gender pay gap was also consistently present at the Herriard Park estate. Across the whole period, the average daily wage for male labourers was 8.3d,

⁹¹ Pamela Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish: Reproducing Colyton, 1540 – 1840* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), p.105.

compared to 4.1d for female day workers, creating a gender pay gap of over fifty percent. As can be seen in Figure 3.5 below, in no decade did women’s average earnings exceed men’s average earnings. In the 1650s, 1670s and 1680s, the male average wage was over fifty percent more than the female average daily wage. In the 1660s and 1690s, the gender pay gap was still significant, with a disparity of 3.7d between male and female wages in the 1660s and 4.2d in the 1690s.

Figure 3.5: The gender pay gap at Herriard Park by decade

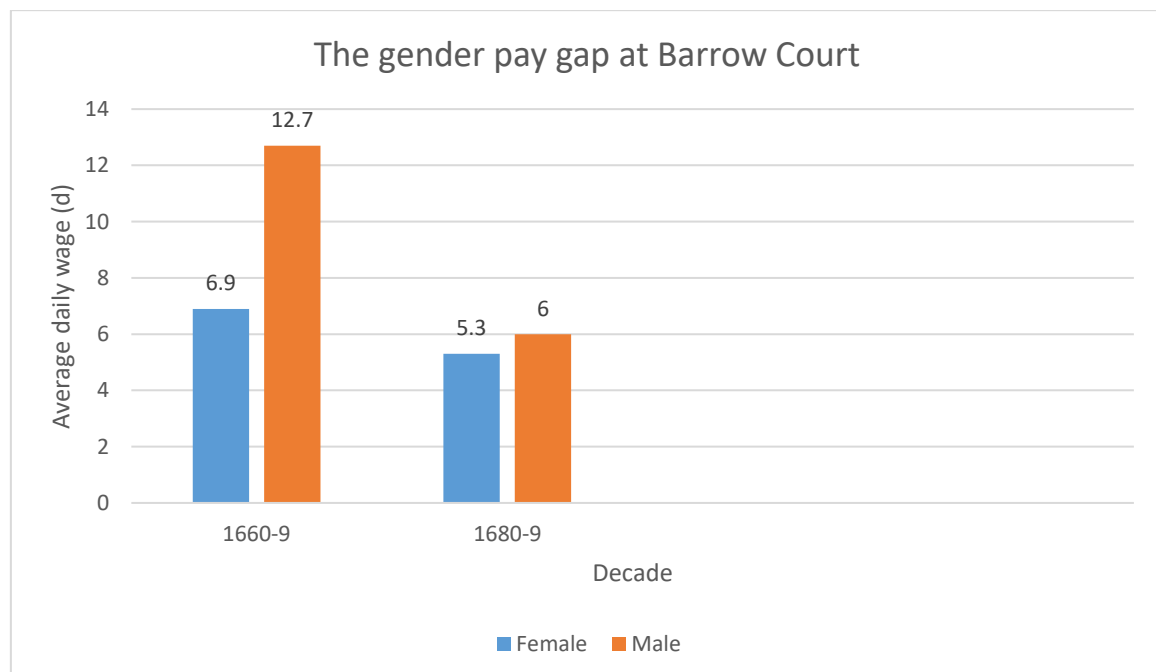


Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

As can be seen in Figure 3.6 below, the gender pay gap was also present at Barrow Court. During the year 1666, men were paid on average 12.7d, which was 5.8d more than the average female daily wage of 6.9d. During the 1680s, the average daily wage for men was 6d, only 0.7d higher than the average female

daily wage of 5.3d. This small gender pay gap can be explained by the fact that the account book does not include payments to male day workers as a rule for the 1680s, and only four days worked by men were recorded for that decade, compared to 217.5 days worked by women. This lack of reporting of male labour distorted the figures. Overall, the gender pay gap across the whole account book for Barrow Court was over fifty percent, with an average male daily wage of 12.7d and an average female daily wage of 5.8d.

Figure 3.6: The gender pay gap at Barrow Court for the year 1666



Source: DD/GB/113 (SHC)

Can the gender pay gap be explained by the gender division of labour, as Penelope Lane has argued? One problem with trying to answer this question is that, on all three estates but especially at Barrow Court and Leyhill, a large amount of the paid labour was not specified. In other words, the payment was listed but the task was not recorded, as discussed above in the section on female

tasks. At Barrow Court, women performed unspecified labour for 188.5 days out of 314, whilst men worked 650.5 days of unspecified labour out of 701. At Leyhill, 2306.5 out of 2679 days worked by women were unspecified in terms of labour and the equivalent figure for men was 18026.25 days out of 18568.5 total days. In contrast, at Herriard Park women only worked at unspecified tasks for 225 out of 5304.5 days, and men for 1588 out of 11633.5 days. It is difficult to judge the reasons for the different wages paid to men and women in those cases where the wage payments do not record the activities undertaken, as it cannot be said with certainty whether people were performing tasks for which physical strength would affect their productivity.

The obvious method of measuring this would be to compare the payments of men and women for the same task and see if they are the same. Unfortunately, there are no examples at Barrow Court of male and female day workers being hired for the same activity, but the accounts of Leyhill and especially Herriard Park both record male and female day workers performing the same tasks. At Leyhill, this overlap in the gender division of labour was limited: with four men doing twenty-one days' work in the garden and five men performing 21.5 days of weeding. The average daily wage for a woman working in the garden was 6d, whilst for men it was 9.1d, suggesting men were paid more for the same or a similar task. However, as discussed above, the situation was reversed for weeding. The average daily wage for a woman weeding at Leyhill was 6.5d, whilst for men it was less, at 4.8d. One of these male workers was Saunder's 'boy', whose youth may explain his low pay, although at 6d per day it was more than Martin Salter, Will Jarman and Richard Bayly, who received 4d each per day for weeding. Salter, Jarman and Bayly were all labourers who occur frequently elsewhere being well paid for agricultural work, and the three of them appear to be healthy and of a prime working age. All this is at odds with them being paid only 4d per day to weed - a lower wage than their female counterparts. The other male weeder, Humphrey Haydon, was paid 8d a day, more than the average woman. This was his only appearance in the accounts. This seems to be another example of the Leyhill anomaly where women were paid an unusually high wage for weeding, especially in the 1640s, which is when each of these male weeders were employed.

At Herriard Park, twelve tasks were performed by both male and female day workers: haying, weeding, hopping, raking, picking, gathering, mowing, reaping, keeping hogs, drawing hackles, harvest work and work in the garden.⁹² As can be seen in Table 3.12 below, there was a gender pay gap present for most of these tasks. For seven tasks (haying, hopping, raking, gathering, mowing, drawing hackles and 'work in the garden'), the average male daily wage was at least fifty percent higher than the female daily wage. Two tasks (keeping hogs and picking) paid equal pay for men and women, but both had low numbers of male days worked. Keeping hogs, a task which saw only two days worked by both men and women, was subject to equal pay with both genders receiving a daily wage of 4d. Picking was the only other task with equal pay: both genders being paid an average daily wage of 4d. However, the three total days worked by men picking the meadow were worked by one individual: Mare's 'boy', who would have been paid less than an adult man.⁹³ Therefore, it is highly plausible that if a fully-grown man had been employed for picking the meadow, he would have been paid more. As Sandy Bardsley emphasised in her discussion of the gender pay gap in the late medieval period, women receiving the same pay as boys is not full wage equality.⁹⁴

In only one task did women receive a higher average daily wage than men: reaping in the harvest. The female average daily wage for reaping was 11.6d, whilst the male average daily wage for the same task was 11.3d, meaning that women on average were paid 0.3d (or 2.6%) more. This may seem on the surface to be a straightforward case of women being paid more than men for the same task, but when this is investigated further, the picture appears less clear-cut. There were roughly the same amount of days worked by both men and women reaping: fourteen for women and twelve for men. Thirteen of the days worked by female reapers (Bridget Hall, Goody Hawkins and Julian Prouting) received an average daily wage of 12d, whilst the remaining day was worked by Bellamore's wife who received 6d for 'reaping beans'.⁹⁵ Ten of the twelve days worked by male reapers also received an annual daily wage of 12d (Robert Hooker, Peter Knight, Stephen Wise and Richardson of Eastfield). The remaining two days were

⁹² In Table 3.11 above, drawing hackles was included with winding wool into the textiles category.

⁹³ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/1.

⁹⁴ Bardsley, 'Women's Work Reconsidered', p.10

⁹⁵ HALS, 44M69/E8/8/2.

performed by Stephen Wise's boy, who only received a daily payment of 8d, perhaps due to his age. However, this was still 2d more per day than Bellamore's wife, presumably an adult, was receiving to reap. Peter Knight, who was paid 12d per day, was also reaping beans, the same crop as Bellamore's wife, so the difference in crop cannot be the reason behind lower pay. Consequently, whilst some women were being paid the same daily wage as men to reap, one woman (Bellamore's wife) was being paid less than a boy to perform the same task. Therefore, this only example at Herriard Park of female day workers being paid more than their male counterparts for the same task, does not show this at all when the payments are examined individually. The slightly higher number of days worked by women affected the average; in fact, women were paid the same as men and, on one occasion, less than a boy. Furthermore, on average women were paid only 2.6% more than their male counterparts to reap, which was by far the narrowest gender pay gap at Herriard Park. The rest of the tasks performed by both genders paid men significantly more (sometimes as much as 161% more) – clear evidence that the gender division of labour was not the sole reason for the gender pay gap, as it was still present even when men and women were doing the same task.

Table 3.12: The average daily wage for day workers at Herriard Park by gender and task

Task	Female Average Daily Wage	Female Days Worked	Male Average Daily Wage	Male Days Worked	Difference between female and male average daily wages (%)
Haying	4.0	1986.0	6.2	571.25	55.0
Weeding	3.9	1565.5	4.6	51.5	17.9
Hopping	4.0	442.5	8.3	291.25	107.5
Raking	5.9	220.0	10.4	38.5	76.3
Picking	4.0	48.5	4.0	3.0	0
Gathering	4.1	15.0	10.7	7.5	161.0
Mowing	6.0	7.5	10.2	123.5	70.0
Reaping	11.6	14.0	11.3	12.0	2.6
Keeping hogs	4.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	0
Drawing hackles	4.0	1.0	8.0	2.0	100.0
Harvest work	6.0	59.0	8.3	359.75	38.3
Work 'in the garden'	3.8	371.5	7.6	567.75	100.0
Total		4732.5		2030.0	

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

It has been seen that, through this analysis of the tasks worked by both men and women at the three estates, there were only three exceptions to the gender pay gap. One of these was women being paid more than men for weeding at Leyhill (as part of an already recognised anomaly of women being paid unusually high wages for weeding). Men and women were both paid equally to keep hogs and for picking at Herriard Park. However, only two days were worked by both genders in keeping hogs, a small number which may not be representative. As already discussed above, the one male worker paid to pick was a boy, and children were consistently paid less than adults by custom. Therefore, these results suggest that the gender division of labour was not the sole cause for the gender pay gap at the three south-western estates of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court. Differences in tasks cannot explain the whole of the gender pay gap but may have been a contributing factor. Other reasons also need to be explored.

Another reason that has been proposed for the gender pay gap, by Joyce Burnette, is the disparity in upper body strength between men and women.⁹⁶ Biological differences between the sexes mean that men, on average, are taller than women with a greater proportion of their weight devoted to muscle, and tend to have larger hearts and lungs which help them to use oxygen more efficiently. This disparity is most noticeable when it comes to heavy lifting; men can lift twice as much as women and, as Burnette emphasizes, 'the largest gap between the sexes in physical ability occurs in the ability to move external objects, which is exactly what is required for heavy manual labour'.⁹⁷ This results in men and women being assigned different tasks according to their strength, and men being favoured by employers for strength-intensive jobs, although Burnette does add the caveat that 'those unusual women who have large endowments of strength will be able to work in the "male" jobs.'⁹⁸ Therefore, the gender pay gap in agriculture reflected differences in strength and productivity, as men and women were sorted into tasks based on this.

⁹⁶ Burnette, 'Testing for occupational crowding', pp.322-26.

⁹⁷ Burnette, 'Testing for occupational crowding', pp.324-25.

⁹⁸ Burnette, 'Testing for occupational crowding', p.326.

Mowing was seen as the most strength-intensive task of them all and, as a result, was highly associated with men in this period.⁹⁹ As discussed in Section 2.4, the Herriard Park account books include a rare instance of female mowers. Goody Dyer and Goody Bellamore, who performed 7.5 days' worth of mowing between them, are examples of such women described by Burnette who traversed the gender division of labour to work in a sector usually reserved by men. Whether they were hired due to their unusual strength, or because there was a shortage of men on those days, is unclear. Burnette gives examples of farmers hiring women when they preferred men and vice versa: as she states, 'the allocation of labour [also] depended on the resources and requirements of the local labour market... while gender ideology influenced these farmers, it was not the sole determinant of whom they hired.'¹⁰⁰ This latter explanation may be the reason behind the employment of Goody Dyer and Goody Bellamore, as they were paid an average daily wage of 6d compared to the male average daily wage of 10.2d. In these instances, the lesser upper-body strength of women and their resultant lesser productivity likely influenced the gender pay gap, as Burnette proposed.

However, as Penelope Lane has already suggested, not all agricultural tasks necessitated stronger upper body strength and those that did not still saw women being paid less than men.¹⁰¹ In Table 3.12 above, which shows the gender pay gap present in tasks performed by both genders at Herriard Park, there are several tasks for which upper body strength would not have been a pre-requisite. Haying and gardening were two of Lane's own examples of such tasks, and these were both subject to the gender pay gap at Herriard Park. Haying involved loosening the grass which had been mown, before spreading it out and then turning it at intervals to expose it to the sun; Lane notes that this task was 'not beyond the capabilities of many women to perform this work on near or equal terms with men, and it is doubtful that productivity differences alone would account for the disparity in wages.'¹⁰² According to Lane, work described as 'gardening' or being 'in the garden' was also unlikely to be subject to a difference in strength and productivity which would explain the gender pay gap, although in both her sources and in the household account books it is unclear as to what the

⁹⁹ See Section 2.4 of this thesis (The Gender Division of Labour at Herriard Park) for more discussion on this.

¹⁰⁰ Burnette, 'Testing for occupational crowding', p.329.

¹⁰¹ Lane, 'A Customary or Market Wage?', pp.108-9.

¹⁰² Lane, 'A Customary or Market Wage?', p.109.

tasks actually were, making it difficult to know for sure whether strength was a determinant factor in wages.¹⁰³ Gathering food, drawing hackles and weeding are also examples of tasks at Herriard Park which, although arduous and repetitive, did not require excessive upper-body strength to perform. Therefore, differences in strength between the sexes would not have affected productivity; despite this, they were still subject to the gender pay gap. This fact, that women were still paid less than men for tasks which did not require excessive upper-body strength to be performed successfully, suggests that women's lesser strength, and therefore lesser productivity in some tasks, did not always play a part in the gender pay gap, as suggested by Burnette. Again, different factors were at play to ensure the gender pay gap, and these need to be explored.

The second aspect of Burnette's discussion regarding productivity is that women worked fewer hours per day than men due to their responsibilities towards their household and children, and that therefore they were paid less.¹⁰⁴ Helen Speechley used farm accounts from Somerset for the period 1685 to 1870 to study the agricultural labour of women and children. She found that at the Nynehead estate from 1682-6, women regularly began work two hours later than men (at eight in the morning rather than six) and finished one hour earlier. This meant that they could prepare the breakfast and evening meal.¹⁰⁵ It is impossible to deduce working hours from the three case studies as they do not contain this level of detail. However, it is possible that this could be one of the reasons for the gender pay gap at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court as well as at Nynehead. It is possible that married women were unable to work the same number of hours as men due to their familial duties and this could have influenced their daily wage. One way of exploring this without recorded working hours is by comparing the wages of married women and single women throughout the accounts. The female workers in all three case studies were separated into three groups based on their marital title. Parish registers were also used to help ascertain marital status. The first group consisted of widowed women, and membership was given exclusively to the workers with the explicit title of 'widow', one example being Widow Wallingford at Herriard Park. The second group of

¹⁰³ Lane, 'A Customary or Market Wage?', p.109.

¹⁰⁴ Burnette, 'The Wages and Employment of Female Day-Labourers', p.675.

¹⁰⁵ Helen Speechley, 'Female and Child Agricultural Day workers in Somerset, c.1685 – 1870', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 1999), p.125.

women were those who were married or mothers. This status was deducted in three ways: firstly through the title of 'Goody', which in this period was short for 'Goodwife' and used to denote married women (such as Goody Cottle at Barrow Court); secondly if the woman concerned was labelled as the wife of a male worker (for example, Francis Nash's wife at Herriard Park); thirdly if the female worker was labelled as a mother (such as Agnes Sander at Leyhill, who was accorded no marital label despite the regular appearances of two female workers called 'Agnes Sander's daughter'). The final group encompassed the remainder of the working women: those without a title denoting widowhood or marriage and those lacking the epithet of wife or mother. It is impossible to ascertain for sure whether all these women in the third group were single, but without indications to the contrary, the designation has been made.

Having used this method to classify marital status, an average daily wage for all three groups (widows, wives and mothers and women of unspecified marital status) was calculated. Table 3.13 below displays this information by case study and shows that, when analysing marital status alongside payments, there was no universal trend across all three estates. At Herriard Park, there was no significant difference between the levels of payment made to widows, wives and mothers, and women of unspecified marital status, with the average wages for this estate all being between 4d and 5d. This suggests that the household responsibilities of a woman and the presence of a husband did not affect the wages paid to women at Herriard Park and the explanation for the gender pay gap must lie elsewhere. At Barrow Court, widows had the highest daily wage of 8d, although they only made up 6 out of 314 days worked by women. Female day workers who were listed as a wife or mother were, at 6.3d, paid on average of 1.4d more than their counterparts with no titles, who had a lower average wage of 4.9d. This suggests that women working less due to their wifely and motherly responsibilities is not a plausible explanation for the gender pay gap at Barrow Court, as the wives and mothers and widows who would have borne the heaviest household responsibilities were paid more than single women. However, at Leyhill, the opposite trend is apparent, as is evident in Table 3.13 below. Female day workers of unspecified marital status on average earned the most at Leyhill at 4.5d, whilst wives and mothers earned on average half a penny less, at 4d per day. Widowed women had the lowest average daily wage at Leyhill at 3.1d. This situation

suggests that the existence of the gender pay gap being due to female household responsibilities may occur in some instances.

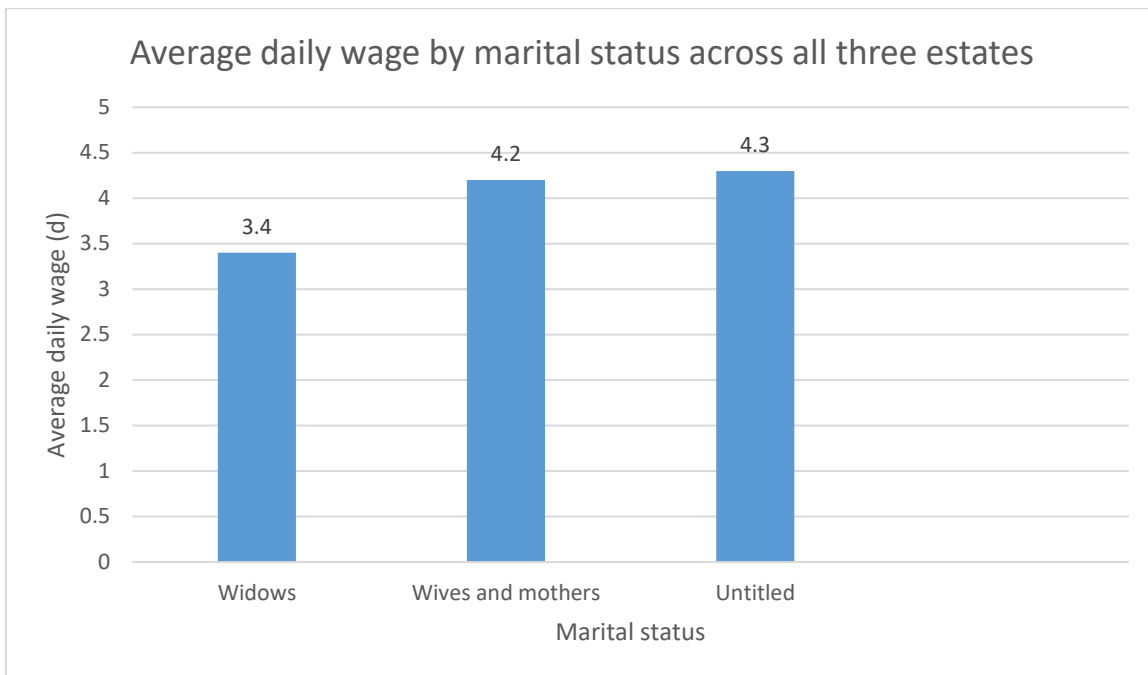
Table 3.13: The average daily wage for female day workers by marital status at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

Estate	Widows		Wives & Mothers		Women of unspecified marital status	
	Average daily wage (d)	Total days worked	Average daily wage (d)	Total days worked	Average daily wage (d)	Total days worked
Leyhill	3.1	210.5	4.0	888.0	4.5	1580.5
Herriard Park	4.6	26.5	4.1	3028.5	4.2	2249.5
Barrow Court	8.0	6.0	6.3	175.0	4.9	133.0
All three estates	3.4	243.0	4.2	4091.5	4.3	3963.0

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

The average daily wage for female day workers by marital status, across all three estates, is shown in Figure 3.7 below. Widows earned on average the least, at 3.4d per day. On average, women of unspecified marital status earned 4.3d per day in comparison to the 4.2d per day for those who were confirmed wives and mothers. This difference of 0.1d in average wage between women of unspecified marital status and wives and mothers is not significant enough to state that an element of the gender pay gap was caused by women's responsibilities in the home shortening work hours, especially seeing as the gap between the male and female average daily wage was much larger than 0.1d on all three estates. This is especially true when it is considered that, on an individual estate level, one case study showed no discernible difference in wages between the two groups and another case study revealed that wives and mothers were paid more than women of unspecified marital status. Whilst this explanation may be a factor on certain estates, it cannot be confirmed as the only reason for the gender pay gap.

Figure 3.7: The average daily wage for female day workers by marital status at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court



Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

It has been shown that, as other studies have found, a gender pay gap existed at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court, with the average female daily wage across the whole period being roughly fifty percent of male wages at all three estates. In an attempt to explain this gender pay gap, factors such as the gender division of labour and lesser female productivity (due to their lesser strength and extra responsibilities in the household) have been explored. Whilst there is some evidence of these factors contributing to the gender pay gap (such as women being paid less than men to mow, a task which required significant strength), it has been shown that the effect which these factors have on the gender pay gap are not large enough for them to be the sole explanation. Whilst these reasons, espoused by scholars such as Penelope Lane and Joyce Burnette, may have had some impact on the gender pay gap in the early modern period, they do not explain the size of the gap. There is evidently another enduring factor at play: gender. As Donald Woodward and Pamela Sharpe have argued for this period, the pervasive custom of paying women less coupled with deeply held patriarchal norms combined to form a significant, if not sole, explanation for the gender pay gap.

3.10 Servants

The three estates did not only employ day workers: they also employed servants in return for bed, board and a wage. These servants performed all the chores

necessary for keeping a household running, including food production which could involve dairying and brewing. Jane Whittle has studied wage assessments and farm accounts to piece together a picture of the workload of female household servants and found that skills desired by employers included washing, milking, brewing, cooking and baking, dairying and malting, as well as general household chores and (for more senior servants) the ability to oversee other servants and manage a household.¹⁰⁶ As previously discussed in the tasks chapter, the servants also performed agricultural labour – some of these would be farm servants or ‘servants in husbandry’, employed almost exclusively for agricultural work, whilst for others the line between the household and the farm was more blurred and they would work wherever needed.¹⁰⁷ Servants employed in farm work were not necessarily male; many young female servants did a mixture of household and agricultural work.¹⁰⁸ Charmian Mansell found in her study of early modern servants from south-western church court records that female servants performed a variety of tasks ranging from the domestic (care, cleaning, laundry, fuel collection, food preparation) to the agricultural (gathering food, milking, harvest work and animal husbandry), as well as running general errands and production work such as grinding corn and spinning.¹⁰⁹ According to Ann Kussmaul, forty per cent of households in England during the early modern period included at least one servant and between sixty and seventy per cent of people aged fifteen to twenty-four were employed as live-in servants.¹¹⁰ Therefore, a large proportion of the population was either a servant or an employer of servants at some stage in the life-cycle.

Servants were differentiated from day workers in a number of ways in the accounts. Instead of remuneration for a certain amount of days they are explicitly stated as being given wages for a certain period of time, such as a quarter, half a year or a year. Rather than appearing frequently but unpredictably in the accounts, suggesting they are being employed on a casual basis whenever their

¹⁰⁶ Whittle, ‘Servants in rural England, c.1450-1650’, p.92.

¹⁰⁷ R. C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.7.

¹⁰⁸ Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp.14-15.

¹⁰⁹ Charmian Mansell, ‘Female servants in the early modern community: a study of church court depositions from the dioceses of Exeter and Gloucester, c.1550 – 1650’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2016), p. 189.

¹¹⁰ Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p.3.

labour is required, they appear sparsely but regularly at certain times of the year when their payments are due. Here, the daily wages for servants have been calculated using the data which explicitly state the number of days worked, or those payments which appear at clearly defined intervals (such as quarterly periods) and from which the number of days can be assumed with sufficient probability.

Humphries and Weisdorf assumed that servants worked five days out of seven when calculating daily wages for their wage series. However, this seems unlikely to have been the case: servants performed tasks for the farm and the household which would have been required every day. Their live-in status meant that they were at the beck and call of their masters and mistresses.¹¹¹ Robert Loder, the seventeenth century farmer, bemoaned that his maidservants brought him little monetary profit, and were employed because they did 'the doing of the things, that must indeed be done'.¹¹² Mansell's list of servant tasks included jobs such as care work, food preparation and milking which would have needed to be done daily.¹¹³ Therefore, when calculating daily wages this study will operate on the basis that servants worked six and a half days out of seven, with half a day off every week. This section examines the wage rates of the household servants on the Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court estates.

Servants at Leyhill

One advantage of the chronological spread of the Leyhill account books is that a picture can be constructed of the household servants over forty-seven years, showing when they were paid, whether they were promoted and how long they stayed in service. The account books do have some gaps in survival, but enough exist to be able to build up a clear picture of servant hiring practices. Servant payments are well signposted in the Leyhill accounts, often prefaced with the heading 'servant wages', and featuring long lists of payments to recurring names for the same amount. They also occur approximately quarterly, following the established practice in early modern England of paying servants by the quarter. Until 1658 servants' wage payments, whilst conforming roughly to the quarterly framework, varied in terms of exact dates. However, from 1658-81, the payments

¹¹¹ Whittle, 'Servants in rural England, c.1450-1650', p.90.

¹¹² Loder and Fussell, *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts*, p.71.

¹¹³ Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community', p. 189.

to servants settle down and are paid regularly in February, May, August and November, with only a few exceptions of individuals being remunerated outside this pattern. While not the usual Quarter Days, they are still spaced evenly throughout the year. In a recent study on patterns of servant employment, Jane Whittle has found that such individual payment practices were common during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, with the rigid and widespread hiring and payment practices described by Ann Kussmaul only coming into effect after this period.¹¹⁴ From 1681-91 at Leyhill, the timings of payment is again haphazard, and from 1690-1, the accounts only record casual work.

There were 890 records in total for servants at Leyhill, with 548 records for men and 342 records for women. Unfortunately, some of these records are incomplete: either the payment itself is missing, or the length of employment the payment relates to is not stated. Sometimes the length of employment can be deduced from the month of the payment. Leyhill paid its servants quarterly. Therefore, any payment without a length of employment but made at the usual payment time has been designated as quarterly. In other cases, the length of time has been surmised by collecting the payments to one individual and calculating the time between them. If the amount paid is missing and it is a quarterly payment, with the same amount paid both the previous and the following quarter for that individual, then that amount has been reasonably assumed to be the same for the missing payment. Even when these methods are applied, there are still some records of servants for which an average daily wage cannot be surmised. Therefore, only 302 payments to female servants and 492 payments to male servants have enough information to be able to calculate average daily wages. In terms of average annual wages, these have been calculated by multiplying quarterly, bi-annually, monthly or weekly payments accordingly.

Table 3.14: The average daily and annual wage for servants at Leyhill by gender and decade, assuming a 6.5 day working week

Decades	Female			Male		
	Days worked	Average daily wage (d)	Average annual wage (£ s d)	Days worked	Average daily wage (d)	Average annual wage
1640-9	2028.0	1.3	£1 17s 2.5d	2928.5	2.2	£3 3s 1.5d
1650-9	5772.0	1.7	£2 12s 0.1d	9353.5	2.3	£3 6s 1.8d
1660-9	7182.5	2.0	£2 16s 4.8d	9210.5	2.9	£4 1s 9.7d

¹¹⁴ Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment', p.75.

1670-9	9041.5	2.4	£3 6s 3.6d	18252.0	2.8	£4 8d
1680-9	2985.5	2.5	£3 5s 1.2d	4192.5	3.8	£5 8.6d
Total	27009.5	2.1	£2 17s 2.9d	43937.0	2.8	£3 18s 4.9d

Sources: DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC)

Table 3.14 above shows that the average daily wage for a female servant at Leyhill increased over time, from 1.3d in the 1640s to 2.5d in the 1680s, a difference of 1.2d. This was a rise in wages, with no fluctuations over the decades. The average daily wage for a male servant also increased over time, from 2.2d in the 1640s to 3.8d in the 1680s. This was a larger increase in pay than women had, with a 1.6d difference compared to 1.2d, but it was not a significantly larger increase. It was not a steady rise; there was a 0.1d drop in the average daily wage from 2.9d in the 1660s to 2.8d in the 1670s, but it then went up by a penny from the 1670s to the 1680s. As an average across the whole period, men earned slightly more than women, at 2.8d compared to 2.1d daily. This was less than a penny's difference per day but amounted to over a pound's difference in average annual wages.

In order to investigate annual wages further, the records for servants who served a whole year with complete payments intact were separated from the rest. This enables an analysis based on annual wages which servants were actually paid rather than relying on averages. There are ten surviving annual payments for female servants and twenty-seven surviving annual payments for male servants, all for the years 1645, 1656, 1666 and 1674-7. These annual payments are mainly comprised of four quarterly payments for the same year. Out of this small number of concrete annual payments, the annual average wage for a female servant was 723.7d (£3 3.7d) and the annual average wage for a male servant was 883.1d (£3 13s 7.1d). The difference in annual average wage between the sexes was 159.4d (13s 4.6d).

Annual wages show the differences between wages of servants of the same gender, as well as the overlap between male and female servant wages, especially when individual payments are considered. For example, in 1645 Elizabeth Rogers was paid an annual wage of 480d and in 1656 Ann Flee was paid an annual wage of 456d.¹¹⁵ In 1675 and 1676 Dorothea Tucker was paid

¹¹⁵ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3, DD/WO/52/3/5.

792d and 738d respectively.¹¹⁶ Martha Flee, however, was paid an annual wage of 960d in 1674 and 1677.¹¹⁷ This shows the large range in payments between different female servants, which could be reflective of the gradations due to tasks performed, experience and skills, responsibilities and seniority. This can be seen in the year 1666, when 'Cousin Julian' received an annual wage of 594d, whilst Joyce Bennett and Martha Flee received 720d and 768d respectively.¹¹⁸ Wage assessments also reflect these gradations, with a Suffolk assessment for 1630 giving different wage rates for 'maid servants... being under the age of eighteen years', 'dairy maids or other women servants taking charge' and 'other maid servants'.¹¹⁹

These gradations were also present in the annual wages of male servants at Leyhill. In the same year, 1666, John Bellamie was paid 654d and Stephen Joyce 1200d.¹²⁰ Annual wages show that the wages of male and female servants could overlap. In 1675, Dorothea Tucker was paid 792d, and three male servants received a smaller annual wage than her: Brian Walter (360d), John 'Jack' Jarman (504d) and Edward Perry (600d).¹²¹ It is a reminder that, whilst on average female servants were paid less, certain women could earn more than certain men, although never more than the highest paid male servant.

It can also be seen from the Leyhill accounts that wages were not static and that women could receive a pay-rise if they had stayed with the family for long enough, or if they took on extra responsibilities, two factors which often went hand in hand. The longest serving female servant, Martha Flee, appears first in November 1665, with her last appearance in the servants' wage lists thirteen years later in November 1679. Her first quarterly payment was for 204d (17s), which was then raised to 210d for her next payment in February 1665. There was an odd payment of 138d (11s 6d) in August 1666 for which it is difficult to find an explanation: the shortfall did not seem to be accounted for anywhere else. She may have had some time off. In 1673 her wage was raised to 240d (£1) quarterly and then stayed consistent. In 1666, her annual wage was 768d (£3 4s) whilst by

¹¹⁶ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/13-15.

¹¹⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/12-13, DD/WO/52/3/15-16, DD/WO/53/5/50.

¹¹⁸ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/9-10.

¹¹⁹ Archbold, 'An Assessment of Wages for 1630', p.310.

¹²⁰ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/9-10.

¹²¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/13-14.

1677 it was 960d (£4) – an increase of 16s or 192d.¹²² This implies that Martha Flee was promoted twice during her employment at Leyhill. Although her job title is never named in the servants' wage lists, it can be seen in the wider accounts that Martha held a position of responsibility within the Leyhill household. There are constant references in these years to her procuring provisions for the household, either by going to a market in a neighbouring settlement or dealing with sellers personally, a task which required leaving Payhembury and being trusted to bargain and haggle with the family money. In the year 1665-6 alone, she is partaking in such activity at least once a month. She is also entrusted to pay other servants and labourers their wages, such as when she paid Gomer Gover 4s 6d for spinning in November 1665.¹²³ After the last reference to Martha Flee in November 1679, a Martha Squire then appears in the next quarter in February 1679 until February 1681, also being paid £1 quarterly, the same sum as Martha Flee.¹²⁴ It is possible that Martha Flee and Martha Squire are the same woman and that a marriage took place in the interim. The probability of this possible link is increased with the presence of a male servant in the household named Edward Squire and the fact that Squire is a name which occurs throughout the account books, although no evidence from the Payhembury or surrounding parish registers can be found for the marriage.

Servants at Herriard Park

The haphazard and dispersed nature of the Herriard Park documents spread across non-consecutive payment books and document packets, makes it more difficult to collect and interpret wage payments made to household servants over time, especially as there are several small gaps in the total coverage. However, this disparate information can still be collated. At Herriard Park, there were a total of 473 payments made to servants, 375 for men and 98 for women. Again, some of these payments are incomplete and missing either the period worked, or the amount paid, and some have been reconstructed using the same methodology explained for reconstructing the Leyhill servant payments. This resulted in 355 payments which could be used to calculate an average quarterly and daily wage: 277 payments for male servants and 78 payments for female servants.

¹²² SHC, DD/WO/52/3/9-17, DD/WO/53/5/50.

¹²³ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/9.

¹²⁴ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/17-18.

It can be seen in Table 3.15 below that, although there was some fluctuation in average wage between the decades, both genders saw an increase in their wages from the beginning to the end of the period. In the 1650s, a female household servant could expect an average daily wage of 2d, but by the 1690s this had risen by 1.1d to 3.1d. For male servants, their average daily wage also increased by 1.1d: from 3d in the 1650s to 4.1d in the 1690s. Over the whole period, the average daily wage for female servants was 2.3d, and the average daily wage for male servants was 3.3d – the disparity of a penny. This was a similar difference to the disparity in average daily wages between male and female servants at Leyhill. Again, like at Leyhill, this manifested itself into a disparity of over a pound in annual wages.

Table 3.15: The average daily and annual wage for servants at Herriard Park, by gender and decade, assuming a 6.5 day working week

Decades	Female			Male		
	Days worked	Average daily wage (d)	Average annual wage (£ s d)	Days worked	Average daily wage (d)	Average annual wage (£ s d)
1650-9	2659.5	2.0	£2 18s 5.1d	13503.5	3.0	£4 1s 10.8d
1660-9	686.5	1.7	£2 8s 9d	20820.5	3.0	£4 4s 6.7d
1670-9	5806.5	2.0	£2 18s 6.5d	3935.75	3.7	£5 14s 6.3d
1680-9	1476.5	2.0	£2 18s 9d	2210.0	3.4	£5 2s 1.7d
1690-9	3919.5	3.1	£4 16s 0.4d	10025.5	4.1	£5 10s 11.2d
Total	14548.5	2.3	£3 8s 1.6d	50495.25	3.3	£4 12s 2.6d

Sources: 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS)

Despite the more haphazard nature of record keeping, there was a larger number of complete annual payments in the Herriard Park accounts, likely because the Jervoise family paid mostly yearly or twice-yearly. There are twenty-one surviving

annual payments for women and eighty for men covering the years 1655-60, 1663, 1665-9, 1675-7, 1687-8 and 1697-9. In total out of these complete payments, the average annual wage for female servants was 796.4d (£3 6s 4.2d) and the average annual wage for male servants was 948.2d (£3 19s 0.2d). The difference was 151.8d (12s 7.8d) similar to the difference between the average annual wage of male and female servants at Leyhill. At both Leyhill and Herriard Park, male and female servants were paid an average annual wage of between £3 and £4, with male average annual wages being higher. By viewing the annual payments individually by year, gradations in the wages between male and female servants can be seen in the same way as at Leyhill. In 1656, the annual payments for female servants ranged from 638d (£2 13s 2d) to 700d (£2 18s 4d), whilst the annual payments for male servants ranged from 600d (£2 10s) to 1440d (£6).

It is clear from looking at some of the annual payments that specialization and seniority were factors in servant payments. In 1656, there were annual payments made to James the oxman and Jeffery the under-oxman. There was a difference of 270d (£1 2s 6d) in their wages, with James being paid 960d (£4) and Jeffery being paid 690d (£2 17s 6d).¹²⁵ This is evidence that seniority and responsibility commanded a higher wage. Nurse Elizabeth Rockwell received the highest annual wage paid to a female servant, 1920d (£8) for the years 1698 and 1699.¹²⁶ As discussed above, nursing was some of the most profitable work a woman could perform; for female day workers at Herriard Park it was one of the highest-paid tasks. The year 1698 saw a period of illness at Herriard Park, as Goody Dredge and an unnamed nurse were paid by the day to attend upon the servants (including Margaret Whale) and Mr Jervoise – perhaps to assist Nurse Elizabeth Rockwell when she was absent or busy.¹²⁷ However, specialization did not necessarily mean that servants would be paid more at Herriard Park. In both 1675 and 1677 Sara the dairymaid was paid an annual wage of 720d (£3).¹²⁸ Dairying was a valued skill in the early modern period and the large potential profits from selling butter and cheese meant that a good dairy-maid was prized.¹²⁹ The wage

¹²⁵ HALS, 44M69/E7/2.

¹²⁶ HALS, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/8.

¹²⁷ HALS, 44M69/E8/2/5.

¹²⁸ HALS, 44M69/E7/45.

¹²⁹ Deborah Valenze, 'The Art of Women and the Business of Men: Women's Work and the Dairy Industry c.1740 – 1840', *Past and Present*, 130 (1991), pp. 145 – 147.

assessments for Suffolk in 1630 prescribed a higher wage for dairy maids.¹³⁰ However, in both those years there were female servants paid an equal amount to Sara: Grace Edwards, Mary Winkworth and Thomasin Collier were each also paid 720d (£3) in 1675, whilst in 1677 Mary Austin and Thomasin Collier were paid the same sum.¹³¹ None of these servants had a specialized, occupational title in the same way that Sara did, which implied that specialization did not always result in higher wages for servants.

Servants at Barrow Court

At Barrow Court, there were sixteen payments made to servants in the surviving accounts, four to men and twelve to women. All the payments to women, and three of the payments to men, contained enough detail to enable an average daily wage to be calculated. It can be seen from Table 3.16 below that female servants were paid a higher daily wage in 1666 than they were for the years 1686-8, with a reduction of 0.6d over time. There were no payments to male servants recorded for the years 1686-8. The average daily male wage for 1666 as shown in Table 3.8b, 1.9d, is almost a penny less than the female equivalent. However, one of these servants, Edward Heydon, was an outlier. Although paid in the same manner as the household servants, his job description was 'keeping of the malt mill at St James' tide', a task which earned him 24d a year.¹³² Edward Heydon was evidently not a household servant and when he is removed from the calculations, the average daily male wage is a healthier looking 3.7d. This is 0.9d higher than the female average daily wage for this year and 1.2d higher than the female average daily wage for this estate as a whole.

Table 3.16: The average daily and annual wage for servants at Barrow Court by gender and decade, assuming a 6.5 day working week

Decades	Female			Male		
	Days worked	Average daily wage (d)	Average annual wage (£ s d)	Days worked	Average daily wage (d)	Average annual wage (£ s d)
1666	1116.0	2.8	£4 10s	676.0	1.9	£3 10s 8d
1686-8	1066.0	2.2	£3 2s 6d	0	-	-
Total	2182.0	2.5	£4 10d	676.0	1.9	£3 10s 8d

Sources: DD/GB/113 (SHC)

¹³⁰ Archbold, 'An Assessment of Wages for 1630', p.310.

¹³¹ HALS, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/21/17.

¹³² SHC, DD/GB/113.

This is an extremely small dataset and the figures produced are not significantly different from one another. However, much can be gained by a closer look at even this small number of servants. The focused case study of Barrow Court can provide valuable information on the patterns of hiring and wage patterns on a seventeenth-century estate, allowing issues such as specialization to be explored.

On 29 September 1666 five payments were made to female servants at Barrow Court. This date is significant as it is Michaelmas, one of the four quarter days and a traditional time to pay servants in the early modern period. Three of these women (Alice Tooke, Mary Small and Anne Merven) were paid the same amount: £1 10s, or 360d, for half a year's wages, meaning that these women were in receipt of a daily wage of 2.1d in cash if they worked six and a half days out of every seven. Their annual wage would have been 720d (£3). Another servant, Mary Councill, was paid £1 for half a year, or 1.4d a day. Her annual wage would have been £2 or 480d.¹³³ These daily wages are significantly lower than the sixpence an average female day worker was being paid daily but servants were also provided with their bed and board and had the security of regular employment. Dame Philippa did not record the food that she provided for her servants or its value, at least not in the account books that survive, so it is impossible to calculate the total value of the servants' wages and keep. Her near contemporary Robert Loder calculated in his farm accounts exactly the amount each servant cost him in bed and board, which in 1616 was £11 18s 6d for a whole year. He complained of this expense and said that 'I judge it were good for me to keep as few servants as I can by any means convenient.'¹³⁴ The four female servants in the Gore accounts do not have a specific job title; their duties were probably 'the doing of the things, that must indeed be done', as Robert Loder described the work of his maidservants.¹³⁵ However, the fifth woman who was paid that day did have a job title. Katherine the dairy maid was paid a wage of £1 8s for the '1/4 & from the 1st of May 1666'.¹³⁶ This was a daily wage of 1.8d. Katherine's wage was higher than the other servants, who did not have such occupational designations. This may be a case where specialization meant

¹³³ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹³⁴ Loder and Fussell, *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts*, p. 122.

¹³⁵ Loder and Fussell, *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts*, p.71.

¹³⁶ SHC, DD/GB/113.

higher wages, in contrast to Herriard Park, where their dairy maid Sara received the same wage as the other servants.

Four similar payments for female servants were made in 1687. On 21 February 1687 Margaret the cook maid was paid her quarterly wages, which amounted to £1 6d, with a daily wage of 2.9d. Her annual wage would have been £4 2s, or 984d. Two more payments were made on 28 September 1687, the day before Michaelmas. One was to Mary for three quarters of a year's wages, which was worth £2 5s. Her surname was unrecorded, and it is unlikely that she was either one of the servants Mary Small or Mary Councell recorded in 1666 due to the twenty-one year gap in the accounts. The second payment was to Joyce for half a year's wages plus 5 weeks, an amount which totaled £2 7s 6d. Finally, on 24 October 1687, Ann Hollestow was paid £1 14s for half a year's plus 3 weeks wages.¹³⁷ This averaged at a daily wage of 2.1d for Mary, 2.2d for Ann, and a higher daily wage of 2.8d for Joyce, again presuming that they worked a six-and-a-half-day week.

A pattern is noticeable in these figures. Alice Tooke, Mary Small, Anne Merven, Ann Hollestow and another Mary whose surname went unrecorded were all paid a similar wage of 2.1d or 2.2d per day. These women were all paid either on or within a month of Michaelmas, the traditional time of servant hiring and payment, and were all paid either half or three-quarters of a year at a time. It is therefore reasonable to assume that they were household servants. Joyce and Mary Councell also adhered to the hiring pattern but were on different salaries. Joyce was being paid more than the other servants and Mary Councell less. Without additional information it is difficult to ascertain why this was so. Joyce may have been more skilled, had more experience or held a management position which meant that she was paid more. The opposite may have been the case for Mary Councell, explaining her lower wage. The other two women with different daily rates each had a specific job title: Margaret, the cook maid, and Katherine the dairymaid. This would explain why their wages varied from the norm as they were performing different tasks with a different level of output, although the methods which Dame Philippa used to ascertain and measure wage rates is unclear.

¹³⁷ SHC, DD/GB/113.

Barrow Court is the only case study that has a surviving wage assessment with which to compare servant's wages. The Justices of the Peace in Somerset created wage assessments for the year 1666, when the regulated wage for 'maid-servants per annum' was £2.¹³⁸ In this year, Alice Tooke, Mary Small, Mary Councell and Anne Merven were paid £1 10s for half a year's wages.¹³⁹ Their yearly wage can be calculated by doubling this figure to £3, a rate of wages fifty percent higher than what was set by the Justices. By this measure, the Gore family were paying their household servants a higher wage than the legal recommendation. This is evidence that the wage assessments do not necessarily provide a realistic picture of wages paid. This aligns with the evidence on the wages of day workers, which were also higher, and fits with the theory that their high wage was due to the household's proximity to Bristol. It suggests that locality and competition influenced the wages of both household servants and day workers as much as, if not more than, than the letter of the law.

Comparisons with national figures

The wages paid to female servants at the three estates can be compared to the national average as calculated by Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf. To make a comparison, an average daily wage has been calculated for all three estates assuming a five-day week, in line with Humphries and Weisdorf's assumption. Humphries and Weisdorf also added the daily value of a 'basket of consumables' to their figures, in order to measure the value of servant's bed and board. This value of the 'basket of consumables' has been removed from Humphries and Weisdorf's average daily wage, in order to make a meaningful comparison with the average daily wages from the account books, as these were purely monetary and did not include the value of bed and board.¹⁴⁰

It can be seen in Table 3.17 below that, in purely monetary terms, the differences between the daily average wages nationally and at the three estates varied through the decades. During the 1640s, the national daily wage for female servants was, on average, 0.77d higher than the wage paid at Leyhill. As previously discussed in sections 1.2 and 3.3 of this thesis, the Willoughby family

¹³⁸ Browning, *English Historical Documents*, p.469.

¹³⁹ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹⁴⁰ The value of the 'basket of consumables' in Humphries and Weisdorf's figures can be found in the last column of Table A1 in their study. Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England', p.432.

was beset by financial troubles caused by the English Civil War during the 1640s, and this is a likely explanation for their lower wage. Throughout the 1650s, 1660s and 1670s, the national average daily wages remain slightly higher than those from Leyhill and Herriard Park, whilst during the 1660s it is nearly identical to the average daily wage from Barrow Court. Then, the national average daily wage drops lower than the wages from the household account books in the 1680s and 1690s. The fluctuations in the national figures reflect the small number of examples used by Humphries and Weisdorf in their calculations; for instance, only seven sources for the 1670s and twenty-four for the 1680s. Both these fluctuations, and the changing nature of average daily wages on the three estates, illustrate that servant's wages were extremely sensitive to the local economy, and therefore benefit from being studied in a local context.

Table 3.17: The average daily wages for female servants by decade in pence at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court compared to Humphries and Weisdorf's national wage series, assuming a five-day working week

	Leyhill	Herriard Park	Barrow Court	Humphries & Weisdorf
1640-9	1.7	-	-	2.5
1650-9	2.2	2.7	-	3.0
1660-9	2.6	2.3	3.6	3.6
1670-9	3.1	2.7	-	3.5
1680-9	3.6	2.7	2.8	2.5
1690-9	-	4.0	-	3.3

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS); Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260 – 1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), p.432.

Table 3.17 above also reveals the differences in daily wages that arises when the assumption of a five-day week is changed to that of a week where six and a half days are worked. When compared to the results from Tables 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16, it can be seen that the difference is subtle: a penny or less in each example. However, such differences become noticeable over time. A disparity of less than a penny a day can amount to a pound over the course of the year: no small sum, as any seventeenth century worker would agree.

Ultimately, Table 3.17 shows the advantages of local study. The average daily wage for the individual estates of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court in the 1640s, 1650s, 1660s and 1670s are much lower than the national average daily wage calculated by Humphries and Weisdorf. It is a clear indicator that a national

average can distort the individual experience and alter the ways in which we think about women's work. The work of female household servants in particular locations was much more poorly remunerated than has previously been conceived. It is evident that, to get to the reality of women's working patterns, more work needs to be done on individual estates.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed women's wages and the gender pay gap in the south-west of England in the seventeenth century, through a detailed study of the household account books of the three southern estates of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court. Women consistently worked a smaller number of recorded days than men in all three estates, but there was enough data on female day workers to describe the situation for each estate in turn, in terms of both wages and the potential earnings according to task.

There was a variety across the three estates as to which tasks were performed by female labourers most frequently, and which tasks were paid the most. At Barrow Court over half of the tasks were unspecified but amongst those that were, washing was paid the most, perhaps due to the many hours it necessitated, and weeding the least. In comparison, at Leyhill only a fifth of tasks performed by female labourers were unspecified, and weeding was the most common task performed, with over half of the records including it. The breaking up of earthen clods in the fields was the highest paid task for women on the Leyhill estate, whilst washing earned the lowest wage for women. The records for Herriard Park are different from the others in that they are much more specific in the tasks performed by both genders. Haying, weeding and hopping took up the majority of the workload for female labourers, although it was reaping that was the best paid task for them. Milking was the lowest paid task for women at Herriard Park, likely due to the fact that it was not an all-day activity. The wages for day workers paid by the owners of these estates have been compared both with each other, and to contemporary wage assessments and historical wage series. From this, it is evident that the Gores at Barrow Court paid their employees more than the average rate, both at the other estates and nationally. It is possible this was due to the proximity of the estate to Bristol and its competitive labour market.

The wages of household servants have also been a focus for analysis. The gender pay gap was also prevalent in this sector, as can be seen by examining

the average daily wages for servants across all three estates. There was a general trend for servants' wages to rise over the course of the century, although there were fluctuations between decades on the separate estates. By focusing in on individual servants such as Martha Flee, it has been shown that there was potential for female servants to earn pay rises, due to the interlinking factors of length of service and an increase in responsibility. In terms of comparisons between the national and the local average daily wages for female servants, the differences between the two fluctuated over time, with the wages for female servants' at Leyhill, Barrow Court and Herriard Park becoming higher than the national averages by the close of the century. This may have been a result of the small sample used by Humphries and Weisdorf, and emphasises the importance of the local economy in determining the rate of servants' pay.

This study has confirmed the existence of a consistent discrepancy in pay between the genders, at times of fifty percent or more. There was a range in wages for both genders, according to task and skill, although the higher rate of male wages was always sustained. One exception to this rule was at Leyhill during the 1640s, where women had a higher average daily wage than men. One possible explanation could have been the lack of male labourers due to the Civil War but, as there were more male labourers than female labourers on the estate at this time, this cannot be the whole reason. It seems that female weeders had some effect on this surprising result, as Leyhill paid a relatively high wage to their weeders, but this does not explain why the men are paid so much less in comparison to later decades.

To explore the causes of the gender pay gap, the wages for both men and women doing the same task were compared. It was found that the gender pay gap was still present for some of these tasks, indicating that the gender division of labour was not a sole cause. Another cause of the gender pay gap investigated in this chapter was that of women's lesser upper body strength, which caused them to be less productive in certain tasks and excluded from tasks that required a large amount of strength and were therefore paid well. Evidence from Herriard Park showed that women were paid less than men for mowing, a task which required strength to such an extent that it was heavily associated with men throughout the period. However, the gender pay gap still existed for tasks where strength would not have been a factor. Despite the established argument that women were paid

less as they worked less due to their household responsibilities, it has been shown that marital status only had a slight effect on women's wages, and again this cannot be the sole reason. It is concluded that, whilst the gender division of labour, women's household duties and their lesser upper body strength may have contributed to the gender pay gap in varying degrees according to the circumstances, ultimately none of these reasons caused a large enough effect on wages to be the sole cause. Gender, and the customary discrimination against women, also played its part.

4. Women's work and the life-cycle

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the effect that the life-cycle had on female employment patterns. Just as today, life events such as marriage, motherhood and ageing saw changes in the working and hiring practices of women in the early modern period. As the life-cycle progressed from the young unmarried woman, to the wife and mother with household and childcare responsibilities, to the aging woman hampered by frailty and illness, the methods by which women were hired and the amount of days they worked also changed.

Before relating the female life-cycle to working patterns, it is helpful to define how the life-cycle was understood in the seventeenth century. There were many divisions of the life-cycle proposed by different medieval thinkers, but by the seventeenth century it was generally believed that the male sex entered a new stage of the life-cycle every seven years in a theory known as the 'Ages of Man'. The first phase, from birth to the age of seven, was that of childhood, followed by youth until the age of fourteen and continuing onwards in stages. A man was in his physical and mental prime between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five until a 'Perceivable Decline to Age' began at the age of forty-two, finally becoming 'Very Old' at the age of seventy.¹ Whilst the male life-cycle was therefore seen as a detailed sequence of many stages, the female equivalent was delineated with far less clarity. The majority of writers on the life-cycle, whilst not explicitly discounting women, were clearly concerned with men alone.² The early modern view of the female life-cycle was tied firmly to marital status rather than chronological age, with women being divided into the three groups of maidens, wives and widows. A linear progression of age was implied within these categories, but it was much less specific and not always appropriate – for example, elderly spinsters were also maidens, and some reached widowed status well before old age. However, despite the troubling implications of twinning female identity with marital status, this early modern conception of women is still the most useful framework through which to explore the effect which the life-cycle

¹ Lynn Botelho, 'Old age and menopause in rural women of early modern Suffolk' in *Women and Ageing in British Society since 1500* ed. by Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), p.46.

² Shulamith Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages: 'Winter Clothes us in Shadow and Pain'* trans. by Yael Lotan (London: Routledge, 2004), pp.18 – 19.

had on women's work. In the seventeenth century, marital status and motherhood did have an effect on female working patterns.

Outside contemporary theory, what did the average female life-cycle really look like in seventeenth-century England? Population historians Wrigley and Schofield gathered family reconstitution data from twelve very different English parishes. At birth, there was an average life expectancy of 41.9 years from 1600 to 1649, falling slightly in the second half of the century to 39.5 years between 1650 and 1699.³ A more specific local average which corresponds with the period and location of this thesis heralds from the Devon parish of Colyton, not far from Payhembury: Pamela Sharpe found that life expectancy at birth in this parish was 36.9 years during the period 1625 – 99.⁴ Once the dangerous years of childhood were past, there was a greater chance of living to middle and old age; if a person reached the age of twenty, they could expect to live a further thirty-five or forty years.⁵ Wrigley and Schofield found that between 1600 and 1649, the average age of marriage was twenty-eight for men and twenty-six for women; these figures altered slightly in the second half of the century to 27.8 years for men and 26.5 years for women between 1650 and 1699.⁶

The stage of the life-cycle after marriage for many women was, naturally, motherhood. Between 1641 and 1686, there was a marked dip in fertility throughout England.⁷ The first part of this period obviously correlates with the upheavals of the Civil Wars and its aftermath. Wrigley and Schofield have asked whether this dip was merely due to defective registration and baptismal recording practices, but concluded that these were unlikely to have had a large effect on the result, mainly because low fertility continued past 1660 when registration levels improved, and also because there was no effect on the levels of burial and mortality, which would have been expected if there was a recording issue.⁸ Instead, this was partly a result of gender imbalance. Not only had men died during the Civil Wars, but this was also a period of high male emigration to the New World. As has been seen, the women left behind either married in their mid-

³ E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541 – 1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.252.

⁴ Pamela Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish: Reproducing Colyton, 1540 – 1840* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), p.203.

⁵ Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England*, p.453.

⁶ Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England*, p.255.

⁷ Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England*, p.229.

⁸ Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England*, p.232.

to-late twenties or not at all, with an obvious negative effect on the number of children they bore.

There was however a considerable proportion of people who never married at all, the percentage of which rose amongst the cohort born in the early seventeenth century to 24% and peaked again to a proportion of 27% for the cohort born mid-century, who were marrying in the 1670s and 1680s.⁹ This first peak in the number of unmarried people corresponds with a drop in real wages which may explain why people were not setting up marital households. The second peak may reflect a problem with recording rather than a decline of marriage, due to the popularity of clandestine ceremonies; it may also be a reflection and natural consequence of the high level of civil marriages during the Commonwealth, which were not recorded in the parish registers.¹⁰

The average household size in the seventeenth century was not much larger than today. Peter Laslett has used a sample of hundred parishes to determine that, on average, households contained 5.073 members in the period 1564 to 1649, with a slight drop to 4.502 between 1650 and 1749.¹¹ Richard Wall found a similar result: from twenty-three settlements in the south and west before 1750, there was an average household size of 4.63.¹² Therefore, whether married or not, women of the labouring class were generally not living in large households, unless they were a hired servant for an employer in the higher levels of society. Women also generally lived longer than men once they had passed the critical stages of childbearing although, for Colyton at least, adult mortality was higher between the years of 1625 and 1699 than either before or later and especially for women.¹³

How did the life-cycle then affect women's work? Girls entered formal working life in their mid-to-late teens. It was both expected and accepted that in their adolescence and early adulthood women would work full-time. This was often in the household of another as a servant, but not exclusively, as young women also found employment as labourers or did productive work in their own homes. Unlike

⁹ Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England*, p.263.

¹⁰ Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England*, p.264.

¹¹ Peter Laslett, *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.138.

¹² Richard Wall, 'England: Mean household size from printed sources' in *Household and Family in Past Time* ed. by Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.192.

¹³ Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, p.204.

today, it was marriage which made the most difference to their working lives, a change which was often consolidated by motherhood. It was preached by religious and social commentators that a woman's ultimate role was to be a skilful housewife, and many of women's work tasks did take place within their home or its immediate environs.¹⁴ However, wives also performed paid labour in other people's homes or fields. The demands of a labour-intensive pre-modern household meant that once women married and became the most senior woman in their household, their paid employment became more casual and part-time. It did not completely cease however, as the majority of labouring households could not survive with just a male breadwinner and, as a result, many women worked well beyond modern retirement age. Wives were also heavily involved in the 'economy of makeshifts', cobbling together a variety of by-employments and taking advantage of common rights such as gleaning and gathering to maximise the household income.

Examining the interactions between gender, work and the life-cycle in past centuries can help us understand similar issues in the modern world. Women are more visible and accepted in the workplace than they were a hundred or even fifty years ago, but their life-cycle still has a disproportionate impact on their working and earning capabilities. It has the least effect on young women with few or no domestic and childcare responsibilities and it is now not marriage which effects the most change in women's working lives, but motherhood. In Britain, the legal exclusion of married women from employment was ended by equal opportunities legislation beginning in the 1970s, with the Equal Pay Act of 1970 and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975.¹⁵ Therefore, it is no longer expected that a woman loses her independence and working life upon marriage. Higher education and a fulfilling career are now seen as laudable aims for women and being 'just a housewife' often has negative connotations.¹⁶

It is pregnancy and motherhood which have the largest effect on female employment in the twenty-first century.¹⁷ Many wives and mothers have no

¹⁴ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500 – 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p.226.

¹⁵ Catherine Hakim, *Key Issues in Women's Work: Female Diversity and the Polarisation of Women's Employment* (London: The Glass House Press, 2004), p.10.

¹⁶ Deborah Simonton, *A History of European Women's Work, 1700 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.190.

¹⁷ Simonton, *A History of European Women's Work*, p.193.

choice but to work due to economic necessity, especially as changes to the education system and child labour laws have meant that children stay at school for longer and no longer contribute to the household economy.¹⁸ Modern feminist discourse has focused on motherhood's negative effect on female employment due to discriminatory maternity policies, and more insidious attitudes towards wives and mothers in the workplace. Whilst in theory it is illegal to not hire a woman based on her likelihood of having children or to fire her due to pregnancy, in reality doubts over the ability of women to both work and raise a child without a decline in her workplace productivity are still deeply held by employers, and legal requirements such as maternity leave and cover are seen as financially damaging. The irony is that with contraception, decreasing family size and modern technology, domestic duties are now less time-consuming.¹⁹ Despite this, the continuing gender division of labour in many households means that this burden still falls disproportionately on the woman, as does managing the household both physically and emotionally. As a result, the career and earnings of women suffer. In contrast, male wages have been shown to increase after marriage and fatherhood, often because they can rely on the domestic and emotional support of their wives more heavily. Modern society has still not found a satisfactory balance between the expectations of women maintaining their domestic duties as wives and mothers and also having fulfilling working lives and maintaining economic independence. Ageism is also a real problem for both sexes, but especially for women: whilst men are seen as being more experienced with age, older women complain of becoming invisible upon the onset of the menopause. Overall, the female life-cycle and the reproductive role of women still has a significant effect on women's working lives in the twenty-first century; studying the same issues in a historical context can help us to better understand the reasons and consequences of this.

This chapter goes beyond the household account books and uses parish registers and other estate and family documents such as letter collections to analyse the effect that the life-cycle had on female working patterns in early modern south-west England. Female workers from the account books have been identified in local parish registers, where baptismal, marriage and burial records

¹⁸ Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p.219.

¹⁹ Hakim, *Key Issues in Women's Work*, p.51.

have been used to assign age and marital status. This information is used, alongside material from the household accounts, to show that age, marital status and motherhood had a considerable effect on the working lives of seventeenth-century women.

4.2 Historiography of women's work and the life-cycle

Single women

In early modern European society, heterosexual marriage was normative and promoted as a means of avoiding sin and maintaining social order through the creation of households with a male head of authority. Marriage was viewed as a natural part of reaching adulthood. It is true that most people in early modern England were married for at least part of their lives, but single people also constituted a sizeable sector of society at any given time. These included people (usually adolescents and younger adults) who were currently single but expected to marry in the future, widows and widowers who had been married but had lost a spouse, and those who never married at all. The term 'spinster' only became exclusively used for single women in the eighteenth century. Before then, it was purely an occupational term for somebody of either sex who span wool; in the 1570 Norwich Census of the Poor, many women are explicitly referred to as both wives and spinsters.²⁰

The position of the single woman in early modern England has been neglected by historians and has only begun to be the subject of individual study in the past few decades.²¹ Many older studies on the life-cycle and women in the early modern period focused on the family unit, with single women being only cursorily surveyed as they did not fit easily into this category. Lawrence Stone, in his seminal work *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, reserved a scant three pages for the topic, restricting his comments to the rising numbers of single women from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the plight of higher born single women who were reduced to the status of governess, and society's

²⁰ One example being 'Bartholomew Write, labourer... & Agnes, his wife, a spinster' in *The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570* ed. by John F. Pound (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1971), p.29.

²¹ Olwen Hufton, 'Women in History: Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, 101 (1983), p.129.

negative view of the spinster.²² Ralph A. Houlbrooke's formative monograph *The English Family* contains only scattered references to the unmarried, mentioning how they look after their aged parents.²³ Both Olwen Hufton's and Merry Wiesner's histories of women in early modern Europe divide their analysis by life-cycle, meaning that the status and experiences of single women are only superficially reviewed as being outside the norm, seen as a negative condition by society and the women themselves.²⁴ Works on women in early modern England do contain chapters on single women within their larger sections on marriage and adult life but, in such wide-ranging surveys, detailed exploration of any area is difficult.²⁵ Even in Mendelson and Crawford's detailed *Women in Early Modern England*, which is heavy in primary research, only devotes nine pages to single women amongst their chapter on Adult Life. These cover the negative early modern attitudes to single women, their invisibility in the sources, numbers and demography, both positive and negative views from single women on their spinster state recovered from diaries and letters, family surveillance, support networks amongst each other, work in service, the risk of pregnancy and their ability to make wills: all interesting and valuable topics which show the importance of studying single women in more detail.²⁶

However, a collection on European single women from 1250 to 1800, edited by Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (1999), and monographs on single women by Bridget Hill (2001) for the period 1660 to 1850 and Amy M. Froide (2005) for the period 1550 to 1750 have begun to remedy this lacuna.²⁷ Bridget Hill casts the life of a single woman as more negative and downtrodden than her married peers, saying that 'there can be little doubt that single women were persecuted, reviled, disadvantaged and constantly under surveillance as posing a potential threat to social order'.²⁸ Hill details how single women had few working

²² Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500 – 1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), pp. 243-5.

²³ Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450 – 1700* (Harlow: Longman, 1984), p.189.

²⁴ Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, Volume I, 1500 – 1800* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), p.251; Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.61-63.

²⁵ Laurence, *Women in England*, pp.165 – 173.

²⁶ Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550 – 1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 165 – 174.

²⁷ Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (eds.), *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250 – 1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Bridget Hill, *Women Alone: Spinsters in England, 1660 – 1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²⁸ Hill, *Women Alone*, p.179.

opportunities outside domestic service, leading to an increased vulnerability to poverty, prostitution and economic dependence. These factors meant that they were targets for the parish authorities, who feared being financially responsible for these women and so forced them into service and workhouses and arrested them for wandering the streets alone. Although Hill concludes by praising the tenacity and persistence of early modern single women, her usage of terms such as 'endurance', 'victims' and 'dreary monotonous life' suggests that the experience of single women in early modern England was overwhelmingly negative.²⁹

Whilst Froide acknowledges that single women 'laboured under practical disadvantages that meant they seldom enjoyed the residential, employment and welfare opportunities' of their married counterparts, she also emphasises that the position of single women was not entirely a negative one. Single women had increasing economic opportunities, maintained and enjoyed fulfilling relationships with family and friends, and were valued members of their family circles. Froide also made two crucial distinctions between single women in early modern England, which shows that historians should not assume universality of experience when talking about this demographic group. Firstly, she distinguishes between the 'life-cycle single woman', who was generally young, had an expectation of marrying and would usually go on to do so, and the 'lifelong single woman', who would never marry.³⁰ Froide also distinguished between the 'never-married' and the 'ever-married' (wives and widows). Widows who did not remarry were technically single, but their previous status as wives had created several factors, most importantly motherhood and respectability, which made their experiences different from that of other women who had never married at all.³¹

Both Bridget Hill and Amy Froide discuss the limited economic opportunities for single women. They focus on the threat which independent young women, free from the control of masters, husbands, fathers and brothers, were perceived to pose to the patriarchal social order. This led to a concentration of this demographic in service, encouraged by the actions of parish authorities who saw single women as dependant burdens and potential bearers of illegitimate children

²⁹ Hill, *Women Alone*, pp.181-2.

³⁰ Froide, *Never Married*, p.9.

³¹ Froide, *Never Married*, p.16.

that would be charged on the parish. The authorities used domestic service as an instrument of social control, placing unsupervised single women under the patriarchal control of a master and refusing poor relief to a family with an unemployed single woman still resident at home.³² Bridget Hill explains that, in the countryside, the work that these young women performed was mostly agricultural. Household servants also participated in outdoor work, whilst the daughters of labourers hired out their labour in turn.³³

However, Amy Froide's use of legal, administrative, court and personal records from provincial towns such as Southampton, Bristol, Oxford and York means that her research is more focused on the single women's experiences of work in an urban environment, whilst Bridget Hill's wide scope and usage of secondary and literary sources means that the reality of local practices is ignored. By examining household account books from three individual estates from the southwest, this study yields new information on the reality of single women's employment in these rural, local environments. This chapter looks at the single women working at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court as both household servants and agricultural labourers. As a result, its focus is invariably upon young, unmarried women: life-cycle single women rather than lifelong single women, who are examined in a subsequent section on how ageing affected women's work.

Servants

Service was an important stage of the early modern life-cycle, and not just for the lowest classes: using evidence from household listings dating from 1574 to 1821, Kussmaul found that 60 per cent of the population aged fifteen to twenty-four were working as servants.³⁴ This was an average of 13.4% of the population at large.³⁵ For unmarried women under the age of forty-five, two societal roles dominated: daughter and servant.³⁶ Both Bridget Hill and Amy M. Froide note that one of the few accepted employments for single women was service.³⁷ The

³² Hill, *Women Alone*, pp. 97 – 104.

³³ Hill, *Women Alone*, pp.17 – 18.

³⁴ Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.3.

³⁵ Peter Laslett, 'Mean household size in England since the sixteenth century' in *Household and Family in Past Time* ed. by Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.152.

³⁶ Richard Wall, 'Women Alone in English Society', *Annales de demographie historique* (1981), 310.

³⁷ Hill, *Women Alone*, pp.17-18; Froide, *Never Married*, p.30.

varying definitions of 'maid' to mean a servant, a virgin and a female youth is evidence that, for girls, 'age, marital status and occupation were inseparably intertwined'.³⁸

Female servants were predominantly young and unmarried, and there were two interlinking reasons why this was so. Firstly, working in service necessitated living in the employer's household and being at their constant convenience, which was difficult for married women who had their own homes and families to look after. The second is generally termed the 'western European marriage pattern', coined and described by John Hajnal.³⁹ The three key factors common to this pattern were a late marriage for both sexes, small single-couple households, and a youth spent working in service before marriage.⁴⁰ Tine De Moor and Jan Luiten Van Zanden have argued that this marriage pattern emerged after the Black Death as a response to the higher wages and widening employment opportunities it created, especially for women.⁴¹ This meant that women had an economic incentive to work rather than marry early. P. J. P. Goldberg, through his study of female servants in late medieval Yorkshire, has shown that there was more continuity than change between the late medieval and early modern period in terms of female economic opportunity and the average age of first marriage.⁴²

However, although the conventional image of a servant is that of a young and unmarried woman, and this demographic group was overrepresented amongst the servant population, Charmian Mansell has uncovered evidence to show that women of differing age and marital status also worked as servants.⁴³ By looking at church court depositions from the dioceses of Exeter, Gloucester and Winchester, she found that older spinsters, married women and widows could

³⁸ Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work and Family*, p.31.

³⁹ John Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective' in *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* ed. by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 1974), pp.101-143.

⁴⁰ John Hajnal, 'Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System', *Population and Development Review*, 8.3 (1982), p.452.

⁴¹ Tine De Moor and Jan Luiten Van Zanden, 'Girl power: the European marriage pattern and labour markets in the North Sea region in the late medieval and early modern period', *Economic History Review*, 63.1 (2010), pp.3, 11.

⁴² P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Female Labour, Service and Marriage in the Late Medieval Urban North', *Northern History*, 22.1 (1986), p.26.

⁴³ Charmian Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community: a study of church court depositions from the dioceses of Exeter and Gloucester, c.1550 – 1650' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2016); Charmian Mansell, 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England (1548 – 1649): evidence from church court depositions', *Continuity and Change*, 33 (2018), pp. 315-38.

also work in service, and that it was a safety-net for these women who were experiencing economic hardship. As a result, service as an institution was not as rigid and uniform as has sometimes been stated: hiring practices, wages and contracts were flexible and could differ depending on the circumstances and needs of both the employer and the employee.⁴⁴ This has implications for the study of gender, life-cycle and work, if work was not tied to age and marital status, and means historians must be wary of talking of a homogenous servant class or identity.

Has the extent of service been overstated? Graham Mayhew has found that service was more common in rural rather than urban communities, and chosen as a last economic resort when parents died or were too poor to support their offspring.⁴⁵ The age at which young women from labouring families left their natal home has been debated; Lawrence Stone suggests between the seven and fourteen, while Peter Laslett suggests any time after the age of ten.⁴⁶ However, Richard Wall has argued for a wider age range, from before the age of ten to the early or mid-twenties, citing differing personal and economic circumstances which could affect the age at which a young person left home and reminding us that many young unmarried women remained at home.⁴⁷ Whilst Mayhew's primary research was confined to sixteenth and seventeenth century Rye, and both Stone and Laslett constructed hypotheses based on their general research in early modern social history, Wall's conclusions emerged from detailed demographic research on parish registers and censuses across the country and are therefore more representative and thorough.

Service was chosen as a means of betterment, to improve one's education and marital chances, but also as a means of subsistence, by teenagers whose parents were too poor to keep them at home.⁴⁸ These two reasons were often connected. Adolescence was viewed by contemporaries as 'a time of preparation for married and working life, for learning and for gathering the prerequisites for

⁴⁴ Mansell, 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England (1548 – 1649)', p.333.

⁴⁵ Graham Mayhew, 'Life-cycle service and the family unit in early modern Rye', *Continuity and Change*, 6 (1991), pp. 201 – 226.

⁴⁶ Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, p.75; Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London: Methuen and Co, 1979), p.15.

⁴⁷ Richard Wall, 'The Age of Leaving Home', *Journal of Family History*, 3 (1978), pp. 181 - 202; Richard Wall, 'Leaving home and the process of household formation', *Continuity and Change*, 2.1 (1987), pp. 77 – 101; Wall, 'Women Alone in English Society', p. 312.

⁴⁸ Mayhew, 'Life-cycle service and the family unit in early modern Rye', p. 202.

marriage.⁴⁹ Olwen Hufton noted that ‘the female saw her work as a source of capital accumulation which would terminate on marriage’, whilst Jane Whittle has described how young men and women utilised service as a means to learn skills and save money for their future employed and married lives.⁵⁰ When marriage did not occur for one reason or another, it was often more economically advantageous for single women to remain in service, rather than live in their family household. Pamela Sharpe, in her study of the single women of the Pinney family, related how the inventory of Elizabeth Dollen, a family servant, contained golden rings, a satin gown and plate, and compared this ‘modest prosperity’ to another Pinney sister’s ‘apparent indigence.’⁵¹

Historians such as Judith Bennett, Amy M. Froide, P. J. P. Goldberg and Richard M. Smith have argued that youth was a time of unusual autonomy for women, and the economic and social independence engendered by leaving home and working for a living was, on the whole, a positive experience for young women.⁵² However, Kim M. Phillips cautioned against imposing modern feminist viewpoints on the past: whilst twentieth and twenty-first century historians see work and independence from familial control as female liberation, late medieval and early modern girls may have felt more economically insecure than independent.⁵³ When low wages, long days of hard labour and potentially cruel employers were added to the equation, ‘it is difficult to see how such harsh working conditions could have in general held a high degree of economic and emotional independence for women.’⁵⁴ A pertinent example is that of Susan Lay, a servant

⁴⁹ Deborah Simonton, ‘Earning and Learning: girlhood in pre-industrial Europe’, *Women’s History Review*, 13.3 (2004), p. 364.

⁵⁰ Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p.71; Jane Whittle, ‘Servants in Rural England c.1450-1650: hired work as a means of accumulating wealth and skills before marriage’ in Maria Ågren and Amy Louise Erikson (eds.), *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain, 1400-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005),

⁵¹ Pamela Sharpe, ‘Dealing with Love: The Ambiguous Independence of the Single Woman in Early Modern England’, *Gender and History*, 11.2 (1999), p. 225.

⁵² Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, ‘A singular past’ in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250 – 1800* ed. by Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p.8; P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c.1300 – 1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.327; Richard M. Smith, ‘Geographical Diversity in the Resort to Marriage in Late Medieval Europe: Work, Reputation and Unmarried Females in the Household Formation Systems of Northern and Southern Europe’ in *Women is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society, c.1200 – 1500* ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1992) p.42.

⁵³ Kim M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270 – 1540* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p.8.

⁵⁴ Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, p.131.

in Essex in the mid seventeenth century. Laura Gowing recounts her sorry story: whilst working for the Beauty family she was impregnated twice after promises of marriage, the first by her master Francis Beauty and the second by his son, William. The Beauty family promised to provide but turned Susan out of their employ after finding a wet-nurse for her children. When Susan sought her infants out, she found them both dead. Unemployed, homeless and hungry, Susan became a vagrant, was arrested for stealing a goose and sent to a house of correction for at least a year. This was not the end of her woes, as her last appearance in the historical record was for being indicted for the theft of a petticoat worth sixpence and being subsequently whipped as a punishment.⁵⁵

This may be an extreme example, but it shows that service was not always a positive stepping-stone into marriage and motherhood. J. A. Sharpe's investigations into domestic homicide found that, in early modern Essex, servants and apprentices were overwhelmingly the most likely group to be victims of murder in the household.⁵⁶ Peter Rushton's study of the quarter sessions of north-east England from 1600 to 1800 lists the grievances of servants who applied to these courts for redress - mainly physical mistreatment and not receiving the wages promised. Sexual exploitation and rape were also an issue for female servants, although accusations of this nature were less likely to appear in the courts as, like today, women were tentative about reporting for fear of not being believed. However, ill-treatment of servants was not condoned in the early modern public sphere, whatever may have happened behind closed doors. Servants were more likely than masters to win their cases outright and the community could intervene if they thought masters were being unfair, such as when two women attacked a master for mistreating his young servant girl.⁵⁷

This is not to say that some women did not experience kind employers, reasonable working conditions for decent remuneration, and some degree of autonomy over their choice of situation, social life and courtship; rather, negative

⁵⁵ Laura Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay: Servants and Mistresses in Seventeenth-Century England', *Gender and History*, 14.2 (2002), pp. 183 – 201.

⁵⁶ J. A. Sharpe, 'Domestic Homicide in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 24.1 (1981), p. 38.

⁵⁷ Peter Rushton, 'The Matter in Variance: Adolescents and Domestic Conflict in the Pre-Industrial Economy of Northeast England, 1600 – 1800', *Journal of Social History*, 25.1 (1991), pp. 93, 95, 98.

experiences and hardship should not be discounted. These reasons may explain why some young single women did not enter service but worked as day labourers.

Wives and mothers

Work did not cease for women upon marriage and, especially for the lower classes, the economic contribution of both husband and wife was vital for the continued survival of the family. Wives were the supervisors of the 'economy of makeshifts', managing a variety of tasks such as food production, textile work, gardening and caring for animals such as hens, cows and pigs to provide for the family's needs, trading the surplus at market for what could not be made within the household. Many wives also undertook waged work and made the most of other resources by gleaning after harvest and gathering from the common, all alongside their reproductive role of bearing and rearing children.⁵⁸ These casual, haphazard and multiple occupations leave few formal documentary traces for the historian, meaning that tracking the extent of married women's work in past times is extremely difficult. This is especially applicable to wives of agricultural workers labouring for low wages and, as Horrell and Humphries note, 'the chronic under-reporting of occupations, while partly ideological, also reflects the intermittent and varied work undertaken and its tendency to be embedded in the family economy.'⁵⁹

Early historians of women's work such as Alice Clark emphasised the varying and unceasing nature of work, waged and unwaged, undertaken by wives in the pre-industrial agricultural economy.⁶⁰ Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries have researched the extent of married women's work from 1790 to 1865. Their conclusion supports Ivy Pinchbeck's thesis that the monetary contribution of wives to the family economy declined during this period, especially in agricultural communities.⁶¹ However, this also shows that the contribution of wives and mothers was present and important in earlier centuries. This is reinforced by Jane Humphries' research on the erosion of common rights caused by enclosure and the effect this had on women's work. Humphries demonstrates how, before

⁵⁸ Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work and Family*, p.54.

⁵⁹ Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, 'Women's labour force participation and the transition to the male-breadwinner family, 1790 – 1865', *The Economic History Review*, 48.1 (1995), p.97.

⁶⁰ Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (Third Edition)* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 64, 89.

⁶¹ Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750 – 1850* (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1977), p.306.

enclosure, wives utilised these rights to common land by pasturing cows, horses, sheep and geese, gathering wood and peat for fuel, picking herbs and fruit to supplement the family diet and, in some areas, cutting long heath grass to make brooms.⁶² The annual income from a cow alone could be half the yearly wage of an adult male labourer in the eighteenth century.⁶³ The right to glean was also valuable, as women could gather what amounted to up to six bushels of wheat in one week, a bushel equating to almost double the weekly wages of a farm labourer.⁶⁴ Spinning was a cottage industry which could be performed at home by wives whilst supervising the children and household; Craig Muldrew has calculated that a married woman could potentially earn £5 5s from thirty-five weeks spinning in 1690.⁶⁵

In terms of waged work, wives and mothers were often part of the casualised, seasonal work force. Their responsibilities to their own households and families made them unsuitable to be permanent, live-in servants and instead they were called upon during labour shortages and periods of peak labour necessity, such as during the harvest, for example. This can be seen in case studies of particular estates. For example, A. Hassell Smith found that the wives of day labourers at Stiffkey in Norfolk during the sixteenth century were employed 'in a range of seasonal and occasional tasks in agriculture', including weeding in the spring and autumn, haymaking and shearing at harvest time, picking hops and gathering saffron in autumn and sorting wool and picking seed corn in the winter.⁶⁶

Craig Muldrew has calculated the earning power of wives and children and how much their labour meant to a household. Whilst the children were still young the income of the household was depleted as they could not yet work, and neither could their mother, whose time was taken up by looking after them. As the children grew older, wives became a more active part of the labour market. In 1690, they had the potential to add an extra £4 a year to the household budget by working as an agricultural labourer, in addition to any income made spinning,

⁶² Jane Humphries, 'Enclosures, Common Rights and Women: The Proletarianisation of Families in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Journal of Economic History* 50.1 (1990), pp. 17 – 42.

⁶³ Humphries, 'Enclosures, Common Rights, and Women', p. 31.

⁶⁴ Humphries, 'Enclosures, Common Rights, and Women', p. 35.

⁶⁵ Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550 – 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.244.

⁶⁶ A. Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England: a case study from north Norfolk [Part I]', *Continuity and Change* 4.1 (1989), pp.30-1.

gleaning or utilising common rights as described above.⁶⁷ Married women also earned money by working as wet-nurses and midwives. Dorothy McLaren and Valerie Fildes were the first to investigate wet nursing in the early modern period.⁶⁸ This was an occupation which utilised the skills, life experience and respectability associated with wifehood and motherhood. Wet nursing had the added benefit of prolonging lactation, therefore helping to limit conception and family size. Linda Campbell has used household accounts to illuminate the reality of wet-nursing for a gentry family in the seventeenth century and to find evidence of the status, networks and pay of the wet-nurses themselves, telling their story alongside the wealthier mothers who employed them in such a position of trust.⁶⁹

Old women

The historiography of the elderly shares parallels with the historiography of women. Not only has it developed significantly over the last few decades, but similar theoretical issues have had to be overcome, in terms of setting acceptable definitions and overcoming preconceived assumptions.⁷⁰ Both women and the elderly (especially those of the lower classes) are difficult to find in traditional historical documents. New sources have had to be used, and old sources read in new ways, to find evidence pertaining to old women, but the evidence is there, particularly in records of poor relief. Historians such as Lynn Botelho, Pat Thane and Margaret Pelling have, in the last twenty years, contributed to a growing historiography of older working women in the early modern period.

To study older women, one needs a definition of old age. It is difficult to determine exact age in early modern England as survival of parish registers for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is haphazard and even when age is recorded in documents it is usually estimated. Ageing was a process: then, like now, there was a difference between a 'young old' person, in their fifties and still relatively fit, and an elderly person in their seventies or eighties who was nearly blind and

⁶⁷ Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness*, p.257.

⁶⁸ Dorothy McLaren, 'Nature's contraceptive. Wet nursing and prolonged lactation: the case of Chesham, Buckinghamshire, 1578 – 1601', *Medical History*, 23 (1979), pp. 426-41; Dorothy McLaren, 'Marital fertility and lactation, 1570 – 1720' in *Women in English Society* ed. by Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 22 – 53; Valerie Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies: A History of Infant Feeding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986); Valerie Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).

⁶⁹ Linda Campbell, 'Wet Nurses in Early Modern England: Some Evidence from the Townshend Archive', *Medical History*, 33 (1989), pp. 360 – 70.

⁷⁰ Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane, 'Introduction' in *Women and Ageing in British Society since 1500* ed. by Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), pp. 2-3.

could barely walk. Without concrete age related data, anthropologists and historians have decided that ‘the simplest and safest rule to follow was to consider a person as old whenever he was so regarded and treated by his contemporaries.’⁷¹ This can be measured by the use of contemporary vocabulary to describe people as aged and the giving of titles such as ‘mother’.⁷² Lynn Botelho has suggested that fifty is in fact the age at which early modern people viewed women as entering old age. She has tied this to the onset of menopause, saying that physical symptoms such as facial hair growth, wrinkled and loose skin, and the deterioration of bone and teeth were exacerbated by a life of poor nutrition and hard physical work, which, compounded by the lack of modern medicine, caused an obvious change in women’s appearance, making them look a lot older very quickly.⁷³ Botelho has tied this to the usage of appellations such as ‘old’, ‘mother’ and ‘father’ in the parish records of Cratfield in Suffolk, which on average began to be applied to women around the age of fifty.⁷⁴

In the early modern period, the elderly of the labouring classes worked for their keep until they were physically unable to do so. There was no expectation of a retirement or poor relief; neither the community at large nor the elderly themselves believed they were entitled to support by virtue of their age alone. Therefore, women’s working lives did not terminate in their old age. Economic necessity meant that those from the lower classes often had little choice but to scrape a living together performing whatever tasks their age and health allowed them to do. The earning power of older women (and men) was much depleted, as the depletion of strength and the potential illness and disability which accompanies old age lessened their productivity.

Women also worked for longer than men, as traditionally female tasks such as spinning could be performed despite frailty and disability, as can be seen from documentary evidence.⁷⁵ The Norwich Census of the Poor from 1570 is a good illustration of the reality of working life for older women. Some, like the widowed

⁷¹ L. W. Simmons quoted in Botelho, ‘Old age and menopause in rural women of early modern Suffolk’ p.48.

⁷² Claire S. Schen, ‘Strategies of poor aged women and widows in sixteenth-century London’ in *Women and Ageing in British Society since 1500* ed. by Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), p.15.

⁷³ Botelho, ‘Old age and menopause in rural women of early modern Suffolk’, p.51.

⁷⁴ Botelho, ‘Old age and menopause in rural women of early modern Suffolk’, p.49.

⁷⁵ L. A. Botelho, *Old Age and the English Poor Law, 1500 – 1700* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), p.97.

eighty- year-old Joan Thornton, could ‘do no work & live very poorly.’⁷⁶ Other old women worked for their keep despite disabilities and illness, such as Elizabeth Mason ‘of 80 years, a lame woman of one hand & spin & wind with one hand’ and Alice Wallis, wife of John, aged sixty who was ‘sickly & spin white warp & teach youth”: two of many such examples.⁷⁷ Margaret Pelling has used this evidence to show that due to the physical nature of male labour, men were less able to continue an independent existence as they got older, and therefore were more likely to remarry, even to an older woman. This prolonged life of work supporting themselves and their male partner took its toll on women, both on their quality of life and their life expectancy. Lynn Botelho has explained how the negative effects of ageing were even worse for women, who felt ‘the double burden of gender and declining abilities’.⁷⁸

Poverty and the life-cycle

The female life-cycle had an undeniable effect on women’s work – and also the lack of it. The inability to work is irrevocably intertwined with poverty, especially in the early modern period when ‘poverty was gendered and overwhelmingly life-cycle related.’⁷⁹ There has been detailed work undertaken on gender, poverty and the life-cycle using local Poor Law records from particular communities. Women were more likely to need parish charity and maintenance at certain times of their lives; most commonly in their widowhood and in old age, although married couples with small children were also recipients of relief as the number of dependent mouths to feed was higher than the number of productive workers in the family. This pattern has been identified by Tim Wales for several parishes in Norfolk and by W. Newman Brown for Aldenham in Hertfordshire, both case studies from the seventeenth century.⁸⁰ Samantha Williams has found that, to combat the need for parish relief, poor women were active members of the ‘economy of makeshifts’ and scraped together a living from a range of legitimate and illegitimate activities, the earnings of such myriad by-employments often

⁷⁶ *The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570*, p.26.

⁷⁷ *The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570*, pp.28, 33.

⁷⁸ Botelho, *Old Age and the English Poor Law*, pp. 80-1.

⁷⁹ Samantha Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760 – 1834* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), p.101.

⁸⁰ Tim Wales, ‘Poverty, poor relief and the life-cycle: some evidence from seventeenth-century Norfolk’ in *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* ed. by Richard M. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp.351 – 388; W. Newman Brown, ‘The receipt of poor relief and family situation: Aldenham, Hertfordshire, 1630-90’ in *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* ed. by Richard M. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 405 – 422.

being crucial in the survival of the family and household.⁸¹ These options narrowed as the eighteenth century progressed; in his study on Terling, in Essex, during the period 1762 to 1834, Henry French found that the number of people on poor relief increased as employment opportunities for women lessened, and that there was an increased dependence on the male breadwinner who often did not earn enough to support the entire family.⁸²

4.3 Methodology

In order to construct the life-stories of the working women on the estates of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court, it has been necessary to search the local parish registers, as household account books provide very little biographical information. The registers of the parishes containing the estates themselves (Payhembury, Herriard and Barrow Gurney) have been thoroughly transcribed and searched.⁸³ The registers of every parish adjacent to these have also been searched, using genealogy software and published transcriptions. Digitised registers for the parishes adjacent to Payhembury were searched on Find My Past, whilst digitised registers for the parishes adjacent to Barrow Gurney were searched on Ancestry.⁸⁴ The parish registers adjacent to Herriard Park have transcriptions that were produced by the Hampshire Archives and Local Studies and that are held there.⁸⁵ The names of the parish registers used are given in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: The extant parish registers consulted for Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

Estates	Parish	Adjacent parishes with registers extant
Leyhill	Payhembury	Awliscombe, Broadhembury, Clyst Hydon, Feniton, Plymtree, Talaton
Barrow Court	Barrow Gurney	Backwell, Dundry, Flax Bourton, Long Ashton, Winford
Herriard Park	Herriard	Cliddesdon, Latham, Ellisfield, Bentworth, Weston Patrick, Winslade

⁸¹ Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law*, p.7

⁸² Henry French, 'How dependent were the dependent poor? Poor relief and the life-course in Terling, Essex, 1762 – 1834', *Continuity and Change*, 30.2 (2015), p.202.

⁸³ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1; SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1; HALS, TRA159/1.

⁸⁴ 'Somerset, England: Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1531 – 1812' online database at <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/somersetparishearly/> [accessed online 03/07/19]; 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19].

⁸⁵ HALS, 83M2, TRA73/1, TRA110/2, TRA190/1, TRA345.1,

Sources: 2974A/PR/1/1 (DHC); D/P/bar.g./2/1/1 (SHC); 83M2, TRA73/1, TRA110/2, TRA159/1, TRA190/1, TRA345/1 (HALS); W. P. W. Phillimore, *Hampshire Parish Registers: Marriages, Vol XI* (London: Phillimore and Co Ltd, 1909); 'Somerset, England: Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1531 – 1812' online database at <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/somersetparishearly/> [accessed online 03/07/19]; 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19].

Leyhill has been used as a special case study, for which every parish register in the county of Devon was searched for the estate's female workers. This was done using the 'Devon Baptisms', 'Devon Marriages' and 'Devon Burials' Find My Past databases.⁸⁶ Even with such a detailed, county-wide search, there are some issues with identification. The main difficulty is the small pool of both Christian names and surnames in use during the early modern period, which is exacerbated when the focus is on a local area, and there are several families with the same surname who repeat the same Christian names. For Herriard Park and Barrow Court, when there are several possible women in the immediate and adjacent parishes to match a worker in the accounts, no positive identification has been made unless only one definitively aligns with any demographic information given in the accounts and active working period. For Leyhill, searching all Devon parishes naturally brought up more examples of women with the same name. In these instances, the women in the registers of either Payhembury or the immediately adjacent parishes have been given precedence in the identification, and positive identification has only been made with women outside of these immediate parishes when there is no other woman with the same name who fits with the years of active work and any available demographic information from the accounts.

Table 4.2 below shows how the female day workers in the account books have been categorised by marital status. This has been done firstly by using the labels attached to them by the account keepers. Some of these classifications are self-explanatory; for example, women with the title of 'Widow' being placed in the widowed category, and women with the labels of 'wife' and 'mother' (such as

⁸⁶ 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19].

‘George Merry’s wife’ or ‘Grace Winter’s mother’) being placed in the wives and mothers category. To aid analysis, the title of ‘Goody’ (short for ‘Goodwife’) in this thesis has been placed in the wives and mothers category. Often assumed to mean a married woman, the title of Goody did not necessarily denote wifely status during the seventeenth century; instead, it simply referred to a ‘the female head of the household’ or the mistress of the house.⁸⁷ However, as a female head of household would have the same household duties and responsibilities as a wife or a mother, and many Goodys were in fact married, day workers with the title of Goody have been placed in the wives and mothers category.

Table 4.2: The categorisation by marital status of female day workers at all three estates

	Leyhill	Herriard Park	Barrow Court	All three
<i>Unspecified Marital Status</i>				
Women labelled ‘daughter’	9	25	4	38
Women labelled ‘girl’	-	7	-	7
Women labelled ‘maid’	1	5	-	6
Women labelled ‘daughter’ and ‘girl’	-	4	-	4
Women labelled ‘sister’	4	1	-	5
Women labelled ‘gomer’	2	-	-	2
No label but evidence of single status from parish registers	14	5	1	20
No label or evidence of marital status from parish registers	16	33	7	56
Total for unspecified	46	80	12	138
<i>Wives and Mothers</i>				
Women labelled ‘Goody’	5	28	4	37
Women labelled ‘wife’	27	18	1	46
Women labelled ‘Goody’ and ‘wife’	-	11	-	11
Women labelled ‘mother’	-	2	-	2
No label but evidence of marital or maternal status from parish registers	15	8	2	25
Total for Wives and Mothers	47	67	7	121
<i>Widows</i>				
Women labelled ‘widow’	5	2	1	8
<i>All women</i>				
Total for all women	98	149	20	267

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2, 83M82 PRI, TRA159/1, TRA190/1 (HALS); 2974A/PR/1/1 (DHC); ‘Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837’, online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; ‘Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002’ online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online

⁸⁷ ‘Goodwife, n’ in Oxford English Dictionary online database at <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/79987?redirectedFrom=goodwife#eid> [accessed online, 24/11/19].

08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19].

Other labels are assigned to female day workers in the household accounts, such as 'daughter', 'maid', 'girl', 'sister' and 'gomer' (denoting an older woman). From these, the historian can infer marital status with varying degrees of certainty, as will be explained further in Section 4.4 in this chapter, on unmarried women. Finally, there were women with no labels or titles in the accounts, but for whom marital status could be found by searching the parish registers – again, a process which will be expanded on in more detail later on in this chapter.

4.4 Unmarried Women

Servants

Out of 117 female servants in total who were recorded in the household accounts, thirty-five have been identified in the parish registers, giving a 29.9% identification rate. For the individual estates, this is twenty-seven out of seventy-three (37%) for Leyhill, four out of thirty-seven (10.8%) for Herriard Park and four out of seven (57.1%) for Barrow Court. Although the parish registers for Payhembury, Barrow Gurney and Herriard all survive for the relevant period, the rate of identification for servants at Herriard Park is noticeably lower. The fact that all the surviving parish registers for Devon were searched in the case of Leyhill could account for some part of this. However, Barrow Court, for which only the immediate and adjacent parishes were searched in the same manner as Herriard Park, has an even higher identification rate, although a much smaller group existed to begin with. One reason for Herriard Park's low identification rate may be that the female servants there in this period migrated further for work than those at Leyhill and Barrow Court. Many servants moved from their place of birth to find employment in a process that Ann Kussmaul has termed 'constrained mobility'. This meant that, whilst most servants moved often, they did not move far – although often far enough to make tracking them difficult.⁸⁸ This may have been the case at Herriard Park. Barry Stapleton reconstituted the population of the village of Odiham (less than ten miles away from Herriard) and found that, between 1541 and 1820, nearly two-thirds of those baptised in Odiham would move and be buried elsewhere.⁸⁹ Peter Clark used church court depositions from six dioceses to

⁸⁸ A. S. Kussmaul 'The Ambiguous Mobility of Farm Servants', *The Economic History Review*, 34.2 (1981), p.233.

⁸⁹ Barry Stapleton, 'Family strategies: patterns of inheritance in Odiham, Hampshire, 1525 – 1850', *Continuity and Change*, 14.3 (1999), p. 387.

measure migration between 1660 and 1730, and found that 64.6% of rural female migrants travelled distances of ten miles or less; ultimately, women migrated more often than their male counterparts, but would migrate shorter distances.⁹⁰ As Henry French has noted, migration was more widespread in the seventeenth century than has been previously assumed ‘in both academic and popular discourses in which village “communities”... had been idealised as authentic or organic centres of belonging, because their populations were geographically immobile and embedded in dense networks of kin.’⁹¹ His studies of Myddle and Earls Colne show that only a minority of families in these villages could describe themselves as ‘antient families’ who had lived there a couple of generations or more.⁹²

The extent of service migration in the three households of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court varied. Table 4.2 lists the female servants in each household for whom the parishes of baptism, marriage or burial differed from their parish of work. There are no Barrow Court servants in this table as, although the estate has the highest identification rate of female servants, their baptismal, marriage or burial records emanated from the Barrow Gurney parish register and not from any neighbouring parishes. Two female servants from Herriard Park, Elizabeth Adams and Anne Wake, both of whom were married in the neighbouring parish of Bentworth, are included Table 4.3.

⁹⁰ Peter Clark, ‘Migration in England during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries’, *Past and Present*, 83 (1979), pp. 68, 75.

⁹¹ Henry French, ‘“Ancient Inhabitants”: mobility, lineage and identity in English rural communities, 1600 – 1750’ in *The Self-Contained Village? The social history of rural communities, 1250 – 1900* ed. by Christopher Dyer (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007), pp.72 – 73.

⁹² French, ‘“Ancient Inhabitants”’, pp. 91 – 93.

Table 4.3: The extent of migration by female servants at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

Servant	Parish of Baptism	Parish of Work	Parish of Marriage	Parish of Burial
Eleanor Abell	Tiverton (St Peter)	Payhembury	Seaton and Beer	-
Elizabeth Adams	-	Herriard	Bentworth	-
Joyce Bennett	-	Payhembury	-	Broadclyst
Mary Burnard	Awliscombe	Payhembury	-	-
Marion Booby	-	Payhembury	Payhembury	Broadhembury
Bridget Channon	Clyst St Lawrence	Payhembury	Payhembury	-
Mary Channon	Ottery St Mary	Payhembury	Payhembury	-
Judith Collins	Clyst Hydon	Payhembury	Broadhembury	Honiton
Elizabeth Cotterill	Feniton	Payhembury	-	-
Elizabeth Daw	Exeter (St Olave)	Payhembury	Plymtree	Broadhembury
Joan Ellis	Broadhembury	Payhembury	Payhembury	Payhembury
Agnes Eveleigh	Broadhembury	Payhembury	Payhembury	Payhembury
Ann Flee	Feniton	Payhembury	-	Crediton
Grace Hooker	Crediton	Payhembury	-	-
Grace Joyce	-	Payhembury	Payhembury	Farway
Barbara Munday	Broadhembury	Payhembury	-	-
Jane Salter	-	Payhembury	Payhembury	Broadhembury
Mary Saunders	Clyst Hydon	Payhembury	Payhembury	Payhembury
Sarah Vicary	Rockbeare	Payhembury	Rockbeare	-
Anne Wake	-	Herriard	Bentworth	-
Joan Warren	-	Payhembury	Clyst Hydon	-
Jane Welsh	-	Payhembury	Payhembury	North Lew

Sources: 2974A/PR/1/1 (DHC); 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19]; W. P. W. Phillimore (ed.), *Hampshire Parish Registers: Marriages, Vol XI* (London: Phillimore and Co Ltd, 1909)

The remaining twenty female servants in Table 4.2 all worked at the Leyhill estate in Payhembury. It could be argued that Leyhill has a higher identification rate as the surviving parish registers for the whole county were all searched. The female servants who could not be placed may have come from different counties, or there were too many women with the same name in Devon for a concrete identification to be made. Nine of the servants identified in Table 4.2 (Mary Burnard, Marion Booby, Elizabeth Cotterill, Joan Ellis, Agnes Eveleigh, Barbara Munday, Jane Salter, Mary Saunders and Joan Warren) remained in Payhembury and the surrounding parishes for the life events which could be traced, having either been baptised, married or buried in a parish adjacent to Payhembury. None of these servants had been born in Payhembury but had crossed parish boundaries to work at Leyhill. Some remained in Payhembury after leaving service and were married and buried in the parish church, examples

being Joan Ellis, Agnes Eveleigh and Mary Saunders.⁹³ Sarah Vicary is an example of a woman who migrated back to her parish of baptism, Rockbeare, to marry.⁹⁴ Rockbeare was some seven miles from Payhembury.

Some women were more migratory. Eleanor Abell was born in the parish of Tiverton St Peter, migrated some fifteen miles to work at Leyhill, and was married in Seaton and Beer, roughly fifteen miles away in the opposite direction from Tiverton.⁹⁵ Her marriage to Richard Stocker, who does not appear in the Leyhill accounts, nine years after her last wage payment at Leyhill, suggests that she migrated again for work and married a local man. Joyce Bennett, a spinster, was buried in Broadclyst, eight miles from Payhembury.⁹⁶ In contrast, Bridget Channon and Mary Channon both migrated five miles from their respective baptismal parishes of Clyst St Lawrence and Ottery St Mary to work at Payhembury.⁹⁷ Judith Collins was born, worked and married in the parishes adjacent to Leyhill but was buried in Honiton, six miles away.⁹⁸ Elizabeth Daw was born in the Exeter parish of St Olave and, after she had migrated roughly

⁹³ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

⁹⁴ 'Devon Marriages' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?firstname=sarah+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=vicary&lastname_variants=true&keywordsplace=rockbeare&datasetname=devon+marriages [accessed online 08/07/19].

⁹⁵ 'Devon Baptisms' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?firstname=eleanor+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=abell+&lastname_variants=true&keywordsplace=tiverton&datasetname=devon+baptisms [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?firstname=eleanor+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=abell+&lastname_variants=true&keywordsplace=seaton+and+beer&datasetname=devon+marriages [accessed online 08/07/19].

⁹⁶ 'Devon Burials' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?firstname=joyce+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=bennett&lastname_variants=true&keywordsplace=broadclyst&datasetname=devon+burials [accessed online 08/07/19].

⁹⁷ 'Devon Baptisms' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?firstname=+bridget+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=channon&lastname_variants=true&keywordsplace=clyst+st+lawrence&datasetname=devon+baptisms and https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?firstname=mary&firstname_variants=true&lastname=channon&lastname_variants=true&keywordsplace=ottery+st+mary&datasetname=devon+baptisms [accessed online 08/07/19].

⁹⁸ 'Devon Baptisms' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV2/BAP/0720222> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?firstname=judith&firstname_variants=true&lastname=collins&lastname_variants=true&keywordsplace=broadhembury&datasetname=devon+marriages [accessed 08/07/19]; 'Devon Burials' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?firstname=judith&firstname_variants=true&lastname=richards&lastname_variants=true&keywordsplace=honiton&datasetname=devon+burials [accessed 08/07/19].

sixteen miles to Payhembury, was married and buried in adjacent parishes.⁹⁹ After serving in Payhembury, Ann Flee was buried roughly twenty-five miles away in Crediton, whilst Grace Hooker migrated from Crediton to work in Payhembury.¹⁰⁰ Grace Joyce worked and married in Payhembury parish but was buried in Farway, ten miles away.¹⁰¹ This shows that the majority of traceable migration for female servants was small-scale: either between adjacent parishes or parishes up to fifteen miles away. The longest migration recorded was twenty-five miles. In this respect, the estate of Leyhill supports Ann Kussmaul's supposition that most female migration was local.

Table 4.4 lists all the identified female servants at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Gurney who were married after they left service. This does not necessarily mean that they had been unmarried before, as people often remarried after the death of a spouse, but the lack of information for a previous marriage and the lack of titles such as 'Goody' or 'Widow' in either the account books or the parish registers means that it is reasonable to assume that these women were in service as part of the life-cycle, and married for the first time afterwards.

⁹⁹ 'Devon Baptisms' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV/BAP/372900> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/M/514096354/3> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Burials' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV/BUR/107161> [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹⁰⁰ 'Devon Burials' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?datasetname=devon+burials&firstname=ann+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=flee&lastname_variants=true&place=crediton [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Baptisms' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?datasetname=devon+baptisms&firstname=grace+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=hooker&lastname_variants=true&place=crediton [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹⁰¹ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1; 'Devon Burials' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?datasetname=devon+burials&firstname=grace+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=joyce&place=farway [accessed online 08/07/19].

Table 4.4: The marriage dates and husbands of servants found in parish registers

Name and Household	Known Service	Marriage Date	Husband's name	Place of Marriage
Eleanor Abell (Leyhill)	1679-81	10 Jul 1690	Richard Stocker	Seaton and Beer
Elizabeth Adams (Herriard Park)	1688	1695 [exact date unrecorded]	James Eels	Bentworth
Hannah Bidgood (Leyhill)	1679-80	10 Mar 1680	William Jarman	Payhembury
Bridget Channon (Leyhill)	1676-9	12 Apr 1680	Nicodemus Harding	Payhembury
Mary Channon (Leyhill)	1680	7 Apr 1681	William Palmer	Payhembury
Judith Collins (Leyhill)	1650-1	29 Aug 1655	Nathaniel Richards	Broadhembury
Mary Councill (Barrow Court)	1666	22 May 1678	William Kidman	Barrow Gurney
Elizabeth Dawe (Leyhill)	1676-8	16 Jun 1679	Robert Pouné	Plymtree
Joan Ellis (Leyhill)	1676-9	29 Jul 1680	William Quaintance	Payhembury
Agnes Eveleigh (Leyhill)	1666-9	11 May 1670	Alexander Bishop	Payhembury
Ann Jones (Leyhill)	1655-6	27 Nov 1656	Richard LittleJohn	Payhembury
Christian Markes (Leyhill)	1681-3	1 Jan 1683	Thomas Matthew	Payhembury
Anne Merven (Barrow Court)	1666	14 Apr 1667	Morgan Evans	Barrow Gurney
Jane Salter (Leyhill)	1665-6	2 Aug 1675	John Ashford	Payhembury
Mary Saunders (Leyhill)	1679-81	17 Jan 1699	William Venn	Payhembury
Alice Tooker (Barrow Court)	1666	19 Sep 1682	Peter Wraxall	Barrow Gurney
Dorothea Tucker (Leyhill)	1674-6	14 Feb 1676	Emanuel Trehane	Payhembury
Joan Warren (Leyhill)	1678-81	27 Apr 1704	John Patch	Clyst Hydon
Jane Welch (Leyhill)	1665-9	7 Feb 1671	John Hutch	Payhembury
Margaret Whale (Herriard Park)	1697-9	1 Oct 1704	John Tarant	Herriard

Sources: 2974A/PR/1/1 (DHC); D/P/bar.g./2/1/1 (SHC); TRA159/1 (HALS); 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19]; W. P. W. Phillimore (ed.), *Hampshire Parish Registers: Marriages, Vol XI* (London: Phillimore and Co Ltd, 1909).

Table 4.4 contains twenty women. Out of this number, ten married either the same year or the year after their last wage payment. This suggests that they were specifically waiting to save up enough money to be wed, and then either married after their service was up, or left service in order to marry. Nine of these women had served at Leyhill (Hannah Bidgood, Bridget Channon, Mary Channon, Elizabeth Dawe, Joan Ellis, Agnes Everleigh, Ann Jones, Christian Markes and Dorothea Tucker), whilst the remaining woman, Anne Merven, had served at Barrow Court. This is in line with Ann Kussmaul's observation that servants were most likely to marry after the termination of their annual agreements.¹⁰² Kussmaul stipulates that servants often left service after Michaelmas (29 September), and this led to a large amount of weddings in October.¹⁰³ However, none of the ten female servants who married the year after leaving service did so in October, implying that servant marriages varied more in date and that the termination of contracts on Michaelmas was not as widespread as Kussmaul originally believed. Jane Whittle has also used household account books to show that both male and female servants entered and left service at all times of the year.¹⁰⁴

David Cressy has extended Kussmaul's hypothesis to other traditional holidays such as Martinmas (11 November), Lady Day (25 March) and May Day (1 May).¹⁰⁵ Michaelmas and Lady Day were two of the Quarter days, the others being Midsummer (24 June) and Christmas (25 December). These days were traditionally when most administration was conducted in the early modern period, including rent and wage payments. Out of the ten female servants who married after leaving service, nine had their weddings in the month surrounding one of these holidays. Hannah Bidgood, Bridget Channon, Mary Channon and Anne Merven were all married in March or April, either just before or after Lady Day. Elizabeth Dawe and Joan Ellis married in June and July respectively, after Midsummer, whilst Agnes Everleigh married in May (after May Day), Ann Jones married in November (after Martinmas) and Christian Markes married in January (after Christmas). This would seem to correlate with Cressy's hypothesis, if it was

¹⁰² Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p.83.

¹⁰³ Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p.97.

¹⁰⁴ Jane Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment: Servants in Rural England' in *Servants in Rural Europe: 1400 – 1900* ed. by Jane Whittle (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp.65-6.

¹⁰⁵ David Cressy, 'The Seasonality of Marriage in Old and New England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 16.1 (1985), p.8.

not for the fact that Leyhill did not adhere to the traditional quarter days when it came to servant payments. As already described in Section 3.10, servants at Leyhill were paid in the months of February, May, August and November. Therefore, the clustering of their marriages around the months of the traditional holidays is not related to their last wage payments, which was a crucial part of Cressy's hypothesis.

Ann Kussmaul also investigated the seasonality of marriage and found that, in the period 1601 to 1720, there were peaks of marriages being recorded in the spring and early summer.¹⁰⁶ She connected this to the agricultural economy and the effects of pastoral farming in the south-west slowing during these months, which encouraged marriages.¹⁰⁷ Kussmaul defined the spring and early summer period as consisting of the months April to Jul. Nine out of the twenty marriages in Table 4.3 occurred in these months. Bridget Channon, Mary Channon and Joan Warren from Leyhill, along with Anne Merven from Barrow Court, were all married in April. Mary Councell from Barrow Court and Agnes Eveleigh from Leyhill were both married in May, whilst Elizabeth Dawe from Leyhill was wed in June and Elizabeth Abell and Joan Ellis (both from Leyhill) got married in July. Jane Salter from Leyhill only narrowly missed this defined window, her marriage having taken place on 2 August 1675.¹⁰⁸ All seven of these examples are from Devon and Somerset rather than Hampshire, which is not as conclusively a part of the south-west. This implies that the cycle of agricultural work may have had some part to play in the timing of these marriages, as Kussmaul suggested. However, this is less than half of the number of female servants who married after leaving service. This implies that the seasonality of marriage, with workers marrying outside the months of peak agricultural labour, varied a lot more than Kussmaul proposed.

The life stories of some of these women after they left service can be constructed through looking at parish registers. One example is that of Anne Merven. She was paid 360d (£1 6s 8d) for half a year's service on the Barrow Court estate on 29 September 1666.¹⁰⁹ The parish registers of the Church of St Mary and St

¹⁰⁶ Ann Kussmaul, 'Time and Space, Hoofs and Grain: The Seasonality of Marriage in England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 15.4 (1985), p.757.

¹⁰⁷ Kussmaul, 'Time and Space, Hoofs and Grain', p.757.

¹⁰⁸ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁰⁹ SHC, DD/GB/113.

Edward in Barrow Gurney show that, less than a year after this final payment, she was wed to Morgan Evans on 14 April 1667.¹¹⁰ Evans was a fellow servant working at Barrow Court at the same time as Merven and was paid 540d (£2 5s) for half a year's work on 29 September 1666.¹¹¹ Evans was also employed as a day labourer on the Barrow Court estate in 1666, having been paid 48d (4s) on 3 November 1666 and 60d (5s) for five days unspecified work on 10 November 1666.¹¹² Five other female servants noted in Table 4.3 (Bridget Channon, Joan Ellis, Hannah Bidgood, Jane Salter and Mary Saunders) also married men who can be positively identified as fellow estate workers, by both their Christian names and their surnames. A further two (Agnes Eveleigh and Ann Jones) married men who most likely shared their work environment, as they share a surname with workers from the household accounts whose Christian names weren't recorded. Thus, it appears that it was common for workers from the same household or estate to marry.¹¹³ The marriage of two workers sheds light on the interactions and networks of workers on an early modern estate and shows that different types of workers, whether male or female, household or agricultural, did not exist in a vacuum.

The newly wed Anne Evans, formerly Merven, does not disappear from the records as do so many of her contemporaries; the family remained in Barrow Gurney as the births of their four children and their eventual deaths are also noted in the parish register. A year after her marriage, Anne gave birth to her first child, a daughter named Hannah, who was baptised on 17 May 1668.¹¹⁴ Three more children followed: Elizabeth (baptised 26 November 1669), Catherine (baptised 12 November 1671) and William (baptised 12 December 1675).¹¹⁵ The eldest of the four children, Hannah, was buried on 8 June 1676 aged seven, but the remaining three seem to have survived into adulthood: Catherine, aged twenty-five, married Thomas Price on 1 June 1696, 'the banns being asked three times'.¹¹⁶ Anne was widowed upon Morgan Evans' death in 1694 but does not

¹¹⁰ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹¹¹ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹¹² SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹¹³ Ilana Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p.154.

¹¹⁴ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹¹⁵ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹¹⁶ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

seem to have married again as her burial record of 23 May 1720 reads 'Ann Evans widow.'¹¹⁷

Another example is Bridget Channon. She had been born in Clyst St Lawrence, some five miles from Payhembury, to Mallachy and Joan Channon on 29 September 1658.¹¹⁸ Bridget began work in the Leyhill household at Payhembury in 1676 when she was aged eighteen and stayed in service there for three years. Her last payment was on 2 February 1679. A year later, on 12 April 1680, Bridget married Nicodemus Harding in Payhembury parish church.¹¹⁹ Nicodemus himself was not from Payhembury, having been baptised at St Andrew's in Plymouth in July 1652.¹²⁰ This made Nicodemus and Bridget twenty-seven and twenty-one years of age respectively when they got married: Nicodemus being in the average age range for men at marriage in the early modern period, and Bridget younger than the average bride. The couple remained in Payhembury. Nicodemus' profession is unknown; there is one recorded payment in the Leyhill account books to a 'Nicodem Harding' for one day's worth of unspecified labour on 5 April 1682, for which he was paid 10d.¹²¹

Bridget bore six children in the space of nine years, all of whose baptisms are recorded in the parish register. Elizabeth was born some sixteenth months after the couple's marriage and was baptised on 19 August 1681, followed by Bridget junior (baptised 13 October 1682), Patience (baptised 17 June 1685 and buried 2 August that same year), Nathaniel (baptised 24 June 1686), Mary (baptised 15 February 1687) and Hannah (baptised 16 April 1690).¹²² Nicodemus Harding was buried in Payhembury church yard on 4 July 1722, aged seventy.¹²³ He had witnessed the deaths of three of his children (Nathaniel in 1711 and Elizabeth in 1713, as well as Patience) and seen three of his daughters marry (Mary in 1712 to William Saunders, Hannah in 1718 to Isaac Bonifant and Bridget junior in 1721

¹¹⁷ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹¹⁸ 'Devon Baptisms' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV2/BAP/0758659> [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹¹⁹ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹²⁰ 'Devon Baptisms' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?datasetname=devon+baptisms&firstname=nicodemus&firstname_variants=true&lastname=harding&lastname_variants=true [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹²¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18.

¹²² DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹²³ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

to James Stokes of nearby Feniton).¹²⁴ A burial record for Bridget Harding has not been located amongst the digitised Devon parish registers. However, the pattern of Harding baptisms, marriages and burials in Payhembury show that, despite neither Bridget nor her husband having been baptised there themselves, once they had migrated into the parish for work purposes they did not leave. Instead, they settled in Payhembury and raised their children there. This shows that, for some migrating female servants, their parish of service could become a lifelong home.

Joan Ellis was baptised in the neighbouring parish of Broadhembury on 30 April 1651, the daughter of Robert Ellis.¹²⁵ In 1676 she began work as a household servant at Leyhill, some three miles away from her parish of birth.¹²⁶ Aged twenty-five, this was unlikely to have been her first post in service. She remained working at Leyhill until February 1677 and married William Quaintance in the Payhembury parish church on 29 July 1680 when she was twenty-nine years of age, slightly later than the female average from the early modern period.¹²⁷ William Quaintance's origins are unknown, as a baptism record for him cannot be found in the digitised Devon parish registers. Despite neither of them being born in Payhembury, they both remained there for the rest of their lives. Joan's six children were all baptised in the parish: William junior (baptised 10 August 1681, just over a year after his parents' marriage), Mary (baptised 1 April 1684), James (baptised 29 September 1686), Henry (baptised 11 November 1688), Joanna (baptised 14 January 1690). Robert (born 7 February and baptised 9 February 1695) and Mary (born 30 June and baptised 3 July 1698).¹²⁸ Joan herself was buried on 17 September 1704, aged fifty-three, and her husband William followed her on 3 February 1722.¹²⁹

It should not be assumed that all, or the majority of, these women were in their adolescence or early twenties and unmarried. Charmian Mansell has found that, for the dioceses of Exeter, Gloucester and Winchester in the period 1548 to 1649,

¹²⁴ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹²⁵ 'Devon Baptisms' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV/BAP/134704> [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹²⁶ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/14.

¹²⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/16; DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹²⁸ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹²⁹ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

only 56.7% of female servants were aged fifteen to twenty-four.¹³⁰ Mansell's church court depositions are a useful source as witnesses are required to state their age; household account books do not have this requirement, making it harder to identify age. Without conclusive dates of birth or baptism, it is difficult to ascertain the ages of female servants and whether they were likely to be life-cycle or lifelong single women during their period of service. Only fourteen servants out of 117 (12%) have been matched with a baptismal record. Leyhill has the best documentation on this, with thirteen matches to Barrow Court's one match and none from Herriard Park. These fourteen servants who have been matched with a baptismal record, along with their baptismal date and age during service, can be seen in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: The age of female servants at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court deducted from baptismal records

Name and Household	Baptism Date	Parish	Period in Service	Age
Eleanor Abell (Leyhill)	8 Feb 1661	Tiverton (St Peter)	1679-81	18-20
Mary Bernard (Leyhill)	25 Jul 1630	Awliscombe	1656	26
Christina Browne (Leyhill)	20 Feb 1649	Littleham	1676-7	27-28
Bridget Channon (Leyhill)	29 Sep 1658	Clyst St Lawrence	1676-9	18-21
Judith Collins (Leyhill)	22 Jan 1625	Clyst Hydon	1650-1	25-26
Mary Cuncell (Barrow Court)	2 Feb 1637	Barrow Gurney	1666	29
Elizabeth Dawe (Leyhill)	4 Sep 1653	Exeter (St Olave)	1676-8	23-25
Joan Ellis (Leyhill)	30 Apr 1651	Broadhembury	1676-7	25-26
Agnes Eveleigh (Leyhill)	23 Feb 1641	Broadhembury	1666-9	25-28
Ann Flee (Leyhill)	30 Aug 1629	Feniton	1655-69	26-40
Grace Hooker (Leyhill)	19 Nov 1656	Crediton	1677-8	21-22
Barbara Munday (Leyhill)	1 Aug 1624	Broadhembury	1645-6	21-22
Mary Saunders (Leyhill)	4 Apr 1665	Clyst Hydon	1679-81	14-16
Sarah Vicary (Leyhill)	17 Oct 1658	Rockbeare	1674-5	16-17

Sources: 2974A/PR/1/1 (DHC); D/P/bar.g./2/1/1 (SHC); 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹³⁰ Mansell, 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England', p.321.

The boundary ages of life-cycle service could vary but are usually defined as being from mid-teens to mid-to-late twenties. Wrigley and Schofield have found that the average age of marriage for English women in the period 1600-49 was twenty-six years of age, rising to 26.5 years for the period 1650-99.¹³¹ However, this was for England as a whole and does not account for regional variation. The average age of marriage for women in Devon was higher than the original figures suggested by Wrigley and Schofield. Wrigley *et al* later accounted for regional differences in a further population study. For the period 1650-99, they found that the average age at first marriage for women ranged from 22.2 years in Earsdon (Northumbria) to 28.4 years in Hartland (Devon).¹³² Pamela Sharpe has shown that, for the period 1650-99, the average age of women at first marriage in nearby Colyton was twenty-nine years.¹³³ Due to the proximity of Colyton to Leyhill, and the fact that the majority of female servants in Table 4.5 worked at Leyhill, Sharpe's average of twenty-nine years will be used in this section.

Using twenty-nine as the average age for marriage, it can be seen that thirteen out of the fourteen female servants in Table 4.5 were of an age to be participating in service work as part of the life-cycle before getting wed. Eleanor Abell, Mary Bernard, Christina Browne, Bridget Channon, Judith Collins, Elizabeth Dawe, Joan Ellis, Agnes Eveleigh, Grace Hooker, Barbara Munday, Mary Saunders and Sarah Vicary (all servants at Leyhill) and Mary Councell from Barrow Court were all under twenty-nine years of age when they were in service. The youngest female servant found was Mary Saunders, whose first wage payment in the Leyhill accounts was when she was fourteen years old. Eleanor Abell, Bridget Channon and Sarah Vicary also entered service at Leyhill when they were in their teens. The others were in their twenties when they began work at Leyhill and Barrow Court, but they may have worked for other households previously.

It can be seen from the parish registers and Table 4.4 that Judith, Joan, Agnes and Mary Councell did get married after they left service: Judith to Nathaniel Richards on 29 August 1655, aged twenty-nine; Joan to William Quaintance on 29 July 1680 also aged twenty-nine, and Agnes to Alexander Bishop on 11 May

¹³¹ Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England*, p. 255.

¹³² E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oppen and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580 – 1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 184 – 5.

¹³³ Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, p.175.

1670, aged twenty-eight.¹³⁴ These correspond with Colyton's average age of female marriage being twenty-nine, as found by Sharpe. Mary Councill would eventually marry William Kidman on 22 May 1678, aged forty-one, some twelve years past the average age of first marriage.¹³⁵ Charmian Mansell, in her research into female service, also found a number of late first marriages of this type.¹³⁶

The remaining woman, Ann Flee, was still working at Leyhill in 1669 aged forty.¹³⁷ Although, as can be seen in the case of Mary Councill, it was not unusual for women to still marry after this age, Ann would have been close to menopause and her chances of becoming a mother were getting lower, although not necessarily her chances of becoming a wife. Perhaps she had come to terms with being a life-long single woman or had actively chosen to be one; perhaps she still hoped for marriage. Whatever the case, no marriage has been found for Ann – just a burial record in her maiden name in Crediton, where she presumably died a spinster in 1697, aged sixty-seven.¹³⁸

Day Workers

Not all single women working on the estates of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court were in service. Despite the assertions of Hill and Froide, and the pervasiveness of life-cycle service, some were employed as day workers. Whether casual labour was an active choice and an informed, positive decision based on wanting more independence, fitting work around caring responsibilities and possibly gaining higher wages and more preferable work, or whether it was an avenue which women were forced down due to lack of opportunities to go into service or because they could not leave home due to caring responsibilities, or whether it was work that they performed in between periods of service, cannot be surmised without more information. It certainly was not unusual for young, unmarried women to work as day labourers rather than domestic servants. A.

¹³⁴ DHC, 2947A/PR/1/1; 'Devon Marriages' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV/MAR/34147/2> [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹³⁵ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1

¹³⁶ Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community', pp.108-9.

¹³⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/11.

¹³⁸ 'Devon Burials' online database at https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?datasetname=devon+burials&firstname=ann&firstn_ame_variants=true&lastname=flee&lastname_variants=true&place=crediton [accessed online 08/07/19].

Hassell Smith, when studying the estate of Stiffkey in Norfolk in the late sixteenth century, found an approximately even distribution between unmarried and married female day labourers.¹³⁹ Pamela Sharpe examined the female day labourers on the east Devon estate of Shute Barton during the 1790s and found that most of them were single women in their twenties, although service was less common in that period.¹⁴⁰ Sharpe's evidence is in direct contradiction to the work done by Joyce Burnette, Nicola Verdon and Helen Speechley on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the estates studied by these three historians, the reverse tended to be true and casual agricultural labour was dominated by married women.¹⁴¹ This may be a result of the growing feeling described by Bridget Hill that single women working in agriculture as labourers suffered from loose morality and that it tainted them and spoilt them for lives as wives and mothers.¹⁴² However, her evidence for this view came exclusively from the nineteenth century and was not representative of the country as a whole. Female agricultural labour was much less stigmatised in the south-west and continued well into the nineteenth century, as Helen Speechley has shown for Somerset.¹⁴³

However, there were 136 female day workers across the three estates who were of unspecified marital status, or in other words, had no marital labels or any evidence from the account books to mark them as a wife, a mother or a widow. Luckily, there are other ways by which marital status or age can be deduced. The breakdown of this classification process can be seen in Table 4.6, which features only these women of unspecified marital status and not women who had already been identified as wives, mothers and widows. Some female day workers were not referred to by their own name but were identified by their family relationship to another worker. Table 4.6 shows that some of these female day workers were explicitly described with terms that indicated they were children or young women, such as being referred to as somebody's 'daughter', somebody's 'girl', or both at different times. Examples include 'Ann Councill's daughter', who performed four

¹³⁹ Hassell Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England (Part 1)', p.30.

¹⁴⁰ Pamela Sharpe, 'Time and wages of West Country workfolks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Local Population Studies*, 55 (1995), p.67.

¹⁴¹ Joyce Burnette, 'Married with children: the family status of female day-labourers at two south-western farms', *Agricultural History Review*, p.55 (2007), 94; Nicola Verdon, *Rural women workers in nineteenth-century England: Gender, work and wages* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012), p.128; Helen Speechley, 'Female and Child Agricultural Day Labourers in Somerset, c.1685 – 1870' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 1999), ch.7.

¹⁴² Hill, *Women Alone*, p.21.

¹⁴³ Speechley, 'Female and Child Agricultural Day Labourers in Somerset', pp.66-9.

days' worth of unspecified labour at Barrow Court in June 1666, 'James Collier's girl' who raked after the cart for 3.5 days at Herriard Park in October 1697, and 'Peter Knight's girl' who did six days' worth of weeding at Herriard Park in June 1692 but who was referred to as 'Peter Knight's daughter' when she worked another day weeding in November 1694.¹⁴⁴ Other identifying terms used were 'maid', and 'sister'. Examples include 'Susan Weeks' maid', who performed one day's worth of unspecified labour at Leyhill in July 1657 and 'Mary Saunders' sister' who worked for a day at Leyhill in May 1690.¹⁴⁵ The terms 'girl' and 'maid' have connotations of youth, virginity and a single state, whilst 'daughter' and 'sister' suggest that the female day worker is primarily identified with a parent or sibling rather than a husband.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, all four of these terms have been used to define the worker concerned as unmarried. Across all three estates, there were thirty-eight female workers termed 'daughter', seven termed 'girl', four who were termed both 'daughter' and 'girl' at different times, six who were termed 'maid' and five who were termed 'sister'. After these classifications had taken place, what remained were women who were referred to by just their first and surnames, with no marital title and no identifying label. Twenty of these women were then identified as being unmarried from parish register evidence, the process of which is described below. After the parish registers had been searched, there remained fifty-six women for whom no evidence of marital status could be found.

Table 4.6: The classification of female day workers with no marital label at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

¹⁴⁴ SHC, DD/GB/113; HALS, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/8/1-2.

¹⁴⁵ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/6, DD/WO/52/3/19.

¹⁴⁶ Jennifer Higginbotham, 'Fair Maids and Golden Girls: The Vocabulary of Female Youth in Early Modern English', *Modern Philology*, 109.2 (2011), pp.177.

	Leyhill	Herriard Park	Barrow Court	All three
Women termed 'daughter'	9	25	4	38
Women termed 'girl'	-	7	-	7
Women termed 'maid'	1	5	-	6
Women termed 'daughter' and 'girl'	-	4	-	4
Women termed 'sister'	4	1	-	5
No title but evidence of single status from parish registers	14	5	1	20
No title or evidence of single status from parish registers	16	33	7	56
Total	44	80	12	136

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2, 83M82 PRI, TRA159/1, TRA190/1 (HALS); 2974A/PR/1/1 (DHC); 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19].

Twenty female day labourers have been positively identified as single women from parish registers. Their single status has been deduced using three methods, shown in Table 4.6. The first is the record of a marriage in the parish register in the years after their time as a day worker. One example is that of Joan Flee, who worked at Leyhill in February 1673, and on 28 March 1676 married Peter Salter.¹⁴⁷ The second is the record of a baptism in the parish registers, in the same name as the female day worker, implying that they were unmarried at the time of working as they were still using their maiden name. An example is Ann Knight, who worked at Herriard Park in 1699 and was baptised in the neighbouring parish of Lasham on 1 May 1681.¹⁴⁸ The third method of identifying these unmarried female labourers is the record of a burial in the same name, with the explicit label of 'spinster'. One example is Joan Goold, who worked at Leyhill in September 1644 and May 1645, and was buried in Payhembury churchyard on 23 November 1701, with this label.¹⁴⁹

Table 4.7: The evidence for the unmarried status for female day workers at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court, as found from parish registers

Name	Active	Age	Evidence for single status	Parish
Joan Brice (Leyhill)	1677-8	-	Married Philip Moore 5 Feb 1679	Payhembury
Mary Brice (Leyhill)	1678, 1680	-	Married John Kelway 18 Jun 1685	Payhembury
Joan Farrant	1666-7	40-41	Baptised 16 Sep 1626	Feniton

¹⁴⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/12; DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁴⁸ HALS, 44M69/E8/2/7, TRA190/1.

¹⁴⁹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3; DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

(Leyhill)				
Joan Flea (Leyhill)	1673	-	Married Peter Salter 28 Mar 1676	Payhembury
Joan Goold (Leyhill)	1644-5	-	Joan Gould spinster buried 23 Nov 1701	Payhembury
Mary Hall (Herriard Park)	1657-9, 1661, 1664-5	28-36	Baptised 15 Aug 1629	Weston Patrick
Julian Jarman (Leyhill)	1658, 1662, 1665-7, 1669, 1674-7	-	Married John Styling 29 Jul 1679	Payhembury
Ann Knight (Herriard Park)	1699	18	Baptised 1 May 1681	Lasham
Mary Marker (Leyhill)	1646	17	Baptised 14 Oct 1629	Ottery St Mary
Elizabeth Mare (Herriard Park)	1661, 1693	-	Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Mare buried 28 Apr 1707	Herriard
Mary Phelps (Barrow Court)	1666	18	Baptised 13 Nov 1648; married James Heydon 19 May 1684	Barrow Gurney
Grace Rowell (Herriard Park)	1656-8, 1661	-	Married John Edwards 7 Jan 1664	Herriard
Mary Salter (Leyhill)	1674-5, 1678	23-27	Baptised 19 July 1651; married Richard Drew 7 Dec 1682	Clyst Hydon Payhembury
Alice Saunders (Leyhill)	1676-8	-	Married Thomas Bower 10 Dec 1681	Clyst Hydon
Mary Saunders (Leyhill)	1690	25	Baptised 4 Apr 1665; Married William Venn 17 Jan 1699	Clyst Hydon Payhembury
Thomasine Saunders (Leyhill)	1677-8, 1682, 1690	12-25	Baptised 4 Apr 1665; married John Langman 21 Feb 1698	Clyst Hydon Totnes
Dorothy Shortridge (Leyhill)	1674	-	Married Gregory Shukey 23 May 1677	Payhembury
Elizabeth Shortridge (Leyhill)	1674-5	-	Married John Salter 20 Jun 1677	Payhembury
Mary Weeks (Leyhill)	1656, 1667		Married Thomas Goold 12 Apr 1670	Payhembury
Mary Willmot (Herriard Park)	1657		Mary, daughter of William Willmot buried 15 Apr 1604	Herriard

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2, 83M82 PRI, TRA159/1, TRA190/1 (HALS); 2974A/PR/1/1 (DHC); 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19].

For eight of these women, their age during their period of active day labouring can be calculated from their baptismal records. Joan Farrant was in her forties when she was working at Leyhill. Mary Hall began working at Herriard Park aged twenty-eight, continuing until she was thirty-six. Ann Knight was eighteen when

she laboured at Herriard Park in 1699, whilst Mary Marker was seventeen when she worked at Leyhill. Mary Phelps was baptised on 13 November 1648 and was eighteen when she was employed at Barrow Court in 1666; she would marry James Heydon eighteen years later.¹⁵⁰ Mary Salter worked at Leyhill between the ages of twenty-three and twenty-seven and married Richard Drew four years later, when she was thirty-one.¹⁵¹ Mary Saunders worked at Leyhill when she was twenty-five and married William Venn when she was thirty-four, whilst Thomasine Saunders laboured at Leyhill between the ages of twelve and twenty-five and married John Langman when she was thirty-three.¹⁵² Joan Farrant and Mary Hall were both older than twenty-six, the average age of marriage for women. Six of the eight women were in their teens or mid-to-late twenties: of an age where they could be expected to be in service as part of the life-cycle, but instead they were labouring as part-time workers. This shows that not all young unmarried women worked in service full time, or at all, and that some undertook more casual day work either as a rule, or between periods of service elsewhere. Some young women may have chosen not to work in service because of the potential of being mistreated by their employers. Sexual and physical assault, in addition to exploitation and unkindness, were all real dangers for young women going into service, as Laura Gowing, as J. A. Sharpe and Peter Rushton have shown.¹⁵³

Many of these women were casual labourers in the purest sense of the word, and only appeared in the account books once or twice for several days at a time - hardly regular employment. For these women, these periods of casual labouring may have been a stopgap between employment as a servant elsewhere, or they may have had other employers and avenues of work in addition to the casual labour they performed at these estates. Table 4.8 shows the number of days worked per year for each of these labourers, and the annual wage which they

¹⁵⁰ SHC, DD/GB/113, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹⁵¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/13, DD/WO/52/3/16; DHC, 2947A/PR/1/1.

¹⁵² SHC, DD/WO/52/3/15-16, DD/WO/52/3/18-20; DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1; 'Devon Marriages' online database at

https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?datasetname=devon+marriages&firstname=thomasine+&firstname_variants=true&lastname=saunders&lastname_variants=true&spousefirstname=john&spousefirstname_variants=true&spouselastname=langman&spouselastname_variants=true [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹⁵³ Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay', pp.183-201; J. A. Sharpe, 'Domestic Homicide in Early Modern England', p.38; Rushton, 'The Matter in Variance', pp. 93, 95, 98.

collected from working on the estates.¹⁵⁴ Julian Jarman has not been included in Table 4.8 as her working history will be explored separately below.

Table 4.8: The days worked and yearly earnings for unmarried female day workers at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

Name	Estate	Years Active	Days Worked	Yearly Earnings (d)
Joan Brice	Leyhill	1677	9.0	54
		1678	11.0	66
Mary Brice	Leyhill	1678	11.0	44
		1680	3.5	21
Joan Farrant	Leyhill	1666	35.0	35
		1667	12.0	12
Joan Flea	Leyhill	1673	3.0	36
Joan Goold	Leyhill	1644	3.0	6
		1645	8.0	48
Mary Hall	Herriard Park	1657	12.0	48
		1658	18.0	80
		1659	17.0	68
		1661	14.0	56
		1664	27.5	110
		1665	76.0	364
Ann Knight	Herriard Park	1699	7.0	95
Mary Marker	Leyhill	1646	3.0	6
Elizabeth Mare	Herriard Park	1661	9.0	29
		1693	11.0	63
Mary Phelps	Barrow Court	1666	7.0	42
Grace Rowell	Herriard Park	1656	3.0	12
		1657	14.5	58
		1658	12.0	48
		1661	15.0	60
Mary Salter	Leyhill	1674	1.0	12
		1675	15.5	101
		1678	16.0	135
Alice Saunders	Leyhill	1676	12.0	72
		1677	7.5	45
		1678	11.0	66
Mary Saunders	Leyhill	1690	69.0	291
Thomasine Saunders	Leyhill	1677	6.0	21
		1678	4.0	27
		1682	11.5	69
		1690	17.5	05
Dorothy Shortridge	Leyhill	1674	3.5	10.5
Elizabeth Shortridge	Leyhill	1674	18.0	57
		1675	1.0	3
Mary Weeks	Leyhill	1656	10.0	30
		1657	7.0	46
Mary Willmot	Herriard Park	1657	7.0	21

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS).

Sixteen of these women are recorded as having worked less than ten days in one year; Mary Salter only worked one day at Leyhill in 1674 and Elizabeth Shortridge

¹⁵⁴ There are no records of any of these women being paid to work by the task.

also only worked one day in 1675 for the same estate, earning only 3d for the whole year. Joan Flee, Ann Knight, Mary Marker, Mary Phelps, Mary Saunders, Dorothy Shortridge and Mary Willmot all only worked during one year at their respective estates, with the number of days worked ranging from three to sixty-nine. The highest number of days worked by a woman in a single year was seventy-six, worked by Mary Hall at Herriard Park in 1665, for which she earned 364d (£1 9s 8d).¹⁵⁵ Her average daily wage of 4.8d may explain her reasoning behind working casually rather than in service. For 1667, the nearest year to 1665 for which we have records of female servants at Herriard Park, the female servants were paid an average daily wage of 1.4d (Phyllis), 1.8d (Thomasine Collier) and 2d (Anne Priest).¹⁵⁶ Even the highest of these daily servant wages was less than half of what Mary Hall could earn as a day worker. None of them earned more than 330d a year, meaning that Mary Hall also had a higher annual wage than them. It has to be taken into account that Phyllis, Thomasine Collier and Anne Priest received bed, board and job security alongside their smaller wage, which Humphries and Weisdorf estimated to be the value of 2.94d per day for the decade 1660-70.¹⁵⁷ If this estimate is correct, then the differences in daily wage between female servants and day workers narrows significantly. However, Mary Hall may have preferred the independence and flexibility of casual work. Mary Saunders of Leyhill worked sixty-nine days in 1690, all for unspecified labour.¹⁵⁸ Nine years had passed since she had worked as a household servant at Leyhill and it would be nine years before she married William Venn in 1699.¹⁵⁹

Figure 4.1: The seasonal working pattern of unmarried female day workers at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

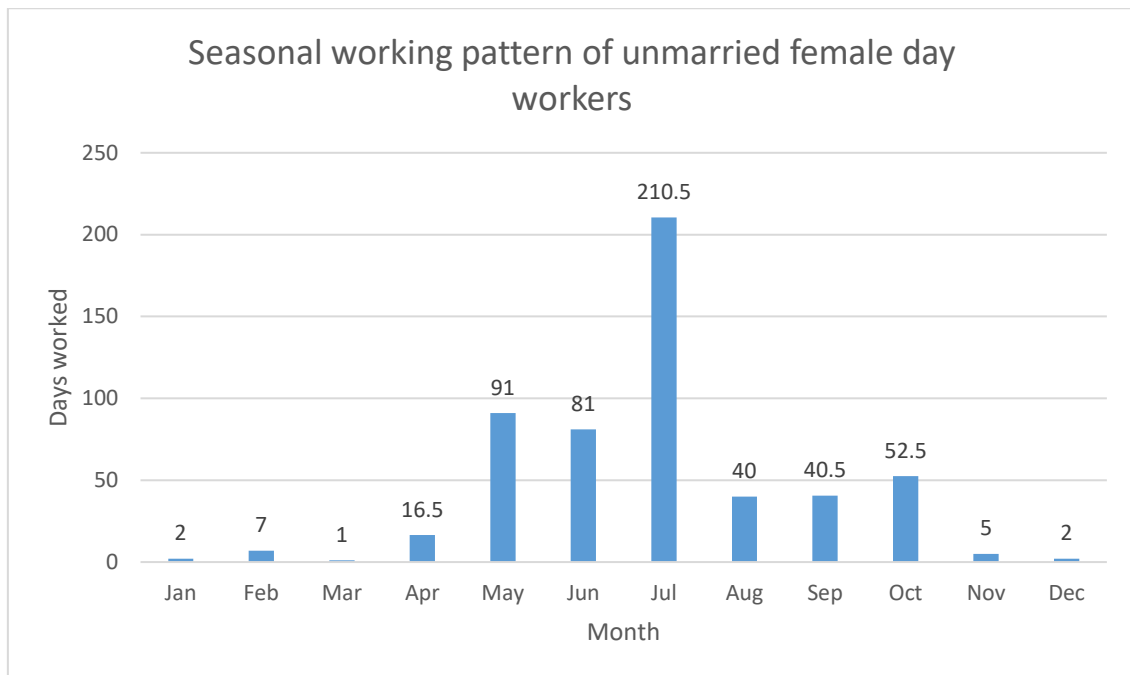
¹⁵⁵ HALS, 44M69/E7/3.

¹⁵⁶ These average daily wages are for a 6.5 day working week.

¹⁵⁷ Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260 – 1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), p.432.

¹⁵⁸ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/19-20.

¹⁵⁹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/17-18; DHC, 2947A/PR/1/1.



Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS).

Figure 4.1 shows that the employment of single women as day workers was extremely seasonal. The majority of days worked by the single women in Table 4.8 were in June and July. These were the months of the hay harvest, and 118.5 days out of the 291.5 days worked in June and July involved haying. Twelve of the days worked in May were also for haying. The months of August, September and October all show the steady employment of single women as day workers. The corn harvest was usually in August and September, and this may have been where the single women were employed. Twenty-five of the days worked in October also involved harvesting; perhaps this was a case of late payment. This implies that unmarried women who partook in casual labour were in higher demand during the spring and summer months, and especially during the harvest season. Whether this was purely an issue of demand, as employers needed all the available labour to get the harvest in, or whether unmarried women actively arranged their working patterns to take advantage of this demand, likely varied between year, estate and individual. The fact that unmarried women had such a sharp seasonal distribution of labour suggests that, in the main, they had other sources of income and work to rely on during the remaining half of the year, and were drawn to agricultural labour in the harvest period when there was need for their labour and good wages offered.

Julian Jarman was the most prolific unmarried female day labourer in the accounts, being paid for 182 instances of labour at Leyhill between 1656 and 1677, a period of almost twenty years.¹⁶⁰ This was all for unspecified labour, except for two instances of greeping (digging trenches for drainage) , five instances of spinning, one instance of hopping and one instance of clatting (removing a sheep’s dirty wool in preparation for shearing). As can be seen in Table 4.8 below, her work was sporadic. One of the reasons for this may be due to the non-continuous survival of the household account books for Leyhill. There are instances of Julian working for the years 1656-8, 1662, 1665-7, 1669 and 1674-7. The Leyhill account books survive for 1656-9, 1661-2, 1665-9 and 1673-84. Julian was buried in 1679. This means that for the years 1659, 1661, 1668, 1673 and 1678-9, the labour records survive for Leyhill but do not include Julian. Therefore, the survival of the account books partly explains the sporadic nature of Julian’s work (for instance, the absence of the years 1660, 1663-4 and 1670-2) but are not the sole reason. Julian never exceeded forty-five work instances in a single year at Leyhill and for eight of the twelve years she worked less than ten labour instances.

Table 4.9: The labour instances and yearly wage for Julian Jarman, a female day worker at Leyhill

Year	Labour Instances	Yearly wage (d)
1656	3	107
1657	21	47
1658	6	18
1662	6	12
1665	45	74
1666	44	176
1667	6	36
1669	2	6
1674	2	6
1675	5	30
1676	34	111
1677	8	24
All years	182	647

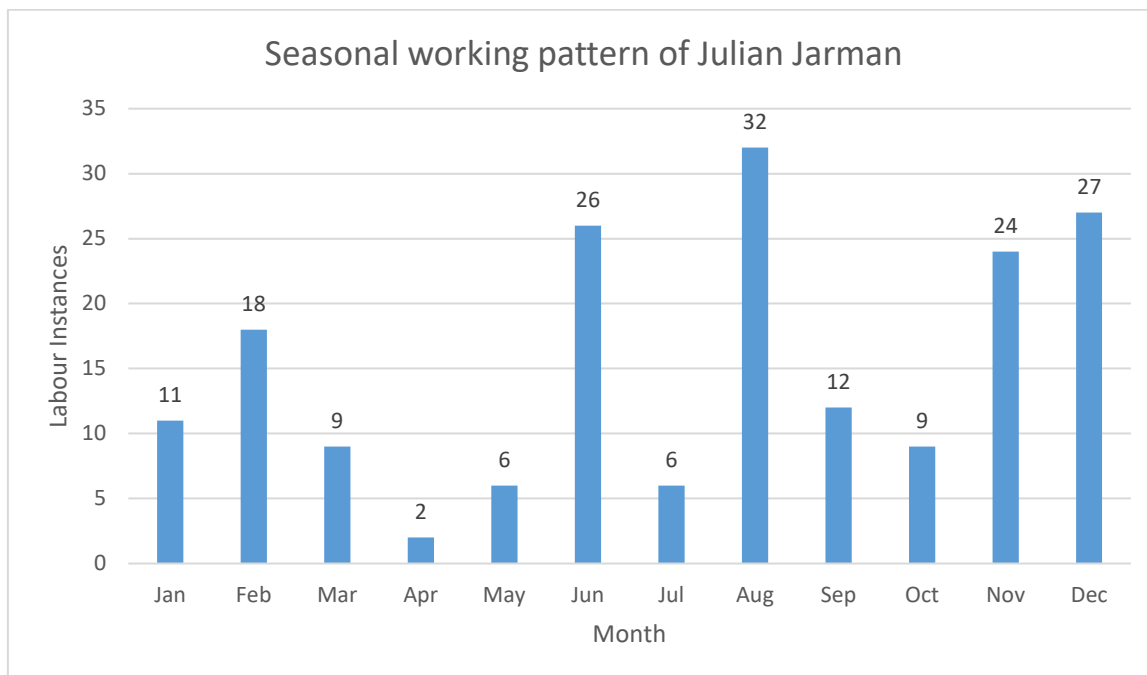
Sources: DD/WO/52/3/5-15 (SHC)

Table 4.9 also shows that her wages from working at Leyhill would not have enabled her to survive, with her highest wage being 176d (14.5s) in 1666 and her lowest wage being 6d (0.5s) for the years 1669 and 1674. As has already been discussed in the wages chapter, the annual wages for female servants in 1666 were 594d (£2 9s 6d) at the lower end of the scale, and 768d (£3 4s) at the higher

¹⁶⁰ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/5-15. There are records of Julian Jarman working both by the day and by the task.

end, and these women had their bed and board included. Working at Leyhill must not have been Julian Jarman's only way of earning her living.

Figure 4.2: The seasonal working pattern of Julian Jarman, an unmarried female day worker at Leyhill



Sources: DD/WO/52/3/5-15 (SHC)

Figure 4.2 shows the seasonal employment pattern of Julian Jarman. It is evident that the pronounced seasonal peak in employment in Figure 4.1 is not present here. Julian did not have the same employment pattern as the rest of the unmarried female day workers. Like them, she worked a large amount during the harvest period, especially June and August. However, she also worked a surprising amount during the winter months between November and February. Four of the labour instances for November involved spinning, an indoor task which could be performed in the winter, but the remainder of her work in the winter was unspecified. Julian's seasonal employment pattern is a reminder of the individual working experience, which was affected by broader patterns of employment (such as higher employment during the harvest) but could also have its own idiosyncrasies. Julian may have been in between servant contracts whilst doing this labour or may have been living at home on a permanent basis slotting casual work at Leyhill between other responsibilities. Leyhill may not have been her sole option for casual employment; she may have also worked at other farms or in the textile industry. All of these scenarios may have been equally accurate over a period of twenty years. The surname of Jarman was a common one in the

Leyhill accounts, and Julian may have been the daughter or sister of a more regular worker, drafted in to work when needed. As a baptismal record cannot be found, it is difficult to pinpoint a more exact family relationship, or her age. Julian was married in the Payhembury parish church to John Styling, another labourer employed at Leyhill, on 29 July 1679, two years after her last payment.¹⁶¹ She did not live for long after her marriage and was buried on 31 January, just six months later.¹⁶² Whether this was related to a fatal pregnancy or birth is unclear; there is no baptismal or burial record for a child of John and Julian Styling, but this does not rule out a lethal miscarriage. Given that she had worked at Leyhill from 1656 to 1677, she may have been beyond childbearing age and her death was due to another reason. John Styling himself died a year later, being buried on 6 January 1680.¹⁶³

4.5 Wives and Mothers

Servants

There are examples amongst the three estates which show that not all female servants were unmarried, and that therefore there are exceptions to the pattern of life-cycle service. The very descriptors of some of these women make evident their status as wives and mothers (for example, 'Simon Smith's wife'), and proof of marriage has been found for other women by searching through the respective parish records. Elizabeth Hart, who was in service at Leyhill for the years 1644-6, was the wife of Thomas Hart, whom she had married on 6 August 1637.¹⁶⁴ Also working as a servant at the same establishment between 1658 and 1669 was Grace Joyce, formerly Wood, who had married Stephen Joyce in the Payhembury parish church on 13 September 1655, with Nicholas Pumery and Raught Leadon as witnesses.¹⁶⁵ Thomas Hart and Stephen Joyce were also in service at Leyhill and this may be an explanation for the employment of their wives. While the two married couples were in employment at Leyhill and being paid periodically alongside the rest of the servants, they may not have actually lived in the household, returning each night to their own marital home somewhere on or near the estate. The fact that both of these couples worked at Leyhill may

¹⁶¹ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁶² DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁶³ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁶⁴ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3; DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁶⁵ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/7-10; DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

point to differing trends of employment at individual gentry estates and that the Willoughby family was not averse to hiring married couples as servants against the general norm. Perhaps these couples performed a specific role together on the estate, and Stephen and Grace Joyce were a direct replacement for Thomas and Elizabeth Hart. After 1669, Stephen and Grace Joyce left Payhembury, and moved roughly ten miles to the parish of Farway. This may be because Grace Joyce had family in that area: a Grace Wood, daughter of John, had been baptised in Farway on 17 November 1616.¹⁶⁶ This would have made Grace thirty-eight upon her marriage; a later age than the average but, as discussed above, it was not unheard of for women to marry later in life. The couple would remain in Farway until their deaths and would both be buried there, Grace 17 February 1684, aged sixty-eight, and Stephen on 19 January 1709.¹⁶⁷

Day Workers

According to the life-cycle model of service, married women and mothers should make up the majority of casual day workers, alongside widows and older single women, as younger, unmarried women were more likely to become household servants. However, it has already been explained above that many unmarried women were hired as day labourers on the three estates. To examine whether wives and mothers dominated the female day labour force, a detailed analysis of the types of women employed by the day was undertaken. Firstly, some wives and mothers could be identified from evidence in the accounts. They had the title of Goody, or the labels of 'wife' or 'mother' were given to them (for example, 'John Brown's wife' or 'Henry Collier's mother'). Sometimes, women were listed by their own name without a title or a label, but elsewhere another worker would be referred to as their child (for example, 'Agnes Saunders' and 'Agnes Saunder's daughter'). Widows were similarly identified by their title. The remaining women were classed as 'women with unspecified marital status'. Those women titled as 'gomers' were also in this category, as it was a title that denoted age rather than marital status. They were cross-referenced with the parish registers to find those

¹⁶⁶ 'Devon Baptisms' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV2/BAP/0485948> [accessed online 08/07/19].

¹⁶⁷ 'Devon Burials' online database at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV2/BUR/368663> and <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS/DEV2/BUR/368663> [accessed online 08/07/19].

who had married or had children baptised locally or had been buried locally with an appellation which showed their marital status.

Table 4.9 shows the life-stages of female day workers on the three estates. There may be an issue of under-identification here; the cross-referencing with the parish registers revealed that some women without a marital or motherly label in the accounts were also wives and mothers, and these were placed in the 'wives and mothers' category of Table 4.9. Some of the remaining untitled women may therefore also be wives or mothers. The numbers have been further broken down into whether evidence has been taken from the account books themselves or the parish registers. This has been done to demonstrate the methodology and show how much extra information can be gained from further research using parish registers.

Table 4.10a: The number of female day workers in each life-stage at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

	Unmarried		Wives and Mothers		Widows	Unspecified marital status	Total
	Evidence from accounts	Evidence from parish registers	Evidence from accounts	Evidence from parish registers			
Herriard Park	42	5	61	6	2	33	149
Leyhill	12	14	37	12	5	18	98
Barrow Court	4	1	6	1	1	7	20
Total	58	20	104	19	8	58	267

Table 4.10b The percentage of female day workers in each life-stage at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

	Unmarried		Wives and Mothers		Widows	Unspecified marital status	Total
	Evidence from accounts	Evidence from parish registers	Evidence from accounts	Evidence from parish registers			
Herriard Park	15.73	1.87	22.85	2.25	0.75	12.36	55.81
Leyhill	5.24	5.24	13.86	4.49	1.87	5.99	36.70
Barrow Court	1.50	0.37	2.25	0.37	0.37	2.62	7.49
Total	22.47	7.49	38.95	7.12	2.99	20.97	100.00

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2, 83M82, TRA159/1, TRA190/1 (HALS); 2974A/PR/1/1 (DHC); 'Devon Baptisms, 1538 – 1837', online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-baptisms> [accessed online 08/07/19]; 'Devon Marriages, 1507 – 2002' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-marriages> [accessed online 08/07/19]; and 'Devon Burials, 1538 – 1837' online database at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/devon-burials> [accessed online 08/07/19].

It can be seen in Table 4.10 that 267 women over all three estates were employed as day workers. Out of this number, 123 (46%) have been identified as wives and mothers from either internal evidence in the accounts or from cross-referencing from the parish registers. Eight women were widows, 3% of the total number. Eighty of the women doing casual labour (30%) were unmarried. Table 4.9 also shows that, across the three estates, there were fifty-six women with no marital or motherly identifier at all, 21% of female day workers as a whole. This was no guarantee that the woman was unmarried or childless. It is possible that some of these unidentified women were in fact wives and mothers, but without positive evidence they cannot be placed in this group. This means that the number of female labourers who were wives and mothers may be larger than the plain numbers suggest. Taking the possible marital status of the unidentified women out of the equation, the largest group of female day workers were wives and mothers, as predicted by the historiography which sees service as the domain of the single woman and day work as the domain of the wife. However, as demonstrated in Section 4.4, single women were a significant minority of female day workers working in the fields alongside their married counterparts. Wives and mothers made up less than half of the female agricultural workforce.

Some women spent their working lives in the employment of the same local gentry family: working as a household servant in their youth, marrying a fellow employee and then labouring on the estate part-time as a wife. Account books, with the help of a surviving parish register, can often show this trajectory. One example is Hannah Bidgood, from Leyhill. She had a short spell of service with the Willoughby family, receiving payments of 180d (15s) in November 1679, February 1679 and August 1680.¹⁶⁸ Within a year of leaving service, she married William Jarman on 10 March 1680 at Payhembury parish church.¹⁶⁹ The Jarman family were prolific workers at the Leyhill estate. There were two men by the name of William Jarman, most likely father and son. In the account books they were sometimes referred to as 'old' and 'young' Jarman or Will Jarman 'senior' and 'junior', but often the record fails to differentiate between the two, stating just 'Jarman' or 'Will Jarman'. It is likely that Hannah Bidgood married the younger William Jarman. He was also a household servant at Leyhill in the same period,

¹⁶⁸ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/17.

¹⁶⁹ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

although for a longer duration, under the name 'Will Jarman junior'. His first payment was on 2 November 1676 and his last in August 1680, the latter being the same as Hannah Bidgood.¹⁷⁰

After his marriage, William appears regularly as 'young Jarman' in the labourer wage lists, starting in 1681 through until the last surviving account book in 1690, earning an average of 12d (1s) per day.¹⁷¹ However, Hannah Jarman does not make an appearance in the labourer wage lists until 1690. There are ten payments to her interspersed throughout this year, one for weeding and the rest for unspecified labour, for one, two, three or four days at a time, all for 6d per day – exactly half the wage of her husband.¹⁷² The parish registers reveal why it took ten years for Hannah Jarman née Bidgood to make the journey from the servant wage list to the labourer wage list. Less than a year after their marriage, William and Hannah Jarman became the parents of John, baptised 1 January 1681.¹⁷³ Unfortunately, John did not reach his first birthday, being buried on 24 September 1682.¹⁷⁴ Two more children were born to the Jarmans: Elizabeth, baptised 24 October 1683, and another John, baptised 29 September 1687.¹⁷⁵ Three live births (and possibly more unrecorded failed pregnancies), coupled with the raising of these infants and a bereavement, can explain why Hannah Jarman is not recorded as a day worker until 1690. As this is the last surviving account book, it cannot be verified whether she continued to work casually on the Leyhill estate. The parish registers record the burial of her husband William on 26 July 1705, and her own burial sixteen years later, on 22 November 1721.¹⁷⁶

Another example of a woman making the expected life-cycle trajectory from young household servant, to wife, to day worker, is Dorothea 'Doll' Tucker. She was in service at Leyhill for over two and a half years, with her first payment in August 1674 and her last on 2 February 1676. This comprised eleven quarterly payments. Four of these payments were for 180d (15s), six of them for 186d (15.5s) and one, on 1 November 1675, for 240d (£1).¹⁷⁷ On 14 February 1676, which was not only Valentine's Day but also in the same month as her last

¹⁷⁰ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/14-16, DD/WO/52/3/50.

¹⁷¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/18-20.

¹⁷² SHC, DD/WO/52/3/19-20.

¹⁷³ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁷⁴ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁷⁵ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁷⁶ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁷⁷ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/12-15.

payment, she was wed to Emmanuel Trehane in the Payhembury parish church.¹⁷⁸ Emmanuel Trehane was also another servant at Leyhill, with the date of his first payment being 1 November 1673, and in the main being paid 300d (£1 5s) per quarter.¹⁷⁹ He continued as a servant even after his marriage to Doll Tucker, until January 1681 when he was paid 216d (less than normal as he had not worked a full quarter).¹⁸⁰

Doll Trehane, née Tucker, is recorded four times as having worked as a day labourer in the June and July of 1677, for one, two and four days at a time.¹⁸¹ This was all for unspecified labour. Twice she was paid the regular rate for female labourers of 6d per day, and twice a mere 3d per day. As it is unlikely that her physical condition changed much in the space of a month, this may be a reflection of a different type of task she was performing. The payment to Emanuel Trehane in January 1681 is the last mention of the couple in both the Leyhill account books and the Payhembury parish register. From this it can be inferred that Emanuel and Doll Trehane, apparently childless, moved elsewhere. A clue lies in the register of the neighbouring parish of Broadhembury where Emanuel Trehane's burial date is recorded as 29 May 1686, five years after he left service at Leyhill.¹⁸² A search of Devon's digitised parish registers holds no further marriage or death records for Doll Trehane, suggesting that she may have moved out of the county following her husband's death. One interesting point is that both Hannah Jarman and Doll Trehane were recorded in the labourer wage lists by their own name: that is, as 'Hannah Jarman' and 'Doll' or 'Doll Trehane' rather than Goody Jarman or Trehane's wife, as other married women were. This may be a reflection of the fact that they had worked full-time at Leyhill previously, and therefore had a more personal relationship with the master or bailiff who recorded the accounts.

Wet nursing

'Simon Smith's wife' was paid on 11 August 1666 in the same manner as a regular household servant, receiving 960d for half a year's work.¹⁸³ This is the highest

¹⁷⁸ DHC, 2974A/PR/1/1.

¹⁷⁹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/12-15.

¹⁸⁰ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/16-18, DD/WO/53/5/50.

¹⁸¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/15.

¹⁸² 'Devon Burials' online database at

https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?datasetname=devon+burials&firstname=emanuel&firstname_variants=true&lastname=trehane&lastname_variants=true&place=broadhembury

[accessed online 08/07/19].

¹⁸³ SHC, DD/GB/113.

sum paid to a servant at Barrow Court in the available account books, and for such a payment to be awarded to a married woman is unusual. However, 'Simon Smith's wife', identified in the Barrow Gurney parish register as Elizabeth, was not performing normal household work, but 'nursing my son William in my house.'¹⁸⁴ William was the eldest child and heir of Sir Thomas and Lady Philippa, baptised on 31 January 1665.¹⁸⁵ It is almost certain that Elizabeth Smith was a wet-nurse and feeding young William with her own milk, as the term 'wet-nurse' had only been coined some forty years earlier in 1620 and the previous appellation of 'nurse' would have still been in widespread usage.¹⁸⁶ Wet-nursing was a practice used by the wealthier classes; the custom is often explained by the fact that the drying up of milk meant that the mother would conceive again more quickly and provide heirs at a faster rate.¹⁸⁷ This fact of nature can be observed in the large families of the upper classes, and the yearly pregnancies of aristocratic wives. Dame Philippa Gore is a prime example of this.¹⁸⁸ At the time of Elizabeth Smith's nursing William would have been roughly eight months old and the couple's only child, but Dame Philippa was already pregnant with their second child, Thomas; in total, she would give birth to eight live children in ten years.¹⁸⁹ The results of wet-nursing, therefore, are evident, but Linda Campbell is careful not to attribute the consequence as a cause, as other historians such as Valerie Fildes has done. Campbell has challenged the assumption that big families were beneficial to the wealthy, reminding us that large numbers of children were extremely costly for the upper classes, as they had to provide dowries for their daughters and livings for their younger sons. These purely economic concerns shield more personal ones, as both husbands and wives were aware of the consequences of childbirth, in terms of maternal health and mortality. Wet nursing may have come to be associated with gentility over time, but this does not account for the gentlewomen who did breastfeed and were considered to be good mothers, or the conduct book writers who urged wealthy

¹⁸⁴ SHC, DD/GB/113.

¹⁸⁵ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹⁸⁶ McLaren, 'Nature's Contraceptive', p.432.

¹⁸⁷ Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present*, p.83.

¹⁸⁸ See McLaren, 'Nature's Contraceptive', for many examples of this.

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Gore, son of Sir Thomas and Lady Philippa Gore, was baptised 27 January 1666. SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

mothers to breastfeed. Campbell concludes that there may be other reasons for wet nursing which have been obscured by history.¹⁹⁰

The practice of wet nursing by the wealthy led to their larger families, so it follows that the lower classes who breast fed their children had smaller numbers of children, and this can be seen in the case of Elizabeth Smith. Two more country gentry families which engaged wet nurses in a similar manner, which have emerged out of similar household account case studies, are the Le Stranges and the Townshends, both of Norfolk, with examples relating to the early seventeenth century, forty years before Elizabeth Smith was engaged as wet-nurse to the Gores.¹⁹¹

It may seem obvious that Elizabeth Smith must have recently undergone childbirth to be in this position: however, upon examination of the Barrow Gurney parish registers, Elizabeth Smith did not have a new-born child herself at this time. Her first child Joseph was baptised 30 August 1663, whilst her second child John was not baptised until 19 May 1673.¹⁹² It is likely that Elizabeth Smith had not ceased to lactate after the birth of Joseph, and had continued to breastfeed as both a means of contraception and for the added health benefits to her son – seventeenth century people would have been aware that the most dangerous period for an infant is weaning, as the child is no longer having his mother's immunities transferred through her breast milk and an easy source of nutrition is lost. Instead, as she was weaning her own toddler off the breast, she began to nurse new-born William Gore. This would align with her known childbearing history of three children with long gaps between births (her third child, Jane, would be baptised on 9 May 1680).¹⁹³ An inter-related benefit of prolonged lactation, alongside contraception and improved infant health, was the ability to earn extra money as a wet-nurse, and many women utilised this simultaneous reproduction and employment strategy in the early modern period.¹⁹⁴

The occupation of wet-nurse would justify Elizabeth Smith's higher wage in comparison to the other servants, as seventeenth-century parents placed great

¹⁹⁰ Campbell, 'Wet-Nurses in Early Modern England', pp.367-9.

¹⁹¹ Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.170-172; Campbell, 'Wet-Nurses in Early Modern England', pp.360-70.

¹⁹² SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹⁹³ SHC, D/P/bar.g./2/1/1.

¹⁹⁴ McLaren, 'Nature's Contraceptive', p.441.

stock in finding a suitable wet-nurse of the utmost health, morality and character, as early modern medical theory stated these properties were passed to an infant through the breast milk.¹⁹⁵ Wet-nursing was a respectable occupation for married women and a job open exclusively to wives due to the dual necessities of having had to have gone through childbirth and also be of high moral standing. Wet-nurses for the middle and upper classes tended to be recruited from the lower, but not the lowest, class and Elizabeth Smith adhered to this model, as her husband Simon was the local mason.¹⁹⁶ Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths have found that the Le Stranges also recruited wet-nurses from the upper levels of village society, and Linda Campbell has found the same for the Townshends.¹⁹⁷ Fiona Newall in her study of seventeenth-century Aldenham in Hertfordshire also concluded that families who wet-nursed were comparatively wealthy.¹⁹⁸

Not only was wet-nursing respectable, it was also lucrative, being paid more than regular nurses or servants, with the added potential of being remembered fondly by their charges and being granted gifts in cash or kind for many years beyond the initial nursing.¹⁹⁹ It has already been noted that Elizabeth Smith was the highest paid female servant in this account book, but was this a normal wage for a wet-nurse? Valerie Fildes describes how there was no standard pay or contract for wet-nurses, with each family negotiating the frequency and level of payment, and she has gathered a set of examples which are not broad ranging but can be used as a marker.²⁰⁰ The nearest relevant example is that of a wet-nurse from Somerset in 1650, the same county as Barrow Court and sixteen years previously, who was paid 7s 9d (93d) per week.²⁰¹ This seems very high. Elizabeth Smith was being remunerated at a much lower rate of 3s 1d (36d) per week. This may have been because Elizabeth Smith was living in the house, and thus having food, fuel and lodging provided. This is made clear in the account book itself, as Elizabeth Smith is recorded as 'nursing my son William *in my*

¹⁹⁵ Fildes, *Wet Nursing*, p.91.

¹⁹⁶ Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies*, p.153.

¹⁹⁷ Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-century Household*, p.171; Campbell, 'Wet-nurses in Early Modern England', p.362.

¹⁹⁸ Fiona Newall, 'Wet nursing and child care in Aldenham, Hertfordshire, 1595-1726: some evidence on the circumstances and effects of seventeenth-century child rearing practices' in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England* ed. by Valerie Fildes (London: Routledge,1990), p.133.

¹⁹⁹ Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies*, p.162; Fildes, *Wet Nursing*, p. 100.

²⁰⁰ Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies*, p.161.

²⁰¹ Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies*, p.161.

house.²⁰² The nurses of Lady Mary Townshend and Lady Alice Le Strange earned wages closer to that of Elizabeth Smith, at 3s 10d per week and 2s per week respectively throughout the 1610s and 1620s, suggesting that somewhere between two and four shillings was the norm.²⁰³

Linda Campbell notes that, as in the Gore household, the wet-nurses received a higher wage than the servants, whilst Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths explain that the high wage is so the wet-nurse can eat well and therefore provide good milk.²⁰⁴ This makes Elizabeth Smith's wages even more generous, as she was residing in the Gore household whilst nursing young William and presumably also having food provided. The higher wage may have been a recognition by Sir Thomas and Lady Philippa that Elizabeth Smith needed to hire a servant to take her place at home, and the extra money was to enable her to do this. A live-in wet nurse was unusual. The general practise was that the infant would live with the nurse in her own home, with only exceptionally high-status women bringing the wet-nurse into their household.²⁰⁵ Whilst comparatively well-off, the status of the Gore family was that of country gentry, not royalty or the upper levels of the aristocracy, making it an unusual employment practice for them. Perhaps William, as the only child and heir, was viewed as too precious to be sent away, or perhaps Dame Philippa did not want to part with her firstborn, even though the Smiths evidently dwelt in the same parish and were close enough for regular visits. Valerie Fides stated that the decision as to whether the wet-nurse lived in was dependent more on her 'availability and willingness' to leave her own household than the parents' own wishes.

4.6 Old Age

This section analyses the earning power of older women and how age affected women's working lives. It is difficult to ascertain the ages of female labourers: their ages were not recorded in the account books and, as has been seen in previous sections, it is difficult to find concrete baptismal dates. This problem is compounded by the fact that few parish registers survive before 1600 and exacerbated by the surname change that accompanies marriage for women.

²⁰² SHC, DD/GB/113. The italics are this author's own.

²⁰³ Campbell, 'Wet-nurses in Early Modern England', p.364; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-century Household*, p.171.

²⁰⁴ Campbell, 'Wet-nurses in Early Modern England', p.364; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-century Household*, p.171.

²⁰⁵ McLaren, 'Nature's Contraceptive', p.427.

Another way to estimate age and say something meaningful about its effect is to use titles which are given to women in the accounts. By assessing the wages of women with the age-related titles of 'gomer' and 'widow' and comparing their wages to the average wages of women on the three estates, some indication of whether age influenced women's earning potential can be identified.

'Gomer' (or more commonly 'gammer') was an early modern shortening of 'grandma', with the first recorded usage being in 1575. Similar to the male equivalent of 'gaffer', its use did not always denote a blood relation; rather, it could refer to any older woman, although its utilisation was informal and regional.²⁰⁶ Susan Lay, a seventeenth-century servant from Essex whose legal testimonies were studied by Laura Gowing, was referred to as 'gammer' by other women and children who slept alongside her in a barn during a period of unemployment.²⁰⁷ It can be seen in Table 4.11 below that two women at the Leyhill estate were referred to in the accounts by the title 'Gomer'. Gomer Short and Gomer Walter were both employed at Leyhill during 1667 to perform unspecified labour, Gomer Short being paid 8d for eight days work and Gomer Walter 6d for four days work, giving them an average daily wage of 1d and 1.5d respectively.²⁰⁸ This is significantly lower than the average daily wage for all women on the Leyhill estate, which was 4.5d, and suggests that increasing age affected the earning ability of women.

Table 4.11 also shows that there were eight widows recorded as day workers across the three estates: Widow Councill at Barrow Court, Widow Elms and Widow Wallingford at Herriard Park, and Widow Burnard, Widow Montsteven, Widow Saunders, Widow Walters and Widow Warren at Leyhill. The term 'widow' can conjure up images of older women, but technically it only tells us that a certain woman's husband was dead and communicates nothing about her actual age in years.²⁰⁹ Without baptism dates it is difficult to ascertain the age of these women, and whether they were actually were in their old age. One way of doing this would be to compare their average daily wage alongside the average daily wage for women on their estate. If it was lower, this would suggest that they were less able

²⁰⁶ 'Gammer' in the Oxford English Dictionary online database at <https://oed.com/view/Entry/76515?rskey=lpu2ew&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>, [accessed online, 03/07/19].

²⁰⁷ Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay', p.187.

²⁰⁸ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/10.

²⁰⁹ Schen, 'Strategies of poor aged women and widows', p.17.

and productive: this coupled with the title of 'widow' could lead to a reasonable assumption of old age.

Table 4.11: The working pattern and wages of widowed and aged female day workers at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court

Name	Tasks	Days Worked	Active	Average Daily Wage (d)	Average Female Daily Wage on Estate (d)
Widow Burnard (Leyhill)	Weeding Bean setting Unspecified	26.5	May 1645 May, Jun 1646 Dec, Feb 1650	5.9	4.5
Widow Councill (Barrow Court)	Unspecified	6.0	Jun 1666	8.0	5.9
Widow Elms (Herriard Park)	Haying At clover Hopping	8.5	Aug, Sep 1692	4.0	4.2
Widow Monstevan (Leyhill)	Unspecified	11.0	Jun, Jul, Sep 1669	6.3	4.5
Widow Saunders (Leyhill)	Bean setting Unspecified	15.0	Dec, Feb 1650 Jun 1680 Dec 1681	4.0	4.5
Gomer Short (Leyhill)	Unspecified	8.0	Jun 1667	1.0	4.5
Widow Wallingford (Herriard Park)	Haying Hopping Harvest work	18.0	Jul, Sep, Oct 1666 Jul 1667	4.5	4.2
Gomer Walters (Leyhill)	Unspecified	4.0	Nov 1667	1.5	4.5
Widow Walters (Leyhill)	Unspecified	148.0	Nov 1665 Apr, May, Jul, Nov, Dec 1666 May, Jun, Jul 1667 Mar 1668 Apr, Jul, Sep, Oct 1669	2.0	4.5
Widow Warren (Leyhill)	Weeding Unspecified	6.0	May 1646 Jun 1651	7.5	4.5

Sources: DD/GB/113, DD/WO/52/3/3-20 and DD/WO/53/5/50 (SHC); 44M69/E7/1-3, 44M69/E7/21, 44M69/E7/21/17, 44M69/E7/45, 44M69/E7/53, 44M69/E8/2/5, 44M69/E8/2/7-8, 44M69/E8/3/1, 44M69/E8/7/4-5, 44M69/E8/7/14, 44M69/E8/8/1-2 (HALS).

It can be seen from Table 4.11 above that only three of the widows, Widow Elms of Herriard Park and Widow Saunders and Widow Walters of Leyhill, were being paid below the average female daily wage. It is likely that Widow Walters and Gomer Walters, who shared the same surname and who were active for the same period, were the same worker, especially as they were both being paid less than half of the average female daily wage for their estate. This would mean that Gomer/Widow Walters worked a total of 152 days from 1665 to 1669, the largest number of days in Table 4.11. Her occasional appellation of 'Gomer' coupled with

her widowed status, plus her low wage and her relative frequency of work, implies that she was part of the marginal poor, one of the elderly women who operated an 'economy of makeshifts' to work for her subsistence, similar to those mentioned in the Norwich Poor Records. Although they worked fewer days than Gomer/Widow Walters, Widow Elms, Widow Saunders and Gomer Short may also have been members of this social class.

Other widows were being paid more than other women on their particular estate. Widow Wallingford of Herriard Park only slightly, but Widow Councell of Barrow Court and Widow Burnard, Widow Monsteven and Widow Warren of Leyhill were all being paid over a penny more than the average for women on their estate. The tasks performed by these widows have also been examined, to test whether this may have had an effect on their wages. However, both sets of widows, those paid over the average for female workers on their estate and those paid below that average, worked at bean-setting and unspecified tasks. Jobs such as haying and harvest work, which were traditionally better paid, were performed by widows who received either less than the average wage for women on their estate or, in the case of Widow Wallingford, only 0.3d more. Therefore, it was not the tasks performed by these women which caused the fluctuation in their wages. Instead, an alternate explanation may be age. It also shows that caution needs to be exercised when assuming the age of women in the early modern period by their marital status: like today, women with the title of widow, traditionally associated with the older generation, were not always elderly. Jane Whittle has used probate inventories to show the range of age and earning potential amongst widows; her focus was on unwaged work but her findings that many widows were 'active economic agents' who continued the working habits they had as wives is also applicable to waged work.²¹⁰ Younger widows were also more likely to have dependent children. This may be another explanation as to why they were paid more, as their employers knew their circumstances and that they were the only breadwinner in the family. These women were all working sporadically and would be unable to have supported even themselves on such wages; again, these potentially vulnerable women (through marital status if not through age) were employing an 'economy of makeshifts' to survive. Nine out of ten of these women

²¹⁰ Jane Whittle, 'Enterprising widows and active wives: women's unpaid work in the household economy of early modern England', *The History of the Family*, 19.3 (2014), pp. 292, 297-8.

were working in the summer months, at harvest time, which is when estates needed the ultimate amount of labour and presumably needed to resort to hiring potentially older labourers.

One of the servants at Leyhill was referred to in the accounts as 'Old Joan'. The lack of any other information has made it impossible to find a baptismal record for Joan and ascertain her actual age. It may have been that she was not old in a modern sense but just noticeably older than the other female servants, in her late-thirties or forties perhaps. However, she has still been labelled as 'old' in the accounts, and therefore was viewed as being older by the account keeper. There is only one recorded wage payment for Joan, who was paid 126d (10.5s) on 2 February 1655.²¹¹ The Willoughby family generally paid their servants four times a year, in February, May, August and November, so it can be inferred that this was a quarterly payment. How did this compare to the wages of other female servants? To calculate the daily wage of female servants, it has been assumed that the working week was six and a half days. The same assumption has been made for Joan in order to have a meaningful comparison. This means that Joan was earning 1.5d a day. The average daily wage for a female servant at Leyhill during the 1650s was 1.7d a day. Although this is slightly higher, a difference of 0.2d is not a statistically significant one and is not as large as one might expect for a woman specifically described as 'old'. Without reference to the tasks Joan was performing, it is difficult to find an explanation for this. Perhaps Joan was paid a generous wage for her age due to her former loyalty and service, or because the Willoughby family were aware of her financial situation. Another reason could be that, in fact, there was no age discrimination in the wages. In her study of Suffolk parish registers, Lynn Botelho found that the appellation of 'old' was given to a person at or near the age of fifty.²¹² Therefore, Joan may have been physically able to keep up with the younger servants, or she may have been performing tasks more suited to her age and infirmities, if she had any. She may not even have been nearing fifty, just older than the other servants. Her case shows that women coded as old in the records did not necessarily have a significant drop in earnings.

²¹¹ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/5.

²¹² Botelho, *Old Age and the English Poor Law*, p.12.

Attitudes to older women working can be found in other documents relating to the three estates. A letter to John Willoughby I from his son-in-law John Turbevill (the husband of Bridget Willoughby) dated 14 November 1640 gives a fascinating character sketch of the servant Ann Ralph – albeit coloured by the bias of an employer.²¹³ Ann Ralph is the subject of one wage payment in the accounts, being paid 120d in February 1644.²¹⁴ The letter implies that in 1640 Ann is away from Payhembury and is instead serving with Turbevill in London – he speaks of ‘when [Ann] was at Payhembury’. If this is the case, it is an example of how servants could be transferred from one family member to the next, and the opportunities that they had for travel. Judging from Turbevill’s opinion of her, it is surprising that she was still in service at Leyhill four years after his letter. The main body of the correspondence deals with news of events in Parliament and Ann is consigned to the postscript.

Turbevill described Ann as an ‘old maid... weary with working’, who found it difficult to keep up with her cleaning chores and scorned even the cleaning of a shoe. Again, no baptismal date has been found for Ann Ralph so it is impossible to ascertain how old she actually was and whether she was old by seventeenth-century standards, modern standards, or just older than the rest of the female servants employed. However, the usage of the word ‘old’ shows that she is perceived as such by Turbevill. He provided a vivid vignette of Ann that ‘she loves to fare well, lie well, and do little’. He seemed to have a problem with her attitude and said that she ‘now begins to speak more than is fit’. This trying relationship between Turbevill and Ann Ralph manifested in her attempt to leave service, as he recounted how ‘she ran away one day... and all was for the abusive word of “base slut” given her.’ In the seventeenth century the more common meaning for ‘slut’ was still that of an untidy or slovenly woman, without the connotations of loose sexual morals that would later be associated with the word. This choice of insult links in with Turbevill’s view of her work ethic and ability earlier described, an accusation which Ann evidently took offence at. That Turbevill does not seem to view this insult as being a sufficient reason to run away (his usage of the word ‘all’ is key here) implies that the use of such language towards a servant, in his household at least, was seen as acceptable.

²¹³ ‘John Turbevill to John Willoughby, 1640’ transcribed in *The Trevelyan Papers Part III*, p.199.

²¹⁴ SHC, DD/WO/52/3/3.

The short paragraph finishes with Turbevill's damning conclusion of Ann Ralph – 'I am very glad of her short deliverance from me, and so I leave her to Him that made her'. Presumably Ann returned to service at Leyhill, and not quickly enough for John Turbevill. This account is valuable in adding flesh to a woman who would otherwise have been a single line in an account book. Through the eyes of John Turbevill, Ann Ralph is brought to life as ageing, lazy and feisty. Whether this is an accurate account of her, or the hasty and grieved response of an unfair master is left to the reader to judge. Ann, like so many of her class, sex and station, is not given space to respond.

Ann Ralph and Old Joan are examples from these household account books of older women, whom we would expect to be excluded from service due to their stage of the life-cycle, but who are still recorded and paid as servants by the employers. Ann Ralph especially seemed to be a live-in servant, able to transfer from one household in Devon to another in London. Charmian Mansell has shown that older women working as live-in servants were not unusual; in fact, women aged between thirty-one and sixty accounted for 19.2% of servants in the church court records for the dioceses of Exeter, Winchester and Gloucester. She suggests that many of these were unmarried women who did not have the financial resources to establish households of their own.²¹⁵ The marital statuses of Old Joan and Ann Ralph are unknown, although again Ann Ralph's mobility implies the lack of a husband and the absence of the title of 'widow' also suggests her spinsterhood. Their presence in the accounts are testament to the fact that older women, or women perceived to be old, still worked for wages and were even employed as servants alongside their younger counterparts.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has used household account books and parish registers relating to three estates in Devon, Somerset and Hampshire to analyse how different stages of the life-cycle affected women's working patterns in seventeenth-century England. It has shown how becoming a wife and mother and ageing altered the ways in which women were employed, and how a young unmarried woman experienced the world of work differently to a married woman with young children, or an older woman with an increasingly frail body. As has been detailed

²¹⁵ Mansell, 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England', p.325.

elsewhere in this chapter, historians have traditionally prescribed service as the domain of young, unmarried girls and women who then transitioned into the realm of casual day labour when they married and became mothers and remained there as they aged. This life-cycle model of service has been challenged by historians such as Charmian Mansell and this chapter has also shown that the connection between working patterns and the female life-cycle, whilst still present, were not always rigid.²¹⁶

Much of the evidence presented above does conform to this established life-cycle model of work. Many young, unmarried women worked as servants. This stage of the life-cycle made it easier not only to be resident in the employer's household, but also to engage in migration to find employment. The level of migration of servants looking for employment was measured by cross-referencing the household account books with parish registers. It was found that the majority of migration was local from adjacent or nearby parishes, the longest being twenty-five miles. Therefore, it was not unusual for young women to move out of their natal home and parish to live and work elsewhere, independent of their family, even if this migration was not on a large-scale or wholly removed from the influence of friends and family. Many of these women were participating in what is now known as the life-cycle model of service: working as servants in their adolescence and early twenties to accumulate skills and savings ready for marriage.²¹⁷ Half of the identified servants in the household accounts who married after leaving service did so either in the same year or the year after, which corroborates this theory. However, not all servants at Leyhill, Barrow Court or Herriard Park were at the young and unmarried stage of the life-cycle. Of the female servants whose date of birth could be identified, 14% were older than the average age for marriage. Their marital status was not available, but whether they were spinsters, wives or widows, their employment was evident that service was not wholly undertaken by women in the earlier stages of the life-cycle.

Casual day labour has been perceived as the employment most suited to and chosen by wives and mothers, as it could be performed alongside their own household duties, being utilised alongside unwaged work and commons rights to

²¹⁶ Mansell, 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England', p.325.

²¹⁷ Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.34.

supplement the family income in the 'economy of makeshifts'. This research found that 46% of the female day workers at Leyhill, Barrow Court and Herriard Park were wives and mothers and 3% were widows, amounting to nearly half of the female workforce. A further 21% of women could not be positively identified as a wife, mother or widow but may have feasibly fallen into these categories. This means that potentially up to 70% of the female day workers of these estates were at this stage of the life-cycle.

Evidence of older women working in these household accounts has been harder to trace. Using titles, eight widows and two 'gomers' were found working as day labourers across all three estates. As the appellation of widow is no guarantee of old age, and no baptismal dates were found for these women, other evidential factors had to be considered. The wage rates for these women were analysed and it was found that both the gomers but only three of the widows were being paid less than the average female wage, which would suggest that they were older. Gomer Walter and Widow Walter of Leyhill were most likely the same individual, and her dual title suggesting both old age and widowhood, linked to her low wage and the frequency of her employment, makes her the best example from this study of an archetypal older woman of the labouring class, suffering from poverty and having to work for a living despite her age and possible frailty.

However, women have been found working in roles that were supposedly at variance with their stage in the life-cycle. Not all young women worked continuously as household servants. Day labouring was another employment option, utilised by young single women. Across the three estates, 136 women were found working as day workers for whom no corresponding details of marital status could be found and sixty of these had been assigned labels in the accounts which corresponded to youth and a single state. Twenty women were positively identified as single women from cross-referencing with the parish registers, and six had baptismal records which confirmed that they were in their teens or twenties – the life-cycle stage associated with service. Many single women at Barrow Court, Herriard Park and Leyhill only worked as day labourers irregularly, perhaps to supplement their income during gaps in their employments as household servants. Regardless, the existence of these single women working as day workers, especially the more prolific workers such as Julian Jarman, serve as a reminder that neither service or casual labour was specific to a certain life-

cycle stage and that seventeenth-century women made their employment choices for a variety of different reasons, not just because of their age and marital status.

Similarly, it has also been shown that, whilst it was uncommon for married and older women to work as servants, they were not wholly excluded from this area of employment. Leyhill employed two wives over the period, whose wages were listed alongside the rest of the servants. Their husbands were also in service for the same family, and it is possible that these married couples were not resident in the household itself but were lodged together on the estate or went home in the evening. There was an example of a married woman resident in an employer's household at Barrow Court, where Simon Smith's wife was employed as a live-in wet nurse. Her wages were above average for this occupation, most likely because a substitute had to be found to take over her duties in her own home. These examples show that employment options were not rigidly dictated by life-cycle stage and the service system could be flexible to accommodate different situations, if it suited both the employer and the employee. A servant at Leyhill by the name of Old Joan was only paid 0.2d less a day than her younger counterparts. This suggests that either she did not suffer from wage discrimination against the elderly or that she was able to perform to the same standard as younger women, even perhaps that she was perceived as old by early modern standards but still fit and able to work. The existence of Ann Ralph, described in a Willoughby family letter as old and incompetent, is further evidence that service was not wholly an occupation for the young and unmarried, but that women at later stages in the life-cycle were also hired as household servants.

In conclusion, the life-cycle had an undeniable effect on female working patterns and what opportunities were available to them. It was easier for young and/or unmarried women to work as household servants, for which they were often required to migrate and reside in their employer's household. Their time in service provided them with skills and money for marriage, and often facilitated the meeting of their husbands. Once married, the demands of housewifery and childcare alongside the need to boost a family income meant that many wives and mothers deployed casual day labour as part of their repertoire in the 'economy of the makeshifts'. Ageing was often not a respite from work, and some

women were forced by poverty to continue to work for wages until they were physically unable to do so.

However, evidence from the household account books of these three estates in southern England have shown that a significant minority of women worked in roles that fell outside of these life-cycle norms. Young, single women have been found performing agricultural labour paid by the day and both married and older women have been recorded as household servants. Although more work needs to be done on this topic, it serves to remind the historian that not all seventeenth-century women experienced the life-cycle in the same way and that some had the opportunity to pick work which suited them; the employment structure in which they found themselves was often flexible enough to accommodate women of various different ages and circumstances, regardless of age, marital status or motherhood.

5. Conclusion

It has been a hundred years since the publication of Alice Clark's classic research on women's work in the seventeenth century.¹ Despite the early foundations laid by Clark, the burgeoning fields of economic and social history were slow to incorporate the female experience into their research and it was not until the development of women's history, and later gender history, in the latter half of the twentieth century that the topic of women's work again began to be researched in any great detail. Women's waged work is often difficult to uncover in historical records, but this thesis has demonstrated the wealth of information on female employment patterns that can be found in household account books from the second half of the seventeenth century. An advantage of household account books as a source is that they offer a picture of women's working lives on a single estate, which allows broader national trends to be examined and analysed in a local context. From this, stories of individual lives and behaviours can be recovered.

In order to highlight how different working patterns could vary between employers, and provide more breadth of comparison, three household account books from three different estates were studied. A dataset was compiled by collecting instances of labour for day and task workers, and the payments made to servants, at three different estates in southern England: Leyhill in Devon, Herriard Park in Hampshire and Barrow Court in Somerset. This evidence, alongside relevant parish registers for the estates in question, has been used to build up a picture of the gender distribution of labour, the gender division of labour, the gender pay gap and how life-cycle stages such as marriage, motherhood and old age affected women's working lives. These are all crucial issues which affect the nature of women's work, both historically and in the twenty-first century. Exploring how they existed and why, and how they were circumnavigated, not only improves our knowledge of women's working lives in the past but also helps us to understand these issues in the present.

One of these issues was what this thesis called 'the gender distribution of labour'; namely, a pattern of work in which women dominated the casual, seasonal and part-time workforce whereas men tended to have more regular, full-time

¹ Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: George Routledge and Son, 1919).

employment. This was clearly measured by charting the distribution of instances of labour performed by male and female day and task workers. When displayed this way, it is evident that the employment of male day and task workers was more consistent throughout the year. In contrast, the labour instances of female day and task workers were more sporadic and clustered around the summer months. Men worked much more than women, with 33936 recorded instances of labour compared to the 8731.5 female instances of labour. Historians such as Humphries and Weisdorf, who assumed that men and women worked the same number of days per year, need to take this into account when comparing the wages of male and female day workers, as by doing so they over-estimate female earnings.² Therefore, although it was not unusual for women to work as agricultural labourers, they did so on a more casual and infrequent basis than their male counterparts. Some women, of course, did work consistently throughout the year, but these women were servants rather than day workers. This pattern of female part-time work has been explained by historians such as Joyce Burnette as being due to the household and caring responsibilities that women shouldered as wives and mothers.³ However, when marital status was included as a factor in the analysis, it was seen that a proportion of these female day and task workers were actually unmarried or of unspecified marital status, and therefore had no children to limit the number of days which they worked. Therefore, the household and caring responsibilities of women are not a sole explanation for the casualised and part-time pattern of women's day work.

Connected to the gender distribution of labour was an exploration of the seasonality of women's work by the day. At Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court, there were particularly high numbers of women weeding during May, with the pattern continuing through June and peaking in July, when the hay harvest was taking place. Instances of female labour fell again in August with the grain harvest, and had a slight boost in September and October, perhaps because payment was made the month after. Women's work was at its most infrequent during the winter months from November to March. This aligns with Keith Snell's

² Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260 – 1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), p.417. Humphries and Weisdorf assume that both men and women worked 260 days per year.

³ Joyce Burnette, 'Married with children: the family status of female day-labourers at two south-western farms', *Agricultural History Review*, 55 (2007), p.94. Burnette found that children did not prevent women from labouring as day workers in agriculture, but it did limit the number of days that mothers worked.

work on the seasonality of agrarian employment from 1690 to 1750. Snell also found that women were more likely to be employed during the summer months working in the harvest.⁴ However, he believed that, by the later eighteenth century, female involvement in agriculture had shifted away from the grain harvest and that women became more active in the spring activities of weeding and stone-picking from March to May, and then in gleaning after August.⁵ The evidence from the household accounts suggest that this shift occurred earlier than Snell thought, as it was present in the late seventeenth century in the south-west. Snell's evidence was indirect as it came from servants' settlement examinations rather than actual records of days worked and when, which is what household account books can provide. Helen Speechley, another historian who used account books to measure seasonality, also found that women's work peaked in the spring with weeding and in the summer harvest months, which supports the conclusions of this thesis.⁶

The importance of using different types of sources to explore the gender division of labour has also been shown. Sources such as household account books and court records reveal different aspects of the gender division of labour as they record different types of work, and these sources need to be used in conjunction with each other to reveal the fullest picture possible. The results from the household account books are clear evidence that the gender roles prescribed by early modern advice literature did not match the reality of working life for the period. Conduct author Gervase Markham said of the ideal English housewife in the seventeenth century that she 'hath her most general employments within the house'.⁷ Instead, work records from the household account books show that women were present in every work category save for the mining and quarrying sector – which did not boast a large contingent of male workers either, likely due to its absence from the local economy of the three estates. Over half of the instances of day and task work by women were classed as part of the 'agriculture and land' category, showing that the reality of work for many female labourers involved the field rather than the household. This is reflective of the source

⁴ K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660 – 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 21 – 22.

⁵ Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, pp. 22, 53.

⁶ Helen Speechley, 'Female and Child Agricultural Day Labourers in Somerset, c.1685 – 1870' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 1999), p.72.

⁷ Gervase Markham and Michael R. Best (ed.), *The English Housewife* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), p.5.

material, which had more detail on tasks paid by the day rather than tasks performed by servants or unpaid work. However, upon closer inspection of the tasks performed by both sexes within these categories, there was a clear gender division of labour present. Within the 'agriculture and land' category, men were more likely to work hedging, hunting, fuel collection and wood and animal husbandry, whereas women were more likely to work in milking, gathering food and performing seasonal field tasks. A breakdown of work in the 'crafts and construction' category showed that, whilst women were almost exclusively concentrated in the textile industry, men worked more in building and construction and in trades which required formal apprenticeship. Even within the textile industry, men were more likely to be found finishing the cloth by weaving and making high-end goods such as clothes for the gentry, whilst women prepared yarn by spinning, and also knitted and darned stockings and made shirts. Both men and women worked in transport, but men were more likely to travel further afield and carry large quantities of heavy goods for use in agriculture and construction. In contrast, women were more likely to run errands closer to home (with a few significant exceptions) and transport goods in smaller quantities. These goods were often destined for domestic use, such as foodstuffs for the kitchen. The last pertinent example of the gender division of labour is within the care work category, where women worked as nurses, midwives and teachers for poor children, whilst men were engaged in the professional capacity of doctors and tutors. Unfortunately, one problem with the household account books is that there is no evidence of the tasks undertaken by female servants.

When the evidence from the household account books are compared with evidence from court documents, the differences between women's day labour for wages and their more general work patterns become clear. The results of this data gathered from the accounts of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court were compared to the results from the 'Gender and Work in Early Modern Sweden' project and the 'Women's work in rural England' project, both of which used court records from seventeenth-century Sweden and the south-west of England respectively. There were some similarities: in both household account books and court records it could be seen that, whilst women could be seen working in every sector of the economy, there tended to be a loose gender division of labour present when each category was broken down into sub-categories. However,

there was a much larger proportion of women working in agriculture in the household account books, and minimal numbers of workers in care work, housework and commerce compared to the results from the court records. This is wholly due to the nature of the sources: the household account books were recording work paid by the day and task on large rural estates, whilst the court records were recording what deponents were doing when they were involved with or witnessed a dispute. These disputes could have occurred in private homes and public spaces as well as places of employment, thereby encompassing a much larger variety of both paid and unpaid labour.

The different patterns of work shown by each type of source, household account books and court records, are a reminder of the importance of using different types of primary sources. Not only can similar results be corroborated but contrasting results can show the differences between different spaces, and types of work. In this instance, it can be seen that women who worked as part of the casual labour force on large gentry estates were more likely to be engaged in agricultural work than women generally. In other words, when women hired out their labour by the day, a good proportion of them would be working in agriculture. This is linked to the gender distribution of labour and seasonal employment; women were drawn into agricultural work at certain times of the year, such as the summer harvest season, because there was a demand for labour and it was profitable for them to do so. Without other sources such as court records, it would be difficult to know what these female day workers were doing for the remainder of the year. The court records show that historians should not assume that women spent the rest of their time engaged in housework and childcare: instead, they were carrying out multiple tasks in their own household economy. This holistic view of the gender division of labour can only be gained by looking at different types of sources.

Household account books are also capable of showing the individual payment practices of different employers and estates. This serves as a reminder of the importance of the individual and local experience which can be lost in a study which has a broader regional or national remit. One example is that the most and least profitable tasks for women to perform varied in each estate in this study. At Leyhill, women were paid the most for breaking up clods of earth and the least for setting beans. At Barrow Court, washing was the most profitable task a woman could undertake, whilst weeding made the least money. At Herriard Park, reaping

was on average the highest paid female task, and milking the least. These rates of pay can reveal different employment practices: at Barrow Court washing was so visible because the Gore family paid day workers to do their laundry. The same task barely featured in the other two sets of accounts, because presumably it was a job performed by their female servants. This was not the only way in which Barrow Court differed; the Gore family tended to pay higher wages than average to their workers. This shows the importance of geography as Barrow Court was close to the large port city of Bristol and was therefore competing with it for labour. Proximity to urban centres resulted in higher wages.

Regarding payments to servants, it can be seen that wages rose over the second half of the seventeenth century, although there were fluctuations at times. When servants' wages from Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court were compared to the national wage series calculated by Humphries and Weisdorf, fluctuations were also present. In the 1640s, the national average daily wage for female servants was higher than that paid at Leyhill, but by the 1680s and 1690s this trend had reversed and the national average was lower than the wages paid on the estates. This serves as another reminder that national averages, whilst useful in showing trends, are not representative of the everyday experiences of workers in different parts of the country. An average will rarely be the reality for a large proportion of the population. It also emphasises the importance of the local economy to wage payments, as well as the needs of the individual household.

However, one payment trend which was common in the seventeenth century, regardless of locality or region and reflected in both national averages and on individual estates, was the gender pay gap. Female servants were paid consistently less than male servants at all three estates, although it is difficult to ascertain why when the household account books include so few details on the job titles of servants and the tasks that they performed. Female day workers were also usually paid less than men throughout the three sets of household account books, with notable exceptions. This thesis has tested numerous explanations that historians have given for the gender pay gap. Firstly, it has been found that unmarried female day workers were not paid significantly more than their counterparts who were wives and mothers. This suggests that married women did not work shorter days and therefore women were not paid less because they worked fewer hours than men. This was proposed by Joyce Burnette as a reason

for the gender pay gap in the nineteenth century, and the household account books show this was not the explanation behind lower female wages at Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court.⁸

Secondly, it was shown that, in some cases, women were paid the same as men, if not more. One example is at Leyhill during the 1640s, where women received a higher average daily wage than men, for a reason which has not been ascertained. Penelope Lane has suggested that the gender division of labour, which placed women into lower paying tasks, was a reason behind the gender pay gap.⁹ In the majority of cases at Barrow Court, Leyhill and Herriard Park, men were paid more than women even when they were performing the same tasks. However, there were some notable exceptions. In some instances, male and female workers were paid the same wage for performing the same task, such as keeping hogs at Herriard Park. There were occasions when women were even paid more than men, such as when weeding at Leyhill. Therefore, the gender division of labour could only have been a contributing factor towards the gender pay gap, and not the sole cause.

However, male physical strength may have played a part in the gender pay gap, at least in some instances. Joyce Burnette has said that the primary factor contributing to the gender pay gap is the lesser productivity of women, as women tend to have lesser upper body strength than men.¹⁰ Mowing (a task which was associated with masculinity and strength in this period) did see men being paid significantly more than the few women who mowed. This is one clear example where superior male strength, and therefore higher productivity, did affect the workers' wages and caused a gender pay gap. The reverse can be seen in the unusually high wages of Simon Smith's wife, the wet-nurse at Barrow Court – a task where women had an obvious physical advantage. However, there are examples of men being paid more than women for certain tasks that would not have required excess upper body strength, such as gathering food, drawing hackles and weeding. In these cases, male strength did not play a role in the

⁸ Joyce Burnette, 'The Wages and Employment of Female Day Labourers in English Agriculture, 1740 - 1850', *Economic History Review*, 57 (2004), p.675.

⁹ Penelope Lane, 'A Customary or Market Wage? Women and Work in the East Midlands, c.1700 – 1840' in *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600 – 1850* ed. by Penelope Lane, Neil Raven and K. D. M. Snell (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), pp.118.

¹⁰ Joyce Burnette, 'Testing for occupational crowding in eighteenth-century British agriculture', *Explorations in Economic History*, 33 (1996), pp.322-26.

gender pay gap. Like the gender division of labour, male strength could be a reason behind the gender pay gap in certain cases, but was not always the sole determinant.

If marital status and motherhood (and, by extension, the domestic duties of women) did not have an influence on the gender pay gap, and the gender division of labour and superior male strength only had an effect on the pay gap in specific instances, there must be another, underlying cause for this discrepancy in wages. This would be a patriarchal custom and mind-set which discriminated against women, as suggested by Donald Woodward and Pamela Sharpe, rather than any practical reason.¹¹ One thing is clear from the evidence: whilst men and women were occasionally paid the same, the default position was to pay women less than men.

Comparing the household accounts with records from parish registers reveals more information about women's work in relation to the life-cycle. The survival of parish registers for the relevant locations and period have enabled the construction of life-cycle stories for women who were employed as both day and task workers and as servants on the three estates. Leyhill was used as a special case-study, as it boasted the best survival rate of registers relating to Payhembury and the parishes immediately adjacent. These findings confirm patterns established by historians such as Peter Laslett and John Hajnal regarding how the life-cycle and work interacted: namely, that many women went into service during their youth, and then became part of the casual, seasonal workforce upon marriage.¹² Twenty of the thirty-five female servants identified in the parish registers were single during their time in service and married after they had left employment. Therefore, generally women worked in service during their teens and early twenties, and then left service to marry. Places of baptism, marriage and death recorded in parish registers also showed that these women were relatively mobile and often worked, married and settled down in a different community from where they were baptised. This mobility was mostly restrained

¹¹ Pamela Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism: Working Women in the English Economy, 1700 – 1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), p.100; Donald Woodward, 'The Determination of Wage Rates in the Early Modern North of England', *Economic History Review*, 47 (1994), pp. 36 – 8.

¹² Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.34; John Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective' in *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* ed. by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 1974), pp.101-143.

to the east Devon area, corroborating Ann Kussmaul's pattern of 'constrained mobility' amongst young female workers.¹³

Other findings also adhered to the life-cycle model of women's work. Married women returned to day work when their children were old enough, as in the case of Hannah Jarman at Leyhill. With regard to the concentration of wives and mothers amongst the casual labour force, 49% of female day and task workers were positively identified as being either a wife, a mother or a widow, and this was the minimum figure as some of the women who could not be identified were potentially wives, mothers or widows as well. This supports the conclusions of Joyce Burnette, who found a large presence of wives and mothers in the nineteenth-century agricultural workforce.¹⁴ As Lynn Botelho has already established, older women continued to work for wages, as they had no choice if they wanted to survive.¹⁵ Women with the title 'gomer', which had grandmotherly connotations, worked at Leyhill. Their wages seemed to decline as they aged, perhaps reflecting lesser physical strength and productivity. Therefore, this thesis largely confirms the life-cycle model of women's work, having investigated it across the whole life-cycle using evidence of paid work and demographic information from parish registers.

However, one of the stated aims of this thesis was to recover the individual experience, and it has been seen that not all women experienced work and the life-cycle in the same way. Some female servants never married, such as Ann Flee at Leyhill. Some married women worked as servants, such as Grace Joyce and Elizabeth Hart who worked alongside their husbands at Leyhill, and Simon Smith's wife who was employed as a wet-nurse in the Barrow Court household. Some servants were older than the norm, or at least perceived to be, such as 'Old Joan' and Ann Ralph at Leyhill. These examples can be added to those found by Charmian Mansell in the church court records of the south-west, and to those analysed by Jane Whittle from other household account books across

¹³ A. S. Kussmaul 'The Ambiguous Mobility of Farm Servants', *The Economic History Review*, 34.2 (1981), p.233.

¹⁴ Joyce Burnette, 'Married with children: the family status of female day-labourers at two south-western farms', *Agricultural History Review*, 55 (2007), pp. 75 – 94.

¹⁵ L. A. Botelho, *Old Age and the English Poor Law, 1500 – 1700* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004).

England.¹⁶ Another important finding was that many unmarried women also worked as day labourers in agriculture. A lot of these were very occasional workers but some, like Julian Jarman, appeared regularly. It is not clear if they did this as an alternative to service, or in between periods of employment as servants. These examples show the need to investigate the working lives of women at an individual level, in order to uncover stories that deviate from the norm and to show that these differing experiences were not necessarily unusual.

This study has exposed the advantages and disadvantages of using household account books to study women's working lives. The main advantage of household account books as a source is that they allow the historian to focus on particular estates and, by extension, their immediate locality. National averages, whilst useful in establishing patterns on a larger scale, obscure important information at a local and individual level; for example, instances of women being paid more than men. These instances may not be in the majority, but it is important to show deviations from the norm, and they show how employers made their own choices about what wages to pay in certain circumstances. Different employers could make different choices, such as paying female weeders a higher wage as at Leyhill, or whether their laundry was performed primarily by day workers (as at Barrow Court) or by household servants (as at Leyhill and Herriard Park). Studying account books in a local context shows that both employer preferences and local circumstances could affect the wages paid to women. Two key examples of the local economy influencing working patterns were the higher wages paid to the workers at Barrow Court, due to that estate's proximity to the competing labour market and port of Bristol, and the effect of the local lace industry at Colyton on Leyhill, which attracted female workers and pushed male workers out to the nearby farms. Household account books can also make it possible to investigate the individual stories of women who worked on the estates. By using records of baptism, marriage and death in parish registers to complement the information from the household account books, the life-cycle of

¹⁶ Charmian Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community: a study of church court depositions from the dioceses of Exeter and Gloucester, c.1550 – 1650' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2016); Charmian Mansell, 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England (1548 – 1649): evidence from church court depositions', *Continuity and Change*, 33 (2018), pp. 315-38; Jane Whittle, 'A Different Pattern of Employment: Servants in Rural England' in *Servants in Rural Europe: 1400 – 1900* ed. by Jane Whittle (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 57 – 76.

certain women (such as Hannah Bedgood or Julian Jarman) can be reconstructed.

However, household account books do have their disadvantages when it comes to researching women's work. The historian is at the mercy of the account keepers and what they deemed necessary to record. This is often at variance to what is useful for historical study, one example being that so few of the account keepers, especially at Leyhill and Barrow Court, thought it important to record exactly what tasks female (and male) day workers were performing. Therefore, many questions could not be answered fully in this thesis, and this was exacerbated by the chronological gaps in the surviving account books and the changing of account keepers and recording practices. These issues could be mitigated by a wider-ranging study involving more sets of household accounts, but a balance is needed: when too many sources are used, the level of detail surrounding the differences between individual employers, workers and localities can be lost.

A key debate in the field of women's history concerns the amount of change in women's lives over time: did women ever enjoy a past 'golden age' of legal, social and economic rights, as it would seem from the conclusions of Alice Clark, or has the female experience over the centuries been subject to continuity more than change, as Judith Bennett has famously argued?¹⁷ By providing more evidence of the female experience, and women's working lives in particular, this thesis contributes to knowledge concerning women's lives in the past. It has shown that there was a large amount of variety in patterns of work during the seventeenth century; not only between households and localities, but also in the type of evidence provided by different sources, for example the differences between the information found in household account books and church court records. Historians of women's work need to be wary in classing such variations in women's experience as part of a simple model of change over time.

Collectively, the records of female employment in the household account books of Leyhill, Herriard Park and Barrow Court have allowed an exploration of issues which have affected women's working lives in the past and which still affect them

¹⁷ Clark, *Working Life of Women*, p.9; Judith M. Bennett, 'History That Stands Still: Women's Work in the European Past', *Feminist Studies*, 14.2 (1988), pp.269-283.

today. These sources have facilitated the analysis of the gender distribution and division of labour, the gender pay gap and the effects of the life-cycle on women's work on a very local level. This can be related to the national picture but the advantage of keeping the individual worker and the individual estate in focus is to bring to light the stories and lives of women who previously only existed as a passing reference on a document. It has shown how women's experiences of work could differ between individuals, and the analysis of three separate account books has highlighted how women's experience of work could differ between separate estates. Ultimately, this thesis has shown that, while previously identified patterns such as life-cycle service, the gender pay gap and the association of women with the household and domestic hold true to some extent, the reality of working life for many women on rural estates in southern England in the seventeenth century was often much more complicated.

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