

Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066–1795: evidence from Speke Hall

Susan Nicholson

INTRODUCTION

Speke Hall and grounds as they exist today were, before the surrounding modern development, the centre of an estate farm situated within the rural township of Speke. The history of Speke Hall itself and its occupants has been studied in the *VCH* (3, 131–140) and in the various *Guides* to the Hall. However, the surrounding estate has not been studied previously in such detail and this article summarises a report of a limited programme of research into the development of the estate, undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of Merseyside. The early history of the rest of the township, outside the demesne of the Hall, has not yet been written in full, although much documentary evidence exists.

SOURCES

The published and unpublished material forming the basis of this article are detailed in the references. Due to the limitations of finance the study of manuscript sources has been largely confined to those in local depositories: Liverpool RO, Lancashire RO, Speke Hall and the University of Liverpool, although the British Library lists were also studied. These major collections date mainly from the period before 1700 and consist largely of grants of land, rentals, leases, inventories other manorial and estate papers and many letters. Three chance survivals of estate documents from after 1700: Wiswall's accounts of 1710–1719, Addison's estate survey of 1781 and the 1795 Sale details, pre-date the period of the Watt family.

The large accumulation of other manorial and estate documents which must once have existed for Speke include court rolls, surveys and later leases; rent-rolls and accounts have, with few exceptions, not yet been located. The limitations of the surviving documents must, therefore, be borne in mind. For example, Wiswall notes in detail specially commissioned work on the estate, but not the normal duties of estate workers, though the latter's wages are recorded by him. Similarly he notes goods which were brought in, and those which were sold, but not the details of those actually produced on the estate for home use.

Useful comparisons and contrasts may be made with other local, contemporary family records; the Blundells of Little Crosby (Tyrer (ed), 1968, 1970, 1972 also Leggett 1981), Derby of Knowsley (Lancashire RO; Liverpool RO), Molyneux of Sefton (Lancashire RO; Liverpool RO) and Moore of Bank Hall (Brownbill and Walker 1913). Ashmore's 'Household Inventories of the Lancashire Gentry, 1550-1700' also contains comparative material (Ashmore 1959).

THE BOUNDARIES OF SPEKE TOWNSHIP

'Township' is the term used of the area of land capable of supporting a particular settlement or group of hamlets in the medieval and early modern period. Each township required fresh water, soil fit for arable farming, facilities for stock rearing and enough raw materials for fuel and building. The acreage varied according to the type of land and the size of the community. The boundaries, generally natural ones, were defined by agreement with neighbouring manorial lords and local communities. The 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey 6":1 mile maps indicates the old township boundaries as known in 1849. Speke township is approximately triangular in shape and is bounded on the south by the Mersey (see fig 1). In 1781 it covered just over 2,379 acres.

The eastern boundary of Speke with Hale was settled in 1334 when Sir John de Molyneux, Aleyn le Norreis and Richard Erneys, then lords of Speke, agreed with Robert de Ireland, then lord of Hale, that the line should be drawn as '... three crosses, sikes and other bounds and marches commencing where the water of Brokwallebrok goes into the merce (Mersey) and following by the crosses and marches to the ditch of Spek and following that ditch to le Crossefeld to the north' (Lumby 1939, 4). Addison, in 1781, names one of the boundary fields between Speke and Hale as 'Nearer Conleach', and the VCH (3, 131) states that there formal challenge fights used to take place between the inhabitants of adjoining villages. For most of its length the Speke/Hale and Halewood boundary may once have extended slightly further east than the one on the 1849 Ordnance Survey (1st edition 6":1 mile, sheets 114, 118) which shows an almost parallel line of field boundaries about 100m in that direction. The 'Crossfeld' mentioned may be identified with any of the four 'Cross' fields shown near Hunts Cross by Addison.

The north west boundary of Speke separates it from Much Woolton, Allerton and Garston. The division from Much Woolton, now marked by part of the route of Hillfoot Road, was mentioned in c 1280 (Lumby 1939, 21). At the junction of Hillfoot Road, Speke Road and Wood End Avenue stood Hunts Cross, marked on the 1849 Ordnance Survey (1st edition 6":1 mile, sheet 114) as 'Pedestal of Hunt's Cross' and described in 1895 as 'A displaced massive square stone socket, lying by a barn, at the cross roads, near the station' (Cox 1896, 237). The boundary with Allerton was a

stream. There was also a stream as the boundary between Speke and Garston in 1343 '...le brok between Spek and gerstan...' (Lumby 1939, 71). However, although the latter stream is suggested by the ground contour, it is not shown on any existing maps.

Within the township the demesne, that is the land intended for the particular support of the manorial lord, occupied most of the coastal area. It was bounded by the river on the south, ran parallel with a small stream to the east, and then followed the line of Bailey's Lane to the north and the boundary between Speke and Garston on the north west (see fig. 1). In 1781 it covered just over 843 acres, a little over a third of the total area of the township.

Together with Allerton, Garston, Hale, Halewood, Little Woolton, Much Woolton, Thingwall and Wavertree, Speke formed part of the parish of Childwall throughout this period (VCH 3, 102).

TOPOGRAPHY OF SPEKE TOWNSHIP

The township lies on the north east bank of the Mersey, 11km south east of Liverpool. It is on the south west slope of a sandstone ridge. Over most of the northern part of the township the ridge is covered with glacially deposited boulder clay, a heavy, but potentially fertile soil. The southern part, towards the river, is covered by windblown sand which accumulated on the wet clay in post-glacial times. The mixture of these sands and clays provides a good basis for farming and the Hall and its estate are situated on the best agricultural land in the township.

The early vegetational cover at Speke is difficult to establish. Mixed oak forest probably covered most of the boulder clay area and the evidence for woodland in the medieval period is given below (p 19). At that time Speke lay within the Royal Forest of Lancaster, but it should be understood that the term 'forest' included not only hunting preserves and demesne forest proper, but also the surrounding land as well as villages and farmland. Speke was, therefore, subject to 'forest law', but it did not lie within the hunting preserves or demesne forest as, for example, did Toxteth Park (Shaw 1956, 10 and map opp p 6).

Heath or moorland, with some 'moss' (peat), covered part of the area beyond the demesne. 'Le Mor' of Speke was referred to in c 1280 (Lumby 1939, 21) and in 1360 it was stated that '...the moor of Spek shall be common to both (Sir John le Molineus and Sir Hen. le Norreis) and their tenants for pasture and for cutting turves' (Lumby 1939, 34-35). 'le Mosse' and 'le Mossfeld' are both mentioned in 1314 (Lumby 1939, 24, 32), perhaps indicating that some of this land had been reclaimed. The day work which tenants were obliged to do in 1468 included '...every man a day to delfe Turves...' (Lumby 1939, 14). Addison's map (1781) shows a group of 23 'moss'

named fields, largely on the boulder clay, beyond, but close to the northern boundary of the demesne. A document of about 1370 records '...it is said that the heath of Spek contains 7 ac(res).' (Lumby 1939, 37). A series of 'heath' named fields on Addison's map are rather scattered: three are in the demesne, while others lie in the eastern part of the township, generally in the more sandy areas. The area known today as Stockton's Wood and named 'Heath' by Addison, and shown by him to be wooded, is referred to under 'Woodland management' (p 22).

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE MANOR OF SPEKE

The only evidence of man's activity at Speke before the middle ages is a bronze socketed axe (MCM 60.27) which was found during the cultivation of an allotment in 1946 (OS spot SJ 42458400). Bronze Age burials have been found at Wavertree (Chitty 1977), but there is no evidence to connect them with the Speke axe.

The earliest documentary reference to Speke, a name which perhaps means 'brushwood' (Ekwall, 1922, 110-111), is found in the Domesday Survey of 1086 where it is recorded that the manor of 'Spec' in the Hundred of West Derby had been held by Uctred, a Saxon, in 1066: 'Uctred held Spec. There (are) 2 carucates of land. It was worth 64 pence' (VCH 1, 284a). A carucate was a measure of land sufficient to support a family and could vary between 60 and 180 acres according to the fertility of the soil. At the time of Domesday, Speke was one of the many manors held by Count Roger of Poitou. In 1102 Roger supported Duke Robert of Normandy in his rebellion against Henry I and the failure of the rising led to the confiscation of Roger's lands by the Crown (Shaw 1956, 12).

Before his downfall Roger of Poitou is thought to have created a 'fee' (hereditable land) for the master forester of the Royal Forest of Lancaster; Speke was included in the Forest and the fee by 1170. Vivian Gernet, in the reign of Henry I, was the earliest known master forester. His family and their descendants, the Dacres, received and retained the nominal overlordship of Speke until about 1334 (Shaw 1956, 43-44), though the actual tenure of the manor had been granted to Richard Molyneux by Roger Gernet in about 1170 (Farrer ed. 1903, 43).

The family of Molyneux of Sefton continued to hold the chief responsibility for the manor of Speke, but the manor itself was subdivided between the Haselwell and Norris families on the one hand and the Molyneux of Little Crosby and the Ernys families on the other. (VCH 3, 132-4; Lumby 1939, iv-vi). Sir Henry le Norreys married Alice Erneys in c 1390 and so united some of the divisions. The Charnock family, who inherited some of the interests of the Molyneux of Little Crosby, retained this tenure well into the 16th century when it was purchased by the Norrises (Lumby 1939, 36).

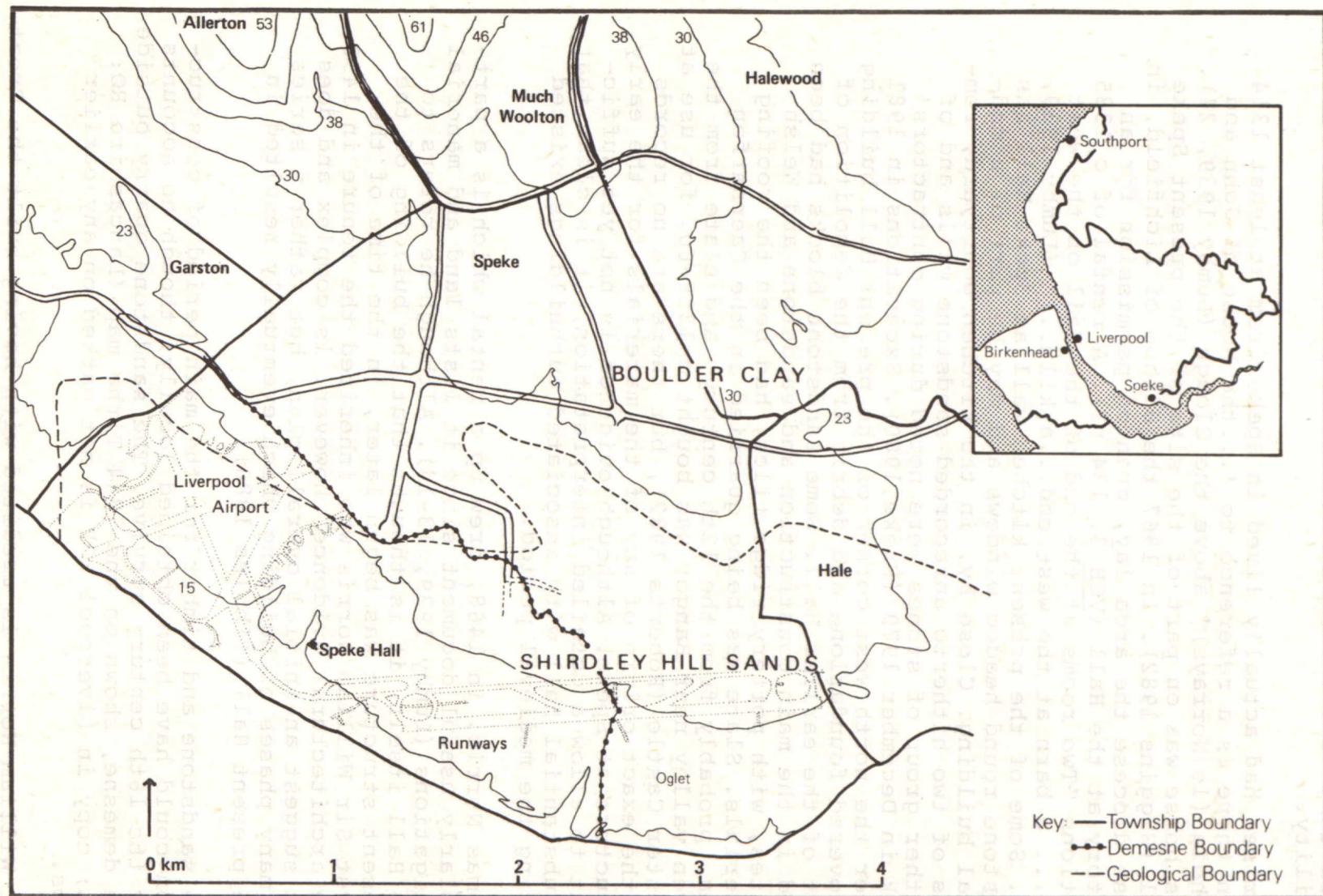


Figure 1 Drift Geology of Speke township
Based upon the 1975 Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 map, courtesy of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright Reserved

The nominal overlordship held by the Molyneux of Sefton was still in existence in 1568 (VCH 3, 135) but it seems after that time the Norrises assumed the manorial responsibility.

Norrises had actually lived in Speke from at least 1314 when there is a reference to '...the house of John and Nichola (le Norrays)' above the Clough (Lumby 1939, 24). This house was on part of the site of the present Speke Hall (Higgins 1982). In 1367 the Bishop of Lichfield, in whose diocese the area lay, granted permission for an oratory at the Hall (VCH 3, 134 n2). A rental of c 1385 mentions 'Two rooms at the end of the Hall on the west and... a barn at the west end...a kiln...' (Lumby 1939, 38). Some of the present kitchen wall at Speke Hall has sandstone round headed windows and may be part of a medieval building. Close by, in the kitchen courtyard, remains of two hitherto unrecorded sandstone walls and of another group of stones were noted during contractors' work in December 1979 (Freke 1980). Excavations in 1981 under the north west corner of the present Hall building uncovered foundations and debris from the demolition of part of the earlier Hall. Some sandstone blocks had been used in the main construction and sandstone and Welsh slates, with pottery ridge tiles, had been the roofing materials. Slate was being quarried in the Caernarfon area, probably from the 12th century, and slate from the Ogwen valley near Bangor was bought c 1358-60, for use at Chester Castle (Roberts 1982), but there are no records of the exact origin of any of the materials for the early structure at Speke. Although evidence is not yet sufficient to allow a detailed interpretation, it is clear that a substantial hall with associated outbuildings existed during the medieval period.

Thomas Norris, in 1468, drew up a rental which is a particularly useful document since it lists land and manorial obligations (Lumby 1939, 13-14). Although he refers to the Hall itself, it is thought that the building of the present structure was begun later, in the time of the first Sir William Norris who inherited the tenure in 1490. The architectural evidence, however, is complex and does not suggest an initial overall plan, but rather a series of many phases of building which eventually resulted in the present Hall (Tibbles 1980).

The sandstone and timber for the main period of construction could have been obtained locally, though no accounts for the 16th century survive. The sandstone quarry outside the demesne, shown on the 1844 Tithe map (Lancashire RO: DRL; copy in Liverpool RO) is not marked on any earlier maps.

Sir William Norris is credited with having built the Great Hall, which was originally of six bays, on the south side of the present courtyard. On his death in 1506, his son,

Henry, succeeded him. Henry's work is thought to have included remodelling the Great Hall and adding the Great Parlour wing. His inventory of 1524 lists the goods of the Hall and farm, but does not name the rooms and out-buildings. The east range, probably the domestic one, may have been entirely separate originally, and perhaps included the medieval structure already referred to. The west range was built possibly between 1540 and 1568 and perhaps utilised earlier foundations (Tibbles 1980).

Sir Edward Norris, who succeeded to the title in 1568 constructed the north range, possibly in different stages. It contained a new chapel and was completed in 1598. Sir Edward, a noted recusant, was also responsible for including in the Hall various priest holes (Hodgetts 1976, 274-277). He extended the south range, possibly reconstructing or modifying its two larger wings, and the south wing of the Great Hall, thus completing the present quadrangular shape of the Hall. In 1605 he constructed the Garden Gate by the south entrance to the Screens passage.

After Sir Edward's death in 1606 and the succession of his eldest son, William, the Norris fortunes began to decline. In 1612 Sir William Norris constructed the small porch linking the Great Parlour and the garden. Later he mortgaged the estate to his son-in-law, John Fleming of Rydal Hall (Lumby 1939, vii) and an inventory was drawn up in 1624 as security for Sir William's debts (Saxton 1946, 108). Sir William died in 1630, being succeeded by his son of the same name. The whole of the Speke estate was confiscated ('sequestered') by the Commonwealth in 1650 (Stanning ed. 1898, 227). At the Restoration in 1660 Thomas, William's son, regained the land and rights. Thomas had seven sons of whom four, in turn, held the estate. One of these four sons was Thomas Norris of whom a number of estate papers survive (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR) and at whose death in 1700 an inventory was compiled. Another of these sons was Sir Edwards Norris for whom John Wiswall compiled estate accounts between 1710 and 1719 (Liverpool RO: Rq 942.721.3 SPE). None of these sons had a male heir; in 1731, therefore, on the death of Richard Norris the inheritance passed to Thomas's granddaughter, Mary Norris. Five years later she married Lord Sidney Beauclerk, the fifth son of the 1st Duke of St Albans. Although in her will of 12th June 1766 (Liverpool RO: Speke Hall: Plans, 25-29) Lady Mary expressed her wish that their only son, the Honourable Topham Beauclerk, should change his surname to Norris, the request was not acceded to. He seems to have been an absentee landlord too, and the Hall and estate were neglected and despoiled by a series of local tenants (Winstanley, 1920, 8-9). In 1774, Topham Beauclerk directed Thomas Addison to carry out a detailed survey, with maps, of the whole of Speke township, a task completed in 1781, after Beauclerk's death. His son, Charles George Beauclerk, put the estate up for sale in 1795 (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/655). The purchaser was Richard Watt,

Liverpool merchant who had made his fortune in Jamaica.

The history of the subsequent period is beyond the scope of this article, but a brief summary is as follows: the Watt family restored and improved the Hall and estate. On the death of Miss Adelaide Watt in 1921, trustees for 21 years were appointed. In August 1942, under an alternative clause in Miss Watt's will, the Hall, gardens and heir-looms were offered to the National Trust who accepted them in 1943, leasing them to Liverpool Corporation for 99 years. In 1970 the responsibility for the house was transferred to the City of Liverpool Museums, now Merseyside County Museums.

THE ORGANISATION OF LAND AND ITS FARMING

Under feudal law manorial tenure was not a statement of ownership, but of rights exercised by the lord who owed his position to the king or the king's tenant-in-chief. The land could, as at Speke, be divided among various sub-tenants.

The demesne land could be retained by the lord for the direct support of his household. In Speke its exact extent is known in 1781 when it was held as one unit and worked from the Hall. Presumably in 1314, when the house itself is first mentioned (Lumby 1939, 24), some land in its vicinity was used as the 'home farm' though until the mid 16th century the Norries held part only of the township.

Thomas Norris's rental of 1468 (Lumby 1939, 13-14) lists 'The Demayn Lond Lynge to the Halle - Oggrott Wode with the Brendhurth...The 2 faure acre heydes with Daynes crofte...The Holbothe fylde...The Conyngry fylde...The Hall fylde...Mollenex fylde...the Wedyrs fylde with the calf hey...the 2 Plombe fyldes ...the hey be greneway syde...' These would seem to have been enclosed fields. The list continues'...the narre 2 ac(res) in the Mosse... the fyrse 2 ac(res) with the Medo in the mosse...The Medowes in Hale ...2 ac(res) in the Mosse Shotyngs on Jameswh... (added in another, undated and unidentified hand) ye Wynde mylne...' At this time the Norris Speke demesne, then, included strips in the open fields and even land outside the township. This particular land listed was evidently rented out, but there is no complete early list of demesne land. Other rentals do not always mention individual fields, but give a total acreage: one, a Charnock rental, undated, but perhaps late 14th century includes '...Walt de Gerstan in demesne lying together 25 ac(res) for a term of 6 years and 3½ butts (strips) 2 marks (1 mark = 6/8) 6d' (Lumby 1939, 39).

According to general manorial custom, which might vary in detail from area to area (Hone 1906; Bennett 1937), free tenants carried out certain duties on demesne land, the duties varying according to seasonal activities. Thomas

Norris's 1468 list stated: 'This (be) longs to the Auerage (day work) In primis Euery tenant that payes 10s of rent or a bone (boon) gyffes a day with a plogh and a nother day with his worthynge (muck) Carte. And yf hit be under 10s he schall bryng his horse and his youle to fyll a day And also euery tenaunt that holds a bone 10s. shall fache a Ca(r)tfull a hay from Redall Medow (in Hale) and yf he be under 10s(,) a day to make hay or elles gyffe a ld and euery man a day to delfe Turves and euery house a day to schere (reap) in harvest or els to pay 2d'. Boon work was still being done in 1693: coal carrying, hay making and reaping (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/561).

Though at least two of the demesne fields were rented out in 1718 (Wiswall f 27a), many of the demesne fields referred to by Wiswall evidently supplied the Hall, as the accounts include payments for day-labour in them.

Beyond the Hall and demesne, as shown on Addison's map of 1781 lay Oglet, a place first mentioned in c 1285 (Lumby 1939, 20, 28). Also shown on the map are scattered groups of dwellings, and isolated farms, in other parts of Speke township, but there are few early references to the buildings themselves and they and their fields await a detailed study.

CULTIVATION AND CROPS

Land preparation

Reference to initial enclosure of land from the waste at any period are lacking, but there are detailed notes of land clearance and preparation from the early 18th century. Wiswall accounts: Oct. 9, 1711 'Pd to Wm Bridge...helping to get Roots up in Oglet Wood & filling holes 5 day and a half...' (f 16); March 29, 1712 'Pd to Jno Banner & Wm Bridge...ditching and levelling in Oglett Wood...' (f 22); Oct 2, 1710 'Pd to (Jno Charnley) for Ridding (clearing) and Guttering in Green Hea...' (f 2).

Once clearance and drainage had been done, the land could be fertilised. The 1468 'worthynge' or muck cart (Lumby 1939, 14) is the earliest record of manuring, but the 1624 inventory lists (3) 'muck wayne(s)', '2 muck forkes' and '2 muck rakes' (Saxton 1946, 140, 141). In 1700 the inventory included 'Two muck carts' 'Two dung forks' and a dung rake 'Dung in the foul'd and other places' (Saxton 1945, 121, 133, 132). Wiswall notes on June 16th 1711 'Pd to Samuel Ellison for...Filling Muck one day & spreading it ...' (f 11); May 24th 1715 'Pd to Edw. Webster for... sowing Pigeon dung in Green Hea...' (f 72). John Evelyn in the late 17th century had stated 'Pidgeons and dung of poultry is excellent when cold and well tempered & rotted with mould...' (Keynes ed. 1932, 78).

Another method of fertilising was burning; May 24th 1712 'Pd to Roger Thomasson for leading Gorse from Ms Croft to

FIELD LIST

Sources: Addison 1781; Lumby 1939; Liverpool RO: 920 NOR (all-number references); Saxton 1945, 1946; Wiswall.

No. on map	Name in 1781	When first recorded		
		Name	Date	Source
1	Garston Hey	Garston Hey	1696	2/537
2	Bankfield	Bankfield	1700	2/122
3	Higher Eleven Acre	Eleven Acre	1696	2/537
4	Crabtree Close	Crabtree Close	1696	2/537
5	Round Meadow	Round Meadow	1781	Addison
6	Further Three Crosts	Further Three Crofts	1700	Saxton 1945, 122
7	Further Mill Field)	Le Milnefield	c1390	Lumby 1939, 38
8	Nearer Mill Field)	Nearer Three Crofts	1694	2/537
9	Nearer Three Crofts	Banks Lane Pasture	1781	Addison
10	Banks Lane Pasture	Nine acre end	1718	Wiswall f 111
11	Nine Acre	Lower Eleven Acre	1694	2/552
12	Lower Eleven Acre	Six acre	1781	Addison
13	Six Acre	(?) Wythersclogh	c1450	Lumby 1939, 42
14	Wilders Brook	Banks lane meadow	1601	17/7
15	Banks Lane Meadow	2 Plombe Fylds	1468	Lumby 1939, 14
16	Little Alder Plumb Field)	Green Croft	1781	Addison
17	Great Alder Plumb Field)	Mollenex Fylde	1468	Lumby 1939, 14
18	Great Plumb Field)	le Clogh	1314	Lumby 1939, 24
19	Green Croft	Hopyord	1624	Saxton 1946, 142
20	Molyneux Meadow	Orchard	1781	Addison
21	Clough Croft)	Lower Orchard	1710	Wiswall f 1
22	Clough)	Old Johns Yard	1781	Addison
23	Hop Yard	Swine Pasture	1700	2/180
24	Orchard	Bleaching Yard	1700	Saxton 1945, 124
25	Lower Orchard			
26	Old Johns Yard			
27	Swine Pasture Meadow			
28	Bleaching Yard			

29	Little Green	1781	Addison
30	New Park	1715	Wiswall f 67
31	Heath	1696	2/537
31a	Barn Croft	1781	Addison
32	School House Hey	1717	Wiswall f 236
33	Limed Hey	1718	Wiswall f 117
34	One Acre	1781	Addison
35	Long Hey	1781	Addison
36	Green Slate Hey	(?) Hey by greneway syde	1468 Lumby 1939, 14
37	Six Acre Heath)	(?) Heath	1696 2/537
38	Eleven Acre Heath)	Ten Acre	1781 Addison
39	Ten Acre	Barn Field; Gt Barn Field	1710; Wiswall f 2, f 51
40	Barn Hey	Little Barn Field-	1714
41	Hall Field	Hall fylde	1468 Lumby 1939, 14
42	Sheep Hey	(?) Shepekotefeld	1384 Lumby 1939, 5
43	Nearer Whole Batch	Houlbatch	1693 2/537
44	Coneytree Wood	Conyngry fylde	1468 Lumby 1939, 14
45	Barn Hey Croft	Barn Hey Croft	1710 Wiswall f 1
46	Further Barn Hey	(see 40 above)	
47	Little Brandereth	Brendhurth	1468 Lumby 1939, 14
48	Little Croft	Little Croft	1719 Wiswall f 128
49	Hey between Woods	Hey between the woods	1694 2/537
50	Further Whole Batch	(see 43 above)	
51	Fir Wood	Fir Wood	1781 Addison
52	Long Croft	Long Croft	1781 Addison
53	Roughs and Round Croft	Roughs and Round Croft	1781 Addison
54	Oglet Woods	Ogglotte Wode	1468 Lumby 1939, 14
55	Swingle Hey	Swingle Hey	1781 Addison
56	Mistress Croft	Ms Croft	1695 2/537
57	Great Brandereth	(see 47 above)	
58	Wood End	Woods end	1630 17/136
59	Old Fall	(?) Oldefeld	1353 Lumby 1939, 6

burn ground in Green Hea' (f 26); June 16th 1711 'Pd to Samuel Elleson for... Spreading Ashes on burned ground...' (f 11).

The mention of Richard le Marler's name in a document of 1329 (Lumby 1939, 25) indicates that even as early as this the local pockets of limey-clay (marl) were being exploited to provide additional fertiliser for the fields. The 1624 inventory includes '14 marle cartes' (Saxton 1946, 140) and in 1700 'Eight augers for boaring land' and 'One marle cart and wheeles...' (Saxton 1945, 133, 121). Wiswall has numerous references to marl pits and marling: August 29th 1710 'Pd to Mr James Chadwick for measureing the Hole Batch and New Marle Pitt 000.1ls.0.' (f 1); September 4th 1710 'Pd to the Marler of the Hole Batch for getting out of ye Pitt 64 roods and a quarter of Marle at 15s 6d p. Rood 049.16.0' (f 1); May 23rd 1715 'Given to the Man that lent Augers to bore at Marl Pitt 000.00.6' (f 72). Special mention of the marl is made in the Sale particulars of 1795 (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/655).

Gate and fence making, hedging and ditching records probably refer to maintenance work, and not to initial enclosure: April 10th 1717 'Pd to Richard Barrow... for makeing and setting a Gate att Oglett Wood, makeing a Pale (fence) att Banks lane...' (f 99); January 14th 1711 'Pd to Jno Charnely for hedging...att bottom of Great Branderith ...And...ditching att side if Bankes Lane...' (f 6).

Other miscellaneous work on the land included: May 24th 1712 'Pd to Mary Wilkinson for...spreading mole-hills...' (f 26); April 21st 1713 'Pd to Mary Wilkinson for gathering stones off marled ground in Oglett Wood...' (f 40).

Ploughing was evidently done partly with the help of tenants in 1468, as a day's work with a plough was compulsory for some (Lumby 1939, 14). In 1524 the list of Henry Norris's animals included 20 draught oxen and 5 work horses (Lumby 1939, 20); by 1624 the number was 12 draught oxen, 6 work horses and the equipment included '8 plows... 3 buckes (irons) for horse plowes...6 harrows...5 swingletrees for the plowe foot' (Saxton 1946, 140-142). No oxen were listed in 1700 and the number of work horses is not given separately, but there were 'Five plowes...plow timber...Four harrowes...two pair of plow irons...' (Saxton 1945, 121-122). Work recorded by Wiswall included: June 16th 1711 'Pd to Tho. Hardman for Plowing in the Lower Orchard and Burned ground...' (f 11). The push plough was also in use: May 10th 1712 'Pd to Edw Webster and Wm Bridge for Pushplowing in Gardens Lower Orchard and Swine pasture for potatoes...' (f 25).

Cereals

In England wheat was generally sown in autumn to be harvested the following year; barley and oats were sown in spring to be harvested in the same year. Cereal crops grown at Speke are named first in 1524 when the list

included standing crops of 16 acres of wheat, 33 of barley and 20 of oats with, in the barn, 60 thraves of old barley (Lumby 1939, 20). (A thrave of barley usually consisted of 24 sheaves, each 10 inches in diameter). No mention of grain occurs in the 1624 inventory, though it was drawn up in September, the relevant items being 2 corn carts, 3 corn wains, corn measures, a bran barrel, a meal sieve and a stone mortar 'to knocke wheat in' (Saxton 1946, 134, 140-141). At the end of the 17th century wheat, barley and oats are all mentioned, but the surviving documents refer to just 4 adjacent fields in the west of the demesne: Further and Nearer Mill Fields, Nearer Three Crofts and Lower Eleven Acre (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/552, 2/46). The 1700 inventory, compiled in July, notes standing crops of 5 acres of wheat in Bank-field, 14 acres of oats in Three Crofts and 4 'in the fields towards Oglett' together with wheat, barley and oats in the garner (store). Two corn carts were also listed (Saxton 1945, 121-122). Barley and oats are referred to frequently by Wiswall: October 9th 1711 'Pd to Edwd. Webster for 4 days shearing Barley in Lower Orchard and Green Hea' (f 16). There were occasions when barley, oats and wheat were bought in: October 12th 1716 'Pd to Wm Tildasle for 24 measures of barley...' (f 92); October 29th 1712 'Pd to Wm Dicenson for 4 measures of wheat ...Pd to Ed. Latham for 25 measures of oats...' (f 31). Rye was also purchased: February 16th 1711 'Pd to James Almond for remainder of wt was owing him for 50 measures of barley & three measures of rye...' (f 6). Wiswall does not record wheat being grown on the demesne. Once the crops were gathered in, threshing could be done when required: January 29th 1715 'Pd to Edw. Webster & Geo: Laurenson for Thrashing Barley formerly of the course-sort that grew in Green Hea...' (f 66).

Hay

Part of this important crop was grown on '...the Medo in the Mosse' though the latter was leased out by Thomas Morris in 1468 (Lumby 1939, 14). Land in Banks Lane Meadow was evidently still divided up in 1601, since measurements of a half acre and a rood land of it are mentioned then (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 17/7 & 8). To the west of the Hall three adjacent fields: Molyneux Meadow, Wilders Brook and Banks Lane Meadow, together with Round Meadow close to Garston, yielded 139 loads of hay in 1696, the only year for which a full record survives. Details of storage are given: barns were used and some was stacked in the open (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/47).

It was July when the 1700 inventory was compiled and the note of 'old hay...In the Hay Barn' (Saxton 1945, 122) indicates that the new year's crop had yet to be gathered.

Wiswall has frequent notes of payment for mowing. Most of the fields were used as meadow in rotation with crops, for example, Barn Hey Croft which had oats in 1710 and 1712,

had hay in 1711 and hay in each year from 1713 to 1718. Even so, extra hay was required: February 23rd 1719 'Pd to Gabriel Pinnington for half of the hay grass in Bankslane Meadow mown in the year 1717' (f 120). Presumably Pinnington had rented half the meadow since Wiswall's entry reads: July 24th 1717 'Pd to Edw. Webster... for mowing...half Banks lane Meadow...' (f 104). Clover was grown in Green Hey in 1714 (f 55).

Root crops

Turnips had been introduced into England around 1550 or earlier, and by the 18th century had become established as winter fodder for animals (Whitelock 1965, 96-97).

Turnips were sown in Green Hey in 1713 (Wiswall f 44).

Potatoes were known in England from 1585-6, though for some years they were generally cultivated in gardens only. Lower Orchard and Swine Pasture Meadow were both used for potatoes in 1712 (f 25). They were grown in the gardens also (see p 16).

Other crops

Beans were grown in one acre of Further Three Crofts in 1700, and 10s worth were stored in the Corn Garner (Saxton 1945, 122). They were brought in during 1717 (Wiswall f 106).

Hops were used for brewing in England from the early 16th century (Whitelock 1965, 90). At Speke, the Hopyard with its picks and hook and a 'hop wiskett' (basket) are recorded in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 134, 142) but, although the name persisted, it is not known if the cultivation of the crop continued. Certainly 2lbs of hops 'for October Beer' were bought in 1712 (Wiswall f 32). The Hopyard itself seems to have been used largely for hay in Wiswall's time.

Apples for cider were grown in 1694 and 1695, presumably in the Orchards (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/561; 2/634a). However, Wiswall recorded barley in the Lower Orchard in 1710 (f 1) and a variety of crops there in later years. Addison's map of 1781 shows the Orchard as wooded, but the Lower Orchard was clear of timber.

Hemp was grown in the Bleaching Yard in 1700, hempen tow (ready for spinning) was in the Wool Chamber and more was stored in the Cheese Chamber, together with flax and tow (Saxton 1945, 124, 127). Two hatchells, used for combing flax or hemp, were listed in the 1624 inventory (Saxton 1946, 130), but there is no clear evidence that hemp was grown at Speke then. Flax growing is not mentioned, although many of the household items listed in the three inventories were of linen.

Crop transport

2 corn carts and 5 sleds were noted in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 140, 141), but there is no reference to a carthouse until 1700 when it contained not only 2 corn carts, but a wain

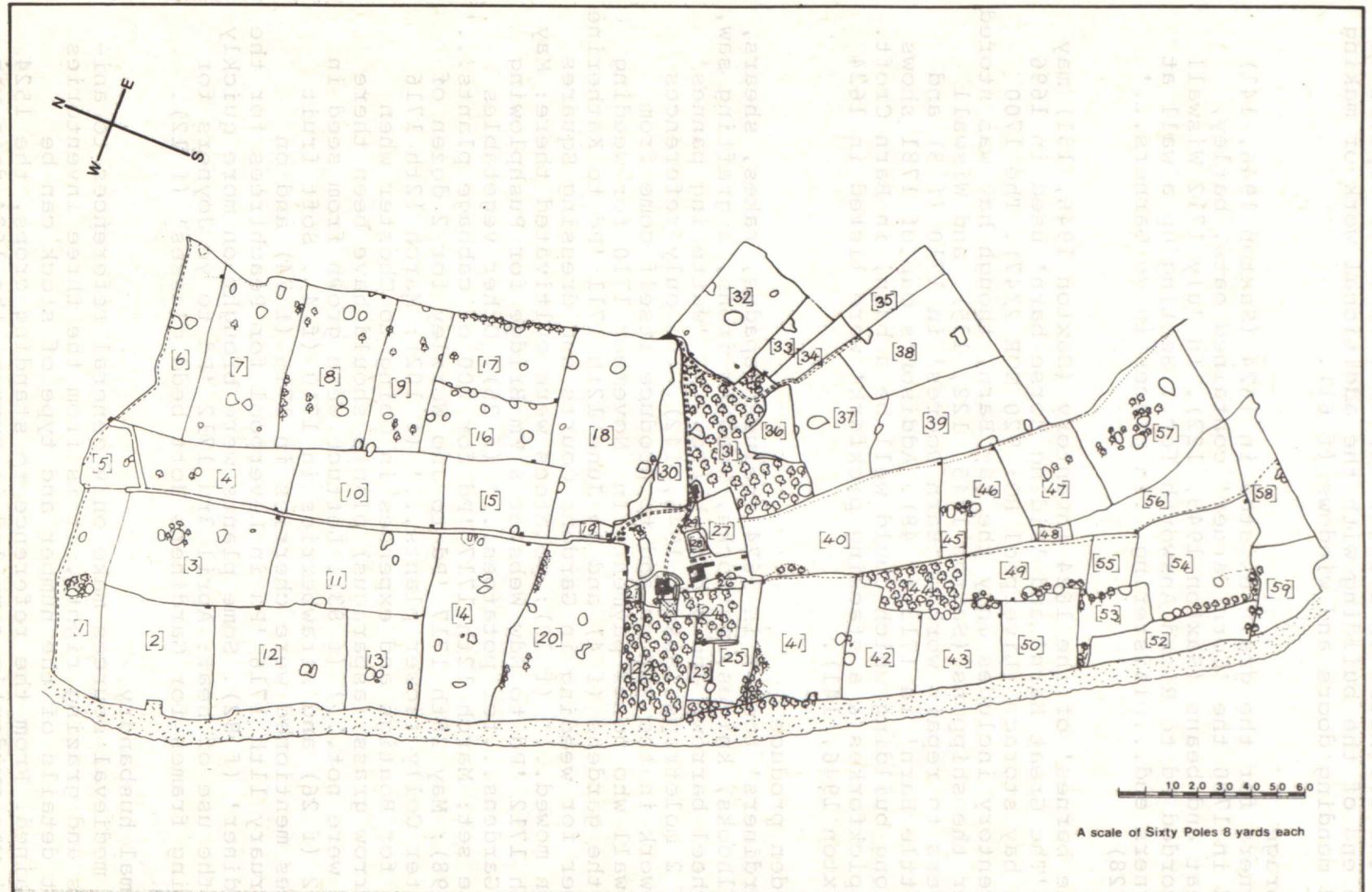


Figure 2 Speke demesne from Addison's map 1781

in addition (Saxton 1945, 121). Wiswall records thatching for the carthouse in 1712 (f 32) and, in 1714, repairs to the end of the building with the additional work of making and mending doors and windows (f 61).

Storage

Garners for the grain existed in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 141) and in 1700 the 'Corn Garner' contained oats, barley, wheat and beans (Saxton 1945, 122). In July 1712 Wiswall recorded Pd to Richd Answorth for...Setting up a wall at Garners end...plaistering...in places in ye Garners...' (f 28).

'The barnes' of the 1624 inventory (Saxton 1946, 131) may be 'The Great Barn' and 'Riding Horse barn' used in 1696 for hay storage (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/47). The 1700 inventory includes only the Hay Barn, though hay was stored over the shippsons (Saxton 1945, 122, 135), and Wiswall refers to repair work on 'Barn Doores' in 1710 (f 5) and 'Little Barn' in 1713 (f 48). Addison's map of 1781 shows a long building which could well be a barn, in Barn Croft. '8 pickforkes & a stacking pickfork' were listed in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 141).

Garden produce

'Gardiners' tools' in 1624 included spades, rakes, shears, billhooks, knives, mattocks, weeding irons, a grafting saw, 3 wheel barrows and 3 hand barrows, 2 'wattering pannes' and 2 moletraps (Saxton 1946, 142). The only references to work in the garden and to produce itself come from Wiswall who notes payments in November 1710 for weeding in the gardens (f 4) and on June 12th 1711 'Pd to Katherine Tyrer for weeding in Gardens Courts and dressing Squares when mowed...' (f 10); potatoes were cultivated there: May 10th 1712 'Pd to Edw Webster & Wm Bridge for Pushplowing in Gardens...for potatoes...' (f 25). Other vegetables were set: March 12th 1717 'Pd for 200 of cabbage plants...' (f 98); May 28th 1717 'Pd to Jno Worsley for 2 dozen of Winter Colly flower plants...' (f 102); March 12th 1716 'Pd for Boatigs and expences in Going to Chester when Sparrow grass (asparagus) plants should have been there and were not...' (f 83). Lettuce were grown from seed in 1712 (f 26) and strawberries in 1710 (f 4). Soft fruit trees mentioned were cherries in 1715 (f 74) and on February 11th 1716 'Pd in Liverpool for Peachtrees for the Gardiner' (f 82). Some plants were brought on more quickly by the use of heat: April 3rd 1712 'Pd to ye Joyners for making frames for Gardiners Hott bedd glasses' (f 12).

Animal husbandry

The medieval sources make only general references to animals and grazing rights. It is from the three inventories that details of the number and type of stock can be obtained. From the reference to standing crops, the 1524 list was evidently compiled in summer, the 1624 date was September 30th and the 1700 notes were made on July 9th.

Oxen numbered 20 draught and 7 fat in 1524 (Lumby 1939, 20); 12 oxen in 1624 had an ox-keeper, and the equipment included 2 dozen oxbows (for forming collars) and 10 ox yokes (Saxton 1946, 132, 139, 140, 142). There are no records of oxen in 1700 or later.

Cattle owned by Henry Norris in 1524 were 'geland kye 8; trynteris (3 year olds) 8; twynteris (2 year olds) 14; styrkis 15; kye with calvis 13, bullys 3' a total of 61 (Lumby 1939, 20). A century later the list comprised '23 melch kyne...5 kyne to bee fed...5 northern beastes to be fed...iij heffer calves...2 bulls...' 38 in all (Saxton 1946, 142). By 1700 the cattle were as follows: 'Ten two year old steeres...Four three year old steeres...The heifer and calf..Eight other heifers...The black bull...Six four year old bullocks...Tenn other bullocks...The branded bull...the redd bull...The broken bellied cow...Five milk cowes...The cow and calfe...The redd heifer and calfe...Fifteen calves...' 68 still on the estate and evidently housed in the shippions. Debts owed to Thomas Norris, listed near the end of this 1700 inventory included money for '...a cow...two bullocks...19 heifers...15 calves and other...cattell...' (Saxton 1945, 120, 134, 135). Wiswall has few references to cattle, and these are mostly to their slaughter (see p 24), however, flags were laid in the shippions in 1711 (f 19).

Horses were certainly used for draught by some of the tenants in 1468 (Lumby 1939, 14), but their use in the demesne is mentioned first in 1524 when there were 5 work horses and two mares (Lumby 1939, 20). A horse keeper was engaged to look after the 6 work horses and a mill horse in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 131, 142). By 1700 there were 6 coach horses and 10 other horses (Saxton 1945, 133); 'Furniture for the sumtier (pack) horse was also included (Saxton 1945, 125). Wiswall makes occasional references to the horses used in his time: November 3rd 1710 'Pd for 18 measures of oats...bought in the summer for Mares...' (f 3); July 11th 1713 'Pd at Woolton Smithy..for remove of two Horses when Garston Smith was out of the way...' (f 44). There was a smithy at Speke in 1680 (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/531).

One stable only is mentioned in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 139). In 1700 not only was there a draught horse stable and the 'Best Stable', but also a new 'Coach House' contained a coach and harness for four horses (Saxton 1945, 121-122). Wiswall noted various improvements and repairs: on August 29th 1717 'Pd to Rich. Answorth for 4 days pulling down the old stable...' (f 104); September 26th 1717 'Pd to Joseph Kenyon...dressing stone and setting walls att the Coachhouse...' (f 105); October 21st 1717 'Pd to Richd Barrow & Ralph Plumb for Carpenters work at New Coach House ...' (f 106); April 18th 1718 'Pd to Richd Ballard for paving...att ye Coach House...' (f 113); May 1st 1718 'Pd to Thomas Horrobin for...dawbing Coachhouse...' (f 114); June 20th 1719 'Pd to Richd Ballard for Paving the stable att

ye end of the Carthouse...' (f 127).

Sheep: William 'le schepeherde' referred to in 1334 (Lumby 1939, 5) and, in the same document, a piece of land called 'schepekotefeld' are clear indications of early sheep rearing. There was a flock of 60 sheep and 8 lambs in 1524 (Lumby 1939, 20), one of 34 fat wethers, 3 ewes, 2 tupps and 5 lambs in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 142) but 112 (undifferentiated) in 1690 (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 1/3). The 1700 totals were 51 ewes, 29 wethers and 25 lambs (Saxton 1945, 120). Wiswall, on November 10th 1710 noted the purchase of 40 wethers, ewes and tupps at Haslington fair (near Blackburn) (f 4), and on September 21st 1711, 60 wethers and ewes at the same place (f 15). Tithes were paid on November 10th 1710 for 25 pairs of ewes and lambs (f 4) and on September 26th 1713 tithes on 27 wethers and 18 pairs of ewes and lambs (f 46). The position of the 'fould', mentioned in 1700, was not stated (Saxton 1945, 132).

Pigs are noted indirectly in the pannage (pig foraging) rights mentioned in various medieval documents (Lumby 1939, 21, 23, 28). Once again the inventories are a prime source: in 1524 the swine were 14 hogs, 2 boars and 12 pigs (Lumby 1939, 20); in 1624 there were 4 boars, 5 sows, 11 hogs 8 hogs 'of a second sort' and 12 pigs 'of a third sort' (Saxton 1946, 140); by 1700 the list comprised 'One white hogg...The black brawn (boar)...The best shote (young weaned pig)...The sowe and piggs...The white brawn...Two lesser shotes...' Wiswall has no list, but his notes include, on November 1st 1718 'Pd...for nine measures of Pease for feeding the Virginia swine and great sow...' (f 120). The 'swine houses' mentioned in 1700 had stone troughs (Saxton 1945, 133). A field close to the outbuildings was known as Swine Pasture Meadow, from at least 1700 (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/180).

Poultry in the care of Elizabeth Huchmough in 1624 included 28 capons, 56 hens, a cock, 3 turkeys, 18 ducks and mallards and 12 geese (Saxton 1946, 140). The 'cock house' was used for storage (Saxton 1946, 142). No detailed list was given in 1700, the entry reads 'Turkeys, geese and other poultry' (Saxton 1945, 133). Poultry feed was purchased on occasion in Wiswall's time: September 12th 1711 'Paid for a measure of oats for geese...' (f 15) and September 12th 1712 'Pd for 16 measures of barley for poultry...' (f 30). The poultry yard was paved in spring 1713 (f 40).

The first reference to pigeons at Speke occurs in the note of the 'Dove Howse Chamber' in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 129-130). The next references are from Wiswall: July 15th 1713 'Pd to Richd Answorth for...mending one of the Pidgeon houses ...' (f 44); June 22nd 1716 'Pd for a 1000 of Latt nails for Pigeon house and Gardiner...' (f 88); June 23rd 1716 'Pd to Richard Answorth..makeing dawb Dawbing & Plaistering at Pigeon house...' (f 88). The references to pigeon dung (see p 9) indicate large numbers of birds. The

remains of a dovecot are to be seen today in the Kitchen Court at the Hall.

Fish: the term 'fisheries' occurs frequently in the medieval deeds, but it may indicate merely fishing rights, if referred to in the plural. Evidence for fishing at Speke in 1624 is provided by the cork net and 'weels' (fish traps or baskets); perhaps other shore line activity is denoted by the 3 cockle pans listed (Saxton 1946, 126, 140, 136). A most detailed list of 1696 recorded the stocking of various pits, ponds, a stream and the moat with carp, tench and perch from 1685 (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/537): there was a concentration of sources of fish in the area around the Hall, and other sources included pits and ponds in 13 named fields scattered throughout the demesne, for example, 'Put into ye two marlepits (evidently abandoned and flooded) in ye lower suite (shoot-section) of ye further milfield 120 couple of carpe 1695'. A letter of April 16th 1695 mentioned 100 carp fry which Mr Holland of Sutton Hall had promised (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 1/21). The river Mersey was a good source of salmon trout which were caught frequently at Speke in the late 17th century (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 1/1/37, pub Heywood ed. 1846, 37-38). The room over the Dairy contained various fishing nets and a carp pan and a fish pan were kept in the store room in 1700 (Saxton 1945, 125, 128). Wiswall noted on July 2nd 1712 'Pd...for laving (cleaning) the Fish-pond in ye Gardens...' (f 28).

Other livestock: 'deryortcloughs' or deer yards, were referred to in 1336 as being near the Hall (Lumby 1939, 26) and in 1700 a hind was listed (Saxton 1945, 133). Venison was taken to Chester in 1710 (Wiswall f 94) and 9 wood-cock taken there in 1710 (f 4). Rabbits and hares seem to have been used as a food supply; the 'Conyngry fylde' referred to in 1468 (Lumby 1939, 14) indicating perhaps a coney (rabbit) warren. The only surviving Court Roll for Speke, in 1699, included fines of 3/4 each on four people for coursing (hare hunting) within Speke Manor (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/173). A dog kennel was included in the 1624 and 1700 inventories and in the latter year it had a room over it (Saxton 1946, 132; 1945, 133). No list of dogs survives. A hive was bought for a stray swarm of bees in 1711 (Wiswall f 11).

WOODLAND MANAGEMENT

It is clear that in 1066 some land was already being cultivated (p 4). Wooded areas are mentioned in the medieval period, but the references do not indicate if the woodland was of ancient origin, or had been deliberately planted. A document of c 1275 names '...the wood of Ogelot...' and in c 1285 'Hocwode' and 'the wood of Spek' are referred to and later, in 1314, 'le Clough...' is mentioned (Lumby 1939, 24, 28, 20, 22). Both Oglet Woods and the Clough can be identified on Addison's map of 1781 as being in the

demesne although the wooded areas of each may originally have been more extensive. An interesting note in 1334 reads '...(a) wood called Spekgreves (groves) enclosed by ditches ...' (Lumby 1939, 33) (see p 22). There are many other references to woodland, often unnamed, and to general woodland rights which might include the right to collect dead wood for household and for farm use, and the right to graze a number of pigs in autumn (Lumby 1939, 1-45).

The rebuilding necessary in Liverpool after the Civil War disturbances there meant that in 1649 a total of 500 'tuns' of timber was requisitioned by Liverpool Corporation from a number of local landowners, including Sir William Norris (Chandler and Wilson 1965, 363). A lease of 1647 included a 'Portion of land where timber trees have been felled, at the east end of Oglett Wood in Speke, containing two acres or thereabouts' (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 17/195). It would certainly seem that woodland management was being practised since, in c 1695, Sir Thomas Norris referred to '...my Timber woods' (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/634a). One presentment at the Manorial Court in 1699 was for the offence of '...getting Fyshyord wood within the demesne of the Lord of this said Manor...' (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/173). A fishyard was a net-and-stake method of coastal fish-trapping. Further references to timber may be gleaned from the 1700 inventory 'More timber and other wood in grounds ...', also one oak, two windfallen ashes and some bark had been sold and the debts were outstanding (Saxton, 1945, 133, 134).

Details of woodland management are abundant in Wiswall: the Clough and Oglet Wood are mentioned frequently with notes also about Barn Field, Coneytree Wood, Hall Field, the Heath (now Stockton's Wood), Hopyard, Lower Orchard, Molyneux Meadow and New Park.

The Clough: the modern woodland in the Clough is the result of natural regeneration after the clearance by the Air Ministry in 1942 (Tibbles 1980). The area has, however, been wooded to some extent from its earliest mention in c 1314 (Lumby 1939, 24). In 1700 'Coard wood (small upper branches of trees cut into lengths and stacked) and wind falls (of wood) in the Clough' were valued at 10s. Wiswall records the sale of crop wood from it in 1711 (f 6), and in 1714 young ashes were cleared from the Hopyard and Barn Field and were set in the Clough (f 51). December 1716 saw an inspection of the ash and oaks in the Clough and hedges, and they were sold shortly afterwards (f 95). A sale of oak bark was held later (f 97) and an ash, 'no. 921', was bought for £1 (f 22a). There are later references to clearing and to hedging (ff 98, 102, 111) and to the settlement of the sale bills (ff 23a, 28a). In 1781 the Clough was shown as a wooded area of just over 14 acres. (For the watercourse in the Clough, see 'Speke Hall Moat', p 33).

Oglet Wood had already been partly cleared by 1647, and again by 1712 (p 9). The numerous references to it between

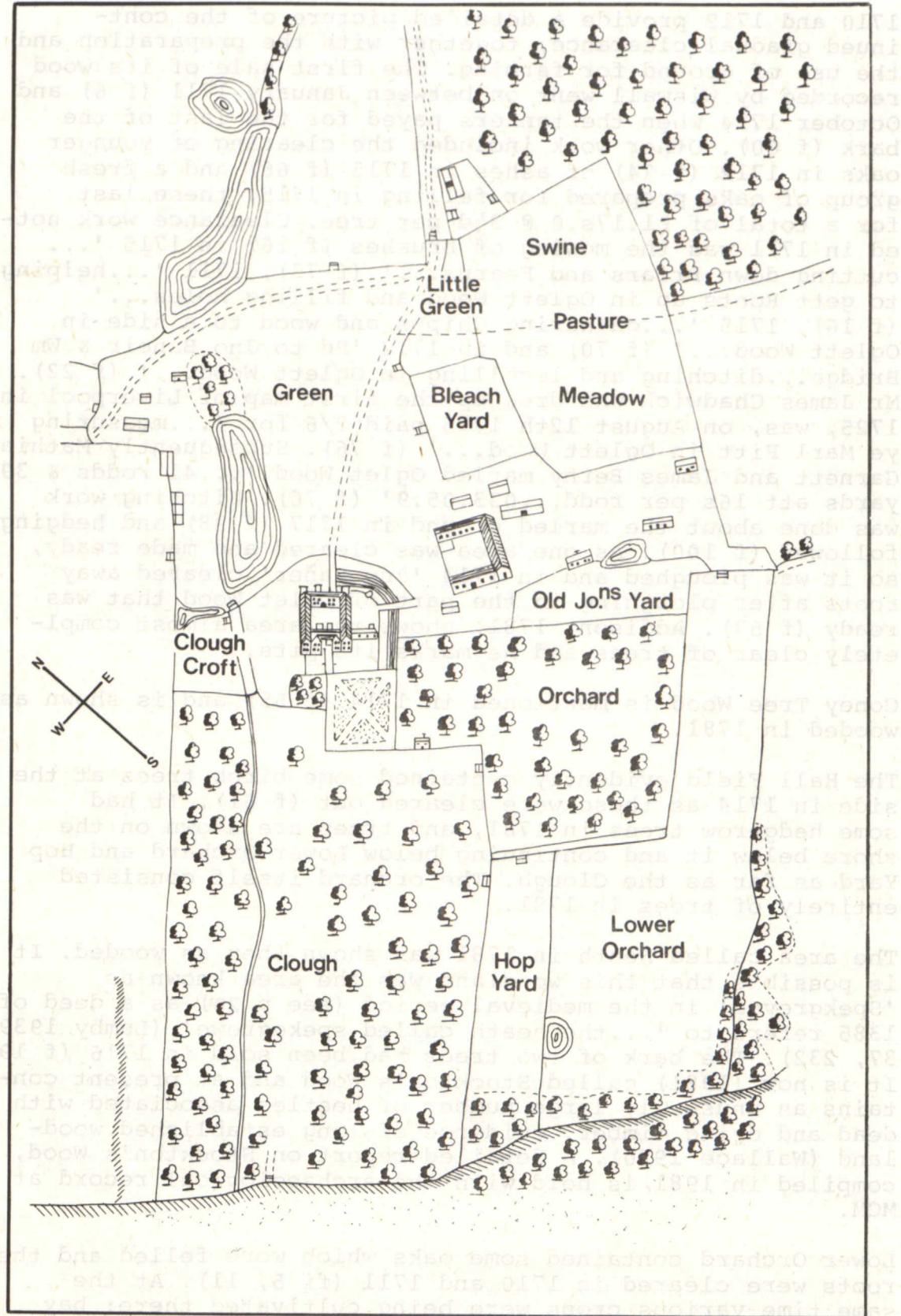


Figure 3 Speke Hall and associated buildings from Addison's map 1781

1710 and 1719 provide a detailed picture of the continued gradual clearance, together with the preparation and the use of ground for farming. The first sale of its wood recorded by Wiswall went on between January 1711 (f 6) and October 1714 when the tanners payed for the last of the bark (f 60). Other work included the clearing of younger oaks in 1712 (f 24) of ashes in 1715 (f 66) and a fresh group of oaks prepared for felling in 1715, these last for a total of £1.17s.0 @ 3½d per tree. Clearance work noted in 1711 was the mowing of brushes (f 16) in 1715 '... cutting down Briars and Fearns...' (f 73), 1711 '...helping to gett Roots up in Oglett Wood and filling holes...' (f 16), 1715 '...gathering Chipps and wood to a side in Oglett Wood...' (f 70) and in 1712 'Pd to Jno Baneir & Wm Bridge...ditching and levelling in Oglett Wood...' (f 22). Mr James Chadwick who drew up the first map of Liverpool in 1725, was, on August 12th 1715 paid 2/6 for '...measuring ye Marl Pitt in Oglett Wood...' (f 76). Subsequently Mathias Garnett and James Berny marled Oglet Wood '...41 rodds & 39 yards att 16s per rodd...033.05.9' (f 76). Ditching work was done about the marled ground in 1717 (f 98) and hedging followed (f 100). As one area was cleared and made ready, so it was ploughed and in 1714 'Jno Bañer' cleared away roots after ploughing in the part of Oglet Wood that was ready (f 53). Addison, 1781, shows the area almost completely clear of trees and he marks its pits.

Coney Tree Wood is mentioned in 1714 (f 55) and is shown as wooded in 1781.

The Hall Field evidently contained some birch trees at the side in 1714 as these were cleared out (f 51). It had some hedgerow trees in 1781, and trees are shown on the shore below it and continuing below Lower Orchard and Hop Yard as far as the Clough. The orchard itself consisted entirely of trees in 1781.

The area called Heath in 1781 was shown then as wooded. It is possible that this woodland was the area known as 'Spekgreves' in the medieval period (see p 20) as a deed of 1385 refers to '...the heath called spekegrewe' (Lumby 1939, 37, 232). The bark of two trees had been sold in 1716 (f 19a). It is now (1981) called Stockton's Wood and at present contains an unusually large number of beetles associated with dead and dying timber, evidence of long established woodland (Wallace 1980). A detailed report on Stockton's Wood, compiled in 1981, is held with the archaeological record at MCM.

Lower Orchard contained some oaks which were felled and the roots were cleared in 1710 and 1711 (ff 5, 11). At the same time various crops were being cultivated there: hay was cut in 1711 (f 12) and in later years, while in other years barley, oats and potatoes were grown, often in two separate parts (f 45). The area had some trees in 1781.

Bark and timber from 87 trees in Molyneux Meadow were sold in 1716 (f 85) and it would seem to have been clear in 1781 except for hedgerow trees. New Park was cleared of some trees, especially hollies, in 1715 (ff 67, 68, 70), and it seems to have had no trees in 1781.

Some tree planting noted by Wiswall may have been of fruit trees and just possibly may have included the yew trees (see below), as on March 29th 1712 he recorded 'Pd for Carriage of 14lb of seeds and little trees from London...' (f 23).

The yew trees, still to be seen in the courtyard at Speke Hall, are mentioned on June 6th 1712 'Pd to Ezekiel Mason for...making Frames to sett about ye yew trees in the Court ...' (f 27).

The 1795 sale particulars mention that 'the Timber, Tellers, and Saplings are to be taken at a fair valuation'; 'Plantations' are referred to in the general description (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/655).

SOME DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES AND ACTIVITIES

The buildings situated near the Hall and illustrated in 1781 (fig 3) were located to the east (leeward) side of the Hall. They have not survived so it is not possible to date them or to identify precisely the use to which each building was put; also they may have replaced, or have been additions to earlier structures whose exact position is not known. All the industries and activities noted below took place in the ancillary buildings on the estate although the details revealed by inventories indicate that the use of the building might not always have been exclusively for one activity.

Milling: a windmill at Speke is mentioned in 1282 (Lumby 1939, 1) and 14th century references locate it in the moss field (Lumby 1939, 24, 30, 35). The moss fields were clustered to the north of the demesne, beyond the 1781 (Banks Lane) boundary (see p 3). The windmill was perhaps rented out in 1468, and in 1500 a grant from Sir William Norris included his mill of Speke, then in the holding of James Robinson (Lumby 1939, 14, 19). By 1566 there was a windmill and a watermill (BM Add Ch 52528). A valuation of the Norris property in 1620 referred to the mills of Speke and Garston (University of Liverpool: no 263) and the Commonwealth sequestration of 1650 noted 2 watermills and 2 windmills in Speke and Garston (Stanning ed 1898, 227). The only references to mills in the 1700 inventory and in Wiswall are all to those at Garston and the latter source includes a wealth of detailed information.

Boultting: once the flour was milled it was sifted in the boultting house. In 1624 and 1700 sacks, sieves, barrels, measures, a balance and weights were kept there (Saxton

1946, 134; 1945, 125).

Baking: the 'oven house' at 'Proffitts Howse' noted in 1624 contained 8 kneading troughs for bread making and there were 3 peels in the Dry Larder (Saxton 1946, 142, 136). The 'old Bakehouse' of 1700 had merely 3 spinning wheels; 5 old kneading troughs were in the 'further Kiln' (Saxton 1945, 125, 121). Wiswall notes the demolition of one oven in August 1713 and the building of ovens and a chimney, and roof repair over the ovens in September that year (ff 45, 46). The bread loft in 1624 contained a large number of miscellaneous vessels for storage, cookery, dairy and table use; also kept there was equipment for candle making (Saxton 1946, 134-135).

Brewing and cider making: the evidence for brewing in 1524 is from the note of 3 brewing vats listed (Lumby 1939, 20). A brewhouse, complete with equipment, existed in 1624 together with accommodation for a brewer, and hops were cultivated (Saxton 1946, 133-134, 142, 128-129). (Also see above p 14). The 1700 brewhouse again contained the necessary items (Saxton 1945, 125), but there is no note of special accommodation for a brewer. In 1713 Wiswall recorded demolition and rebuilding of a wall and chimney at the old brewhouse with the addition of slating and pointing (ff 45, 46). In 1711 Wiswall had obtained slate from Mossbank, (possibly near Windle) and two loads had been led from there to Speke (ff 13, 18). Kilns at Garston and Hale were used for malting the Speke demesne barley in 1713 and 1714 (ff 36, 50). Cider apples were grown in 1694 and 1695 (see above p 14). An apple press was brought in 1714 and cider calk bought in Liverpool in that year (ff 61, 62). Payment was made in 1717 '...for helping to knock and Press Apples...' (f 107). The Great Cellar in 1700 contained 4 casks and 3 stillages and £6 worth of malt lay in the 'Mault Garner' (Saxton 1945, 123, 122).

Dairy work: the 1524 list includes no dairy equipment, but in 1624 some cheese boards were in the kitchen chamber, the work house and the cheese chamber, while the 'Dey House' (dairy) contained a wide range of the items necessary for butter and cheese making (Saxton 1946, 133). The 1700 'Dary' had less equipment, and the cheese chamber contained only miscellaneous goods related largely to spinning. Wiswall noted the mending of a lock and provision of 2 keys for the dairy door in 1716 (f 86). Some butter was bought in Liverpool in April 1712 (f 23) and in October 1718 the dairymaid took some cheese to sell (f 119).

Slaughtering and meat preparation: the first reference to a slaughter house is in 1700 (Saxton 1945, 121). Several slaughterings are noted by Wiswall: August 31st 1710 'Pd to Wm Mollyneux for killing a cow against finishing the marl-ing 00.01.0' (f 1); swine were killed in January 1711 (f 6) and on October 26th 1717, 24 sheep were slaughtered for

house use (f 107). Evidently, at times, the beef was insufficient, as in November and December 1710 45lbs and 53lbs of beef were bought (f 4). 86lbs of beef were bought in Warrington in December 1717, not long after 98lbs had been bought, mostly in Liverpool (ff 109, 108). This meat may well have been largely for salting down for use throughout the winter. Salt was sometimes obtained from the Dungeon saltworks, at Hale, which commenced work in the late 17th century (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/134). There, Cheshire rock salt was refined. In 1711 salt was bought at Dungeon (f 13), in 1715 a bushel was bought at Northwich (f 80) and in 1718 some was purchased at Warrington (f 81). The 'Wet Larder' in 1624 had facilities for preparing beef, bacon and brawn (Saxton 1946, 137) and in 1700 it contained 6 old beef tubs, a wooden trough, 3 trestles and shelves (Saxton 1945, 126). Wiswall mentions, in 1712, new hinges and cover for a salting tub (f 29).

Candle making was done in 1624 as the inventory list included a trough to chop tallow in, a candle pan and various candle moulds, although the 'Candle Howse' also contained gardeners' tools and other equipment (Saxton 1946, 127, 135, 142). It does not seem that candles were made in 1700, and Wiswall in 1716 recorded a payment for the balance between tallow and candles (f 83).

The 'Fether Howse' of 1624 (Saxton 1946, 137), may have been used for poultry plucking and/or the stuffing of the many cushions, bolsters, feather beds, pillows and quilts listed then. 7 feather beds and 8 cushions were included in 1524 (Lumby 1939, 20) and down beds were used in various rooms in 1624. The room over the dairy had, in 1700, 2 old chests with some feathers in 2 bags (Saxton 1945, 125); once more, as in 1624, many household items were stuffed with feathers.

Spinning, weaving, needlework: the three inventories list large quantities of sheets, blankets, coverlets, counterpanes, hangings, tablecloths, towels, napkins, tapestry work and some sacks. Clearly the silken material, calico, Bruges satin and Spanish blankets had been obtained elsewhere, but a number of the other items of wool, linen and hemp could have been home made. 3½ stone of wool were recorded in 1524 (Lumby 1939, 20), and in 1624 10 tow hampers (tow is hemp or flax ready for spinning) (Saxton 1946, 130). In 1700 150lbs of fleece wool @ 7d per pound were listed, as well as 'flocks' (used for some mattresses), at a time when Speke had 105 sheep; also in that inventory were unspecified amounts of hemp, flax and tow, together with hemp in the Bleaching Yard (Saxton 1945, 124, 127). Retting equipment is possibly included in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 139), and 2 hatchells for combing flax or hemp, 2 pairs of tow cards and 2 pairs of wool cards were noted; there were also 8 spinning wheels, 2 winding wheels and 10 pairs of skein winders with 'reedes and lathes for a webster', 4 bobbins

of wood and a warp stock and posts, (a weaver's reed being an arrangement of this strips of reed between 2 parallel bars of wood used for separating the threads of the warp and beating up the weft) (Saxton 1946, 126, 127, 130). The equipment in 1700 included 3 old spinning wheels, yarn and 2 yarn winders 'Reeds and furniture for a weavers use...' (Saxton 1945, 133). The indications are that some material, at least, was made at the Hall. Wiswall notes in 1717 that twill was bought for a winnowing sheet (f 106).

Woodworking: a great deal of wood must have been used for heating, cooking and drying purposes at the Hall, although coal was being used by 1693 when 120 baskets of coal were carried as boon work for Sir Thomas Norris (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 2/561). Carts and coal feature in the 1700 inventory (Saxton 1945, 121, 132) and in 1711 coal was taken to Speke from Tarbock (f 16).

Very many of the items inventoried were made wholly or partly of wood: furniture, utensils, tools, carts. Much of the construction and many of the fittings of the Hall and outbuildings were wooded, as were the gates, fences and hurdles used in farming. A John Fennall, carpenter to Edward Norris, is mentioned in a document of 1605 (Liverpool RO: 920 NOR 17/21).

In 1624 the timber was brought from felling and trimming on 2 'drugg' carts (Saxton 1946, 140), and was stored in various locations. The 'Chip Hillock' included 'One peece of parke tymber...Divers other seuerall peeces for seuerall uses and some bases...Two trees newe fallen for boordes... Some ould dores & other odd peeces of ould broken tymber...' 'Cowperie ware' included some barrels, wooden hoops for barrels, and a bathing tub; equipment noted was '2 whipp sawes & 2 framing sawes...3 iron wedges...one cutting axe...' (Saxton 1946, 139, 141).

The 1700 stocks of wood were kept in the work house yard, the garden, the 'Clay Chamber', the cart house, 'Wheele timber, plow timber and axel trees' in the 'Wood House', and in the Clough (see p 20), together with 'More timber and other wood in the grounds...' Equipment included 'Chains with other lomber (lumber) goods' one axe, a crow (bar) and a hatchet (Saxton 1946, 121, 122, 133).

Amongst the furniture a twig chair is noted (Saxton 1946, 124; 1945, 130), hampers in 1624 (Saxton 1946, 130) and numerous baskets, 2 specifically of twigs in 1700. (Saxton 1945, 128).

Wiswall refers frequently to woodworking: in 1713 'Pd to Richd Barrow for Loading and Croscutting Timber Sawing Sparrs...' (f 46); in 1711 'Pd to Tho & Richd Tatlock for breaking wood into Coopery ware', 'Pd to Jno Ireland for making a new Setting (winding) wheel & mending the old one'

(ff 18, 19); 'Pd to Jnr Leney for makeing a little Bed sted for Ms Kitty...' (f 11); in 1714 'Pd to Richd Barrow for...makeing a cart...' (f 61). Spade handles were made in 1712 'Pd to Ralph Plumb for...Croscutting & dressing Two dozen and a half of Spade trees...' (f 34). Another use for wood may have been prepared on the estate: in 1712 'Pd to Jno Banner for helping to remove Charcoal into ye house in Lower Orchard...' (f 31).

Brick and lime-burning: a brick kiln is mentioned in the 1700 inventory (Saxton 1945, 133), but the notes by Wiswall on September 2nd 1713 and on September 29th 1716, to the purchase of bricks (ff 46, 91), may indicate that this practice had been discontinued. Other notes in the inventories and Wiswall (ff 28, 35) referring to 'kilns' do not specify for what purpose they were used.

In 1700 'Lime in the Limehouse with limestone thereby...' (Saxton 1945, 132) indicates another industry on the estate. The limekiln was mended in 1712 (f 30) and one 'laid' in 1713 (f 45); on May 8th 1712 Wiswall recorded 'Pd for 12 measures of Limestone att Liverpool for white-washing and Plastering in the Galleries and other places ...' (f 25). In 1712 the limehouse was thatched (f 20).

SUMMARY

This study of Speke Hall demesne has demonstrated that it is possible to reconstruct, to a limited extent, the land management and agricultural history of an estate from the incomplete series of documents which survive. At present, while this study is the only one of its kind for this area, it is difficult to make useful comparisons with other manorial estates. It is clear, however, that the mixed farming economy of the Speke demesne aimed at self-sufficiency rather than specialisation. The constant references to both stock rearing and to arable farming, together with the later references to horticulture indicate that most of the meat, dairy products, grain, fruit and vegetables required by the Hall were supplied by the demesne farm. Sale of surplus products, in season, together with rents received, helped to provide the ready money to buy in salt, slate, limestone and coal, for example, as well as to pay wages for estate workers.

It is hoped to follow this with similar studies of estates in the south Lancashire area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The initial research was undertaken in 1979-80 as part of the Archaeological Survey of Merseyside, using personnel employed by the University of Liverpool on a Manpower Services Commission Special Temporary Employment (STEP) Scheme. The editing and presentation of a Report on the work were subsequently commissioned by the Merseyside

County Council Planning Department. A selection of the material has been used in this article.

The Survey team members contributing to the original research were Penny Jones, Dave McLoughlin, Susan Nicholson and Brian Sheppard; subsequent help has been given by Gill Chitty. Art work by members of the MSC team Archaeological Survey of Merseyside, MCM, and by the Graphics Department, Merseyside County Council.

Special thanks are also due to the following: Mr A. Allen, Assistant Archivist, University of Liverpool; Mr L.A. Burman, Keeper of Decorative Arts, MCM; Mr M.G. Cook, Archivist, University of Liverpool; Mr P.W.G. Lawson, former Curator of Speke Hall, now Principal Keeper of Arts, Cartwright Hall, Bradford; Mr A. Tibbles, Curator of Speke Hall.

Messrs Sykes, Waterhouse and Co kindly gave permission to study the Addison Survey of 1781, a copy of which is now held with the archaeological record in MCM.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

c	circa
<u>Chet Soc</u>	<u>The Chetham Society</u>
ed(s)	editor(s)
f, ff	folio number(s)
Lancashire RO	Lancashire Record Office, Bow Lane, Preston
Liverpool RO	Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Central Libraries, William Brown Street, Liverpool
MCM	Merseyside County Museums, William Brown Street, Liverpool
OS	Ordnance Survey
<u>Rec Soc</u>	<u>The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire</u>
<u>THSLC</u>	<u>Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire</u>
VCH 1, 3	see Farrer and Brownbill (eds)

Unpublished sources

- Addison, T 1781 'A Survey with maps of the Lordship of Speke in the County of Lancaster late the estate of the Honourable Topham Beauclerk, deceased.' Manuscript volume, property of Sykes Waterhouse & Co, Liverpool. Copy in Archaeological Survey of Merseyside, MCM.
- BM Add Ch 12 1780 British Museum Additional Charters. Now housed in the British Library.
- Freke, D 1980 Unpublished notes recording the external features found during contractors' work at Speke Hall, December 1979. Notes at Archaeological Survey of Merseyside, MCM.
- Higgins, D 1982 Unpublished notes on excavations at Speke Hall in 1981. Rescue Archaeology Unit, 126, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, L3 5SU.
- Leggett, P 1981 Report on a landscape history of Little Crosby. Archaeological Survey of Merseyside, MCM.
- Roberts, D 1982 Information provided by The Welsh Slate Museum, Gilfach Ddu, Llanberis, Gwynedd, LL55 4TY.
- Speke Hall: Plans 1881-1900 Speke Hall: plans and illustrations; with manuscript and printed descriptions and historical accounts, 4 volumes. Liverpool RO: Hf 942.7213 SPE.
- Tibbles, A 1980 Unpublished notes on Speke Hall. Notes at Archaeological Survey of Merseyside. MCM.

- University of Liverpool Norris family deeds in Special Collections, Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool.
- Wallace, I 1980 Unpublished notes on species in Stockton's Wood, Speke. Notes in Department of Invertebrate Zoology, MCM.
- Wiswall, J 1710-
1719 'The disbursements of John Wiswall, laid out and paid upon the acc^t & for the use of Edw Norris of Speke Esq^{re} from the 28th day of August Ano domi 1710 as follow' Manuscript volume at Speke Hall. Photostat copy in Liverpool RO: Hq 942. 721.3 SPE.
- Published works**
- Ashmore, O 1959 "Household Inventories of the Lancashire Gentry 1550-1700" THSLC 110 (for 1958), 59-106
- Bennett, H S 1939 Life on the English Manor
- Brownbill, J & Walker, K 1913 "Calendar of Deeds and Papers of the Moore Family of Bankhall..." Rec Soc 67
- Chandler, G & Wilson, E K 1965 Liverpool under Charles I
- Chitty, G 1977 'Excavations at Wavertree, March 1976'
Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society 1, 11-12
- Cox, E W 1896 'Leaves from an Antiquary's Note-Book'
THSLC 47 (NS 11, for 1895), 234-252
- Ekwall, E 1922 'The Place-Names of Lancashire' Chet Soc NS 81
- Farrer, W (ed) 1903 'Lancashire Inquests, Extents and Feudal Aids 1207-1307' Rec Soc 48
- Farrer, W & Brownbill, J (eds) 1906 'A History of Lancashire' 1 The Victoria History of the Counties of England
- 1907 'A History of Lancashire' 3 The Victoria History of the Counties of England
- Heywood, T (ed) 1846 'The Norris Papers' Chet Soc 9
- Hodgetts, M 1976 'Elizabethan Priest-Holes: v-The North'
Recusant History 13 no 4 Oct 1976, 254-279
- Hone, W J 1906 The Manor and Manorial Records
- Keynes, G (ed) 1952 Directions for the gardiner by John Evelyn (written about 1687)
- Leggett, P 1981 Forthcoming study of Little Crosby.

- Lumby, J H 1939 'A Calendar of the Norris Deeds
(Lancashire) 12th to 15th century' Rec
Soc 93
- Saxton, E B 1945 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories,
1624 and 1700' THSLC 96 (for 1944)
108-135
- 1946 'A Speke Inventory of 1624' THSLC 97
(for 1945) 107-143
- Shaw, R C 1935 The Clifton Papers
- Stanning, J H 1898 'The Royalist Composition Papers...
(ed) 1643-1660' Rec Soc 36
- Tyrer, F (ed) 1968 'The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell'
1, 1702-1711. Rec Soc 110
- 1970 'The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell'
2, 1712-1719. Rec Soc 112
- 1972 'The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell'
3, 1720-1728. Rec Soc 114
- Whitelock, R 1965 A Short History of Farming in Britain
- Winstanley, H 1920 'Speke Hall' THSLC 71 (for 1919) 1-20