

MAKING TIME MATERIAL: DOMESTIC DATED OBJECTS IN SEVENTEENTH-  
CENTURY ENGLAND

by

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VOLUME I

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines ideas of time and temporality in seventeenth-century England and their expression in the material culture of the home. It identifies and analyses a body of domestic objects inscribed with dates and establishes how they were used to record and reflect upon the passage of time. These objects survive in large numbers from the latter part of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century but have thus far received insufficient attention in humanities scholarship. This thesis therefore provides the first sustained analysis of material dating practices and establishes a critical framework for interpreting these objects. It identifies and considers three categories of dated object in particular, which were highly symbolic of the very notion of 'household': wooden furniture, hearth equipment and decoration, and tablewares. It contextualises these objects within an understanding of the multitemporality of the domestic sphere, arguing for the need to move past seeing dated objects as merely commemorative of a single, specific event. Their dates might attest to a single moment in time, but through their use and subsequent circulation these objects reflect multiple temporalities at once; with everyday cycles of time sitting within broader ideas of posterity and the eternal. The interdisciplinary nature of this thesis provides a vital contribution to the field of material culture studies, and a timely intervention in the historiography on early modern English material culture. Recent research has been fragmented by focusing either on Tudor and Jacobean England or the eighteenth century, with the notable exception of work on kitchens by Sara Pennell. In contrast this thesis identifies the long seventeenth century as a key transformative period for both the material life of the household and the understanding of time and establishes how dated objects gave expression to these material and conceptual changes.

## **DEDICATION**

*For Will*

*For always believing I could do it*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express sincere and heartfelt gratitude to my wonderful supervisory team at the University of Birmingham, Dr Tara Hamling and Dr Erin Sullivan. From our initial meeting over four years ago, their enthusiasm and dedication has never waned. Their insightful and thought-provoking responses to the research and drafts of this thesis have made it what it is, and the passion they show for their own work has been the source of great inspiration to me. This project first began life as an MA thesis at the Victoria and Albert Museum/Royal College of Art, and so I want to thank Dr Angela McShane for both her guidance at that time but also her continuing support ever since. Additionally, I want to thank Mr John Bryan for the initial inspiration for this project, and for opening up his fascinating collection at Crab Tree Farm to me. I am also greatly indebted to the staff at CTF for providing generous assistance and support for my research. Thanks also to all my colleagues at the Centre for Reformation and Early Modern Studies at Birmingham; the interdisciplinary research undertaken there has greatly influenced my own ways of thinking and it has been a joy to discover the exciting new directions being pursued in early modern studies through CREMS. I am also hugely grateful to Midlands3Cities and the AHRC for providing the essential funding for this project, as well as Universitas 21 for awarding me a fellowship to take this research to the other side of the world and spend a fascinating month at the University of Melbourne.

As will be a surprise to no one, doing a PhD is both a pleasure and a pain, and so I must thank my fellow PhD students for their never-ending ability to lift my spirits and provide a much-welcome source of laughter and emotional support. In particular I want to thank my fellow 'Renaissance ladies', Luisa Coscarelli-Larkin, Annie Thwaite, and Hannah Lee who have been the most amazing friends since we began our MAs together at the V&A, as well as Hollie Chung who, although she made the wiser decision to not pursue a PhD, still deserves a mention here. At Birmingham, I want to thank Alex Hewitt and Tom Rusbridge for their friendship, support, and endless cups of coffee. I also want to express my heartfelt thanks to Dr Susan Orlik who has been the most wonderfully kind presence throughout my studies and a continuing source of inspiration.

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## **Note to the Reader**

Original spelling and punctuation for early modern sources has been retained except for u/v and i/j, which have been modernised throughout. Quotations from the Bible are taken from the King James Version (1611). Dates are given in Old Style as they appear in the sources.

The bulk of images referred to in this thesis can be found in Volume II. These images are referred to throughout as 'Plates'. However, where close analysis of a particular object or image takes place in the text, for the reader's ease some images have been included alongside the text in Volume I. These images are referred to as 'Figures' throughout.

## **Abbreviations in the text and notes**

**BM** British Museum  
**CTF** Crab Tree Farm  
**NT** National Trust  
**V&A** Victoria and Albert Museum



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## INTRODUCTION



*Figure 1 - Woodcut image of Time from the ballad 'Take Time, while Time is', London, early seventeenth century.*

In the seventeenth-century broadside ballad, 'Take Time, while Time is', the narrator, an 'aged Patron', impresses upon the youth that 'Time' waits for no man.<sup>1</sup> Personified in the ballad as an old, bearded man, Time is also depicted in an accompanying woodcut, recognisable by his commonly associated attributes – wings, a scythe, an hourglass, and a dial (see Figure 1). As well as identifying the figure as Time to an audience familiar with his depiction, these features also serve to emphasise time's swift passage, particularly when taken alongside the text of the ballad: 'His Glass that in his hand he holds/doth cut

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<sup>1</sup> 'Take Time, while Time is' (London: Printed by Martin Parker, c.1601-1640).

off all delay,/ His Wings that on his backe do sticke,/ do shew he cannot stay'. Similarly, 'The Dyall fixt upon his Head,/ most evident doth shew,/ How fleeting is this mortall life,/ and Time doth alwayes goe'. Significantly, the narrator stresses that no one could escape the march of time; its progress was felt by all in society, 'all sorts or Sexes, of what Degree soever, from the Highest to the Lowest, Old or Young, Rich or Poore'. On the one hand, the ballad therefore presents time as all-powerful, emphasising that the audience, no matter who they are, is powerless to resist its flight. Yet time is also made identifiable by the objects with which its movement can be measured and even controlled. The hourglass and dial are two manmade objects with which an individual could attempt to pin down time and manage their relationship with it. Alongside these manmade devices, the passage of time is also depicted as part of the natural cycles of the earth within which everything, and everyone, moves. The lifetimes of men are likened to swallows, flowers, and the changing seasons, and some of these motifs also feature in the accompanying woodcut. Whilst time might be powerful then, the ballad does not depict it as an overwhelmingly negative force, but instead acts as a warning, admonishing the audience to respect time and to spend theirs more wisely.

This ballad is just one way in which people encountered ideas of time in seventeenth-century England. Indeed, like the ballad suggests, references to the passage of time could be found everywhere; they abounded in the chiming of public bells, the proliferation of clocks, and the calendars found in one of the period's most popular books, almanacs. Meanwhile, Protestant teaching emphasised an awareness of the fleeting nature of one's own time on Earth and the importance of not wasting it in idleness. This sensitivity to time's flight and one's own mortality was undoubtedly furthered by the temporal references found in the material culture of everyday life. On the one hand time was clearly present in the home in the tools used to measure it, including clocks and sun dials,

discussed in more detail below. Yet it was not just these forms of measurement that reflected the passage of time in the domestic sphere. A wide range of objects were inscribed with dates including large-scale furnishings (chairs, cabinets, and chests), and smaller wares such as cooking implements (skillets and pastry cutters) and tablewares (dishes, cups, knives, and spoons). Dates were painted, carved, moulded, or sewn into an object, and were almost always added at the time of production as a considered element of the decoration, although on rare occasions dates were more crudely scratched into the surface of an object. Whilst much work has been done on time in the public sphere, this thesis focuses in particular on references to time in the domestic sphere, which it argues was the key site of temporal experience in seventeenth-century England, as the lived space in which multiple ideas of time converged.

One example of a dated object that highlights both contemporary interest in marking time as well as the complex relationship between time and materiality is a seventeenth-century tin-glazed earthenware plate in the Museum of London's collection (see Plate 1).<sup>2</sup> At first glance the plate is fairly simply decorated with blue writing over a white background, a design typical of the period. Yet the inscription is more profound, reading 'You & I Are Earth 1661'. On the one hand the date 1661 may record the year the plate was created, and it perhaps also commemorated a specific occasion for which the plate may have been gifted, such as an anniversary. Yet when taken into account with the rest of the inscription, the date takes on deeper meaning about the temporality of the viewer. The phrasing of the inscription explicitly refers to the finite nature of time whilst playing up to the materiality of the object; 'You & I Are Earth' makes use of the trickery around the earthenware used to make the plate and the mortality of the viewer who will themselves

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<sup>2</sup> Museum of London, museum no. A14639.

one day be rendered back into the earth.<sup>3</sup> The date plays an important role in this message, further emphasising the sense of the ephemerality of the object, soon rendering it to the past, and emphasising that, like the viewer, it too was subject to the ravages of time.

It is dated wares such as this plate that provide the focus of this thesis, which explores why so many objects were inscribed with dates in the seventeenth century and what these objects can tell us about changing ideas around, and responses to, time. Indeed, despite surviving in high numbers from the late sixteenth century onwards and being housed in museums and art collections across the globe, dated objects have rarely featured in humanities scholarship. Curators and archaeologists have paid sustained attention to the dates present on objects, but only to facilitate wider discussions of the evolution of style and design of particular objects. Where they are mentioned by scholars of material culture, dates are often seen only as being commemorative of one occasion or another, associated with a specific synchronic moment such as a birth or marriage, and little attention is given to their meaning after the event. For example, the catalogue entry for a mug in the V&A inscribed ‘ANN CHAPMAN ANNO 1642’ concludes that ‘its primary role was probably as a commemorative piece for display’, without probing any deeper into the meaning behind its date.<sup>4</sup> There is significant opportunity, therefore, to use this body of objects to think more analytically about temporalities in this period and especially to consider the longer, diachronic lives of objects. What did it mean to be surrounded by dated objects in the home after the date itself had been rendered into the past?

Whilst a range of objects is explored in this thesis, from everyday items to luxury wares, these were predominantly owned by the lesser gentry and wealthiest middling sorts,

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<sup>3</sup> A similar metropolitan ware chamber pot inscribed ‘EART I AM ET TES MOST TRU DES DANE ME NOT FOR SO EAR YOU 1656’ is held in the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent, museum no. 1938 P5. These objects are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Mug’, V&A, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O20966/mug-montague-close-pottery/> (Accessed: 13 December 2018).

and it is the attitudes and behaviours of these social groups that form the basis of much of the discussion.<sup>5</sup> Alongside these social parameters, there are also some geographical concentrations. Whilst this thesis considers examples of dated objects from the length and breadth of the country, from posset pots made in Devon to oak furniture made in Westmorland, there is a notable concentration of goods in the middle and south eastern areas of the country, as well as London. This reflects the concentration of native industries, for example, the iron industries of the Weald or the potteries along the south bank of the Thames. Moreover, as the empirical study by Overton *et al* of probate inventories in Kent and Cornwall has shown, there was great regional variation in wealth and material culture.<sup>6</sup> What may have been popular and distinctive in one town, city, or region may have been absent elsewhere. While the uneven patterns of production, consumption, and preservation of objects means that a nationwide overview is not possible, the considerable quantity of evidence from the Midlands, southern, and northern counties enables and supports arguments about wider social, cultural, and material trends in England over the ‘long’ seventeenth century.

This timeframe encompasses the last few decades of the sixteenth century but focuses predominantly on the period 1600-1700. The reasons for this are threefold. First, this is the period in which domestic dated objects first begin to survive in significant numbers. Whilst the first dated household object recorded in the collections surveyed for this thesis is dated 1565, only a small number of wares are dated prior to 1599, with a marked increase in the number of extant objects in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> In

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<sup>5</sup> The scope of this thesis also includes, at its wealthiest end, noblemen elites, like the Stanley family whose furniture is discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>6</sup> Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> The collections surveyed for this thesis and a breakdown of these findings are outlined in greater detail in the Evidence and Methods section, later in this Introduction.

these collections, I have recorded thirty-seven domestic objects dated between 1565 and 1599, in comparison with 168 for the period 1600-1649, and an additional 313 for the remainder of the century. As such, focusing on this period allows for a consideration of how attitudes towards time changed across the seventeenth century, and why people decided to mark the passage of time with dated objects. Second, the seventeenth century is widely acknowledged as a time of great social and economic change. The growth of the middling sort undoubtedly had a significant impact on the production and acquisition of domestic material culture in this period.<sup>8</sup> Not only did these groups have the disposable income necessary to invest in domestic furnishings, but such objects also became key ways in which members, or aspiring members, of these groups could display their status, knowledge, and/or wealth, what Craig Muldrew and Alexandra Shepard have established contemporaries understood as ‘worth’ - a conflation of economic and social credit.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the seventeenth century also saw the marked growth in domestic industries, notably the ceramics industry, which in turn brought down the cost of goods.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, it is no coincidence that with the growth in the domestic ceramics industry we also see a significant number of dated ceramic wares being produced, as customisation became both cheaper and easier.

Finally, the third reason for focusing analysis on the seventeenth century is its neglect in early modern material culture studies, despite histories of the early modern home and household receiving increasing attention in recent years. In its early stages scholarship on

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<sup>8</sup> Henry French, ‘Social Status, Localism and the ‘Middle Sort of People’ in England 1620-1750’, *Past & Present*, 166 (2000), pp. 66–99; Henry French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998); Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>10</sup> Aileen Dawson, *English & Irish Delftware 1570-1840* (London: British Museum Press, 2010), pp. 9-11, 15-17.

the early modern household was dominated by demographic studies, with a clear focus on social history.<sup>11</sup> Yet more recently, cultural histories of the home have received greater attention, particularly the material life of the domestic sphere. Much of this work has focused on the ‘long eighteenth century’, with notable contributions by Amanda Vickery, whose *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* offered the first sustained analysis of the domestic life of eighteenth-century England across a broad social spectrum.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, Karen Harvey’s important study of male domesticity in this period provided a necessary exploration of the engagement of men with the eighteenth-century domestic environment, so often ignored in favour of narratives of the feminisation of the home.<sup>13</sup> Also significant for this period is the work by Lorna Weatherill on consumer behaviour, material culture, and the household, which, first published in 1988, has become a staple text for any analysis of consumption and the eighteenth-century home.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, work on the earlier period has focused predominantly on the sixteenth century. Here, the most significant scholarship has been undertaken by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, who have published multiple volumes on domestic life and material culture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> Their research has ranged from the spiritually-motivated visual and material culture of godly households, to the

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<sup>11</sup> For example, Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time: Comparative Studies in the Size and Structure of the Domestic Group over the Last Three Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); and Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979).

<sup>12</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988). See also work by Maxine Berg, notably *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010); Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017).



everyday objects used in daily life, most recently in their jointly-authored volume, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England*. This particular study is also significant for moving beyond elite households and country houses, and instead focusing on middling and urban homes. However, whilst their focus does end c.1650, much of their analysis is centred on the Elizabethan and Jacobean home. Also pertinent to this period is the study by Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England*, published in 2015.<sup>16</sup> However, whilst Buxton provides a welcome contribution to histories of the domestic sphere in early modern England before the eighteenth century, unlike Hamling and Richardson, he relies almost exclusively on inventory evidence, alongside other written sources, in order to explore the material life of the home. Indeed, it is notable that whilst there has been a veritable explosion in works on material culture in recent years, very few scholars analyse extant objects themselves, relying instead on documentary evidence. As outlined later in the Evidence and Methods section of this introduction, this thesis argues for the importance of object-based study, which foregrounds material evidence.

For the latter half of the seventeenth century, there has been several key studies published in recent years. Work by Sasha Handley on sleep in early modern England has significantly included analysis of the materiality and spaces for sleep in the domestic environment from c.1660.<sup>17</sup> Handley's work is particularly important for this study in highlighting how objects with personal significance, including those with inscriptions, were used to provide a sense of comfort in the bed chamber and to ease anxieties associated with sleeping. Moreover, both Handley's study and Hamling and Richardson's volume, *A Day At Home*, have also been concerned with the significance of temporalities

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<sup>16</sup> Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015).

<sup>17</sup> Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016). See also Handley's article, 'Objects, Emotions and an Early Modern Bed-sheet', *History Workshop Journal*, 85 (2018), pp. 169-194.

in the home, the cyclical nature of domestic life, and the role of material culture in these daily rhythms, which are core themes of this thesis. Meanwhile Sara Pennell's important work on early modern British kitchens and cooking wares has transformed our understanding of non-elite homes and non-elite material culture for the period 1600-1850, although again her interest lies heavily in the latter part of this period, whilst her focus on kitchens necessarily limits her analysis of the domestic sphere as a whole.<sup>18</sup> Despite the richness of all these studies on early modern domestic life, there remains a marked gap in the literature, as the material life of the seventeenth century home is rarely explored in its own right, being regarded as either the tail-end of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, or a precursor to the long eighteenth-century. Yet as this thesis shows, the seventeenth century was a crucial period for the way in which people were acquiring and using material culture in the home, especially outside London.

Indeed, the seventeenth century has traditionally been viewed in two halves in scholarship, with the Civil War as a dividing point. This thesis, however, seeks to look across this divide and investigate changing ideas of time across the century. The Civil War undoubtedly makes this timeframe particularly complex and was certainly instrumental in informing changing ideas of time, just as it also informed changes to many other aspects of early modern English culture. Most notable for the purpose of this thesis is the desire in the latter half of the seventeenth century to look back at this period and use dated material culture to reflect upon and memorialise these years, but also as this thesis argues, purposefully to rewrite events and recast loyalties through the retrospective dating of objects. These practices are discussed further in an extended case study in Chapter 2 of this thesis, which considers the dated furniture commissioned by the royalist-supporting

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<sup>18</sup> Sara Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History': The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History*, 11 (1998), pp. 201-16; and Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

Stanley family; it is argued that these pieces were acquired after the Commonwealth years but dated retrospectively in order to emphasise the family's loyalty to the crown during those years.

## **D) Histories of Time**

Whilst dated objects themselves have not been the focus of any study, time more broadly has, and there has been no greater influence on this scholarship than the work of E. P. Thompson, whose landmark article, 'Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism' remains a dominant presence in the field.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, despite being written over fifty years ago, it has remained relatively unchallenged and unrevised until recent years. Thompson's central thesis was that clock time had played a significant role in the modernisation of western European society, particularly from the late eighteenth century. His focus was on work, and how industrialisation and the associated change in work habits caused people's awareness and notation of time to change. Fundamental to Thompson's argument was that this period saw a marked shift from 'task orientation', whereby time was organised around the completion of certain tasks, to 'time orientation', whereby work was instead organised around regular, co-ordinated time-disciplines. These time-disciplines were at first imposed by devices such as clocks, which informed the workforce what time it was or how much time had passed, but eventually, Thompson argues, such an awareness of time-discipline became internalised, leading to the modern, western notions and consciousness of time we have today.<sup>20</sup> Despite forming *the* prevailing account of time for decades after its

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<sup>19</sup> E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 38 (1967), pp. 56–97.

<sup>20</sup> For an excellent summary of Thompson's thesis see, Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales, 1300-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 43–4.

publication, Thompson's work has recently been shown to need major revision. Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift's study, *Shaping the Day*, has included important criticism of Thompson's thesis.<sup>21</sup> First is that much recent research on horology and the history of consumption has shown that clocks were far more widespread in a period long before the eighteenth century than Thompson had allowed for. Thus the extent to which the late eighteenth century represented the beginning of 'modern' attitudes towards time is highly contested. Second is that Thompson's definition of clock time itself needs to be reworked. Thompson sees clock time as an abstract object set up in opposition to natural time, yet Glennie and Thrift have shown how clock time is far from a single, fixed attribute; instead it is formed by communities of practice, whose conceptions of clock time is constantly changing and often contested.<sup>22</sup>

Indeed, much work has been undertaken in recent years on clock time and timekeeping devices, which highlights their complexity and development over time. Mechanical clocks first appeared in the first half of the fourteenth century, the earliest reference to which is the tower clock with astronomical dial built for Norwich Cathedral by Roger Stoke between 1321-5.<sup>23</sup> However, these early devices were weight-driven and so could only be constructed on a large scale, namely for public buildings. This changed with the introduction of the spring-driven clock towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, which enabled the production of smaller clocks for those who could afford them, and, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the watch.<sup>24</sup> The next major development came with the invention of the pendulum clock by the Dutch scientist Christiaan Huygens in 1656, the most accurate timepiece yet. Such a clock allowed for the marking of not just

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Glennie and Thrift, *Shaping the Day*, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Davis S. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (London: Viking, 2000), p. 48.

<sup>24</sup> Landes, *Revolution in Time*, pp. 90-1.

hours, but minutes too, and this has been seen to be a truly revolutionary turning point in the history of horology and our relationship with time. As Stuart Sherman argues in his analysis of clock time in Pepys' diary, the ability to measure time with such accuracy created 'a new temporality...a new structure of feeling about time that [would] matter increasingly, and publicly, over the decades to come.'<sup>25</sup>

As Sherman's analysis of Huygen's pendulum clock reflects, much of the literature on clock time has traditionally focused on these key technological developments. This scholarship has limited itself to what it deems as major 'revolutions' that reach a crescendo in the Industrial Revolution.<sup>26</sup> Yet much of this literature downplays the clock-time 'literacy' of people prior to each major innovation. More recently, the work of Glennie and Thrift on clock time in England has challenged the narrative that it was technological advancements which drove change. By moving away from positing major technological turning points, Glennie and Thrift argue for both earlier and more gradual change than the literature around horology suggests. As such, rather than pointing to a few key moments of significant horological change, they instead see a period of gradual change that lasted from around 1300 to 1800. By doing so they argue that technological advancements responded to both needs and perceptions of time that were already in place, rather than driving this change themselves. For example, whilst the literature suggests that the development of a more accurate pendulum clock in turn led to the appearance of the minute hand, and by consequence caused the use of the minute-hand in timekeeping, Glennie and Thrift have shown that there was a much greater use of the minute in timekeeping than such scholarship acknowledges. The minute appeared in almanacs aimed at a wide audience in

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<sup>25</sup> Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 77. See also, Landes, *Revolution in Time*, pp. 128-142.

<sup>26</sup> Alongside Sherman, see also Landes, *Revolution in the Time*; C. John Sommerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture to Religious Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism'.

its recording of lunar and solar movements, whilst written accounts like diaries also show the prevalence of the minute – John Dee, for example, records the precise minutes for the birth of his children.<sup>27</sup>

The recording of exact times of birth is used by Glennie and Thrift as evidence for a much wider awareness of clock time before the end of the seventeenth century than has previously been acknowledged in the literature.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, several studies have used evidence from criminal justice proceedings to show that an awareness of clock time was widespread, with people able to recall the exact hour or even half hour that an event occurred.<sup>29</sup> Whilst ownership of timekeeping devices like clocks and watches was not necessarily widespread within the home until the eighteenth century, a sensitivity to clock time had long since existed.<sup>30</sup> This was in part due to the importance of soundscapes in marking the passage of time, particularly in urban contexts.<sup>31</sup> Mechanical clocks had become widespread in public spaces in Europe from around the fourteenth century, and their audibility, as well as that of church bells, provided a significant means of ascertaining the time of day.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, other instruments like sun dials could also be used to ascertain the time without referring to a clock.<sup>33</sup> As is discussed further in Chapter 1 of this thesis, several

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<sup>27</sup> Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, 'Revolutions in the Times: Clocks and the Temporal Structures of Everyday Life' in David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (eds.), *Geography and Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 160-98, (pp. 177-181).

<sup>28</sup> Glennie and Thrift, *Shaping the Day*, pp. 201-12.

<sup>29</sup> Bruno Blondé and Gerrit Verhoeven, 'Against the Clock: Time Awareness in Early Modern Antwerp, 1585-1789', *Continuity and Change*, 28 (2013), pp. 213-244; Hans-Joachim Voth, 'Time Use in Eighteenth-Century London: Some Evidence from the Old Bailey', *Journal of Economic History*, 57 (1997), pp. 497-499.

<sup>30</sup> For example, see the analysis of inventory evidence by Weatherill in *Consumer Behaviour*. Weatherill notes that in her sample of English inventories, clocks were over three times more frequent by 1715 than they had been in 1685, with only 9% recording possession of a clock in 1675, rising to 34% in 1725.

<sup>31</sup> See also Matthew Champion, *The Fullness of Time: Temporalities of the Fifteenth-Century Low Countries* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2017), chp. 1.

<sup>32</sup> David Garrioch, 'Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns', *Urban History*, 30 (2003), pp. 5-25.

<sup>33</sup> Chris Humphrey, 'Time and Urban Culture in Late Medieval England' in Chris Humphrey and W. M. Ormrod (eds.), *Time in the Medieval World* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 105-18 (p.182).

people recorded that they knew their time of birth through the use of sun dials. Samuel Jeake, for example, writes, 'I was born at Rye in Sussex July 4th 1652 on the Lord's Day, 1/4 of an hour past 6 a Clock in the morning, according to the aestimate time taken by my Father from an Horizontal Dial, the Sun then shining.'<sup>34</sup> Likewise, in his description of life in Elizabethan England, William Harrison comments that time was 'observed continually by clocks, dials, and astronomical instruments of all sorts', its observance being 'so great here in England, as no place else (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this isle.'<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile several 'pocket' sundials survive which provided another way of ascertaining the time. One brass pocket dial in the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust is formed of two rings (see Plate 2). The inside of the ring is engraved with the hours of the day and the outside with the initials of the months. To tell the time, the hole in the inner sliding ring would be lined up with the current month. The dial would then be held up to the light, which would shine through the hole revealing the current hour engraved on the inside.<sup>36</sup> Small dials such as these were highly portable, suggesting either that for some people the need to know the time was so great that it was even necessary to be able to calculate it on the go, or alternatively that such instruments were high status objects that allowed people to display their knowledge and understanding of time.

Glennie and Thrift have discussed this evidence alongside information collected from diaries to investigate how far clock time permeated everyday life. In doing so they have sought to show that whilst the scholarship, notably that by Stuart Sherman, has suggested that prior to the late seventeenth century people only told the time to the nearest hour, in

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<sup>34</sup> Samuel Jeake, *An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth Century*, Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory (eds.) (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 85.

<sup>35</sup> William Harrison, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life [1587]*, Georges Edelen (ed.) (New York: The Folger Shakespeare Library and Dover Publications, 1994), p. 379.

<sup>36</sup> Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-Upon-Avon, museum no. STRST: SBT 1910-14.

reality there was a much more precise awareness and application of clock time.<sup>37</sup> Using a sample of some twenty diaries, alongside other autobiographical documents like memoirs, Glennie and Thrift have charted the ways in which people refer to time and what temporal markers they use. This includes whether time is given to the nearest hour, half hour, or, rarely, the quarter; whether clock time is used for making plans; and whether time is perceived in these diaries as a moral issue. All the authors sampled could give the time to the nearest hour, and over half would at times record it to the nearest half an hour, although references to calendar time occurred much more frequently than clock time.<sup>38</sup> By using this evidence they have shown that clock time practices and awareness were so widespread before the so-called ‘horological revolution’ of the late seventeenth century that when they are mentioned in texts they are taken-for-granted and incidental. Significantly for this thesis, Glennie and Thrift ultimately argue that far from being the preserve of an elite few, the observation of the passage of time was widespread and everyday in early modern England.<sup>39</sup>

Of course not all temporal information came from clocks or pocket watches and nor was it necessarily visual.<sup>40</sup> Bells were a further important way in which the passage of time was marked and noted by a wide audience. Whilst they may have begun as markers of monastic life and were intended to chime out the canonical hours, ‘both the ideas of daily temporal frameworks and the bells that sounded monastic times spilled over into everyday life for a much wider population’, and were used to shape the day for a range of mundane and secular purposes.<sup>41</sup> David Garrioch’s article, ‘Sounds of the City’, outlines how the

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<sup>37</sup> Glennie and Thrift, *Shaping the Day*, p. 201; Sherman, *Telling Time*.

<sup>38</sup> Glennie and Thrift, *Shaping the Day*, pp. 194-212.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>40</sup> The advent of the clockface did not occur until the fourteenth century, and even beyond that marking time remained primarily aural. Glennie and Thrift, *Shaping the Day*, p. 82.

<sup>41</sup> Glennie and Thrift, ‘Revolutions in the Times’, p. 171. Glennie and Thrift emphasise that whatever the origins of public timekeeping, whether that be to regulate religious life, trade or work, clock time skills were



soundscape of early modern European towns provided an essential source of information for the inhabitants, notably allowing them to orient themselves in both time and space. Bells signalled the beginning and end of the day, as well as marking the hours and even half past and quarter past in some cases. Moreover, it was not just daily cycles of time that could be marked by a bell, with weekly and annual cycles also discernible through the marking of the liturgical calendar and market days.<sup>42</sup> Even with the increasing prevalence of mechanical clocks and personal timekeeping devices, bell ringing continued to be used to mark the time in England throughout the seventeenth century, with bells enjoying a particular resurgence following the Restoration.<sup>43</sup> Pepys, for example, records the activity of the ‘bell-man’, or night-watchman, in the middle of the night on 16<sup>th</sup> January 1660, ‘who came by with his bell, just under my window as I was writing this very line, and cried, ‘Past one of the clock, and a cold, frosty, windy morning.’<sup>44</sup> The temporal information he provided was evidently useful, as it prompted Pepys to put down his diary and go to bed. Such a bell-man is depicted in a woodcut of a pamphlet published in 1608 by Thomas Dekker, who can be seen holding his hand bell, lantern, and bill (see Plate 3).<sup>45</sup> He most likely got his own knowledge of the time from a larger public bell or clock.<sup>46</sup>

Whilst much scholarship focuses on the measurement of clock time, annual time has figured more broadly in some work. This has focused predominantly on earlier periods, and in particular the Middle Ages when there was a veritable explosion in written documents for legal and governmental purposes. In ‘Year Dates in the Early Middle Ages’,

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adaptable to a far greater range of everyday purposes suited to the needs and contexts of a specific individual or community (*Shaping the Day*, p. 235).

<sup>42</sup> Garrioch, ‘Sounds of the City’.

<sup>43</sup> David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 78; Sherman, *Telling Time*, p. 37.

<sup>44</sup> Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.) (London: Bell & Hyman, 1985), vol. I, p. 19.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Dekker, *The Belman of London* (London, 1608).

<sup>46</sup> Sherman, *Telling Time*, p. 38.

Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis outlined the rise of numerical dating systems, beginning in the sixth century.<sup>47</sup> A numerical dating system was necessary in the Christian world for the calculation of Easter and it was the controversy surrounding Easter that led to the creation of the Anno Domini dating system, a consecutive numerical system that allowed for the marking of not just the past or present, but also the future. Yet in these early stages, Deliyannis argues that the use of dates more widely was restricted to specific purposes and by those for whom it was necessary, such as notaries and scribes, and those writing histories.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, as Diana E. Greenway has shown, the Anno Domini year was not always used, whilst the predominant system in the ancient and medieval world was dating by year of an office, for example of a monarch.<sup>49</sup> Michael Clanchy further highlights the existence of multiple dating systems, which occurred alongside the rise in dating documents in the Middle Ages, in his study of the transition from oral testimony to written records that took place during this period.<sup>50</sup> Medieval notaries would include the year, month, day, or even hour at which a document was issued or received in a bid to prevent subsequent disputes arising over its authenticity. Although some twelfth-century charters have dates, this practice only began in earnest from the end of that century, with royal letters, for example, being uniformly dated from the start of Richard I's reign in 1189. Yet as Clanchy notes, such dating did not always rely exclusively on the Anno Domini system, as 'the measurement of time was related to a variety of persons and events and not to an external standard.'<sup>51</sup> Regnal years in particular were common, but sometimes a person

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<sup>47</sup> Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, 'Year Dates in the Early Middle Ages' in Chris Humphrey and W. M. Ormrod (eds.), *Time in the Medieval World* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 5-22.

<sup>48</sup> Deliyannis, 'Year Dates', pp. 5-7.

<sup>49</sup> Diana E. Greenway, 'Dates in History: Chronology and Memory', *Historical Research*, 72 (1999), pp. 127-39 (p. 127).

<sup>50</sup> Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 299-304.

<sup>51</sup> Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 303.

would also choose to employ a range of different dating systems and reference to multiple events, to avoid doubt.

As a result of its interest in early uses of dates, particularly by scribes and notaries, this literature on the rise of numerical dating systems and their functions excludes the wider population from the use of annual time. However, work on early modern wills demonstrates a wider application of a variety of dating systems within a broader public by this time. The volume on probate documents edited by Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans, and Nigel Goose explains the necessity to make sure wills were authentic and legally binding.<sup>52</sup> Whilst few wills survive before the fourteenth century and those that survive after that date demonstrate a strong bias in age, gender, and social status, they do provide evidence for how individuals outside of the clergy or notaries encountered dates. Wills usually began with a recording of the date of their dictation, the testator's name, occupation, status, and place of residence. The date therefore appears alongside all the necessary information for identifying the individual and verifying the authenticity of the document, and by extension, the veracity of the bequests. Moreover, for the avoidance of doubt, frequently both the Anno Domini dating system and the regnal year were included, to provide a comprehensive statement of exactly when the will was dictated. This preamble to wills, which included the date, was generally added later by a scribe and tended to follow a set formula. However, it was not only scribes who would encounter the date on a will - the middling sorts would have been particularly familiar with the format of wills and the dating practices used, as they played a prominent local role as executors of these probate documents. Dates were therefore still part of an administrative community of practice, but during this period they became much further reaching because of an increased local

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<sup>52</sup> Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans, and Nigel Goose (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2000).

engagement with probate process. This administrative familiarity with dates and the sense of authenticity they gave to legal documents may have been extended out to condition their use in other circumstances by middling members of society, notably the dating of objects.<sup>53</sup>

Collectively the literature on the uses of annual dating systems provides important context for attitudes towards and meanings of dates in the early modern period, highlighting the complexity and variation of temporal systems in use at this time. However, all of this scholarship is focused on documentary, rather than material, dating practices. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why much of the population in England is often dismissed as having little awareness of, or need for, dates before the rise of Isaac Newton's ideas of time in the eighteenth century.<sup>54</sup> By shifting the focus away from documentary evidence and towards these material dating practices through an in-depth focus on dated objects it is possible to argue that there was a much broader and deeper engagement with dates than the scholarship has thus far allowed for, and to provide a more comprehensive analysis of how people understood and used dating systems, including both men and women, and at different stages throughout their life cycle, not just at the moment of death.

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<sup>53</sup> The legitimising function of recording the date and time of an event in this period is also seen in the practice by postmasters of recording the stages of a letter's progress to its eventual destination. James Daybell notes that, 'At each stage along the route postmasters were expected to write the time and date of arrival of post, either on the outside of individual letters or on the wrappers or outer coverings of packets or parcels of letters'. *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 7.

<sup>54</sup> For example, see James Richard Redmond McConnel, 'The 1688 Landing of William of Orange at Torbay: Numerical Dates and Temporal Understanding in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Modern History*, 84 (2012), pp. 539-571 (p. 541). McConnel argues that before the eighteenth century, 'dates still played a limited role in most ordinary people's lives', adding that when people did encounter numerical dates, it was only 'via the calendar's cycle of popular customs.' (p. 541). See also Donald J. Wilcox, *The Measure of Times Past: Pre-Newtonian Chronologies and the Rhetoric of Relative Time* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

## II) Senses of Past Time

As well as systems of marking the passage of time using clocks and calendars, time has also figured more conceptually in scholarship exploring how people conceived and thought about the past. Notably, this has been the focus of much work by Daniel Woolf, who has written widely about senses of past time in early modern England. Woolf has sought to move past looking at contemporary historians and antiquaries for evidence of how people conceived and approached their individual and collective pasts, and instead look at the wider culture of awareness of the past from which such writers emerged.<sup>55</sup>

Woolf asserts that ‘one can measure a people’s interest in its past’ by looking not just at its historiography, but through other sources from diaries to genealogies, as well as through the circulation and readership of history books, and evidence for a wider interest in heritage or traditional values.<sup>56</sup> Woolf does not single out material culture for analysis but dated objects undoubtedly provide further significant evidence of ‘a cultural tendency in England towards greater awareness of the past’.<sup>57</sup> By focusing on these material dating practices in the home, this thesis argues that it was in the domestic sphere in particular where people in seventeenth-century England interpreted and reinterpreted history, and put events from the past to work.

Moreover, as well as arguing that England had a distinctive ‘historical culture’ in this period, Woolf also seeks to look beyond the synchronic moment, arguing that such a culture ‘was not static but changing’.<sup>58</sup> He sees evidence for this in the process of exchanging notions of the past, or what he calls the social circulation of the past, and by

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<sup>55</sup> Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

tracing the channels through which such circulation occurred. The commemoration of the national past in various forms, written, oral, and printed, was one way in which this exchange took place, but as Woolf argues, shifts occurred so that by the end of the seventeenth century, ‘this media was hierarchically arranged...such that oral tradition and popular memory lost authority as sources of history’.<sup>59</sup> This has two important implications for this thesis. First is that this hierarchy of historical media privileged written accounts over oral testimony, or indeed as Woolf writes, ‘writing achieved during the early modern era that authenticity as a medium for the past which it now enjoys’.<sup>60</sup> This authenticity is crucial when considering the dated inscriptions found on objects. If these written dates, alongside other details such as names, initials, or declarations of piety, provided the object with a greater authority for recording a specific event, it can help to explain why dated objects were chosen to record major moments in an individual or family’s history.

The second point however is one of difference. Woolf is interested primarily in the national past and its commemoration in written or printed media. This thesis however seeks to extend Woolf’s work and establish how the past on a smaller scale, by which I mean individual or family histories, was commemorated, and how domestic material culture was used to do this. It is undoubtedly highly significant that in the same period in which Woolf sees a distinctive and growing historical *national* consciousness emerging, there is also a marked proliferation in the acquisition of domestic dated wares commemorating personal or familial events. Indeed, some dated objects combine both national and personal histories, such as warming pans, discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis. These pans often have loyal messages inscribed onto them alongside the date,

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

for example a pan inscribed ‘GOD SAVE KING CHARLES 1645’ from Dunster Castle, which was commissioned by the Luttrell family on the occasion of a visit by Charles to the castle.<sup>61</sup>

A further major point of interest from Woolf’s work for the present study is his analysis of old versus new in contemporary thought. Woolf argues that the growth of antiquarianism in the early modern era was partly due to a widespread veneration of old things. For Woolf, a set of assumptions governed how people interacted with the past and its manifestations, namely, ‘that old was better than new; that the older something was the better; and that the authority or legitimacy of a belief, practice, or institution, or even of an individual, was a function of its longevity and antiquity’.<sup>62</sup> Yet as Woolf argues, the reality of early modern life was that the new was constantly contesting the old. Social, cultural, and technological change was driving new things into old environments, ‘rupturing the experience of time, widening the fissures of past and present, and rendering visible what had once been a seamless connection between the current and the traditional.’<sup>63</sup> Dated objects present a unique problem in this regard. At the point of dating these items are new, novel, and highly relevant; they only begin to reflect an interest in the past in their afterlives of display and exchange, notably as items of inheritance. The tension between tradition and novelty as manifested in dated objects is one of the core themes of this thesis. On the one hand, the discussion of dated wooden furniture in Chapter 2 shows a strong desire for traditional forms and designs of goods. On the other hand, Chapter 4 explores dated tablewares, with a particular focus on ceramics, which in contrast demonstrate a demand for novelty and newness amongst consumers. This discussion is particularly relevant for the seventeenth century as I argue this is a key period in which ideas about

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<sup>61</sup> Dunster Castle, Somerset, NT, museum no. NT 725889.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

tradition and novelty were changing, with consumers increasingly seeking out new wares over traditional designs.

Woolf is not the only scholar interested in popular senses of past time, with recent research focusing specifically on dating practices providing the focus of an essay by Keith Wrightson.<sup>64</sup> Responding to calls by Glennie and Thrift for more substantive work on ‘actual timing practices’ as well as Andy Wood’s lamentation that the field of early modern time awareness remains ‘empirically impoverished’, Wrightson’s study is based on data gathered from ecclesiastical court depositions.<sup>65</sup> His two datasets cover on the one hand a rural sample of the diocese of Durham (except the growing urban area of Newcastle upon Tyne and Gateshead) between 1619 and 1622, with depositions from Newcastle and Gateshead between 1615 and 1631 providing the other sample. The ‘dating statements’ found in these depositions are used by Wrightson to reveal the social conventions by which events were placed in time. Wrightson’s data shows five key categories of temporal referencing. First, locating a point in time by referring to an ecclesiastical feast; second by using seasonal and agricultural referents; third by using specific dates, including day, month, and/or year; fourth by referring to another event; and finally, by counting back from the present day in units of time.<sup>66</sup>

Although the study is primarily the first steps in using a methodology for gathering empirical data of time awareness that will hopefully be taken up in the future to incorporate a much broader data set (Wrightson himself admits that his research is merely a snapshot of one moment in time for one region and does not provide enough evidence for

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<sup>64</sup> Keith Wrightson, ‘Popular Senses of Past Time: Dating Events in the North Country, 1615-1631’ in Michael J. Braddick and Phil Withington (eds.), *Popular Culture and Political Agency in Early Modern England and Ireland: Essays in Honour of John Walter* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), pp. 91–107.

<sup>65</sup> Glennie and Thrift, *Shaping the Day*, p. 47; Andy Wood, ‘Popular Senses of Time and Place in Tudor and Stuart England’, *Insights*, 6 (2013), pp. 2-10, p. 4.

<sup>66</sup> Wrightson, ‘Popular Senses’, pp. 95-8.



how these practices change across time or location), there are some intriguing results from Wrightson's research for the purposes of this thesis. First and foremost is Wrightson's assertion that his evidence suggests that a 'pluritemporalism' existed in early modern England, or what Glennie and Thrift have referred to as 'multiple temporal coexistence'.<sup>67</sup> By demonstrating that people used a variety of referents to place a moment in time, Wrightson is able to show that a mixture of different temporal systems were operating in seventeenth-century England, and people could choose to employ any of these, or indeed a mixture, to pinpoint a temporal location. These temporalities operate at different speeds and often interact; the secular calendar of weeks, months, and years for example, intersecting with the cycle of the religious calendar, as in 'about March gone fower yeares at Martynmas last'.<sup>68</sup> This data provides empirical evidence to underpin the assertion of this thesis that dated objects moved beyond merely commemorating a single occasion, but through their use and location in the domestic sphere represented many temporalities at once – the everyday cycles of time, the linear calendar, the life cycle, and even clock time, as well as engendering the collapse of past, present, and future temporalities.

Wrightson's data is also significant because of the detail it shows of the way different temporal referents are used by different social groups and across urban and rural locations. The most popular ways of locating a moment in time was by referring to an ecclesiastical feast or, importantly, by using a date. People living in the rural diocese were most likely to use religious feasts as a referent, with 40.9% adopting that method, as opposed to 28.5% who used a date. Yet interestingly in the urban Newcastle/Gateshead sample, dates were the most popular option, with 34.9% referring to a date, and 26% referring to an ecclesiastical feast.<sup>69</sup> This suggests that people in urban locations were more familiar with

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p. 100; Glennie and Thrift, p. 66.

<sup>68</sup> Wrightson, 'Popular Senses', p. 100.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

the calendar than those in rural locations whose time consciousness was shaped to a greater extent by the religious year. This is possibly due to more traditional forms of time reckoning persisting in rural areas after the Reformation, as compared to urban locations, as well as the proliferation of trades that required greater knowledge of the secular calendar in towns and cities, such as lawyers and clerks, or those keeping accounts including merchants and craftsmen. A further interesting result from Wrightson's research is that in both datasets, people under the age of 40 were statistically more likely to refer to a moment by using a date than those over the age of 40.<sup>70</sup> This perhaps tentatively suggests that there was a change occurring in the early seventeenth century, and that younger generations were becoming increasingly more comfortable with or attuned to calendrical time.

However, whilst Wrightson's study does begin to shed important light on the time consciousness of seventeenth-century England, there are also marked differences between his approach and that of this thesis. Wrightson concludes that the method of referent selected by people testifying in ecclesiastical court was either the dating practices with which the individual was most familiar, or most comfortable with, or the one they deemed most appropriate to the setting.<sup>71</sup> However, it is likely that outside of this formal setting, a different way of approaching time might have been employed, particularly when it comes to material dating practices. The inscription of a date on a domestic object may have involved a less formal setting on the one hand, but also perhaps a more considered, more permanent kind of remembering, for which a calendrical date, rather than reference to another event, was particularly important. The experiences of locating a moment in time are therefore quite different. The second point of difference is in Wrightson's consideration

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

of the accuracy of dating practices. He concurs with much of the literature on time awareness that there was a degree of vagueness or lack of accuracy when referring to time, because exact knowledge of the date was not yet necessary.<sup>72</sup> The court records he analyses, for example, more often than not show a degree of approximation. However, whilst it might be true that court records show a lack of accuracy when it comes to referring to a moment in time, for example one witness described an event as occurring ‘about three yeares agoe’, it is certainly possible that this approximation was due not to a lack of awareness of or engagement with calendar time but was instead an issue of memory.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, court records are frequently employed to demonstrate that people did not have an accurate knowledge of time, but individuals were often being asked to remember when an event had taken place a considerable amount of time later, at which point precision was likely to be more difficult.<sup>74</sup>

### III) The Changing Calendar

Alongside timekeeping practices, the making and remaking of the calendar in early modern England has also been the focus of several studies, most notably work by Ronald Hutton and David Cressy on the ritual year. Hutton in particular has charted the rise and fall of seasonal rites connected with natural, sacred, and secular cycles.<sup>75</sup> Using a range of

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., pp. 92, 98.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>74</sup> For example, Daniel Woolf laments that ‘*Even* testimonies in early modern legal proceedings are routinely vague about exact days and times [my emphasis]’. Daniel Woolf, ‘Afterwards: Shadows of the Past in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76 (2013), pp. 639-650 (p. 646).

<sup>75</sup> Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

written sources, notably churchwarden accounts, but also diaries, household accounts, and popular print including songs and plays, Hutton has traced the history of these festivities and their change across time. Ultimately Hutton argues that many customs thought to be deeply rooted in the country's history were in fact 'invented' in the later Middle Ages, with 'Merry England' created c.1350-1520 and subsequently undermined by the Reformation. Despite a revival following the Restoration, by this time the nature of these seasonal rites had shifted from communal merriment to official occasions controlled by the monarchy and government.<sup>76</sup> The idea that there was a wider interest with tradition, nostalgia, and memory, looking backwards to a potentially fictional past to shape the present in early modern England, helps to contextualise the significance attached to familial history and memory, which dated objects were part of. Moreover, it is significant to note that the proliferation of dated wares in the seventeenth century occurred at the same time in which calendrical rites were being progressively undermined. Stripping back the ritual calendar, which had previously played a fundamental part in shaping temporal experience, may have contributed to the desire to find alternative ways to mark, and give meaning to, the passage of time, for example through the acquisition of dated wares.

Like Hutton, David Cressy has further explored how the English calendar changed following the Reformation, notably through the 'stripping back' of religious festivals and the addition of new Protestant and secular holidays to the calendar.<sup>77</sup> Cressy's work in particular highlights the extraordinary turbulence the calendar experienced in Elizabethan and Stuart England, as it was remodelled along religious and political lines and became 'an important instrument for declaring and disseminating a distinctively Protestant national culture'.<sup>78</sup> The most significant of these changes was undoubtedly the reduction of the

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<sup>76</sup> Hutton, *Rise and Fall*.

<sup>77</sup> Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*.

<sup>78</sup> Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. xi.

number of saints' days during the sixteenth century. The introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 dramatically reduced the number of religious festivities, instead re-focusing attention onto the life of Christ. This was combined in the late sixteenth century with the introduction of celebrations centred on the Protestant monarchy and regime, which were layered over the existing calendar.<sup>79</sup> Yet despite the efforts made by some Protestant reformers, eradicating saints' days completely from popular culture was not an easy task. As Cressy shows, commemoration of certain saints persisted in some areas, particularly of local saints, whilst the religious upheaval and changing doctrines under Mary and Elizabeth meant the calendar was in a constant state of back and forth during this period. To add to the confusion, law terms and those of the ecclesiastical courts were still structured around saints' days, whilst the continued listing of these former feast days in almanacs meant their presence in popular consciousness was far from eradicated.<sup>80</sup>

The seventeenth century saw a continuation of these debates after a period of relative consensus over the calendar. The accession of Charles I led to the promotion of religious groups like the Laudians who, according to Cressy, 'luxuriated in the traditional Christian calendar and called for the disciplined observance of all the holy days and seasons of year.'<sup>81</sup> Puritans reacted with alarm to these regressions back to the old calendar, and sought to emphasise instead the weekly rhythms of time centred on the Lord's day, rather than annual cycles of feasts and festivals.<sup>82</sup> As well as enhanced scrutiny of the liturgical year and seasonal observances, the period between 1620 and 1640 is also significant because of the more conceptual thinking that emerged from some puritan writers over the dichotomy between sacred and common time. It was not just that any recourse to

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<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-11.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

traditional observances had popish overtones that was of concern, but also the suggestion that only specific dates rather than all of one's time should be given over to God. Thus whilst the Arminian minister Henry Mason argued in his *Christian Humiliation, or, a Treatise of Fasting*, that Lent ought to be observed since it provided a 'solemne and speciall time of the yeere' for Christians to 'take account of their lives, and reckon with their soules for the yeere past', puritans in particular objected to the idea that this kind of spiritual examination should not take place all year round.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, Henry Burton in his *A Tryall of Private Devotion* (1628), attacked the idea that there was any 'difference between the times sacred and common', arguing that 'every day to a true Christian is a day of sobriety, and all his life a Lent, whilst all along his life is seasoned and sanctified with a conscionable keeping of the Lord's day.'<sup>84</sup> The very definition and nature of time was thus under debate.

Religious motivation for calendrical reform also gave way to more politically-minded change. With the reduction of holy days came the introduction of feast days with political significance, centred on the monarchy. Under Elizabeth I, for example, 17 November was observed with prayer and festivity to celebrate her accession, developing into a nationwide annual celebration that continued in some parishes even after her death. Under James I, celebrations shifted to the date of his accession on 24 March, and it moved again to 27 March under Charles I. It is important to note that the popularity of 'crownation day', as it came to be known, firmly established the turning of the regnal year in popular consciousness, not only setting forth another competitor for the starting point of the year, but one that was inherently changeable depending on the monarch. Whilst such occasions

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<sup>83</sup> Henry Mason, *Christian humiliation, or, A treatise of fasting declaring the nature, kindes, ends, uses, and properties of a religious fast* (London, 1625), p. 129.

<sup>84</sup> Henry Burton, *A tryall of private devotions. Or, A diall for the houres of prayer* (London, 1628), sigs F2r, I2v.

were muted in the period following Charles' execution, further political additions to the calendar were made after the Restoration, including Royal Oak day, celebrated on 29 May to mark Charles II's accession to the throne.<sup>85</sup> The calendar was therefore highly varied and subject to a significant amount of debate and modification in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dates that had been firmly rooted in popular consciousness could be intermittently taken away or reintroduced, whilst entirely new festivities could be added altogether. Time was thus far from fixed, but instead could be moulded to suit different agendas. Moreover, since dates could have a number of political, religious, and social meanings at any one time, the marking an object with a date may have been far from a straightforward or neutral affair.

#### **IV) The Multitemporal Object**

Alongside literature on clocks and calendars, the theoretical relationship between time and material culture more broadly has been discussed in recent work by Jonathan Gil Harris. In both his 2001 article and monograph eight years later, Harris has set out to provide a critical methodology for approaching material culture, focusing in particular on the temporality of objects.<sup>86</sup> In his article, 'Shakespeare's Hair', Harris begins by criticising the approach of scholars of material culture who he sees as dealing with 'form' rather than 'matter' or 'material'. Using definitions by both Aristotle and Marx, Harris sees matter as a principle of transformation with a presumed future, as well as a past; 'a past that we can understand not as a static moment, but as a continuum of material transformation'.<sup>87</sup> Using

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<sup>85</sup> Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>86</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, 'Shakespeare's Hair: Staging the Object of Material Culture', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 52 (2001), pp. 479-91; and *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Bristol: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

<sup>87</sup> Harris, 'Shakespeare's Hair', p. 485.

this definition, materiality is conceived as a process, rather than the condition of an object in any given moment. By focusing on form instead of matter, Harris argues material culture scholars have taken a synchronic approach, subjecting an object to thick description and focusing on it ‘in a freeze-frame tableau of a historical “moment”’.<sup>88</sup> Yet objects are not spatially- or temporally-static entities, and this approach, Harris argues, fails to appreciate the changing significance of an object through time. Instead he advocates a ‘diachronic’ approach, which involves tracing the trajectory of things through time and space.<sup>89</sup>

Whilst Harris is critical of much material culture scholarship, there is one work in which he sees a diachronic approach already in use. This is the volume edited by the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, in which Igor Kopytoff in particular emphasised the biography of an object as a model through which to analyse the meanings of things.<sup>90</sup> Such an approach, which seeks to understand all the stages in the ‘life’ of what Appadurai calls ‘things-in-motion’, from production, through to trade, use, and perhaps destruction, closely mirrors Harris’ own recommendation that objects should be understood not in terms of their synchronic contexts, but instead their ‘life histories’ or ‘careers’.<sup>91</sup> It is the culmination of these various moments that Harris argues invests an object with social significance and cultural value. This approach acknowledges the diverse temporality of an object, since its present value is seen to derive diachronically from its relations to past and future contexts, contexts which we must trace in order to read the significance of objects.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp. 480, 484-5.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 480.

<sup>90</sup> Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

<sup>91</sup> Harris, ‘Shakespeare’s Hair’, p. 485.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.



The approaches of Harris, Kopytoff, and Appadurai are particularly useful when considering dated objects, in that they encourage us to move past the ‘single’ context in which an object existed at the specific moment when it was dated. Instead we should think about how an object’s past and future can also provide and induce meaning. Indeed, just because the inscriptions on dated objects refer to single moments in time does not mean we are forced to interpret them as static or to analyse them only with relation to that one specific moment or circumstance (especially if they commemorate specific events). Instead we can see dated objects as also looking to past and future contexts; a future in which they will gain further significance or meaning (for example, when they are inherited and reappropriated by future generations), at which point their inscribed dates will also render them of the ‘past’, recalling former owners and uses.

In his monograph, *Untimely Matter*, Harris has developed his theory on the temporality of objects further, ultimately breaking with the arguments of his earlier work and dismissing both synchronic and diachronic approaches. Instead he argues that the work of Appadurai *et al* merely results in a series of synchronic examinations. He also criticises the biographical metaphor used in the ‘social life of things’ model for assuming a temporality that is too linear since it relies on the progress of a thing through a neat sequence of moments, with such points in time treated as being ‘temporally purified by virtue of not being what comes before or after them’.<sup>93</sup> As such, for Harris this approach fails to account for how different traces of time interact with, inform, and mediate one another. Instead, he argues we must move past analysing things only in their ‘cotemporal’ contexts and consider what we do with things that ‘cross temporal borders’.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Harris, *Untimely Matter*, p. 9.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Much of Harris' argument in *Untimely Matter* is heavily influenced by work in the social sciences, notably that of Bruno Latour and Michel Serres. According to Serres, in conversation with Latour, 'An object...is...polychronic, multitemporal, and reveals a time that is gathered together, and with multiple pleats.'<sup>95</sup> The terminology Serres employs here is adopted by Harris, who further explores the meanings of 'polychronic' and 'multitemporal'. According to Harris, polychronic suggests the ability of an object to draw upon many different moments, dates, periods, or ages of time.<sup>96</sup> Multitemporal meanwhile refers to the relationships between past, present, and future embodied in an object, and their interplay. As a result of an object's polychronicity, it 'can prompt many different understandings and experiences of *temporality*' which Harris defines as the relationship between now and then, old and new, before and after.<sup>97</sup> Using Harris' work, this thesis argues that the domestic sphere was multitemporal, with many different kinds of time co-existing within the home, from daily and seasonal routines through the life cycle of individuals to posterity and the life eternal.<sup>98</sup> As a result of this multitemporality, domestic dated objects are polychronic, referencing multiple moments in time and materialising diverse relations between past, present, and future.

Harris is particularly interested in theorising these temporal relationships, and by using the example of the palimpsest he outlines three types of temporality or relationship

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<sup>95</sup> Michel Serres and Bruno Latour, *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), p. 60.

<sup>96</sup> Harris, *Untimely Matter*, p. 4.

<sup>97</sup> My emphasis. *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Faith is inseparable from ideas of time and temporality in this period, as well as playing a significant role in how people understood both the home and things. For an in-depth exploration of domestic material culture and faith see Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*. For more on household religious practices, see Fiona Ann Counsell, 'Domestic Religion in Seventeenth-Century English Gentry Households', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham (2017). England in the seventeenth century was a broad Church; by and large the majority were conforming protestants, but within this there were shades of opinion from Calvinism to Laudianism. As a result, how the spiritual realm of the life eternal was envisioned would vary depending on one's faith (most notably, for example, the belief in purgatory for Catholics). Within this thesis, the religious inclination of individuals will be identified if known, although the nature of many of the objects discussed in this thesis is that very little, if anything, is known of their original owners.

between past, present, and future, which materialise in objects. First is that of ‘supersession’, in which the present is deemed to have agency. According to this model, the present ‘layer’ of the palimpsest supersedes any past layers, by preserving, negating and then transcending features deemed to be no longer coeval but of the past.<sup>99</sup> The temporality of ‘explosion’, however, works the other way around, in that the past layer has agency over the present. In this model earlier layers retain power to speak and therefore to disrupt and transform what has been laid over them. This appearance of the older layer ‘shatters the integrity of the new... [and] the illusion of its wholeness or finality.’<sup>100</sup> Harris’ final model is the temporality of ‘conjunction’, in which agency is shared and based on communication between different temporalities. In this model temporal relationships are grounded less in division than in affinity, implying dialogue between them.<sup>101</sup>

Harris’ three models of temporal relationships can help to inform our consideration of the temporalities of dated objects and in particular how ‘old’ dates work in future contexts - are they superseded by future layers, or do they retain agency? This discussion of the dynamics between the past, present, and future layers of an object is particularly useful when considering those cases in which dates have been inscribed onto older objects, sometimes more than once. One such example is a dated elm bible box that has had decoration applied to it at two different points in time (see Plates 4 and 5).<sup>102</sup> The initial ‘layer’ is dated 1677 on the front panel, alongside the initials ‘F.S.’. This first layer of decoration was incised into the box. A second layer of painted decoration was added some years later, this time comprising a pair of angels, the motto ‘Fear God’, and the royal arms, alongside the inscription ‘Francis Sarle 1690’. The motivation behind adding this second

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<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>102</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.W/6.

more vivid layer of decoration in 1690, with Sarle's name written out in full, is unclear. It was common for people to give gifts inscribed with their names to their local parish church, and perhaps this accounts for Sarle's decision to have the box more extravagantly decorated that year.<sup>103</sup> But, using Harris' models of temporality, which of these moments in time has agency: the date Sarle presumably acquired it in 1677, or the later occasion of 1690? Are these two temporal occasions competing or are they informing one another? The second layer certainly stands out more, painted in vivid colours and with a range of decoration including the angels, motto, and royal arms. Yet significantly, the earlier inscription cannot be erased. It was carved into the wood of the box, and although the painted layer has coated these incisions, it does not disguise them. If Sarle's box was indeed gifted in 1690, it is perhaps Harris' temporality of conjunction – of dialogue and affinity – that is most relevant here. The two inscriptions reflect various stages in Sarle's life, together emphasising the box as an embodiment of himself and his own piety.

Overall, Harris' ideas are very useful in providing a framework within which we can begin to think more critically about the temporality of objects. Rather than just isolating specific key moments in an object's history in linear sequence, Harris' work encourages us to think about how the time of objects can be antisequential. Like Serres' 'temporal pleats' an object can be multitemporal; at one time embodying many different moments, past, present, and future. Indeed, Harris's work is particularly useful for thinking about how things can be both backwards and forwards looking. Dated objects reference a time that is only momentarily present and soon confined to the past. Yet they were undoubtedly also made with a future in mind, and seek the ability to alter, converse with, or influence it. There are several problems with Harris's work though, the most significant of which is the

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<sup>103</sup> I am grateful to Angela McShane for this suggestion.

lack of actual objects under discussion. A palimpsest is a prime example of how his theory can be applied, but it would be useful to see it explored in the context of other objects that less obviously have different temporal layers. This is in part due to Harris' own area of interest, as his focus lies on objects as they appear in plays, not the actual objects themselves, but greater discussion of extant objects would allow the reader to more readily understand what is a complex theory by providing examples of how theory works when applied in practice. This thesis provides a more detailed exploration of Harris' theory, demonstrating how it can be used to understand the complex temporality of the household and domestic objects by using extant material culture as evidence.

The theme of multitemporality can also be found implicitly in recent work by Matthew Champion, although he does not use the term itself. In his monograph, *The Fullness of Time*, in which he explores temporality in the fifteenth-century Low Countries, Champion describes this 'fullness' in ways reminiscent of Serres' concept of multitemporality and polychronicity.<sup>104</sup> For Champion, the 'fullness of time' refers to two things. First is the collapse of any strict chronological divide between past, present, and future. He describes this in particular in terms of the dialogue between new and old: 'the assertion of the new over the old, the lingering life of the old in the new, and the paradoxical implications of eternity in time.'<sup>105</sup> Although Champion is not interested specifically in the temporality of objects, his thinking here is particularly reminiscent of Harris' discussion of the way past, present, and future can interact in objects outlined in his temporal models of 'supersession', 'explosion', and 'conjunction'. Champion's second definition of the 'fullness of time' is what he terms the 'polyphony' of time, which he describes as 'an emblem for the rich variety and complexity of times in social life and

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<sup>104</sup> Matthew Champion, *The Fullness of Time: Temporalities of the Fifteenth-Century Low Countries* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

<sup>105</sup> Champion, *The Fullness of Time*, p. 1.

cultural production'.<sup>106</sup> As this thesis shows, the complexity and diversity of time was not unique to the fifteenth-century Low Countries but was a defining feature of temporal experience in the seventeenth-century English home. Moreover, as suggested by 'polyphony', Champion's interest is primarily in the temporality expressed in the liturgy and religious music, exploring 'networks of music, image, text, ritual, and devotion'.<sup>107</sup> In contrast, the focus of this thesis lies outside of how time was conceived by powerful institutions like the Church, and instead analyses the lived experience of time in daily life. Indeed, the central argument of this thesis is that there was a much more widespread tendency towards multitemporal thinking in seventeenth-century England, made manifest in domestic dated wares.

## V) Object Agency and Memory

Alongside Harris' theory of object temporality, Alfred Gell's landmark study, *Art and Agency*, provides another crucial theory that underpins this thesis. Gell's work marked a major shift in the way that objects were understood in scholarly work within the discipline of anthropology and much wider.<sup>108</sup> Gell sought to establish a new anthropology of art, moving past mere aesthetic appreciation and instead engaging with the objects themselves and the work that they do. According to Gell's approach, 'art is seen as a system of action, intended to change the world, rather than encode symbolic propositions about it'.<sup>109</sup> Art objects, like people, are seen as social agents, able to initiate events as a result of mind, will, or intention. Yet Gell distinguishes between 'primary' and 'secondary' agents. Primary agents are essentially 'intentional' beings, like humans, who are different to

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>108</sup> Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

<sup>109</sup> Gell, *Art and Agency*, p. 6.

secondary agents, such as artefacts, through which primary agents distribute their agency into the causal milieu. Secondary agents therefore render the agency of primary agents effective. Gell uses the striking example of one of Pol Pot's soldiers carrying a mine. Without the mine, this agent (soldier + mine) would not exist, since the soldier is not a threatening presence without it. The mine therefore renders the soldier's own agency effective.<sup>110</sup> Gell's division between primary and secondary agents here is useful when considering how we can see dated objects as extensions of the owner's agency, or as Gell would term them, as secondary agents. Chapter 2 of this thesis, on dated furniture, for example, considers the way members of the family used such objects to materialise desired narratives about their family's lineage or prosperity. Such items of furniture helped to express these narratives in concrete form, and thereby reify them.<sup>111</sup> We can see dates as playing an important role in this, authenticating or validating an event (indeed, in *From Memory to Written Record*, Michael Clanchy suggested that the purpose of the increasing tendency to date a document from the twelfth century was 'to settle subsequent disputes about its authenticity').<sup>112</sup> We can therefore see how these kinds of dated objects could be secondary agents, helping the owner (as an extension of their agency) to enact their wishes and actively altering reality (or as Gell terms it, the 'causal milieu') by establishing such narratives.

Gell also introduces the idea of 'distributed personhood' to suggest that agents can exist in many different places and times simultaneously.<sup>113</sup> He argues that a person and their mind are not confined to particular spaces or temporal moments, but instead consist

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-21.

<sup>111</sup> See also Tara Hamling on this point in "'An Arelome To This Hous For Ever': Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, C. 1560-1660' in Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (eds.), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 59-83.

<sup>112</sup> Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 300.

<sup>113</sup> Gell, *Art and Agency*, p. 21.

of ‘a spread of biographical events and memories of events, and a dispersed category of material objects, traces, and leavings, which can be attributed to a person’, and which together testify to their agency ‘during a biographical career, which may, indeed, prolong itself after biological death.’<sup>114</sup> Importantly, for Gell, it is not just an image or a reflection of a person that is distributed through time or space via an object that represents them, but the object itself is actually seen to be part of that person and a vehicle through which they can assert their agency.<sup>115</sup>

The idea that personhood is spread around in time and space is very useful when applied to dated objects. Gell refers to the biographical events and memories that make up an individual’s ‘personhood’, some of which find traces in artefacts, and we can clearly see how dated objects that were made at the time of, or refer back to, these significant biographical moments, are doing just this. Moreover, according to Gell, such artefacts do not just reflect the person in question, they are part of the person. The use of objects to extend a life beyond death can be seen clearly in the dating of such items. This practice connects objects to a specific person in a specific moment in time, closely linking these artefacts to a specific individual’s biography, after which their subsequent circulation and inheritance allows the original owner to extend their influence (or agency) beyond their death, through their continued ‘personhood’ in these objects.

Alongside Gell’s theory of distributed personhood, the allied model of distributed cognition is also useful for analysing dated wares. The idea that cognition is distributed, and therefore external rather than internal, was first suggested by the cognitive anthropologist Edwin Hutchins in the mid-1990s and has since been developed further, notably by Andy Clark, David J. Chalmers, and John Sutton.<sup>116</sup> This approach argues that

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>116</sup> Edwin Hutchins, *Cognition in the Wild* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996); Andy Clark and David



the mind is spread beyond the brain and the body, with objects, technologies, places, and other people all being full parts of the cognitive process.<sup>117</sup> This model has particular relevance for material culture studies since, as John Sutton and Nicholas Keene have written, in certain contexts it allows for particular artefacts to act ‘not merely [as] external cues or triggers to the real process of sensing, remembering or creating...but themselves [as] active constituents of the mental process.’<sup>118</sup> As emphasised by Sutton in his discussion of distributed cognition and ‘the archaeology of memory’, this approach has particular relevance to the consideration of the relationship between memory and objects.<sup>119</sup> Since many dated objects were evidently created because of their ability to house memories of specific events or relationships, the following consideration of the connection between materials and memory thus provides an important framework for this study.

Ideas about memory in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were still greatly influenced by classical theories, which saw memory as both visual and spatial.<sup>120</sup> This mnemonic tool of place and image had been passed down to Renaissance Europe and from the sixteenth century was drawn into new ideas about the scientific method, with the ability to organise memory to allow for the easy retrieval of specific information regarded as particularly advantageous in the pursuit of scientific enquiry. In a section on memory in *The Advancement of Learning*, Francis Bacon emphasised the importance of attaching an image or ‘emblem’ to a piece of information to be remembered, ‘since they strike the

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Chalmers, ‘The Extended Mind’, *Analysis*, 58 (1998), pp. 7–19; John Sutton, ‘Material Agency, Skills and History: Distributed Cognition and the Archaeology of Memory’ in Carl Knappett and Lambros Malafouris (eds.), *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach* (London: Springer, 2008), pp. 37–56.

<sup>117</sup> John Sutton and Nicholas Keene, ‘Cognitive History and Material Culture’ in Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David Gaimster (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 46–58 (p. 46).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>119</sup> Sutton, ‘Material Agency’.

<sup>120</sup> For a full description of the method and the classical sources from which it derived, see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 1966), Chapter 1.

memory more'.<sup>121</sup> Meanwhile, later in the seventeenth century, Robert Hooke examined the relationship between time and memory, again using the language of imagery.<sup>122</sup> He stated that it is not the senses that give us the notion of the passage of time, but instead memory, which he argued is 'as much an Organ, as the Eye, Ear or Nose'.<sup>123</sup> Hooke described how he believed this organ retains memories and thus provides a sense of time, arguing that memory is a 'continued Chain of Ideas coyled up in the Repository of the Brain', likening memories to 'little images, which bear the Stamp, Seal, or Mould according to which the soul formed it'.<sup>124</sup> According to Hooke, as new 'images' or memories are added to the coil, they push the others further down, and by doing so 'the more faint are the reflections or reactions from them...this occasions the notion of the distance of time'.<sup>125</sup> This language of images and emblems being 'stamped' or 'moulded' onto the memory is significant when we consider the role some dated inscriptions on objects may have had. Dates can be viewed as part of this visual, emblematic system used to signify or prompt the memory of a specific occasion. It is possible that these dates were intended to have mnemonic power, helping the viewer to faithfully resurrect a desired connection associated with that specific date – whether that be a certain life cycle event, relationship, or achievement.

If in some cases dated objects did act as memory repositories, then it follows that memory was conceived not just as something that existed inside the mind, or the memory-organ, but which could, and ideally should, be distributed, or stored, externally. The

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<sup>121</sup> Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (Oxford, 1640), Book II, XV, pp. i-iii.

<sup>122</sup> Robert Hooke, 'Lectures of Light' in Richard Waller (ed.), *The Posthumous Works of Robert Hooke* (London, 1705), pp. 138-146. See also Christine Stevenson, 'Robert Hooke, Monuments, and Memory', *Art History*, 28 (2005), pp. 43-73.

<sup>123</sup> Hooke, 'Lectures of Light', pp. 139-140.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 144

<sup>125</sup> This comment comes from the published minutes of the Royal Society for the meeting at which Hooke gave the lecture. See *The History of the Royal Society of London, for Improving of Natural Knowledge from Its First Rise ... As a Supplement to the Philosophical Transactions* (London, 1757), vol. 4, p. 154.

production of visual and material aids to prompt memory recollection had long been practised for religious purposes and this remained the case after the Reformation.<sup>126</sup> As Tara Hamling has shown in her study of visual and material props for piety, objects could be used within the domestic environment to act as spiritual reminders and ‘to prompt and support approved forms of Protestant prayer and meditation’.<sup>127</sup> In particular she discusses the case of Robert Pasfield, known as ‘Old Robert’, who fashioned a girdle to help him remember scripture. The girdle was divided into partitions to represent each book of the Bible, with points and knots used within each partition to identify each chapter, and ultimately, verse. This object allowed Old Robert to recite any sentence from the Bible at will, and indeed, he gained a reputation for his extensive knowledge of scripture.<sup>128</sup> Similarly, a sixteenth-century broadside further demonstrates how material objects could be thought of as useful memory devices. The broadside shows a design for a pair of gloves ‘devised for Newyeres gyftes’, intended to ‘teche Yonge peop[le] to knowe good from evyll’.<sup>129</sup> The gloves include the Ten Commandments written on the fingers, as well as ‘the tree of Vertues’ on the right palm, and ‘the Route of vyces’ on the left. Both this broadside and Old Robert’s girdle show how visual and material devices could be used for mnemonic effect and were considered to be useful tools for storing and prompting memories. The marking of an object with a date may have also acted as a prompt to remember a certain event or connection, and in doing so avoid the memory fading, or becoming lost altogether.

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<sup>126</sup> Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Medieval Craft of Memory – An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 3.

<sup>127</sup> Tara Hamling, ‘Old Robert’s Girdle: Visual and Material Props for Protestant Piety in Post-Reformation England’ in Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 135–63 (p. 135).

<sup>128</sup> Hamling, ‘Old Robert’s Girdle’.

<sup>129</sup> [Some f]lyne gloves devised for Newyeres gyftes (London, c.1560-1570).

Alongside distributed cognition, the work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs on collective memory provides an additional significant theory for this thesis from the field of memory studies.<sup>130</sup> Writing in the first half of the twentieth century, Halbwachs suggested that all individual memories are shaped and triggered by wider social structures and institution, or what he termed *cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (social frameworks of memory). What and how an individual remembers is dependent upon specific groups that the individual is part of, and which are determined by their position in space and time. Yet whilst it is the group *collectively* that constructs memory, it is the individual who does the actual work of remembering.<sup>131</sup> The rise of the ‘new cultural memory studies’ in the late twentieth century saw a group of transnational and interdisciplinary scholars again turning their attention to the idea of collective memory. Most notable at this time was the work of French historian Pierre Nora on *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory, and that of German scholars Jan and Aleida Assman on cultural memory who, significantly, were interested in how external objects act as carriers of memory.<sup>132</sup> Jan Assman argued that ‘Our memory...exists only in constant interaction not only with other human memories but also with “things,” outward symbols.’<sup>133</sup> Importantly, these things ‘do not “have” a memory of their own, but they may remind us, may trigger our memory, because they carry memories

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<sup>130</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) [first published 1950]. See also Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* (Paris: Alcan, 1925).

<sup>131</sup> Halbwachs theory remains controversial. According to Susan Sontag and Reinhart Koselleck it makes no sense to talk of collective memory, since it is only individuals who are able to remember, not groups. They instead advocate the idea of ‘collective instruction’, which is only possible when individuals speak the same language and understand one another. See Siobhan Kattago, ‘Introduction: Memory Studies and Its Companions’ in Siobhan Kattago (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Memory Studies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 1-19 (p. 4).

<sup>132</sup> Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984); Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992); Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’ in Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara Young (eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), pp. 109-18.

<sup>133</sup> Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, p. 111.

which we have invested into them, things such as dishes, feasts, rites, images, stories and other texts, landscapes, and other *lieux de mémoire*.<sup>134</sup>

Within the context of domestic dated objects, these ideas about collective memory and sites of memory have significant implications, particularly if we consider the family as a social group who do collective remembering. In a 2011 article, Astrid Erll has summarised how these theories can be applied to the creation and recreation of the past within familial memory.<sup>135</sup> Following Halbwachs assertion that memory is a selective process, not a faithful reconstruction of the past, Erll argues that ‘families...tend to remember that which corresponds to the self-image and the interests of the group’, as well as similarities and continuities that demonstrate that the group (in this case the family) is unchanged.<sup>136</sup> Through this manipulation of the past and construction of group memory, the family is both able to continuously shape and renegotiate its identity, and to use these memories to provide a source of inspiration or reference for the behaviour of future members of the group.<sup>137</sup> These ideas provide an important basis for the analysis of dated objects in this thesis. By selecting which events to commemorate and display through dated wares - whether acquired by family members or gifted - members of a household community consciously established and shaped their collective identity and associated behaviours both in the present and future. These wares were therefore not straightforward objects of commemoration but were part of the group’s wider selective mnemonic process of presentation and display.

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Astrid Erll, ‘Locating Family in Cultural Memory Studies’, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 42 (2011), pp. 303–18.

<sup>136</sup> Erll, ‘Locating the Family’, p. 307.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

## VI) Evidence and Methods

In gathering material for this thesis, I have focused predominantly on objects in the following core collections: the Victoria and Albert Museum; the British Museum; the Museum of London; the Fitzwilliam Museum; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust; and the National Trust Collections. This project also developed from a collaboration with a private collection based at Crab Tree Farm, Chicago, which houses some 400 dated objects.<sup>138</sup>

This important but little-known collection includes a wide range of objects, many beyond the scope of this study, including a large body of public wares and many eighteenth-century objects, but a number of the dated household objects in this collection have also been included in this study. It would be near-impossible to survey all public and private collections and record every dated object in existence, and as such this thesis has not attempted to undertake extensive quantitative or statistical analysis of dated wares.

However, within the collections used for this thesis, I have identified 521 domestic dated objects from England dated between 1565 and 1710, demonstrating that inscribing dates onto household wares was a significant practice during this period and allowing me to draw upon a rich body of material for in-depth qualitative analysis. These objects have been divided into three categories, which in turn represent three chapters of this thesis.

Furniture accounts for 55 dated objects, whilst 168 are hearth wares, and 298 are dining wares, representing by far the biggest category of dated object.<sup>139</sup> For the purpose of this

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<sup>138</sup> This material was first explored in my MA dissertation entitled, 'Dated Objects in Seventeenth-Century England', undertaken at the Victoria and Albert Museum/Royal College of Art. The dissertation provided an initial overview of extant dated objects from the period, with a notable focus on Crab Tree Farm's collection, and surveyed a wide range of wares, including public, domestic, and personal items. The scope of the MA dissertation was therefore much broader, but less detailed, than this PhD thesis, which has focused in-depth on domestic wares in order to probe the temporality of the household and responses to time in everyday life.

<sup>139</sup> A very basic year by year analysis suggests a particular interest in dating objects during the years 1649, 1687, and 1697, but this can only provide a very crude assessment of significant dating years because of the nature of the evidence. Over 100 of the objects surveyed for this thesis are dated for the years 1642-1660, corresponding to the Civil War years and Commonwealth period. This suggests that the complexity and uncertainty of those years encouraged reflection on the passage of time and marking events. Indeed, the war

thesis I have differentiated between personal objects (such as love tokens) and social objects, focusing analysis on the latter. The objects that I have foregrounded in the thesis were intended for domestic display, rather than being intimate or ‘private’ possessions, chiming with the recent emphasis on the social role of the domestic household.

This thesis adopts an object-based approach, with dated wares providing the primary source material for analysis. Indeed, one of the aims of this thesis is to focus attention on the objects themselves, providing a history not just *of* material culture but also *using* material culture.<sup>140</sup> Despite the explosion of studies in the field following the material turn, there remain surprisingly few scholars who actually study and analyse extant objects themselves, with many instead focusing on documentary evidence to tell material histories.<sup>141</sup> Indeed, there are two kinds of object discussed in this thesis. On the one hand

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itself was frequently a subject for commemoration and memorialisation using dated wares, and it is argued later in this thesis that at least some of these objects were likely made and dated in retrospect to reshape memory of that time.

<sup>140</sup> Giorgio Riello notably identified three ways in which historians engage with material sources: ‘history from things’, in which objects are used as primary sources; ‘history of things’, in which analysis focuses on ‘the relationship between objects, people and their representations’; and finally ‘history and things’, in which material artefacts are positioned ‘outside history altogether’ in order to ‘unlock more creative and freer ways of conveying ideas about the past’ (‘Things that Shape History: Material Culture and Historical Narratives’ in Karen Harvey (ed), *History and Material Culture: A Student’s Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 27-50 (pp. 28-9).) Whilst Riello particularly privileges the second approach, history from things, this thesis is ultimately interested in the first, valuing material artefacts themselves as rich sources of primary evidence. See also Tara Hamling’s assessment of Riello’s discussion, in her chapter, ‘Visual and Material Sources’ in Laura Sangha and Jonathan Willis (eds.), *Understanding Early Modern Primary Sources* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 129-152 (p.136).

<sup>141</sup> The rise of material culture studies in the 1980s drew upon earlier developments in archaeology and anthropology. Perhaps most notable at this time was the volume edited by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, in which Igor Kopytoff in particular emphasised the biography of an object as a model through which to analyse the meanings of things. This approach sought to understand all the stages in the ‘life’ of what Appadurai calls ‘things-in-motion’, from production, through to trade, use, and even destruction. Appadurai and Kopytoff’s work has been very influential in the field and has greatly influenced my own approach here. Following the rise of material culture studies, other disciplines began to develop their own approaches to the question of objects, including literary studies and art history (for example, the work of Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, Michael Baxandall, and Nigel Llewellyn). Yet in most recent years the breakdown of material culture studies by disciplinary background has become less relevant as the field moves towards an interdisciplinary engagement with objects. See for example the pioneering student guide to approaching material sources edited by Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture*, recently reissued in a second edition by Routledge in 2017, as well as the volume by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture of Early Modern Culture* (London: Routledge 2016). This has meant not only that the breadth of things considered within the study of material culture has widened significantly, but also that there has been a recognition that, as a result of this range, no single, all-encompassing methodology or approach exists for engaging with material culture

there are more ‘well-known’ objects, often belonging to elite households, for which there is some (although nearly always very little) documentary evidence surviving. Other objects also have additional features such as a coat-of-arms or motifs that allows them to be traced to a specific individual or family, and their wider meaning can be constructed accordingly. Yet for the vast majority of objects explored in this thesis, very little is known of their provenance. Most are inscribed with just a date, and even when a name is present, it is now impossible to know anything about the owner. It is my contention however that such objects should not be ignored in favour of those with more appealing paper trails. As this thesis will show, even without direct documentary evidence, objects themselves can yield a vast quantity of information. The thesis also engages with a wide range of written sources, including advice literature, diaries, and household accounts, as well as wills and inventories, but it is my intention that these written accounts will not substitute the material sources, instead providing the necessary wider cultural, social, and economic context to understand how dated objects functioned in the home and the meanings behind their temporal reflections.<sup>142</sup>

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(see Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds.), *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 5.)

<sup>142</sup> I have consulted two sets of edited probate materials for this thesis. The first are edited inventories for Bristol corresponding to the period 1542-1689, published as Edwin George and Stella George (eds.), *Bristol Probate Inventories* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2002), vols. 1-2. The second set is edited inventories from Stratford-Upon-Avon corresponding to the period 1538-1699, published as Jeanne Jones (ed.), *Stratford-Upon-Avon Inventories 1538-1699* (Stratford-Upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, 2002-3. I have also drawn upon seventeenth-century wills from Stratford-Upon-Avon transcribed by Stephanie Appleton for her doctoral thesis, ‘Women and Wills in Early Modern England: The Community of Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1537-1649’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham (2016). I have relied on these edited collections since the purpose of this thesis is not to undertake extensive quantitative analysis and together they provide rich source material to contextualise my analysis. As an urban centre and port town Bristol is a particularly appropriate location with the wealth and availability of goods necessary to invest in dated wares. Meanwhile Stratford-Upon-Avon, although less affluent than Bristol, was still a bustling market town with a steady flow of trade and custom in this period, located in the middle of the country where many of the objects in this thesis originated. Moreover, the availability of both inventories and wills for Stratford provides a useful linkage across sources. Alongside these probate materials, I have also used the extensive data accumulated by Overton *et al* for Kent and Cornwall, which further provides a sense of regional differences in domestic materiality. See Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004).



Focusing attention on surviving dated objects does of course throw up a major methodological problem surrounding the question of authenticity. The inscription of a date on an object makes it all the more desirable for collectors, and so it is possible that otherwise genuine items may have been falsely inscribed in order to make them more saleable. This is often difficult to detect since the object may in all other ways be an authentic object from the period, but with the later addition of a date. Some dated ceramics have been identified as fakes by curators. In the late nineteenth century dated ceramic wine bottles, for example, were popular among collectors, and it has been speculated by Aileen Dawson, curator at the British Museum, that ‘some may even have had their (spurious) inscriptions added at this time.’<sup>143</sup> Indeed, the unusually large number of inscribed examples of these bottles that are known suggests their later redecoration. Many examples of plain, undecorated wine bottles were recorded in the nineteenth century, but these are very rare now.<sup>144</sup> Moreover, an intriguing contemporary account suggests that plain ceramic bottles were repainted, refired, and then sold on as genuine antiques in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In *Early English Drug Jars*, published in 1931, Geoffrey Eliot Howard discussed these ceramic wine bottles, including ‘A Note on Fakes’ in which he wrote:

Hodgkin’s son, the late Mr John Hodgkin, told me that his father maintained that in his day [c. 1891] genuine plain Lambeth jars were exported to France and Holland, where inscriptions, dates or coats of arms were painted upon them, after which they were refired. He even asserted that he recognised actual specimens, which he had seen bought in sales by a certain individual, in their original undecorated state, and which, after a short period, reappeared on the market richly decorated.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Dawson, *English & Irish Delftware*, p. 34.

<sup>144</sup> Louis Lipski and Michael Archer, *Dated English Delftware: Tin-glazed Earthenware 1600-1800* (London: Sotheby Productions, 1984), p. 308. See also my article on these bottles, ‘Marking the New Year: Dated Objects and the Materiality of Time in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 6 (2017), pp. 89–111.

<sup>145</sup> Geoffrey Eliot Howard, *Early English Drug Jars* (London: The Medici Society, 1931), p. 50.

In the case of ceramics, fakes can sometimes be identified if they display blemishes or firing faults. Damaged items would not have been sold in the early modern period but would be discarded, as the rubbish found at the site of potteries bears witness to.<sup>146</sup> Some dated ceramics do have faults, however, with bubbled or reformed glaze visible over damaged parts; these signs suggest an object has been refired at a later date. One dated tin-glazed earthenware wine bottle in the British Museum shows blistering due to over-firing, and the date was therefore likely added later.<sup>147</sup> Moreover genuine seventeenth-century pieces would have had their inscription added and fired altogether with the original glaze, in one round. If the inscription was added at a later stage, it can instead appear dull and poorly covered by the glaze, again indicating a fake.<sup>148</sup> The dated inscription on another ceramic bottle in Manchester Art Gallery is not covered by glaze at all, suggesting it was also added later.<sup>149</sup>

The problem of fakes is perhaps even more acute for furniture. In the first instance this is partly due to the materiality of the object; it is easy to make additions to wooden items at a later date since carvings or paintings do not have to be added at the time of making, and unlike with ceramics where the refiring process can produce obvious faults, it can sometimes be difficult to tell whether such additions were made at the time or not. Particularly problematic is the taste for confections in the nineteenth century. At this time it was not uncommon to take panels from one object and remake them into other things, and so the back panel of a chair may have started life as part of a cabinet or chest. It is impossible to say categorically that every object discussed in this thesis is a genuine piece made entirely in one phase. Indeed, some are themselves ‘early modern confections’, with

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<sup>146</sup> Kieron Tyler, Ian Betts and Roy Stephenson, *London's Delftware Industry: The Tin-Glazed Pottery Industries of Southwark and Lambeth* (London: Museum of London, 2008), p. 66.

<sup>147</sup> BM, London, museum no. 1887,0307,E.18.

<sup>148</sup> Lipski and Archer, *Dated English Delftware*, p. 425.

<sup>149</sup> Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester, museum no. 1947.728.

contemporary items of furniture reappropriated and redecorated following major familial events. However, no object has been included here if there are clear uncertainties about its authenticity, if it has obviously been remodelled at a much later date, or if its design seems entirely out of keeping with other comparable objects of the period. Moreover, the sheer quantity of domestic dated objects that survive for the early to mid-seventeenth century means that any anomalies do not affect the overall arguments of this thesis.

## **VII) Structure and Chapters**

Chapter 1 opens with a wide-ranging overview of the calendar and representations of time in early modern England, providing the necessary context for subsequent chapters. It surveys a variety of different media, including timelines, genealogies, calendars, and almanacs, which collectively demonstrate how multiple conceptions of time existed in this period, both complementing and contesting one another. It then turns to the interpretation of time, examining contemporary ideas on astrology and numerology, and arguing that time was highly malleable and could be loaded with religious, political, or celestial meaning.

After this opening chapter, three subsequent chapters focus on specific categories of dated object that had a particularly visible and symbolic presence within the household. Chapter 2 presents a case study of dated furniture and uses the life-cycle as a framework for discussion. I argue that the dated inscriptions on these crafted items provide evidence for the multitemporality of the domestic sphere; furniture was used to display carefully selected information to a range of audiences in the present in order to construct identity, but such objects also played important roles as family heirlooms, and thus acted as vehicles of communication across time. The hearth provides the focus of Chapter 3, which views this space as a key site of temporal reflection within the seventeenth-century home.

Here analysis centres on objects used for work and display that adorned the hearth. I argue that these objects were polychronic, operating within multiple systems of time; these ranged from the daily cycles of quotidian time, to the linear system of calendrical time, and ultimately the eternal time of the spiritual realm. Chapter 4 turns its attention to dated tablewares, with a notable focus on ceramics, providing the opportunity to discuss changing ideas of tradition and novelty during this period. Indeed, whilst these objects further exhibit the polychronicity discussed in previous chapters, their ability to carry novel designs, their relatively low cost compared to furniture or hearth wares, and their lack of material durability, means they raise a different set of questions about the temporality of domestic goods and the household in seventeenth-century England.

The fifth and final chapter considers how the passage of time was recorded in material texts within the household, using three particularly rich case studies. First, the early seventeenth-century manuscripts produced by Thomas Trevelyon who, by copying and piecing together existing chronologies and calendars, adhered to more conventional ideas of time. Then, in contrast, discussion moves to the ‘calendar’ made by Elizabeth Isham (c.1639), which establishes a much more personal connection with time as Isham uses a single folio sheet to experiment with how best to record her passage through time. The prayer book of Isaac Walton provides the final case study, used by him and his family to record important dates in their history. It is considered alongside the dated furniture that he also acquired to mark out extraordinary events. All three authors attached great importance to maintaining a material record of their own or their family’s position in time and each sought to create a document that would ideally be viewed, used, and even added to, by many generations to come.

Overall, this thesis provides an important contribution to our understanding of ideas of time, the household, and the consumer revolution in early modern England. It argues that

ideas of time were much more complex in this period than has been previously understood, with the domestic sphere exhibiting a multitemporality that saw the convergence of many different systems of time, from the cycles of daily time, the seasons, and the life cycle, to ideas of the eternal and posterity that existed within earthly time, and ultimately the spiritual eternal that existed beyond time. Moreover, dated objects sit on a spectrum between two kinds of temporal extreme in domestic material culture and consumer behaviour in the seventeenth century: one in which the old or the traditional is valued, for example commemorative wooden furniture based on traditional forms, and one in which novelty and newness is valued, for example tin-glazed earthenware in ever-changing designs. This thesis also challenges traditional interpretations of dated wares, which have tried to explain these objects by linking them to single, specific events, without exploring their diverse meanings. Instead, this thesis argues that domestic objects were inscribed with dates in the seventeenth century for three potential reasons: to pinpoint the moment of acquisition; to participate in, manifest, and recall a life cycle event, such as a marriage over time; or to rewrite history through the retrospective dating of items some time after the year in question. Indeed, it is the overall contention of this thesis that dated objects cannot be taken at face value; they are significantly more complex, and in some cases, actively misleading, than has until now been acknowledged.

## CHAPTER 1 – IDEAS OF TIME

This chapter considers ideas of time in early modern England, surveying the variety of ways time was given shape and meaning across the period. Through an examination of the numerous calendars and dating practices that existed at this time and their development, it provides the necessary context for subsequent chapters, which explore specific categories of domestic dated object, and demonstrates the sheer complexity of time and temporality in seventeenth-century England. Analysis in this chapter focuses on the calendar as conceptualised and represented in a variety of media, including printed, manuscript, and material sources. Such sources demonstrate the rich variety of ways in which time was conceived as they reflect multiple shapes and systems of time. The shift from perpetual calendars to ephemeral almanacs, specific only to a single year, suggests on the one hand that from the seventeenth century time was increasingly thought of as a linear continuum. Yet the representation of time in these calendars was still intimately connected to the natural cycles of the seasons and the stars. Similarly, the growing tendency from the late sixteenth century to inscribe objects with a single year date points to an increasingly wider use of linear conceptions of time, yet the use of such objects within the rhythms of daily activity suggests that multiple systems of time co-existed through these objects. In order to explore the multitemporal nature of time in this period, this chapter is divided into three sections. Section one outlines changes to both the format of the calendar and the ways in which numerical dates were employed across the early modern period in England. Section two moves on to consider the implications of these various calendrical systems on the shape of time and its daily experience through an examination of diaries, almanacs, and other forms of life writing. Both sections argue that time was highly varied in this period, not just because it was experienced in both linear and cyclical ways, but also because it was unfixed and could be readily manipulated. Section three then turns to the ways in

which time was interpreted and given meaning through recourse to astrology and numerology. It shows that unlike post-Newtonian conceptions of time, in which numerical dates were purely functional or utilitarian markers of a moment in time, in the seventeenth century dates could be loaded with symbolic meaning. These ideas are explored further through a case study of objects inscribed with the owner's birth date in order to examine the ways in which a belief in lucky or unlucky dates may have motivated the acquisition of a dated object.

## I) The Calendar

In the late sixteenth century, the historian and topographer William Harrison (1535-1593) set about writing a history of Britain in which he sought to document not just his native country's geography, topography, and history, but also to describe all aspects of its current social, economic, religious, and political life. *An Historicall Description of the Iland of Britaine* was first published in 1577, sometime after Harrison had converted to a radical kind of Protestantism and had become particularly interested in time and chronology.<sup>1</sup>

Like many of his contemporaries, Harrison's conception of history was influenced greatly by his faith, regarding chronology 'as a means of propagating a profoundly Protestant view of the past and present world'.<sup>2</sup> The providential histories that he created have been of significant value ever since to scholars interested in a range of aspects of life in Elizabethan England. Alongside Harrison's broader interest in history and chronology, he also specifically deals with the nature of time in sixteenth-century England in a chapter in

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<sup>1</sup> Glyn Parry, 'Harrison, William (1535–1593), historian and topographer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12453> (Accessed: 24 July 2018).

<sup>2</sup> G. J. R. Parry, 'Trinity College Dublin MS. 165: the Study of Time in the Sixteenth Century', *Historical Research*, 62 (1989), pp. 15–33 (p.18).

Book Three entitled ‘Of Our Account of Time and Her Parts’. Beginning by outlining how the custom of dividing the day into twenty-four equal hours meant that on the one hand, Harrison did not ‘see any great difference used in the observation of time and her parts, between our own and any other foreign nation’, when it came to the calendar, however he lamented the peculiarly confusing nature of those conflicting systems adopted in Britain.<sup>3</sup> He wrote, ‘Herein only I find a scruple, that the beginning [of the year] is not uniform and certain, for most of our records bear date the twenty-fifth of March, and our calendars the first of January, so that with us Christ is born before He be conceived.’<sup>4</sup> He goes on to complain that the different start dates of the various calendars ‘breedeth great confusion’, and if only all could agree on 1st January as the start of the year, ‘I do not think but that there would be more certainty and less trouble for our historiographers, notaries, and other officers in their account of the year.’<sup>5</sup>

Harrison’s critique of the calendar was certainly well-founded. A great variety of different calendrical systems co-existed in England at this time, and although some calendars were certainly more dominant, there was no universal system that could be used in all contexts. Ecclesiastical, regnal, financial, legal, solar, and lunar calendars were all used for different purposes and occasions, sometimes at the same time, with a variety of systems even being used to date a single document. Moreover, whilst the various calendars could start at different points, some did not begin on specific dates and instead had to be recalculated for each year, whilst others did not rely on dates at all but turned on the seasons. The ecclesiastical calendar alone had more than one possibility for the start point of the year; although advent marked the beginning of the ritual year, Lady Day on 25

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<sup>3</sup> William Harrison, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life [1587]*, Georges Edelen (ed.) (New York: The Folger Shakespeare Library and Dover Publications, 1994), p. 379.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison, *The Description of England*, p. 388.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



March, also known as the Annunciation, was thought to mark the commencement of the Christian era and was adopted as such for legal, financial, and civic purposes.<sup>6</sup> The co-existence of these multiple calendrical systems is demonstrated in a range of documents that employ several different calendars at once. The Elizabethan New Year's gift rolls, for example, record those 'Neweyeres guiftes' given on 'The First of January', thus adopting the popular system assigning 1<sup>st</sup> January as the start of the year, rather than using ecclesiastical models. Yet despite this, the entries are dated based on the regnal year, which began on the first day of the monarch's reign. Thus the list for 1559, the New Year which fell during the first year of Elizabeth's reign, is entitled 'Anno Regni Regine/Elizabeth Primo'.<sup>7</sup> That the use of several calendrical systems permeated well beyond government documents is evident in the customary format for writing will preambles, which often began by recording both the Anno Domini year as well as the regnal year in which the will was made.<sup>8</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the flexibility and choice afforded by the existence of multiple calendars can be seen beyond official documents, evident in life writing in the form of diaries and account books from the period. The two most popular options for New Year's Day, 1 January and 25 March, led to many treating the months January-March as a kind of transitional period when recording the date. In 1698 the French traveller Francois Mission commented on this practice, noting how, 'In Conformity to the Cycles of the Sun and Moon, the English years begin the first of January...But the Church and State, notwithstanding the Inconveniencies found in it, begin their Year the 25<sup>th</sup> of March...all

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<sup>6</sup> A. Pollard, 'New Year's Day and Leap Year in English History', *English Historical Review*, 55 (1940), pp. 177–193 (p. 178).

<sup>7</sup> Jane A. Lawson (ed.), *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2013), p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> For more on the use of dating systems within legal documents as a means of ensuring the reliability and authenticity of the document, and the dating of wills in particular, see the Introduction to this thesis.

dates, between the first of January and the 24<sup>th</sup> of March inclusive they mark the double year in this manner, 1666/7.<sup>9</sup> The lack of consensus over the calendrical position of January and February could sometimes breed confusion; a tombstone for a boy in Salisbury cathedral reads, ‘H[ic] S[epultus] E[st] the body the sonn of Thomas Lambert, Gentleman, who was borne May the 13<sup>th</sup> Anno Domini 1683 and dyed February 19 the same year.’<sup>10</sup> Most interesting is the use of this dual year system when dating objects. A walnut and cane armchair, for example, now in a private collection, is inscribed with the date ‘*FEBVERY Y<sup>e</sup> 20 ANNO DO 1687<sup>8</sup>*’ (see Plate 6).<sup>11</sup> The inclusion of the precise calendrical date, 20<sup>th</sup> February, explains the possibility of using the dual year system, since the date falls in those months that could be seen as part of this transition period. Yet it is interesting that such a permanent record of a seemingly liminal period in time, falling in neither one year nor the next, would be engraved onto a costly and elaborately carved armchair such as this. Indeed, it is particularly strange since people could (and did) choose to adopt January as the turn of the year in written dating practices, whilst the use of the dual year on dated objects remains exceedingly rare on surviving wares.<sup>12</sup>

The different possibilities for the start of the year and the transitional period between January and March were not the only ways in which the calendar remained unfixed during this period. Time was also subject to frequent political and religious scrutiny that could create calendrical upheaval. The Gregorian calendar reforms of the late sixteenth century and the resulting fierce debates over whether it should be introduced in England are a

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<sup>9</sup> Francois Mission, *M. Mission's Memoirs and Observations in His Travels Over England*, trans. J. Ozell (London, 1719), p. 366.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Silke Ackermann, ‘Maths and Memory: Calendar Medals in the British Museum, Part 1’, *The Medal*, 45 (2004), pp. 3–43 (pp. 7, 14 n. 16).

<sup>11</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.W/27.

<sup>12</sup> Alongside the chair, other examples include a snuff box inscribed ‘1716/7’ in the collection at CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.M/61.

major example of this.<sup>13</sup> The reforms were accepted throughout Catholic Europe between 1582 and 1587 but even after discussion was reignited in the late seventeenth century the changes were not instituted into the English calendar at that time. Indeed, whilst most Protestant countries did eventually follow suit from 1699 onwards, it was not until 1752 that the Gregorian reforms were accepted in England. The problem itself arose from inaccuracies in the original Julian calendar, which had been the framework of the calendar in western Europe since 45BC. Despite its widespread adoption, the calendar was slightly too long by a mere eleven minutes. By the sixteenth century these inaccuracies had become magnified to a great extent and the calendar was now out of step by ten days. The resultant problems in the calculation of Easter prompted the Church in Rome to seek a solution, which it did through the issuing of a papal bull in 1582 to propose the removal of ten days from October of that year in order to correct the fault.<sup>14</sup>

Yet the question of calendrical change was complicated further at this time by the climate of Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe. In Protestant countries the Gregorian reforms sparked considerable debate and hostility. Some were concerned that the reforms went against nature, and as Robert Poole has argued, the changes were made on theological and astronomical grounds, ‘with little consideration of the impact of this piece of chronological engineering upon the complex time patterns of everyday life’.<sup>15</sup> Yet more significant was the wider implication of accepting a restructuring of time from Rome, which meant accepting the Catholic Church’s power over something as fundamental to both mundane and spiritual experience as time. In England this led to considerable debate between mathematicians, astronomers, and the government over the

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<sup>13</sup> Anne Lake Prescott, ‘Refusing Translation’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 36 (2006), pp. 1–11.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Poole, *Time’s Alteration: Calendar Reform in Early Modern England* (London: UCL Press, 1998), pp. 31–33; see also Robert Poole, ‘“Give Us Our Eleven Days!”: Calendar Reform in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Past & Present*, 149 (1995), pp. 95–139, on the reignition of the debate in the eighteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> Poole, *Time’s Alteration*, p. 40.

accuracy and suitability of the reforms. The treatise by John Dee, *A playne discourse and humble advise concerning the needful Reformation of the Vulgar Kalendar for the civile years and daies accompting, or verifyeng, according to the time truely spent* (1583), is a prominent example of the resulting publications.<sup>16</sup> Dee was one of the country's leading scientific figures with the comprehension of astronomy necessary to unravel the issues surrounding the calendar. On the one hand Dee accepted that the calendar was dramatically out of step and needed to be modified, but instead of accepting the declaration in the papal bull that the calendar was ten days in error, he argued that it had in fact slipped by eleven. As such, he recommended that the calendar be gradually altered by two or three days per month between May and September 1583 to correct the fault, and significantly he reasoned that the royal authority, rather than that from Rome, was all that was needed to modify the civic calendar.<sup>17</sup>

Ultimately Dee's changes were also rejected, yet his advocacy that England adopt its own calendar out of step with that of Europe and Rome, and that royal rather than papal authority was all that was necessary, demonstrates how time was seen to be a powerful tool and could be used for political gain. Indeed, Dee's treatise in many ways echoes the politically motivated changes to the calendar that occurred during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in an attempt to make it more distinctly English and Protestant, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis. That the calendar was open to debate and change reinforces the idea that systems of time were both subjective and unfixed in this period. The calendar was a powerful tool and therefore dates could be loaded with meaning. Moreover, although the use of calendar dates was becoming more widespread, time itself had not been pinned down in mathematical and absolute terms as it would

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<sup>16</sup> John Dee, *A Playne Discourse and Humble Advise concerning the Needful Reformation of the Vulgar Kalendar* (London, 1583).

<sup>17</sup> Poole, "Give Us Our Eleven Days!", pp. 106-7.

following the rise of Newtonian ideas from the end of the seventeenth century. Before this, when an object was inscribed with a date it could therefore involve a decisive navigation of, and engagement with, these religious and political debates.

The great variety of calendrical systems available in the seventeenth century is further emphasised by expressions of the calendar in material form. ‘Coin-calendars’ produced from the mid-seventeenth century combined different calendars and systems for calculating the date.<sup>18</sup> These small, coin-like objects made in silver, brass, and copper were engraved with perpetual calendars in tabular form that could be used for hundreds of years. They allowed the user to calculate an astonishing amount of calendrical information, including the weekday of a particular date, feast days, the date of Easter, anniversaries, law terms, and in some cases even astronomical information relating to the position of the sun and moon.<sup>19</sup> One silver example measuring 41mm in diameter is inscribed around the edge of the obverse, ‘A PERPETVAL ALMANACK INVENTED BY S.MORLAND 1650’ (see Plate 7).<sup>20</sup> Samuel Morland (1625-95) is generally credited with inventing the coin-calendar as well as the highly condensed perpetual calendar that was engraved upon it.<sup>21</sup> In 1650 Morland issued the pocket calendar on this coin as well as a paper version, later remarking, ‘This Almanack was first intended to be as short and compendious as was possible, and to be Graven on a small plate of Silver, about the breadth of a Shilling, and so portable together with money’.<sup>22</sup> The table on the reverse allows for the calculation of

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<sup>18</sup> These objects have been termed both coin-calendars and calendar medals. A. J. Turner made the case for naming them after coins rather than medals since Samuel Morland, a prolific maker of these objects, ‘is explicit about the connection with money and clearly conceived the device with coins rather than medals in mind’. For this reason I have also elected to use the term. See A. J. Turner, ‘A seventeenth-century calendar scale for coins and mathematical instruments’, *The American Journal of Numismatics*, 5 (1993), pp. 209-219 (p. 209).

<sup>19</sup> Coin-calendars have received little academic attention, likely because as calendars they do not fall easily into the remit of numismatic scholars. However, some introductory studies have been done, notably Ackermann, ‘Maths and Memory’, and Turner, ‘A seventeenth-century calendar scale’.

<sup>20</sup> BM, London, museum no. 1891,0217.8.

<sup>21</sup> Ackermann, ‘Maths and Memory’, p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Samuel Morland, ‘An Explanation of the Perpetual Almanack’ in *The description and use of two*

the Dominical letter - a letter between A and G that denotes the first Sunday of the year. Once this date is known it can then be applied to the table on the obverse in order to calculate a specific day of the week, feast, or the date of Easter, for any year between 1000 and 2400 AD.<sup>23</sup> The scale on this medal begins the year in January, but this was not always the case. Another dated 1684 by an unknown maker is engraved on the obverse with a cyclical sequence of letters, indicating the weekday of the first day of the calendar every year of the twenty-eight-year solar cycle, which would then repeat.<sup>24</sup> Notably it starts with March 1684, yet January and February are paradoxically also numbered as the first two months of the year. Meanwhile, the reverse of this coin displays a table of months and days, further demonstrating how multiple calendrical systems and representations of time co-existed, in this case even on a single object.

Outside of its initial function to calculate a specific date, how this object was used in daily life, and for what purposes the calendrical information was applied, is more obscure. As Morland comments, their small size meant they could be held in the hand or kept in a purse and were thus highly tactile and portable time-measuring devices, but whether in reality they were used in the way Morland intended is more difficult to ascertain. Interestingly, perpetual calendars like the ones engraved on coin-calendars are also found on scientific and mathematical instruments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as quadrants and dials. A quadrant made by Henry Sutton and dated 1660, for example, is inscribed with a sundial quadrant, various trigonometric scales, and a perpetual calendar.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Morland himself was a mathematician and scientist who, alongside

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*arithmetic instruments* (London, 1673), sig. A1r.

<sup>23</sup> However, after the adoption of the Gregorian reforms to the calendar in 1752 this perpetual calendar would have no longer been functional. For a detailed description of how these tables work see Ackermann, 'Maths and Memory', pp. 5-7. Although they may seem highly complicated now, once the user has understood how to apply the data given the perpetual calendar is very easy to use and requires no complex calculations.

<sup>24</sup> BM, London, museum no. 1998,1003.1.

<sup>25</sup> Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, museum no. 26114.

the perpetual calendar, invented various machines, notably those for use in hydraulics and calculations.<sup>26</sup> If the coin-calendars fell into the remit of scientific and mathematic knowledge, it is possible they held much more academic functions. However, it is also possible that for this reason they were desired more as status objects to display the owner's knowledge rather than for use on a practical level. That they may have been used thus is further evident in the survival of some more elaborate coin-calendars with purpose-built metal or leather cases which, as Silke Ackermann has suggested in her catalogue of these objects, indicates such examples 'were clearly meant to impress as much as to fulfil certain practical functions.'<sup>27</sup>

That owning a perpetual calendar could be used to display status and knowledge is further demonstrated by their appearance on an entirely different kind of object. Several seventeenth-century snuff boxes survive featuring perpetual calendars in their decoration, in this case showing how calendrical information could be incorporated into everyday objects. Like coin-calendars, snuff boxes were highly portable and tactile objects that were both personal, being kept on the body, yet were frequently interacted with, touched, and shared.<sup>28</sup> One copper snuff box dated 1662 is inscribed, 'Samuel Greggevrgeas legem, Ano Regni Car:II: XIII [sic] Ano dom 1662', making reference to both the Anno Domini and regnal dating systems, alongside an engraved perpetual calendar (see Plates 8 and 9).<sup>29</sup> Even more fascinating is another example in brass and wood in the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford.<sup>30</sup> This snuff box not only has a perpetual calendar engraved on the

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<sup>26</sup> For more on the life of Morland, see Alan Marshall, 'Morland, Sir Samuel, first baronet (1625–1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19282> (Accessed: 7 June 2016).

<sup>27</sup> Ackermann, 'Maths and Memory', p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Victoria Avery, Melissa Calaresu, and Mary Laven (eds.), *Treasured Possessions: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2015), p. 90.

<sup>29</sup> CTF, Chicago, uncatalogued.

<sup>30</sup> Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, Museum no. 37115.

underside, but it also has a small compass dial underneath a hinged aperture on the lid. Meanwhile a rhyme inscribed around the rim emphasises that although it truly belongs to its owner, the box was also intended to be shared, seen, and coveted by others: ‘I am but for one, my owner alone/ so be not to bold, to take in my hold:/ but with his good will, you may your pipe fill,/ therefore if you taste, pray make not much waste.’

These snuff boxes suggest two possibilities for the use of perpetual almanacs. On the one hand they were highly portable and were found not just on scientific instruments but on more popular objects, suggesting both a desire to know numerical dates, terms, or feasts whilst on the move, possibly for the calculation of rents or similar. This would suggest that daily use of the calendar had permeated widely among middling and elite sections of society and indicates the importance of accurate notions of time in their daily life. On the other hand, the perpetual calendars were perhaps also engraved on these objects as an indication of the learnedness of the owner. These were sociable objects, designed to be used publicly with their contents intended to be shared amongst one’s peers. As such their decoration communicated carefully considered messages about the owner. It is likely then that knowledge of the calendar had also become desirable for reasons outside of utility, bringing with it connotations of the status and knowledge of the owner.

## **II) The Shape of Time**

The perpetual almanacs printed on medals and snuff boxes used tabular or circular formats to display the calendar, but these were far from the only graphic representations of time in the period. Indeed, there was a great deal of experimentation taking place over how best to depict time; was it a circle, a line, a chart, or none of the above? Scholars pursued the creation of graphic representations of vast world chronologies with vigour following the Renaissance and in doing so produced some of the most creative ways of visualising time.



There had long been attempts made to draw up all-encompassing accounts of human history, recording events in order according to their year. Eusebius' *Chronicle* compiled in the early fourth century was perhaps the most important early example; it continued to be printed and adapted throughout medieval and early modern Europe and remained a key source for chronologers.<sup>31</sup> The challenge for these chronologers in particular was to correlate information from a wide range of biblical and classical sources and then to display it in the most effective and user-friendly manner. As Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton have outlined in their comprehensive study of the development of the timeline, its format as we know it today with an equal, measured distribution of dates was only invented in the last 250 years.<sup>32</sup> Renaissance and early modern chronologers in contrast had no standard graphic format to use and instead trialled and developed different systems for representing the flow of time. This was further complicated by the lack of consensus between different historical accounts. Dates of major events varied depending on whether one used the Hebrew or Greek version of the Old Testament, for example, since these texts disagreed on how many years had lapsed between the Creation and Jesus' birth.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile cartographers also sought to integrate other calendars, for example the succession of popes, the regnal calendars of Egypt or Rome, as well as Anno Mundi and Anno Domini dating systems.<sup>34</sup> Any visual representation therefore had to be capable of displaying a whole host of different and often competing calendars at once. The result was a great variety of tabular, linear, and even pictorial depictions of time, each format responding to the attitudes of the author and their motivations for creating a chronology.

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<sup>31</sup> Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton, *Cartographies of Time: A History of the Timeline* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010), pp. 26-7.

<sup>32</sup> Rosenberg and Grafton, *Cartographies of Time*, p. 14.

<sup>33</sup> Anthony Grafton, 'Dating History', *Daedalus*, 132 (2003), pp. 74–85 (p. 75).

<sup>34</sup> Rosenberg and Grafton, *Cartographies of Time*, pp. 42-4.

One chronologer to rise to the challenge of incorporating many calendrical systems and traditions into a single, easy-to-navigate text was the Carthusian monk Werner Rolevinck. His *Fasciculus Temporum* (or ‘bundle of dates’) was first published in 1474 and enjoyed considerable popularity, going through some forty editions in Rolevinck’s own lifetime, and continuing to be published until as late as 1726.<sup>35</sup> With that said, the *Fasciculus* was richly illustrated and must have been an expensive book, limiting circulation to those who could afford it. At its most basic level the chronology was a linear chart drawn across fifty pages that provided an overview of world history from the Creation to the present day.<sup>36</sup> Yet alongside this linear format, Rolevinck used a range of other visual tools to represent time. Two lines run through the centre of each page to provide the main timeline, with events plotted against the corresponding date in a continuous, unbroken chronology (see Figure 2). The upper line uses the Anno Mundi dating system, which puts the Creation at year one, whilst the lower line uses the Anno Domini system, structured around the birth of Christ. This therefore allowed readers to see when an event took place, for example the destruction of Babylon, both in relation to the Creation and to Christ’s birth. Additionally, some of these major events are accompanied by small but beautifully detailed drawings including depictions of Noah’s Arc, Sodom and Gomorrah, the Fall of Troy, and the ancient cities of Athens and Rome, amongst others. Each page of the *Fasciculus* also has additional lines running horizontally across the page either above or below the main chronology. These vary depending on which era Rolevinck is presenting, but include timelines of ‘*reges italie*’, ‘*reges israhel*’, ‘*reges babilonie*’, ‘*reges egipti*’, ‘*imperatores*’ and many others, allowing the reader to easily cross-reference

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<sup>35</sup> Askel Josephson, ‘Fifteenth-Century Editions of ‘Fasciculus temporum’ in American Libraries’, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 11 (1917), pp. 61–65 (p. 62).

<sup>36</sup> Werner Rolevinck, *Fasciculus temporum* (Rougemont, 1481) [first published 1474]. See also Rosenberg and Grafton’s analysis of how the Fasciculus was compiled and intended to function in *Cartographies of Time*, pp. 28-40.

the position in time of these rulers with the major events in history that form the primary timeline.<sup>37</sup> Connected to these lines are circles providing additional information or names of historical figures, as well as excerpts from historical texts. Rolevinck additionally includes occasional larger circles to break up his timeline, indicating which ‘stage of the world’ the chronology is now entering.

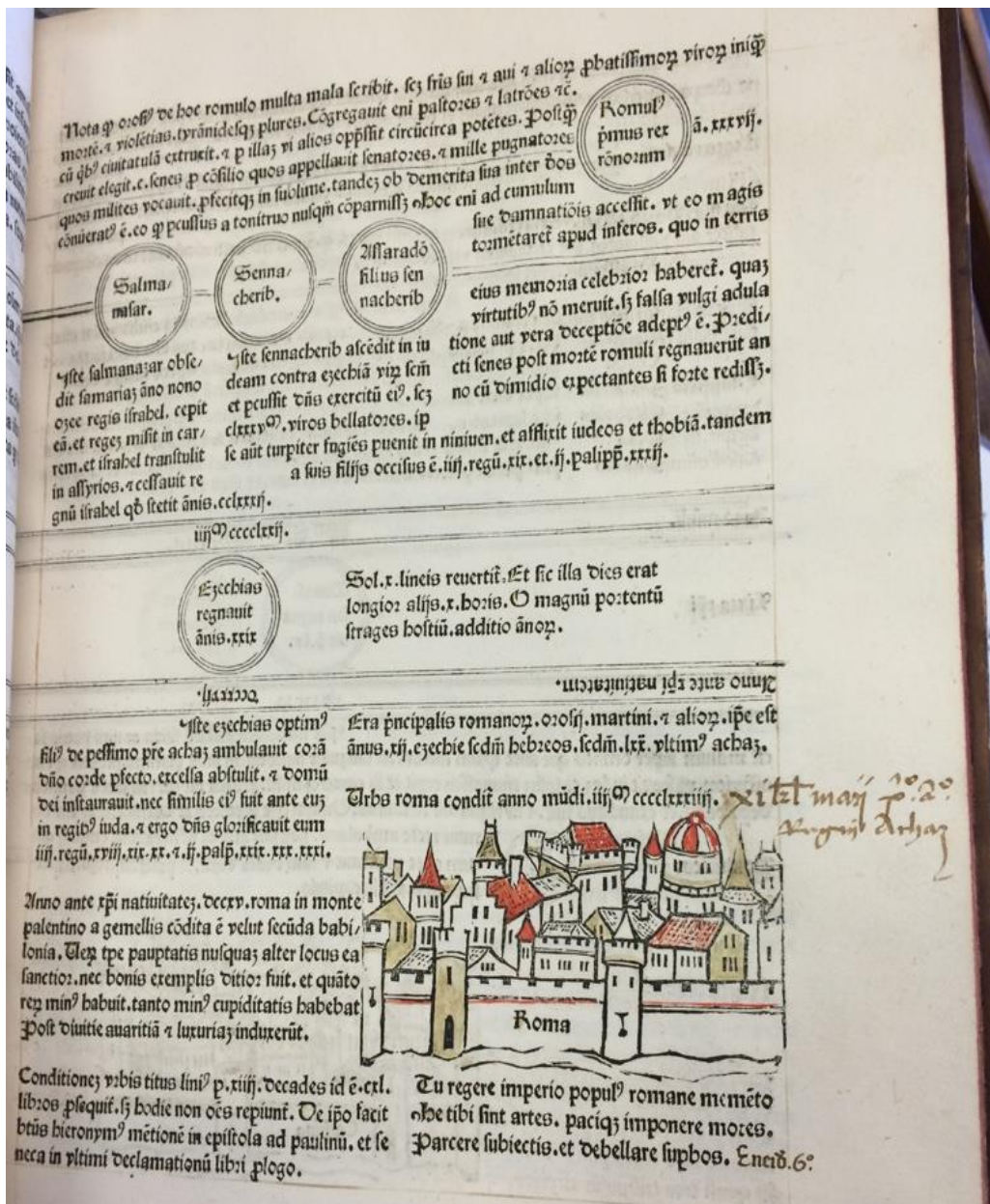


Figure 2 - Extract from Werner Rolevinck, Fasciculus Temporum (Rougemont, 1681).

<sup>37</sup> These translate to ‘Kings of Italy’, ‘Kings of Israel’, ‘Kings of Babylon’ ‘Kings of Egypt’ and ‘emperors’.

The amount of information that Rolevinck combines in the *Fasiculus* undoubtedly represented an enormous feat but it also demonstrates the sheer complexity of time in this period. For Rolevinck, an understanding of time and history had to be as comprehensive as possible, collating many different world histories to establish one grand universal chronology. Yet the opportunity to pick and choose from so many different temporal systems also meant chronologies could be constructed in such a way as to support specific narratives. This was the case for scholars with an interest in history who were working in England from the late sixteenth century. Whilst chronological endeavours would continue throughout the Renaissance in Europe, in England it was the Reformation that provided the real catalyst for the creation of chronologies, which were used to prove the validity of the Protestant cause. At this time Protestant writers like John Stow, Richard Grafton, and William Camden produced chronicles tracing British history back to its mythological foundation by Brutus linking it neatly up to the present day as a way of demonstrating the country's Protestant destiny.<sup>38</sup> John Stow's numerous chronologies and histories, which consisted of some twenty-one editions, were particularly prolific during this period and were widely read, continuing to be reprinted well into the seventeenth century.<sup>39</sup>

Meanwhile another Protestant scholar with an interest in history was the writer William Harrison, whose *An Historicall Description of the Iland of Britaine* was discussed at the opening of this chapter. Harrison had also worked on a chronology of England, creating a providential history through which he intended to propagate 'a profoundly protestant view of the past and present world'.<sup>40</sup> The resulting work, 'The Great English Chronologie', survives only in an intermediate stage as Trinity MS 165, as the fuller

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<sup>38</sup> See Daniel Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact: The Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19 (1988), pp. 321–354.

<sup>39</sup> Ian Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie, eds, *John Stow (1525-1605) and the Making of the English Past* (London: The British Library, 2004), p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Parry, 'Trinity College Dublin MS 165', p. 18.

version has since disappeared from a library in Derry.<sup>41</sup> However this partial manuscript has received much in-depth attention by the historian G. J. R. Parry who has used its incomplete status to analyse the process used by chronologers in this period to create histories.<sup>42</sup> Each page of Harrison's manuscript is formed of two main columns of text with between two and four additional columns on the left hand side of the page within which he inserts various dating systems that form the basis of his timeline. Harrison utilised a large number of sacred and profane dating systems, from Anno Mundi and Anno Domini systems to chronologies based on Saxon, Danish, and Norman history. He also made use of astronomy and regnal years in his calculations to further confirm when specific events had taken place. Like Rolevinck, Harrison attempted to collate a range of different dating systems and histories. Yet his desire to use chronology to demonstrate the providential nature of English history and his own position in a predestined timeline meant there was clearly a hierarchy within his source material, as 'profane chronologies [were used] in strict subordination to the Scriptures'.<sup>43</sup> The selection of different dating systems and their arrangement within a hierarchy demonstrates the malleability of time in this period. There was no one universal temporal system used, nor was there one accepted timeline of history; instead time could be moulded around specific discourses and far from being neutral, it could be readily manipulated.

These experiments with how to visually represent time on the page through complex mixtures of lines, circles, and pictures reminds us that time was not the fixed and disinterested entity it would become. There were many different types of time and they could be expressed and experienced in a variety of different ways. This is perhaps clearest in those visual representations of time that relied on neither linear nor cyclical graphics to

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<sup>41</sup> William Harrison, 'The Great English Chronologie', Trinity College Dublin MS 165.

<sup>42</sup> Parry, 'Trinity College Dublin MS 165'.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

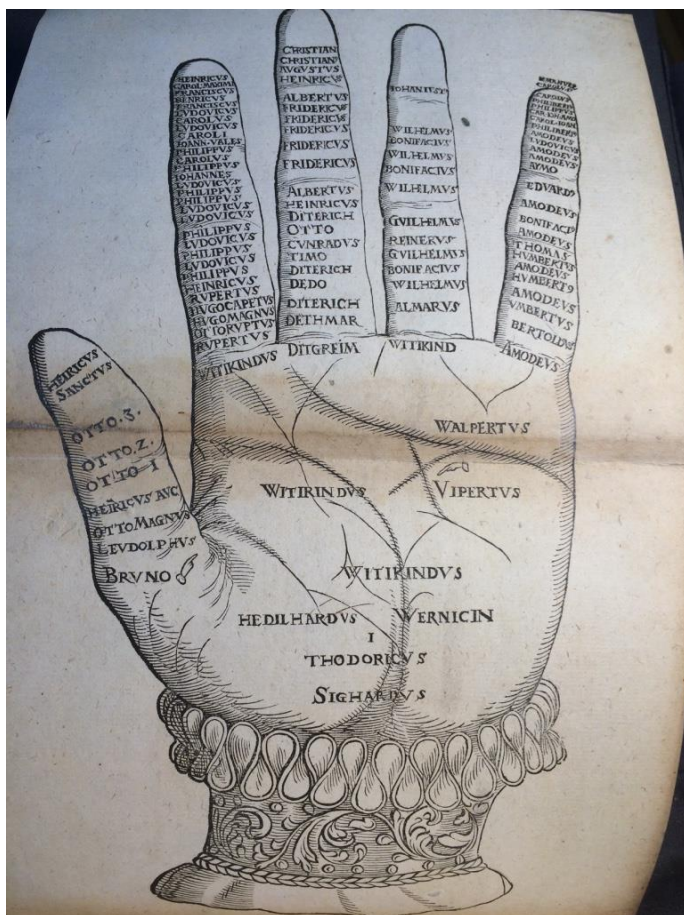


Figure 3 - Hand genealogy from Lorenz Faust, *Anatomia statuæ Danielis* (Leipzig 1585).

display chronology, but instead relied on pictorial forms. From the late sixteenth century, pictorial chronologies were employed for the representation of grand world histories as well as individual genealogies and were intended largely as mnemonic tools. The chronologer Lorenz Faust, for example, included a fold-out illustration of a hand which provided a memorable depiction of the genealogy of the rulers of Saxony in his *Anatomia statuæ*

*Danielis* (1585) (see Figure 3).<sup>44</sup> These kinds of pictorial chronologies drew heavily upon classical and medieval ideas of memory, which recommended the use of visual prompts to aid the recall of specific information.<sup>45</sup> By the seventeenth century the mnemonic value of chronologies had become even more prominent, as the desire to fix historical events to specific dates became an ever-increasing impossibility, whilst the pedagogical role of history increased; the German scholar Johannes Buno's vibrant universal history of 1672 - including illustrations of a bear, a dragon, and a camel filled with historical information - is a prime example of this.<sup>46</sup> In these images chronological order and a linear narrative

<sup>44</sup> Lorenz Faust, *Anatomia Statuæ Danielis* (Leipzig, 1586).

<sup>45</sup> See Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966).

<sup>46</sup> Rosenberg and Grafton, *Cartographies of Time*, p. 89; Johannes Buno, *Historische Bilder, darinnen Idea Historiæ Universalis* (Lüneburg, 1672).

were deemed less important than the exotic and striking nature of the images that rendered them unforgettable.

Most prominent of the pictorial forms used in chronologies to represent the flow of time was the tree. Trees had been employed since the Middle Ages as an image with which to represent genealogies (notably in the iconography of the Tree of Jesse) and were particularly favoured in England from the mid-fifteenth century by gentry families who used the chronological chains as proof of their noble bloodline and ancient roots.<sup>47</sup> This was at a time when the study of family history and genealogical science were invested with ever greater importance as heralds embarked on visitations across the country to pronounce who was a gentleman and who was a commoner.<sup>48</sup> In their study of the gentry and how they fashioned their identity, Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have shown how in this period the gentry were suffering from an inherent paradox in their existence.<sup>49</sup> On the one hand members of the group strove to show how their gentle status and the prerogatives this brought with it resulted from their lineage and long-standing hold of ancestral estates, whilst on the other hand the reality was that their position was increasingly under threat. Greater social mobility from the sixteenth century paired with a more buoyant land market created greater fluidity in rank, with a rise in the number of new families establishing themselves as members of the group. Added to this was the demographic plight of older families who faced the risk of dying out if they failed to produce an heir. In this context the display of genealogies and coats-of-arms became a way of bolstering the gentry

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<sup>47</sup> Richard Cust, 'The Material Culture of Lineage in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', in Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David Gaimster (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 247–274.

<sup>48</sup> See Ronald G Asch, *Nobilities in Transition: Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2003), pp. 26-7.

<sup>49</sup> Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 20-47. In particular see pp. 23-7.

family's social standing in a time when their position had become increasingly uncertain.<sup>50</sup> The Sackville family, for example, commissioned an elaborate family tree in 1599 that traced the ancestry of Robert Sackville and his wife Margaret Howard.<sup>51</sup> The Sackvilles used chronology through the visual format of a family tree in order to demonstrate the nobility of their family; whilst Robert's great-grandfather was a merchant, Margaret's family were one of the oldest in England. Even more impressive was that through the careful selection of familial links the genealogy was also able to highlight their connection to the reigning monarch, Elizabeth I.

As well as displaying nobility however, genealogical trees were again also intended to have a pedagogical function. In an essay on the material and visual culture of lineage in Tudor and Stuart England, Richard Cust has shown that pedigree rolls and genealogical trees were used to highlight past achievements of the family and in turn act as sources of inspiration for subsequent generations, 'enabling others to learn from and emulate...the particular glories of the lineage.'<sup>52</sup> He points in particular to Sir Thomas Shirley, who himself had commissioned a remarkably large pedigree roll of his own lineage in 1632. Shirley believed that seeing such an object had the power to inspire present and future generations: 'the young noblesse seeing the illustrious blazons of arms acquired by the virtue of their ancestors, it is impossible but that they must needs be spurred on to the same actes'.<sup>53</sup> The pedagogical role of family trees in the home during this time provides a useful context for understanding the rise in dated domestic material culture in the same period. As will be shown in the subsequent three chapters, many of these items commemorated key events in a family's life cycle and were intended as heirlooms. The

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<sup>50</sup> Cust, 'The Material Culture of Lineage', p. 252

<sup>51</sup> V&A, London, museum no. MSL/1981/41.

<sup>52</sup> Cust, 'The Material Culture of Lineage', p. 247.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.



dates enhanced their pedagogical function by allowing future members of the family to trace past achievements, ideally inspiring these future generations. Dated objects emphasised not just the longevity and continuity of the family in question with their bold temporal references, but by referencing 'virtuous achievements' they helped to inspire similar actions in future generations; with a family's timeline gradually shifting from genealogical trees to the material world, the domestic sphere itself was elaborated as the key site of family chronologies.

From the tables on perpetual calendar medals to graphic representations of time on paper, it is evident that time was visualised and experienced in many ways and existed in multiple forms. Indeed, the linear flow of history, moving constantly forward, was not the only way in which time was perceived. The cyclical experience of time was undeniably fundamental to early modern temporality; it was present in the cycles of everyday life, the turn of night and day and the time for waking and sleeping, but also in the annual cycles shaped around the constant turning of the seasons, the agricultural calendar, and of course the religious calendar. With a society and economy attached predominantly to the earth, the agricultural rhythms of the year were undeniably influential in shaping temporal experience for much of the population, whether or not they were directly involved in growing and harvesting crops.<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile the constant cycle of the religious and liturgical calendar remained a significant influence in shaping people's daily experience of time, even after it was stripped back. Prior to the Reformation, perceptions of time were shaped by the rhythms of the liturgy, which was at the heart of the medieval life cycle, and which provided perhaps the most important way people reckoned time.<sup>55</sup> Whilst a great number of saints' days and ritual observances were removed following calendrical reform

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<sup>54</sup> For more on these seasonal rhythms, see Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>55</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 11, 40.

after the Reformation, a large number of these feasts continued to be listed in printed calendars - notably in almanacs - throughout the period. This suggests that the religious year continued to shape the passage of time and that saints' days remained a key way in which people positioned a date in time.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, work by Keith Wrightson on the referents used to describe moments in time in court records has shown that in the rural diocese of Durham between 1619 and 1622, the most popular referent was still relating a moment in time to an ecclesiastical feast, with some 40.9% of witnesses preferring this method. This suggests then that the religious calendar remained influential in shaping the cyclical experience of time even after the Reformation.

Moreover, it was not just the annual cycles of the liturgical calendar that helped to condition temporal experience, but also the daily cycles created through the everyday rhythms of prayer. This was particularly true for puritans from the late sixteenth century and is evident in writing by the godly in this period. That a continuous daily cycle of prayer was emphasised by reformers is evident in Richard Daye's *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, also known as *Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book*.<sup>57</sup> It is a lengthy volume comprised of prayers to be said at all occasions of the day, guiding one's devotion through everyday activity. The temporal rhythms of daily life are often marked by a prayer; there is a prayer to be said at the setting of the sun followed by another to be said at the lighting of candles.<sup>58</sup> Some prayers have their morning and evening counterparts with a prayer to be said 'at the putting on of our clothes' and likewise, 'A praier to be saide when we unclothe out selves to bedward', reinforcing the cyclical experience of one's daily devotional life.<sup>59</sup> Likewise, the first entry in the collection is 'A Prayer to be sayd both Morning and

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<sup>56</sup> David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), pp. 4-11.

<sup>57</sup> Richard Daye, *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (London, 1578).

<sup>58</sup> Daye, *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, sigs. C1v, C2r.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. B3v, D1r.

Evening’; repeating the same prayer at night as you did upon waking brings the succession of prayers full circle.<sup>60</sup> Daye’s *Booke* is discussed by Eamon Duffy in his study of Books of Hours in England in the later Middle Ages. In particular, Duffy notes the similarities in design between Daye’s Protestant book of prayer and Catholic Books of Hours from the earlier sixteenth century. The border illustrations in particular are evocative of these books, but on closer inspection have been ‘carefully purged of papistical error and included many images of Protestant religious activities.’<sup>61</sup> Indeed the cycles of prayer themselves were not dissimilar to the marking of the hours in the old faith, guided by Books of Hours, which is likely why Daye drew on the format to channel old religious practices into the new, approved modes of worship, or as Duffy phrases it, ‘harnessing old forms to smuggle in new religion’.<sup>62</sup>

Parallels between Daye’s advice to follow a carefully regimented cycle of prayer is also evident in the 1645 mother’s legacy of Elizabeth Richardson, which further emphasises how both daily and weekly temporal experience would be ideally shaped by the rhythms of prayer and devotion.<sup>63</sup> Like Daye’s *Booke of Christian Prayer*, Richardson’s text contains a whole catalogue of prayers for specific moments in time, with nearly every occasion accounted for. The day and week are broken up by these prayers, some even specific to a certain day, including, ‘A short prayer for the night’, ‘A short prayer in bed before sleep’, ‘A prayer at first awaking for Saturday’, and ‘An evening prayer for a Wednesday’.<sup>64</sup> These religious activities would have provided the core

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<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A3r.

<sup>61</sup> Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 171-3.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>63</sup> Daye’s books of prayer and cycles of prayer influenced a body of subsequent godly literature, of which Richardson’s volume is just one example. See Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 17.

<sup>64</sup> Elizabeth Richardson, ‘A Ladies Legacie to Her Daughters in three books. Composed of Prayers and Meditations, fitted for severall times, and upon severall occasions,’ in Sylvia Brown (ed), *Women’s Writing in Stuart England: The Mothers’ Legacies of Dorothy Leigh, Elizabeth Joscelin and Elizabeth Richardson*

temporal markers to delineate the start and end of her days and weeks, establishing a cycle of time conditioned by prayer. That such advice was indeed practised by ardent Protestants in this period is evident in the diaries of the godly who meticulously recorded the activities of their daily life, including their personal devotions and prayers. Lady Margaret Hoby for example records in detail her daily cycles of prayer, and significantly, these quotidian devotional rhythms are also closely connected to the cycles of the seasons. In her entry for Monday 29th October 1599, Hoby records how her time of prayer was adjusted to the seasonal hours of daylight, writing, ‘I hard praier and a Lecttor, because, in regard of mens dullness after meat and being winter, it was thought more conuient to be before supper’.<sup>65</sup> Here prayer, alongside seasonal cycles and other daily rituals like supper, becomes a key temporal marker for her day and shapes the timing of events that occurred around it, demonstrating the multiple ways the passage of time was experienced in the home.

Indeed, daily and annual cycles of time were clearly important in shaping seventeenth-century temporal experience; however, this thesis argues that ideas of time were much more complex and fluid in this period than has been acknowledged. The multitemporality that I argue characterises early modern experiences of time is evident in the various shapes of time that pervaded daily life. Thus whilst cycles of time were clearly important, so too was linear time as expressed clearly in the increasing use of numerical dates. The coin-calendars discussed earlier in this chapter demonstrate the importance attached to knowing the precise numerical date, whilst chronologies and genealogies indicate that perceptions

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(Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 157-253 (p. 157). For more on the genre of mother’s legacies see Jennifer Heller, *The Mother’s Legacy in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2011). Heller defines mother’s legacies as a distinct branch of the advice tradition in early modern England that took the form of a dying mother’s pious counsel to her children.

<sup>65</sup> Margaret Hoby, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, Dorothy Mary Meads (ed.) (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd, 1930), p. 32.

of time as a linear continuum were common. Despite this however, there has been a reluctance amongst historians to acknowledge that numerical dates were widely understood and utilised. Daniel Woolf, for example, has written extensively on senses of the past in early modern England, yet he frequently emphasises that most of the population had little knowledge of, or interest in knowing, the date. Writing the Afterword for a special issue on uses of the past in early modern England in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Woolf comments that determining the date an event took place was complex, and that ‘the vast majority of the population was unlikely to have such information close at hand, and just as likely not to be terribly disconcerted by this.’<sup>66</sup> He concludes that ‘diurnal precision, in most (though not all) contexts, mattered very little, even to interested observers’, and goes on to list numerous examples in which people paid little attention to the dates for events they called to mind.<sup>67</sup> Yet much of the evidence Woolf deploys here is focused around court depositions when a witness’ inability to recall the exact date of an event a year or more ago could be due more to problems of memory than a lack of awareness of calendrical time, not least if those events had happened some time in the past.

Similarly, in ‘Numerical Dates and Temporal Understanding in Early Modern England’, James McConnel has argued that before the eighteenth century dates ‘played a limited role in most ordinary people’s lives’, adding that when people did encounter numerical dates, it was only ‘via the calendar’s cycle of popular customs’.<sup>68</sup> McConnel therefore reduces seventeenth-century experiences of time to being solely focused around ritual and agricultural cycles. He contrasts this with ideas of time in the eighteenth century,

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<sup>66</sup> Daniel Woolf, ‘Afterword: Shadows of the Past in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76 (2013), pp. 639–650 (p. 646).

<sup>67</sup> Woolf, ‘Afterword’, pp. 646–8.

<sup>68</sup> James Richard Redmond McConnel, ‘The 1688 Landing of William of Orange at Torbay: Numerical Dates and Temporal Understanding in Early Modern England’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 84 (2012), pp. 539–571 (p. 541).

when ‘attitudes toward calendar time underwent a gradual shift’, at which point time became a linear continuum, no longer ‘relative and relational’.<sup>69</sup> The eighteenth century is frequently stressed as a turning point in conceptions of time because, it is argued, it was at this point that Newtonian ideas of time as both linear and objective began to overturn older, cyclical notions.<sup>70</sup> For Newton, time was ‘absolute, true, and mathematical’, an abstract entity that flowed continuously, ‘without regard to anything external’ like the position of the sun, moon, or stars. In this way time became ‘an implied temporal continuum, stretching infinitely forwards and backwards in terms of which any event could be precisely and simply located’.<sup>71</sup> In other words, it was Newton’s idea of time that allowed each and every event to be reliably pinpointed chronologically according to its time and date on a temporal line. Yet the significant number of dated objects that survive before this period from the late sixteenth century onwards demonstrate that time awareness in England at this point was much more complex, and that numerical dates were widely in use before the eighteenth century. This attachment to linear time and calendrical dates in particular is further emphasised by the marked interest in using almanacs to follow one’s passage through the year in the same period in which dated objects also begin to proliferate. It is to these printed sources that this chapter will now turn.

Almanacs have received a great deal of scholarly attention, most notably by Bernard Capp whose *Astrology and the Popular Press*, first published in 1979, continues to provide the basis for much subsequent examination of these books.<sup>72</sup> Publications in more recent

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<sup>69</sup> McConnell, ‘The 1688 Landing of William of Orange’, p. 541.

<sup>70</sup> See Poole on this point in *Time’s Alteration*, p. 21. See also Rudolf Dekker, ‘Watches, Diary Writing, and the Search for Self-Knowledge in the Seventeenth Century’ in Pamela Smith and Benjamin Schmidt (eds.), *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400-1800* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 127–142 (p. 135).

<sup>71</sup> Donald J. Wilcox, *The Measure of Times Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 23.

<sup>72</sup> Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London: Faber, 1979). See also the early bibliographical guide to almanacs by Eustace Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacs and Prognostications. A bibliographical history to the year 1600*. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1917).

years by Alison Chapman, Laura Williamson Ambrose, and Anne Lawrence-Mathers have all used Capp's study as a springboard from which to explore new ideas about the almanac.<sup>73</sup> Focusing on the importance of the printing press in producing cheaper, ephemeral, and more widely accessible texts, Capp showed that almanacs became some of the most widely circulated texts in early modern England. Yet Capp's work focused more on the production and acquisition of almanacs than with how they were used by the consumer. Lawrence-Mathers, Chapman, and Ambrose however have added further to our understanding of almanacs by analysing how people interacted with the calendrical and astrological information in their almanacs, whilst Adam Smyth has examined almanacs alongside financial accounts, commonplace books, and parish records as examples of early modern autobiographical writing, focusing on how their annotators used them to record their lives.<sup>74</sup> This research has shown the significance of almanacs as a source for understanding early modern temporality, as almanacs both reflected people's understanding of time and their experience of it.

The printed almanac was incredibly popular, particularly from the mid-sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>75</sup> By some estimations it was 'found in more homes, studies and taverns of early modern England than any other kind of text,' including the Bible.<sup>76</sup> Their circulation has been estimated at three to four million for the seventeenth century, with individual editions reaching incredibly high print runs - some 43,000 copies of Vincent Wing's almanac alone were printed in 1666, rising to 50,000 just two years

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<sup>73</sup> Alison Chapman, 'Marking Time: Astrology, Almanacs, and English Protestantism', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60 (2007), pp. 1257–90; Laura Williamson Ambrose, 'Travel in Time: Local Travel Writing and Seventeenth-Century English Almanacs', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 43 (2013), pp. 419–43; Anne Lawrence-Mathers, 'Domesticating the Calendar: the Hours and the Almanac in Tudor England' in Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (eds.), *Women and Writing, c.1340-c.1650: the Domestication of Print Culture* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 34–61.

<sup>74</sup> Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>75</sup> Smyth, *Autobiography*, p. 17.

<sup>76</sup> Ambrose, 'Travel in time', p. 423.

later.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, during the 1660s, a decade for which detailed evidence survives, about 40,000 copies were sold annually, suggesting that one family in three bought an almanac each year.<sup>78</sup> Alongside their high circulation numbers, Capp has also emphasised that almanacs were purchased by almost every social group and has argued that their popularity was in part due to the ‘remarkably wide range of functions they served’.<sup>79</sup> They are thus an incredibly valuable source for analysing ideas of time in this period across society.

Despite their popularity however, they were not without criticism. Some almanacs began with a defence of the accuracy of their publication, particularly of the astrological predictions disclosed within. William Lilly for example begins his 1680 almanac by first praising the art of astrology, stating that it is ‘the most transcendent of all Sciences, both because it treateth of things Celestial and also of Future, the knowledge whereof is not only Divine, but most profitable and useful.’<sup>80</sup> He then goes on to prove the validity of astrology by pointing to occasions when major events occurred in accordance with the position of the stars and heavens. This was the case in 1652, he declares, when:

There was an Eclipse of the Sun in Aries, the greatest this Age has beheld, which produced strange Effects in England, as are yet fresh in our memories. In the year 1652 there happened a bloody Sea Fight between the English and the Dutch, near the Isle of Wight and Portland, another Fight the same year in the Levant Seas.<sup>81</sup>

Meanwhile other authors went to great pains to stress the accuracy and authenticity of their work over others. In his 1642 almanac Gallen criticised his rivals when he declared that he omitted ‘th’ anatomy’, often included in almanacs, describing which parts of the body were most affected by each sign of the zodiac, because he would not abuse the reader ‘as

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<sup>77</sup> Eustace Bosanquet, ‘English Seventeenth-Century Almanacks’, *The Library*, 10 (1930), pp. 361–397 (p. 365); Cyprian Blagden, ‘The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 11 (1958), pp. 107–116, Table 1.

<sup>78</sup> Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p. 23.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60; Bernard Capp, ‘The Potter Almanacs’, *The Electronic British Library Journal*, (2004), pp. 1–11 (p.3).

<sup>80</sup> William Lilly, *Merlini anglici ephemeris, or, Astrological judgments for the year 1680* (London, 1680), sig. a3r.

<sup>81</sup> Lilly, *Merlini anglici ephemeris*, sig. a3v.



t'insert what had no use'.<sup>82</sup> That they could be the source of ridicule is further emphasised by the publication of satirical almanacs, for example 'The Owles Almanacke' of 1618, which the author, 'Mr. Jocundary Merrie-braines', claimed to have 'found in an Ivy-bush, written in old Characters, and now published in English'.<sup>83</sup>

Despite criticism, from the late sixteenth century printed almanacs became one of the most important ways people encountered visual representations of time and put the calendar to work, using it in their daily lives. Almanacs differed from older perpetual calendars in that they were specific to a year, and thus only accurate for that year, but they could take a variety of different forms. Some were cheaper sheet almanacs that could be pasted or pinned to a wall, costing around a penny.<sup>84</sup> Their survival is less common but one such broadsheet entitled 'An ALMANACK for the Year of our Lord God 1677' is now in the collection of the British Museum (see Plate 10).<sup>85</sup> Just over 19cm in height and 18cm in width, it comprises a large table with columns for each month that show the religious festivals, holidays, and phases of the moon for each day in that month. The standard almanac however was printed in octavo or duodecimo format, although some like the almanacs made by John Goldsmith are incredibly minute, printed in vigesimo-quarto format.<sup>86</sup> The small size of almanacs meant that they were highly portable, designed to be carried around on the person, in a similar fashion to the perpetual coin-calendars discussed above.

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<sup>82</sup> Thomas Gallen, *Gallen. 1642. An almanack and prognostication for the yeare of God 1642. Being the second after leap-yeare.* (London, 1642).

<sup>83</sup> Jocundary Merrie-Braines, *The Owles Almanacke. Prognosticating Many Strange Accidents Which Shall Happen to This Kingdome of Great Britaine This Yeare, 1618.* (London, 1618). See also Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, pp. 180-190 on contemporary criticism and defence of astrology as a science.

<sup>84</sup> Capp, 'The Potter Almanacs', p. 3.

<sup>85</sup> 'An Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1677' (London, 1677). BM, London, Museum number 1981,U.3031.

<sup>86</sup> For example, John Goldsmith, *Goldsmith, 1660. An Almanack for the Year of Our Lord God, 1660.* (London, 1660); and John Goldsmith, *Goldsmith. 1668. An Almanack for the Year of Our Lord God 1668.* (London, 1668).

Almanacs typically contained two main sections: the almanac proper, a monthly calendar for that year, and the prognostication, which comprised predictions for the forthcoming seasons. Whilst some early almanacs only provided a single sheet for each month, it became increasingly common to spread this information out over a double page. Although there were some variations, most almanacs tended to include the same kinds of information for each month, laid out in near identical fashion. This could include a header normally containing the month and the number of days and perhaps the phases of the moon, followed by a table recording for each day of the month any festivals or commemorations, the position of the moon at midday, positions of the zodiac, phases of the moon, sun rise and sun set times, high tide, and sometimes a comment on the weather for that day. Depending on the preferences of the author, additional columns could be added. Gallen's 1642 almanac, for example, includes a column noting which parts of the body would be most influenced by the zodiac on each day, including 'armes', 'heart', 'blader', and 'backe'.<sup>87</sup> This way of visually representing time was based on seeing it as a linear continuum, moving forward month by month at a constant rate, with each division of time, months and days, given equal and even spacing. The continuous flow of time forwards was reinforced by the ephemeral nature of the printed almanac; as one writer described it, almanacs were 'got in the Morning, born at Noon, and dead by Night'. Discarded at the end of the year at which point a new almanac would be purchased, these objects were continuously future-looking and forward-moving.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Gallen, *Gallen. 1642. An almanack and prognostication*.

<sup>88</sup> John Dunton, *A voyage round the world, or, A pocket-library divided into several volumes* (London, 1691), p. 3. See also Smyth, *Autobiography*, p. 16; and Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine: 1550-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 80.

**January hath xxxi. dayes.**

New moon the first day, 24 min. past noon.  
 First quarter the 8 day, 6 min. past 10 at night.  
 Full moon the 17 day, 23 min. before one in the morning.  
 Last quarter the 24 day, 37 min. past 4 in the morning.  
 New moon the last day, about one in the morning.

| Day | Event               | Sign   | Hour | Minute | Time | Weather           |
|-----|---------------------|--------|------|--------|------|-------------------|
| 1   | a Circumcision      | cap.   | 29   | ♂      | ♁    | Very great and    |
| 2   | b Abel. Seth.       | aqua   | 5    | ♂      | ♁    | turbulent         |
| 3   | c 2 Sun. aft. Chr.  |        |      |        |      | winds.            |
| 4   | d Telesphorus       | pisc.  | 19   | ♂      | ♁    | Snow like.        |
| 5   | e Simeon            |        | 3    | ♂      | ♁    | Frostie and       |
| 6   | f Epiphanie         |        | 16   | *      | ♁    | fair.             |
| 7   | g Iulianus          | aries  | 29   | *      | ♁    | VVindie from      |
| 8   | a Erhardus          |        | 11   | ♁      | ♁    | Fair & freezing   |
| 9   | b Marcellinus       | taur.  | 5    | ♂      | ♁    | Snow or rain.     |
| 10  | c 1 Sun. aft. Epip. |        | 23   | ♁      | ♁    | Various weather.  |
| 11  | d Higinus           |        | 17   | ♁      | ♁    | Rainie weather    |
| 12  | e Satyrus           | gem.   | 11   | ♁      | ♁    | the 11 and 12.    |
| 13  | f Hilarie bishaop   |        | 23   | *      | ♁    | Something mild    |
| 14  | g Felix             | canc.  | 5    | ♁      | ♁    | and calm.         |
| 15  | a Maurus            |        | 17   | ♁      | ♁    | VVindie from      |
| 16  | b Marcellus         | leo    | 0    | ♁      | ♁    | the 15 and 16.    |
| 17  | c 2 Sun. aft. Epip  |        | 13   | ♁      | ♁    | VVindie, haile    |
| 18  | d Pufca             |        | 26   | ♁      | ♁    | Clouds with       |
| 19  | e Pontianus         | virg.  | 9    | ♁      | ♁    | snow or rain.     |
| 20  | f Otab. Hilar.      |        | 23   | ♁      | ♁    | Frostie cold wea- |
| 21  | g Agn's             | libra  | 7    | ♁      | ♁    | ther.             |
| 22  | a Vincent           |        | 20   | ♁      | ♁    | Clouds scattering |
| 23  | b Term begins.      | scorp  | 4    | ♁      | ♁    | some snow.        |
| 24  | c 2 Sun. aft. Epip  |        | 18   | ♁      | ♁    | More mild.        |
| 25  | d Cover. S. Paul.   | sagit. | 2    | ♁      | ♁    | Cloudy.           |
| 26  | e Policarpus        |        | 16   | ♁      | ♁    | Rain-like.        |
| 27  | f Quind Hilar.      | capr.  | 1    | ♁      | ♁    | Mild weather      |
| 28  | g Apollus m.        |        | 15   | ♁      | ♁    | VVind at night.   |
| 29  | a Samuel            |        | 29   | *      | ♁    | Cold rain.        |
| 30  | b Hippolytus        | aqua   | 13   | ♁      | ♁    | Warmer weather.   |
| 31  | c 4 Sun. aft. Epip  |        | 27   | *      | ♁    | Some wet.         |

Saturn continues direct untill the twelfth day of June: from whence he is found to be retrograde untill the 29 of October. He is with the moon the fourth day of this month, and with Venus on the ninth.

*This day of Rogas & Woolle. 6. Janry. 1641.*

*Polit. Thomp. Zandord. Zandord. Rain like.*

Figure 4 - Extract from Dove 'An Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1641' (London, 1641).

Figure 4 shows the month of January from Jonathan Dove's 1641 almanac, which is representative of the typical almanac.<sup>89</sup> The month is introduced on the left hand page with reference to the number of days it contains, 'January hath xxxi dayes', after which the lunar phases for the month are noted in close temporal detail: for example, full moon will occur 'the 17 day, 23 min before one in the morning.' The rest of the page is dedicated to the table of data for that month. The first column lists the number of each day, followed by

<sup>89</sup> Jonathan Dove, *Dove. An Almanack for the Year of Our Lord God, 1641.* (London, 1641).

a letter a to g, which is used to determine the corresponding weekday. The next two columns are given over to information regarding the zodiac, with each row in the latter column comprised of three symbols signifying ‘the Characters of the Planets and their Aspects’, which Dove has outlined to the reader in his introduction. Next are comments on weather conditions for each day (Dove states on his title page that the almanac has been calculated for Cambridge, so the weather is intended to be specific to that town). Finally, on the right-hand page there are columns recording the hour and minute of sunset, again accurate to Cambridge, and the time of full-tide in London, as well as a description of the movements of the planets.

Following the calendar and prognostication, almanacs also commonly contained extensive amounts of other practical information. Indeed, perhaps one reason why almanacs were so popular was their usefulness in many aspects of everyday life. Often included both before the almanac and following the prognostication at the end of the text, this information pertained both to the almanac and calendar itself, as well as more general guides. Most authors began with explanatory notes or rules for the ‘planettes and signes’, including guides to the best time to undertake specific agricultural or medical activities. Various temporal information could also be provided; it was common to include a table of the legal term dates, as well as tables for calculating the dates of moveable feasts, the position of the moon with exact timings for different parts of the country, and the length of each day. Some compilers like Booker and Gallen also provided an account of key dates translated between ‘The Julien, English, or old’ calendar and ‘the Gregorian, foraigne, or new’ calendar. As well as this temporal data, most compilers also opted to include chronologies. In his 1641 almanac for example Dove included ‘A briefe Chronologicall description of many things worthy of memory...in which you may see how long they

happened before this yeere of our Lord 1641'.<sup>90</sup> Others included lists of kings and queens which Capp has noted probably had the utilitarian function of helping to date leases and deeds, which often used the regnal year.<sup>91</sup> Finally, outside of astrological or temporal guides, compilers could also provide a host of other practical information, including lists of principle fairs, distances between different towns and cities, and even 'the allowance of light gold with regard to grain', as included in Dove's almanacs. That the calendar was found amongst all this useful information suggests it too was considered as a practical tool and that a working knowledge of time and a place to record the events within it was an aid for everyday life. As Lawrence-Mathers has argued, in this way the almanac provided the user with a handy guide with which to navigate the complexities of the English calendar; time was no longer the preserve of chronologers and scholars who had to wrestle with multiple calendars nor did it require the complex calculations that perpetual calendars had necessitated. In this way, as a result of their popularity and portability, almanacs allowed for what Lawrence-Mathers calls the 'democratisation' of time.<sup>92</sup>

Significantly, many almanacs also include a blank space on the right-hand page of each month to allow the user to make brief notes next to specific dates. Some even chose to have additional blank sheets interleaved in their almanacs in order to make more copious notes. As such these kinds of almanacs became known as 'blanks' and could be used to record past or future events, money owed or received, or in some cases shopping lists.<sup>93</sup> They thus became a kind of forerunner to the modern diary or datebook, recording the activities and events in a person's year according to the calendrical structure of the almanac and with numerical dates actively facilitating this record keeping. For example,

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<sup>90</sup> Dove, *An Almanack for the Yeare of Our Lord God, 1641*, sig. C6r-v.

<sup>91</sup> Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p. 62.

<sup>92</sup> Lawrence-Mathers, 'Domesticating the Calendar', pp. 53, 36.

<sup>93</sup> Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38 (2008), pp. 200–244 (pp. 203–204); Capp, 'The Potter Almanacs', p. 3.

various annotations have been made in a copy of Dove's 1643 almanac in the blank spaces alongside the calendar. In February, for instance, the owner records that he paid his maid 16d in wages, as well as recording other payments made 'for leather' and for 'mending shooes'.<sup>94</sup>

Annotations could pertain to both personal events or those that had taken place at a local or national level. A surviving copy of Gallen's 1652 almanac that belonged to Sir Edward Bagot is heavily annotated, with Bagot even choosing to include additional blank pages interleaved between the calendrical tables to include further notes. He recorded alongside 13 January how on 'This night a man...kild his wife', as well as recording events of his own misfortune, including how on 27 March he had 'returned and coming home in a dark night lost my way, fell in a ditch'.<sup>95</sup> Further entries describe his various escapes from death, as well as events he witnessed, including a hanging. Importantly, Bagot evidently chose to write his entries retrospectively, using the almanac to record events in the past according to the date on which they happened, rather than to make future plans. As Smyth has argued, a variety of media was used to compile autobiographical writing in this period and it is possible this person made notes in his almanac with the intention of writing them up further in another form.<sup>96</sup> Meanwhile other almanacs contain entries that are both past- and future-looking. A copy of Goldsmith's almanac for 1660 for example also includes notes on the blanks interleaved between calendar months. In it the user records various things, including how he travelled to London on Good Friday, accounts of money he had borrowed and received, as well as using the calendar to plan for

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<sup>94</sup> Jonathan Dove, *Dove. Speculum Anni à Partu Virginis; or An Almanack for the Yeare of Our Lord God 1643* (Cambridge, 1643). British Library, London, item no. RB.23.a.28672(2).

<sup>95</sup> Thomas Gallen, *Gallen. 1652. A New Almanack for the Said Year. Being the Leap Year.* (London, 1652), notes made on additional sheets interleaved after sig.A6v and before sig .B3r. British Library, London, item number C.194.a.339.

<sup>96</sup> Smyth, *Autobiography*, pp. 2-3.

a future trip to London by making a list of items to be brought there.<sup>97</sup> Through the user's interaction with almanacs and their blank spaces, dates, memory, experience, and self-accounting all became closely linked. These are truly diachronic documents, requiring an awareness of one's movement through past, present, and future time in order to be used effectively. As such these annotated almanacs reflect the wider polychronicity of seventeenth-century temporal experience, as the boundaries between past, present, and future are collapsed through this engagement with the calendar.

Interestingly the use of almanacs in this way as spaces for creating and recording memory is seen in earlier Books of Hours, which are viewed by some as a kind of precursor to the printed almanac. Anne Lawrence-Mathers for example emphasises the continuity between Books of Hours and almanacs, pointing in particular to the practice of marking up primers, linking them 'to the more transitory almanacs'.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, extant sixteenth-century Books of Hours show they were used as sites of family record-keeping, recording major familial events like births and deaths, as well as accounts of wider public rituals, or even more mundane information like medical treatments.<sup>99</sup> Births in particular appear to have been recorded in relation to the calendar, as they are often found noted under the correlated month of the perpetual calendar located at the beginning of most Book of Hours.<sup>100</sup> Through annotation Books of Hours became part of the process of creating family memory and keeping genealogical records. For wealthier families this was a way of recording the nobility of the bloodline, but annotated Books of Hours were not just the preserve of the elite. There was a great demand for affordable Books of Hours; this began

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<sup>97</sup> John Goldsmith, *Goldsmith, 1660. An Almanack for the Year of Our Lord God, 1660* (London, 1660). British Library, London, C.194.a.335.

<sup>98</sup> Lawrence-Mathers, 'Domesticating the Calendar', pp. 40-1.

<sup>99</sup> Kathleen Ashley, 'Creating Family Identity in Books of Hours', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32 (2002), pp. 145-165 (pp. 145-7).

<sup>100</sup> See for example Ashley's discussion of the Rolet family's Book of Hours which records all births of the Rolet children in the 1580s and 1590s in this way, in 'Creating family identity', p. 153.

before the advent of print and was further catalysed by it.<sup>101</sup> Annotations in these cheaper versions include many of the same kinds of information noted in later almanacs, including scribbled notes of rents due, debts, and contractual agreements, as well as the births, deaths, and marriages found recorded in earlier copies.<sup>102</sup>

A degree of caution is needed however to avoid placing too much emphasis on Books of Hours as forerunners to printed almanacs. In many ways they are very different; Books of Hours were devotional texts intended to bridge the gap between ecclesiastical rituals and the pious layperson, whereas almanacs, whilst containing lists of feast days and aspects of the religious calendar, were more predominantly filled with secular, practical information.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, the perpetual calendars and repetitive rhythms of hourly and yearly devotion found in Books of Hours help to create an idea of time as a constant cycle. Indeed, their perpetual nature is what made them so ideally suited to recording family genealogies since they could be passed down to subsequent generations and still exist as a functional devotional text. Nonetheless it is significant that in the period leading up to the advent of almanacs the calendar was seen as a highly suitable structure around which to store memory and the desire to do so perhaps influenced almanac compilers to increase the capacity of their texts for note-making around, and engagement with, the calendar.

### **III) Interpretations of time**

The annotations on surviving almanacs indicate that the use of the calendar and numerical dates to aid both planning for the future and recording one's life retrospectively was one reason why objects like almanacs were so popular. As one compiler asked his readers in

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<sup>101</sup> Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, p. 20.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>103</sup> Ashley, 'Creating family identity', 151.



1628, ‘What man now-a-daies, that hath any dealings in this world’s affaires but hath need of a Kalendar, whereby he may know the day of the moneth, the Movable Feasts, the Law dayes, and the like?’<sup>104</sup> Outside of their utility in planning day-to-day life, knowing the exact date when an event took place could be desirable for other reasons. Time in this period was not conceived as neutral and dates were not merely disinterested markers of its passage. Instead, specific dates could be loaded with meaning through recourse to astrology, numerology, or simply belief in lucky or unlucky dates. The remainder of this chapter will explore the different ways in which moments in time could be given additional symbolic meaning and how this can help to interpret the desire to date some objects, notably those associated with birth.

The study of astrology attached a great deal of importance to the time at which an event took place and provided one of the most important ways that people could decode the temporal significance of events in their life.<sup>105</sup> The power of the heavens over earthly affairs was emphasised by William Knight who described the ‘divine and laudible Science of Astrology’ as ‘a learning that teaches by the Natures, Motions, Configurations, Significations and Influences of the Heavens and Stars therein, how to Judge of future Contingencies, or to predict natural Events’.<sup>106</sup> Astrological calculations largely fell into two categories, natural and judicial. Natural astrology involved the study of planetary and lunar motions to determine their effects on ‘natural’ phenomena, like weather or the body, facilitating practical guides for the best time to plant crops or administer medicine. Judicial astrology on the other hand delved much deeper into human affairs. By drawing up

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<sup>104</sup> Joseph Chamberlaine, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord 1628*. (London, 1628), sig. B1v.

<sup>105</sup> For a succinct overview of the historiography on early modern astrology see Lauren Kassell, ‘Stars, Spirits, Signs: Towards a History of Astrology 1100–1800’, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 41 (2010), pp. 67–9.

<sup>106</sup> William Knight, *Vox Stellarum: or, the Voyce of the Stars* (London, 1681), sig. A2r.

diagrams of the position of the heavens at a specific time, either past or future, this branch of astrology was used to interpret the significance of that moment, and was therefore heavily dependent on both the calendar and the clock.<sup>107</sup> Almanacs in particular represented a medium through which people could use this method to interpret moments in their own lives, from the mundane to the extraordinary, by providing detailed data of the positions of the stars and planets throughout the year, negating the need to observe such movements directly.<sup>108</sup>

Almanacs further facilitated the co-ordination of this data with the timing of events through their inclusion of blank spaces, as discussed above, allowing the user to make notes alongside the calendrical and celestial information. Whilst some of these manuscript notes are undoubtedly utilitarian, recording money paid or rents due, other users chose to record events in this space next to the date on which they occurred. This is evident in the 1652 copy of Gallen's almanac, discussed above, whose owner used it to record the dates of a variety of personal events (often misfortunes) as well as local happenings.<sup>109</sup> Meanwhile a copy of Ponds almanac for 1606 survives with notations made alongside relevant dates in the calendar, recording a range of events including, on 16<sup>th</sup> May 'Sr Rich. Gargave married', and on 24<sup>th</sup> November 'Jon Staforton came to me'.<sup>110</sup> That these notes were made alongside the tables of astrological data also found in early modern almanacs suggests that they were intended to have been used together. Indeed, in both examples entries are written in the past tense, suggesting that the user was not using their almanac to

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<sup>107</sup> Hilary M. Carey, 'Judicial Astrology in Theory and Practice in Later Medieval Europe', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 41 (2010), pp. 90–8; Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the Future: Almanacs, Time, and Cultural Change 1775-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 4.

<sup>108</sup> Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory, 'Some Astrological Terms and Concepts' in Samuel Jeake, *An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth Century*, Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory (eds.) (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 260-4 (p. 261).

<sup>109</sup> Gallen, *A new almanack*.

<sup>110</sup> Edward Ponde, *Ponde. 1606. A president for prognosticators. A new almanacke for this present yeare of our Lord God. MDCVI*. (London, 1606). British Library, London, item no. P.P.2465 1606, sigs. B1r, B7r.

plan future events but instead to reflect upon things that had already happened. In her article ‘Marking Time: Astrology, Almanacs and English Protestantism’, Alison Chapman has shown that the calendars in almanacs assumed that each day had a unique astrological significance, and so by annotating almanacs in this way the user could decode the higher celestial significance of this date and the impact it might have on events in their life.<sup>111</sup> The design of the almanac actively facilitated such engagement: the tabular format of the calendar easily allowed the user to read off the astrological data for any specific date, whilst a large amount of explanatory information was often included in the opening, guiding the reader on how to use the various charts and diagrams found within. As John Monipennie asked in 1612, ‘Who is there that makes not great account of his almanac to observe both days, times, and seasons, to follow his affairs for his best profit and use?’<sup>112</sup> Thus as Chapman concluded, through this dissemination of astrology, almanacs ‘fostered a sense that even ordinary occasions had a larger importance, an importance discernible only if these moments were accurately pinpointed in space and time.’<sup>113</sup>

Yet if dates were interpreted with recourse to astrology, it was certainly not without controversy or resistance. The puritan cleric John Gaule, for example, lamented that more people opted ‘to look into and commune of their almanacs, before the Bible: and to make themselves more infallibly allured of a Prognostication’.<sup>114</sup> Gaule was not alone in condemning the practice of looking to the stars and planets for meaning and indeed the criticism this attracted during the sixteenth and seventeenth century by Protestant ministers is testament to its prevalence. Whilst astrology had not been without controversy in

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<sup>111</sup> Chapman, ‘Marking Time’, p. 1277.

<sup>112</sup> John Monipennie, *A Christian almanacke Needefull and true for all countryes, persons and times*. (London, 1612), sig. A3r.

<sup>113</sup> Chapman, ‘Marking Time’, p. 1286.

<sup>114</sup> John Gaule, *Pus-mantia the mag-astro-mancer, or, The magicall-astrological-diviner* (London, 1652), sig. A3r.

medieval Europe, it came under fire with renewed intensity following the Reformation, denounced as ‘superstitious conceit and diabolical confidence’.<sup>115</sup> The idea that astrology provided a rival to the worship of God is evident in Gaule’s condemnation that the almanac was replacing the Bible and this was likely a key reason why it was targeted by the reformed Church. Capp has gone so far as to suggest that the astrologer became a rival to the minister, with the ‘almanac used as a quasi-pulpit from which compiler preached repentance, [and] a sanctified life...’<sup>116</sup> Also at stake was the question of moral responsibility – if a person’s fate was determined by the stars then it could arguably absolve them of any blame for wrongdoing, promoting either reckless levels of sin or a feeling that it was futile trying to improve their lot.<sup>117</sup> Again this rivalled the Protestant Church’s own form of determinism, with prognostications undermining the ‘dogma of Providence by presuming to be able to unravel the secrets of the future’.<sup>118</sup>

Faced with this onslaught of religious criticism, and perhaps fearing the revoking of their license, some compilers went to great lengths to prove that their work was not at odds with Protestant teaching. In the introduction to his 1680 almanac and prognostication, William Lilly emphasised the subordination of the practice of astrology to God when he stated that, ‘We shall not be positive or absolute in our Predictions concerning future Accidents, for the hidden Secrets of God are impenetrable, not to be searched into by any mortal man.’<sup>119</sup> Yet he goes on to add that, ‘it is lawful and requisite that we make our Conjecture of the Effects of the Stars and Signs that appear in the Heavens’.<sup>120</sup> Some defended their predictions by stressing that God used the stars as a warning sign in order to

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<sup>115</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 23.

<sup>116</sup> Capp, *Astrology and the popular press*, p. 141.

<sup>117</sup> Curth, *English Almanacs*, p. 108.

<sup>118</sup> Walsham, *Providence*, p. 25

<sup>119</sup> Lilly, *Merlini anglici ephemeris*, sig. a3v.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

encourage men to repent, and subsequently as an instrument of his vengeance should they fail to heed this warning.<sup>121</sup> The idea that astrology did not necessarily foretell what would definitely happen but only what could without action is evident in the opening pages of one prognostication for 1570 whose compiler affirmed, ‘would I not have thee to thynke that every particuler therein contened must of force happen, or necessarily come to passe’.<sup>122</sup> He goes on to emphasise that such predictions are instead intended as warnings resulting from God’s goodness towards mankind:

That when he threatneth any plagues unto us, as a punishment for wicked lyfe, he wyll not immediately oppress us with the same, but rather by some meanes or other forewarne us of suche his displeasure conceaved, that we fearyng his rod, may geve ourselves to true repentaunce and amendment of life...<sup>123</sup>

Almanacs were the most widespread way in which astrology was applied to the calendar, yet those particularly interested in the movements of the heavens pursued the science in greater depth in diaries intended specifically for the purpose. The astrological diary kept by Samuel Jeake between 1652 and 1699 is a prime example of how the movements of the planets and stars were interpreted as signs and signifiers, in particular highlighting how fundamental a precise knowledge of time was to the practice.<sup>124</sup> Jeake came from a deeply religious family; his father was a prominent evangelical preacher and religious leader in his hometown of Rye. Yet for Jeake a belief in astrology and a firm Protestant faith were not mutually exclusive and from the late 1660s in particular he developed a keen interest in astrology.<sup>125</sup> That Jeake felt the two could co-exist is evident in the title of his diary in which he states his intention to record events ‘partly to observe

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<sup>121</sup> Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, pp. 134-5.

<sup>122</sup> Roger Moore, *A Prognostication made for the yere of our Lord God 1570*. (London, 1570), sig. A2r-v.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Jeake, *An Astrological Diary*.

<sup>125</sup> For more on Jeake’s life and family see the Introduction to his diary by Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory in Jeake, *An Astrological Diary*, pp. 1-20.

and memorise the Providences therein manifested; & partly to investigate the Measure of Time in Astronomical Directions, and to determine the Astrall Causes'. The diary itself, whilst not kept for every day, was comprehensive in recording the precise temporal data that Jeake needed to subject his life to astrological interpretation. Entries are short but record events according to the exact date, and in many cases time, that they occurred. He even backdated his diary to his birth, recording the dates of those noteworthy events (normally illness or accidents) of his early life so that he might use them in order to draw up a more complete horoscope for his life. By keeping meticulously dated records of events, Jeake was able to see celestial and temporal patterns, in some cases calculating future dates that might be fortuitous, or in others finding meaning in events that had already happened. This was the case on 22 July 1675, for which he records:

About 1h30' p.m. My father gave me £45 1s 6d all in Gold, to trade with. This I am much inclin'd to think the Effect of the Direction of the 2d house ad sextilem Solis. & that there is a Sympathy between the Planet Sol & that metall. For once before I observed a Significatrix in the 2d house Venus directed to the very same Promittor, to signify a Gift in Gold, May 6 1672.<sup>126</sup>

As well as written descriptions, Jeake also drew up his own astrological charts. Such diagrams recorded the positions of the planets, zodiac, and other celestial phenomena like comets at a precise moment so that they could be used to subject an event in his life to celestial interrogation. On 16 June 1670, for example, Jeake had an accident in which he fell into a cellar filled with water. He began his entry for that date by recording how it was 'the good Providence of God' that meant he did not seriously injure himself. However, that the accident was a result of providence alone was not entirely satisfactory to Jeake who then looked to astrological circumstances for further, more detailed explanation. He declares, 'Behold the position of heaven at that instant', and goes on to draw out a chart

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<sup>126</sup> Jeake, *An Astrological Diary*, p. 129.

with the exact date and time of the accident in the centre, inputting the position of the different celestial ‘houses’ around the outside so he could calculate his horoscope for that moment in time (see Plate 11).<sup>127</sup> What this makes clear is that, for Jeake, time was a poignant signifier and observing it was a powerful tool because it enabled him to find meaning in otherwise haphazard events.

As entries like these in Jeakes’ diary demonstrate, knowing the exact timing of an event was fundamental to practising judicial astrology. This was never more important than at birth, and this helps to explain the decision to inscribe some objects connected to birth and baptism with dates. The practice of casting a ‘nativity’ involved drawing up an astrological chart based on the planetary alignments at a time of birth.<sup>128</sup> Although such charts could be drawn up to interpret the significance of any specific moment in time, time of birth was particularly important because it was at this point that the celestial influences were instilled in a person, thus affecting the course of their entire life.<sup>129</sup> The horoscope cast at an individual’s nativity was divided into different categories, interpreting the influence of the planets over specific topics including life, riches, family, friends, enemies, and health. Significantly, a nativity required the knowledge of the exact time of one’s birth, not just the date. In her study of early modern astrology, Ann Geneva has outlined the process involved in detail. To cast the horoscope, the sky was divided into twelve equal portions each of 30° and each was assigned a sign of the zodiac. Then, ‘beginning at midnight, the twelve signs ‘ascended’ one degree at a time over the earth’s horizon. Whatever sign was on the horoscope at the time of a person’s birth constituted the ‘ascendant’, which was vital for interpreting one’s horoscope.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>128</sup> Carey, ‘Judicial Astrology’, p. 91.

<sup>129</sup> Hunter and Gregory, ‘Introduction’, p. 14.

<sup>130</sup> Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 163.

Knowing the exact time of birth was therefore essential; even the slightest miscalculation would render the nativity useless. Hieronymus Wolf, for example, began his autobiography of 1654 by examining the position of the stars at his birth. Notably, when his horoscope did not appear to fit the course of his life, he did not doubt the powers of the heavens, but instead questioned whether the clocks had been wrong.<sup>131</sup> Jeake meanwhile described the measures taken by his father to ascertain the exact time of his birth, so as to cast no doubt over his projection of his own natal horoscope: 'I was born at Rye in Sussex July 4th 1652 on the Lord's Day, 1/4 of an hour past 6 a Clock in the morning, according to the aestimate time taken by my Father from an Horizontal Dial, the Sun then shining.'<sup>132</sup> As someone with a keen interest in astrology it is not unusual that Jeake would wish to know the precise time of his birth, but what is more interesting is that his father, a committed evangelist, also thought it important enough to record. This suggests that obtaining a natal horoscope was not just the preserve of those studying astrology but was more widespread. Yet determining the exact time was no mean feat. In *A treatise against judicial astrologie* (1601), John Chamber ridiculed such efforts by 'starre-gazers':

But for the manner of the Horoscopus, which is the ground of the rest, it can by no meanes stand. For when they say, that one sitting by the woman in travell signifieth the moment of birth by the sound of the basen to the Astrologer viewing the stars upon the hill top, where he marketh the sun rising...yet the time cannot be taken and noted. For before the sound of the basen can come to the hill top, will passe a good deale of time...because the sound is long in going to him which heareth it. Therefore the Astrologer cannot perfectly take the time of the signe rising, which is the Horoscopus.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> See William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton, 'Introduction: The Problematic Status of Astrology and Alchemy in Premodern Europe' in William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton (eds.), *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe* (London: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 1-38 (pp. 9-10).

<sup>132</sup> Jeake, *An Astrological Diary*, p. 85.

<sup>133</sup> John Chamber, *A treatise against judicial astrologie* (London, 1601), p. 24.





Figure 5 - Locket, gold, England, dated 1597. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

That the exact time of birth had profound astrological significance may have motivated the decision to mark some objects with references to time. Indeed, if a natal horoscope was thought to resonate past the initial moment of birth and throughout the course of a person's life, then a more permanent record of its timing that could be referred to later in life would be a particularly suitable gift to commemorate the birth. One such example is a late sixteenth-century gold locket in the

shape of a heart in the V&A's collection (see Figure 5).<sup>134</sup> The locket is engraved on the front in black enamel with the words 'John Monson born.the.tenth of September at.12.of the klok. At night 1597'.<sup>135</sup> John Monson was the first born son of the admiral and MP, Sir William Monson (1569-1643) and the catalogue entry for this object suggests that it may have been made as a gift to be given to Monson at the time of his christening.<sup>136</sup> The giving of a baptismal gift was a significant responsibility for the godparents of a child and gifts often included those made from precious metals like this locket. Spoons in particular are thought to have been customary baptismal gifts; according to David Cressy it was

<sup>134</sup> V&A, London, object number M.28-1981.

<sup>135</sup> This poses an interesting question about when exactly the day was seen to start – was 12 o'clock at night taken to be the end of the previous day or the start of the next?

<sup>136</sup> 'Locket', V&A, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O11007/loket-unknown/> (Accessed: 30 July 2018).

customary among elites for godparents to bestow silver spoons if they could afford them, or silver plate according to their financial resources.<sup>137</sup> Pepys, for example, gave a cup and spoon as a christening present for his wife's godchild on 10 January 1661/2.<sup>138</sup> He also visited his goldsmith in order to buy a basin, again for his wife's godchild, on 26 November 1667.<sup>139</sup> Similarly the Le Strange family gave six silver spoons to celebrate births in lower status families between the years 1606 and 1626.<sup>140</sup> Some of these objects given as gifts perhaps recorded the date of the event by way of commemoration. A silver seal-topped spoon from the CTF collection evidently given in this capacity and is inscribed 'Edward Fowler baptised the 14 of Januari 1615' (see Plate 12).<sup>141</sup>

Yet the inscription on Monson's locket records not just the date, but the time exact to the hour of his birth. Like Samuel Jeake's father, the giver of the locket obviously felt a highly accurate knowledge of Monson's time of birth to be relevant, rather than merely commemorating the occasion of his birth for which a date would have sufficed. The decision to physically engrave the time onto an object of no small expense like a gold locket suggests that perhaps the timing of Monson's birth gave him a particularly prolific horoscope. Indeed, we know that the Monson family were interested in the power of the heavens as clients of the astrologer physician Richard Napier.<sup>142</sup> Two entries in Napier's casebooks relating to health complaints when John was around twenty-one years old also record the same time and date of birth as inscribed on the locket, evidence not only that John's exact time of birth was deemed useful to his physician but also that some twenty

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<sup>137</sup> David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 159.

<sup>138</sup> Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.) (London: Bell & Hyman, 1985), vol. 3, p. 7.

<sup>139</sup> Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, p. 548.

<sup>140</sup> Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 165.

<sup>141</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.M/126.

<sup>142</sup> I am greatly indebted to the Casebooks Project, Annie Thwaite, and Lauren Kassell for making me aware of this connection.

years later such information was still readily at hand.<sup>143</sup> The astrological importance of the time of birth for the Monson family is emphasised even further in a later entry in Napier's casebooks for John's brother William. Napier uses the time and date of William's birth, 'feb. 2. being fryday h. 0. 0. in the morning. 1599', to draw up a nativity for him when he was around twenty years old, likely intending it for medical purposes.<sup>144</sup>

Meanwhile, further evidence that the date held meaning outside of merely recording a major life cycle event is found when looking inside. The locket is thought to contain a piece of the caul, the membrane that covers the foetus, which John was born with. It was believed that to be born with the caul covering one's head was lucky, and in particular there were many superstitious beliefs that wearing the dried caul around one's neck could bring beneficial magical powers, notably protection from drowning.<sup>145</sup> Meanwhile the small size of the locket, just 5cm in height, as well as a small suspension ring suggests its personal intimacy as an object; it was intended to be worn close to the person, likely hung around the neck. The caul Monson was born with may have therefore been set into this locket as a kind of good luck charm and was intended to be kept close to him, carried around in his daily life. Combined with the astrological influence of the date, which was

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<sup>143</sup> Casebooks Project, CASE48466, <http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/view/case/normalised/CASE48466?sort=date&order=asc&start=1&name1=john%20monson&nt1=1> (Accessed: 30 July 2018); Casebooks Project, CASE49107, <http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/view/case/normalised/CASE49107?sort=date&order=asc&name1=john%20monson&nt1=1> (Accessed: 30 July 2018). The use of astrology in early modern medicine has been well-documented in the work of Lauren Kassell. See for example *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London: Simon Forman, Astrologer, Alchemist, and Physician* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005) and 'Casebooks in Early Modern England: Medicine, Astrology, and Written Records', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 88 (2014), pp. 595–625. See also the special edition of the journal *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, edited by Kassell and Robert Ralley, entitled 'Stars, Spirits, Signs: Towards a History of Astrology 1100-1800', 41 (2010).

<sup>144</sup> Casebooks Project, CASE49108, <http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/view/case/normalised/CASE49108?sort=date&order=asc&name1=william%20monson&nt1=1> (Accessed: 30 July 2018).

<sup>145</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1983), pp. 15-6.

also physically present on the locket, this object, given at birth, became more than just a keepsake, with the ability to actively influence the course of Monson's life.

Astrology was not the only way time was interpreted, with particular patterns of numbers and ages also thought to have a determining power over specific moments in time and their impact on worldly affairs. The numbers seven and nine were thought to be particularly influential and gave rise to a belief in the significance of climacteric years and septenaries as potentially dangerous or fortuitous turning points in a person's life.<sup>146</sup> Thomas Wright dedicated a short treatise to 'the nature of Clymactericall yeeres', published in 1604.<sup>147</sup> He claimed to have been encouraged to do so by 'diverse pregnant wites, and curious philosophers' following the death of Queen Elizabeth at the age of seventy, itself deemed to be a climacteric time in her life.<sup>148</sup> Wright explained that, 'clymax in Greeke signifieth a Staire or a Ladder, and metaphorically is applied to the yeere of a man or womans life; as if the whole course of our dayes were a certaine Ladder, compounded of so many steppes.'<sup>149</sup> Wright was a controversial Catholic priest and writer, but unlike astrology, a belief in the power of climacteric years was not always dismissed by Protestants as remnants of popish superstition. Indeed, some even saw the power of these years as having a medical explanation. The puritan physician James Hart chose to include a section on climacteric years in his 1633 publication on health, *Klinike, or the diet of the diseased*.<sup>150</sup> Like Wright, Hart likened a man's life to a ladder that he moves up

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<sup>146</sup> Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 737.

<sup>147</sup> Thomas Wright, *A Succinct Philosophicall declaration of the nature of Clymactericall yeeres, occasioned by the death of Queene Elizabeth*. (London, 1604).

<sup>148</sup> Wright, *A Succinct Philosophicall declaration*, p. 1.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2. The visual equivalent of this can be found in the 'Ages of Man' iconography, discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>150</sup> James Hart, *Klinike, or The Diet of the Diseased* (London, 1633).

‘until [he] can climbe no higher, and the rounds of this ladder are our yeeres: and they are of two sorts; either sevens or nines, both decretory and determining the life of man.’<sup>151</sup>

These climacteric rungs on the ladder of life could be formed of intervals of both seven and nine, with septenaries in particular thought to be especially powerful. Hart explained that this was for both numerical and astrological reasons. Numerical explanations consisted predominantly of a range of biblical occurrences in which the number seven was seen to be sacred:

This is called the holy number; for it is certaine, that God himselfe sanctified the seventh day... Again, to magnifie this number of seven, they allege that on the seventh moneth the arke rested on the mount Ararat: on the seventh day, Noah sent out a Dove which returned, with an olive-branch in her bill... Againe, say they, the life of man imitateth the creation of the world, which was finished in seven daies...<sup>152</sup>

This was compounded by the number’s astrological significance, which was notably more harmful since ‘every seventh yeere...the planets returne in order to Saturne, who removes then to another signe...and therefore by reason of this maligne constellation...it commeth to passe, that the maligne influence of Saturne is increased.’<sup>153</sup> The result of the number seven’s ‘maligne influence’ was that those years in a person’s life that were multiples of seven could be particularly momentous. Most troublesome was the age of sixty-three, since it was the multiple of two sevens; as one writer commented, ‘nowadays very few exceed the age of sixty-three because the year is fatal and climacterical’.<sup>154</sup> Indeed, following his sixty-fourth birthday on 26 January 1678/9, Ralph Josselin recorded his relief at living past his sixty-third year, which he admitted was ‘a critical & dangerous year’.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Hart, *Klinike*, p. 10.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>154</sup> A. Gethyn, quoted in Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 737.

<sup>155</sup> Ralph Josselin, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683*, Alan Macfarlane (ed.) (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1991), p. 626.

Meanwhile, alongside periodic cycles of years and ages deemed potentially maleficent or beneficial, specific dates were also thought to be fundamentally lucky or unlucky. Keith Thomas has argued that the belief in ‘evil days’ in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England found its roots in the Roman tradition of *dies nefasti* – dates which for ‘some occult reason [were] propitious for certain actions and others inappropriate’.<sup>156</sup> Compilers of almanacs sometimes included lists of such dates, but they could also be gathered by individuals. The Elizabethan schoolmaster John Conybeare, for example, compiled a list of ‘the dangerous daies in all the yere for anybody to fall sicke upon’.<sup>157</sup> However, unlike climactericals whose influence was said to relate to numerical, astrological, or physical factors, there was no clear explanation as to why some dates were deemed to be lucky or otherwise, with some compilers relying on coincidence, superstition, or merely lists of dates which were inherited, often with no reason given at all. In *Day Fatality: Or, Some Observations of Days Lucky and Unlucky* (1679), John Gibbon discussed in detail various ‘Good and Evil Day and Times’, which had been proved to be so based purely on events that happen to have fell on them.<sup>158</sup> The 13<sup>th</sup> February, for example, was counted by the Romans as an unlucky day, ‘for on that day they were overthrown at Allia by the Gauls; and the Fabii, attacking the City of the Veii, were all slain save one.’<sup>159</sup> Most interesting is that Gibbon, like others, sees a particular connection between people’s dates of birth with both unlucky or lucky days personal to them. He notes, for example, that ‘Upon the Sixth of April, Alexander the Great was born: Upon the same day he conquered Darius,

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<sup>156</sup> Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 736.

<sup>157</sup> John Conybeare, *Letters and Exercises of the Elizabethan Schoolmaster John Conybeare, Schoolmaster at Molton* (London: Henry Frowde, 1905), p. 68.

<sup>158</sup> John Gibbon, *Day Fatality: or, some observations of days lucky and unlucky ... With some remarks upon the fourteenth of October, the birth-day of James Duke of York*. (London, 1678).

<sup>159</sup> Gibbon, *Day Fatality*, p. 1.

won a great Victory at Sea, and died the same day'.<sup>160</sup> Yet Gibbon emphasises that 'day fatality' was a threat not just to famous men or past civilisations. He also tells the curious story of his uncle who died on the anniversary of his birth, 'and (which is a Truth exceeding strange) many years ago he foretold the day of his Death to be that of his Birth; and he also averred the same but about a week before his departure.'<sup>161</sup> Such beliefs in temporal coincidences found particular resonance in the period during and after the Civil War when they were compiled by both sides. Following the Restoration for example much was made of Cromwell's death also happening to fall upon the anniversaries of his now redundant victories at Worcester and Dunbar.<sup>162</sup> Indeed, Gibbon's tract was itself an object of political propaganda. A fervent supporter of James, Duke of York (later King James II), Gibbon published *Day Fatality* in honour of his birthday and used the ideas of lucky or unlucky temporal occasions to predict a glowing future for him.<sup>163</sup>

This chapter has explored the great variety of ways time was conceptualised, rationalised, and given meaning in early modern England, from grand world chronologies to day-to-day accounting. It has argued for the diachronic nature of early modern ideas of time with multiple temporalities co-existing throughout the period. This is evident not just in the numerous calendrical systems that offered different ways of outlining the year and charting its progression, but also through the multiple shapes and directions of time that conditioned everyday temporal experience. Time was at once

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>162</sup> Ronald Bedford, *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation, 1500-1660* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 40-1.

<sup>163</sup> Peter Sherlock, 'Gibbon, John (1629–1718)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10590> (Accessed: 31 May 2016).

perceived to be a linear progression and a constantly turning cycle, whilst the boundaries between past, present, and future were often blurred. Time was not a fixed entity in this period; the fluidity and malleability of time is highlighted by the graphic ways in which people experimented with how best to chart its movements, from hands and trees, to tables and lines.

Alongside this multitemporality these sources also demonstrate a growing interest in time and an increasing desire to record one's own position within it. The user-friendly printed almanacs of the seventeenth century are a far cry from the representations of time seen in the complex chronological tomes of the late medieval period. Designed to facilitate the integration of the calendar into everyday life, almanacs allowed for people to follow their own movements in time and record their lives according to the calendar. This interest in reflecting upon your own position in time is further reflected in the allied practice of recording dates throughout the domestic environment, on a host of both cheap and expensive material items. Moreover, not only did people want to observe their movement through time, but they also looked to time to give meaning to events happening around them; dates could be loaded with meaning and could also have an active role in influencing worldly affairs. Dates were therefore far more than passive markers of time in this period and time itself was much more complex than the neutral, scientific entity it would become. The practice of inscribing domestic objects with dates explored in the chapters that follow was therefore about far more than merely commemorating an event; instead these material dating practices were part of a much more complex web of temporal meanings and experiences.



## CHAPTER 2 – FURNITURE



*Figure 6 - Brass box, England, seventeenth century. Crab Tree Farm.*

A small seventeenth-century brass box may seem an odd object to open this chapter – it is neither a piece of furniture nor is it dated (see Figure 6).<sup>1</sup> Yet the sentiments expressed on this object resonate profoundly with the dated furniture that provides the focus of this chapter. The box, likely intended for snuff, is inscribed ‘Children’s children are the Crown of Old Men’, a quotation from Proverbs 17:6, which in full concludes ‘and the glory of children are their fathers’. The proverb advocates cross-generational admiration and respect, and the quotation on the box in particular emphasises that an enduring family line is the highest achievement in life. The box is additionally inscribed with two sets of initials ‘T E’ and ‘S E’ and so it is possible this was a gift from one generation of a family to another. The biblical quotation also highlights the passage of time and progression of life,

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<sup>1</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.M/119.

which is further emphasised through the use of decorative symbols on the reverse of the box; an applied sun and moon alongside two clock faces not only provide decoration but also work together to act as a combination lock to open and close the box. This object clearly emphasises the passage of time, but rather than creating a sense of anxiety, it suggests a comfort in the continuation of one's presence after death through the longevity of the family line.

The role of objects like this box as heirlooms and receptacles of family memory will be explored further in this chapter through an examination of dated furniture. The decision to inscribe such costly and enduring objects as chairs, beds, or chests with temporal references was in part to mark them out as inheritance pieces, with the dates, often alongside names, initials, or other inscriptions acting as a prompt for future generations to remember the original owner. However, whilst such items are sometimes identified with heirlooms in museum literature, this approach is too straightforward, as it fails to consider the wider implications of dated furniture for the sense of temporality in the home. Through their connection to both cultures of remembrance and self-fashioning, these pieces provide a compelling example of the polychronicity of dated wares and the multitemporality of the home. Used in the present to construct identity whilst establishing the 'facts' to be remembered in the future, these items demonstrate the interplay between the immediate moment and the eternal within the home.

Scholarship within the field of cultural memory studies provides a useful theoretical framework. Whilst much of this scholarship relates to how memory is produced in national and transnational contexts, in a recent article Astrid Erll has summarised how these ideas can be applied to the creation and recreation of the past within familial memory. Using Maurice Halbwach's ground-breaking theory of the *memoire collective*, Erll argues we can see the family as a specific mnemonic community, whose continual renegotiation of the

past ensures that the production of family memory is an ongoing process.<sup>2</sup> As Halbwachs argued, memory is a selective process, not a faithful reconstruction of the past.<sup>3</sup> Instead, Erll argues, ‘family’s...tend to remember that which corresponds to the self-image and the interests of the group’, as well as similarities and continuities that demonstrate how the group (in this case the family) is unchanged.<sup>4</sup> Through this careful selection of past memories, the family is both able to continuously shape and renegotiate its identity, and to use these memories ‘to serve as models for future conduct’.<sup>5</sup> As such, Erll sees familial memory as providing a source of inspiration or reference for the behaviour of future members of the group.<sup>6</sup> These ideas provide an important basis for the analysis of dated furniture in this chapter. By selecting which events to commemorate and display through dated wares, an individual consciously shaped their own identity and that of their family both then and in the future. Once installed in the home these items of furniture were not straightforward objects of commemoration but formed part of an individual’s wider selective mnemonic process of the presentation of the self, which would also ideally influence the family group’s response to its history over time.

The ways in which artworks in particular were used in the production of family memory has been explored in recent historiography on memorials and monuments. This was the focus of Nigel Llewellyn in his 1991 monograph, *The Art of Death*, in which he was particularly interested in how visual artefacts were created to sustain the memory of the social body after death had rendered the natural body obsolete.<sup>7</sup> Llewellyn argued that

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<sup>2</sup> Astrid Erll, ‘Locating the Family in Cultural Memory Studies’, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 42 (2011), pp. 303–318 (p. 306).

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Erll, ‘Locating the Family’, p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion of genealogies and pedigree rolls as having a similar pedagogical role in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

<sup>7</sup> Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-c.1800* (London: Reaktion, 1991).

whilst the natural body might decay, ‘the monumental body’, by which he meant visual artefacts like sculptures often set up at the place of burial, ‘was designed to stand forever as a replacement for the social body’.<sup>8</sup> Not only would this monument describe the attributes and past life of the deceased, but it would also seek to establish their reputation for the future, one that was not necessarily altogether truthful. Indeed, as Llewellyn states, ‘in skilful enough hands and given sufficient ambition on the part of the patron, the monumental body could invent for posterity a completely new *persona*.’<sup>9</sup> Moreover, such monuments were not just an exercise in vanity but could have a real impact on the subsequent fortunes of their family, since death marked a time of particular instability. Through the maintenance of the social body and the extension of the influence of the deceased beyond death these potential problems were resisted.<sup>10</sup>

This idea has been developed by Tara Hamling, who has argued that such impulses were not just restricted to the monuments found in churches but could also be made manifest in the domestic sphere in the form of furniture and fixtures.<sup>11</sup> Hamling has shown how such objects not only helped a family to remember deceased relatives, but were fundamental in enabling the continuity of the family line and the maintenance of the ancestral seat, however recently established. Taking Llewellyn’s work as a springboard, Hamling argues that large-scale fixtures and furnishings functioned in a three-fold way: they celebrated specific individuals, commemorated key life cycle events, and acted as a permanent record of a family’s history.<sup>12</sup> The last point is particularly important; the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Tara Hamling, ‘“An Arelome To This Hous For Ever”: Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, c. 1560-1660’ in Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (eds.), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 59–83.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

acquisition of these objects was an investment in the future of both the family and the estate, with the ability to alter the reality of the family's status and fortunes, which were particularly at risk following an individual's death. Such an occasion could result in the end of the family line or the dissolution of the estate and so, as Hamling writes, the purchase of large-scale furniture was 'an attempt to express in material form that the family line was legitimate and/or secured, and thereby make it so.'<sup>13</sup>

The use of monuments to shore up a family's fortune is also discussed in the work of Peter Sherlock, whose study of funerary monuments in early modern England was similarly highly influenced by Llewellyn.<sup>14</sup> Sherlock argues that the construction of family tombs was intended to represent lineage, both of ancestry and posterity, yet this lineage was often a carefully crafted illusion. In reality, most family tombs in this period were constructed not over time, added to by successive generations, but instead by one or two descendants.<sup>15</sup> Unlike Halbwachs's conception of a collective memory then, these tombs were attempts by 'individuals...to control, rewrite and even fabricate their family histories, to give their posterity as much advantage as possible in a society that remained preoccupied with ancestry'.<sup>16</sup> Sherlock's argument here can be extended beyond funerary monuments to the dated monumental furniture discussed in this chapter. As will be shown, the date itself can be misleading and may not be indicative of when the object was actually made; some objects may have been intentionally fraudulently dated in order to rewrite the history of a past time and bolster a family's fortune in both the present and future, as is

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 63, 83.

<sup>14</sup> Ultimately, however, Llewellyn's central argument that monuments enabled the maintenance of the social body after death has been challenged by Sherlock who concludes that whilst 'some effigies were indeed replacements of the dead...monuments must be seen as sacred objects, part of material culture concerned with representing the fate of the body and soul in the cosmos at large, not the earthly realm alone.' *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 69-70.

<sup>15</sup> Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

argued for the case study of the Stanley family furniture discussed in the second half of this chapter. Like the family tombs discussed by Sherlock, these dated objects, intended to endure as family heirlooms and thus act as vehicles of communication to later audiences, similarly represented 'idealistic, deliberate attempts at promoting a positive view of the family's past, present, and future.'<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile Hamling's work on monumental furniture and fixtures is further significant in its assessment of how such items were used not just to assert the legitimacy of the family as a whole but also to extend the agency of specific individuals after their death. Here Hamling draws on the work of Catherine Richardson, whose study of domestic life in early modern England has shown that household furnishings, alongside other bequests, were read in the context of their previous owners, as well as their former locations and uses within the home.<sup>18</sup> This 'using-in-relation-to-provenance', as Richardson describes it, not only elicited an emotional response from future users, 'but also a set of domestic practices peculiar to the way in which they were used by their original owners.'<sup>19</sup> Indeed, some testators included very precise instructions in their wills to control the placing of objects within the home or the terms of their use. In this way the wishes, and with them the memory and agency of the original owner, were extended across time.<sup>20</sup> This idea can be taken even further if we consider not just the documentary evidence surrounding material goods but also their form and decoration.<sup>21</sup> The agency of a specific individual over subsequent generations through the bequest of their goods would have increased substantially when such items were inscribed not only with their names, but

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 70-76.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 71.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, pp. 74-6.

<sup>21</sup> Hamling, 'An Arelome', p. 63.

with dates pertinent to that individual. In this way when the object was used in the future it would have prompted potent memories of its former owner, their own temporality, and their use of the object within their own clearly marked position in time. It would also have allowed them to take ownership of the specific occasion the date referred to, which would have been particularly powerful when those events had significant ramifications for the family's social position such as a birth, marriage, or elevated title.

Whilst this chapter takes the existing literature on memorials and monuments as a starting point for discussion, my approach contributes a distinct perspective by analysing the question of the relationship between forms of furniture and the presence of dates. In doing so, this chapter argues that dates had a variety of functions on furniture. They clearly marked out such objects as responding to extraordinary occasions, allowing for the display of specific life cycle events or key family milestones, communicating this information to both present and future audiences. Moreover, through the date they allowed these events and their associated ramifications to be connected back to specific individuals or heads of household, even when their initials were not present. They also allowed for the tracing of family history across time, with the dates on furniture having an allied but separate function to the dated family trees and genealogies discussed in the previous chapter. In this way when these items of furniture were displayed together within the home, marking out as they did specific momentous events and being occasionally added to over the course of several lifetimes, they documented the diachronic development of a household over time through their dates. It is argued here that the temporality of the household was itself a unique kind of time, existing both within the daily rhythms of calendar time but also as part of a much larger sea of eternal time. These objects express an individual or a family's movement in time within these broader ideas of the eternal, and as such they reflect the multitemporality of the home.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first section focuses on a series of case studies that highlight how furniture was used to mark, negotiate, and extend major rites of passage associated with the life cycle, moving from birth through to marriage, and, ultimately, death. Through an analysis of cradles, chests, and beds, it considers how the dates on these objects were used to ease the transition to a changed social reality. Moving away from the life cycle, the second section looks at how dated furniture in the home was used to consolidate social status and reflect obligations by incorporating references to wider events, focusing in particular on a group of furniture that communicated ideas about the owners' loyalties through dated inscriptions.

### **I) Furniture, the life cycle, and familial memory**

Furniture represents one of the most significant categories of dated object because of its link to major life cycle events. These rites of passage provided a key temporal framework for both individuals and the household in the seventeenth century. Amongst the large variety of dated wares, the decision to date furniture must have been a particularly considered action; these items were significant investments since they were amongst the costliest, the most space-consuming, and the most enduring objects found in a home, intended to be passed to future generations in the family line. One of the most common reasons to date an item of furniture was therefore to commemorate and reflect upon a major event in the family's life cycle. Indeed, the acquisition of furniture was rare, and even when a couple were newly married their furnishings would not have necessarily been acquired all at that time, or even as brand new.<sup>22</sup> Instead, furniture was largely gained at

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<sup>22</sup> For example, the account books kept by the cloth merchant John Hayne, begun in 1634 just before his marriage to Susan Henly and continuing until 1643, demonstrate how a great deal on investment in household furnishings could occur around the time of marriage in order to set up a new household. Analysis by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson has shown that in 1636, the year following his marriage,



extraordinary rather than mundane occasions, often as gifts at the time of a birth or marriage, or as inheritance after the death of a family member.<sup>23</sup> Their meaning therefore would have been constructed in accordance to these occasions, ‘tying these fundamental familial disjunctures to the objects which symbolised changing circumstances and relationships.’<sup>24</sup> Once circulated they brought with them associations of former use, former owners, and former spaces, and helped to extend the influence of original owners across time. Thus, when displayed alongside other newer objects as they were acquired, these items acted as important receptacles of family memory, with the dates, names, and other aspects of decoration becoming powerful displays of the family’s lineage, prosperity, and its wider networks.

The meaning behind many items of dated furniture was thus constructed with reference to the life cycle, which therefore provides a useful framework for structuring this chapter and for exploring the diverse temporality of these objects. The life cycle in this period was marked by a series of transitions through which one would ideally move, starting from birth and progressing through adolescence, to marriage, old age, and eventually death.<sup>25</sup> As seen in the discussion of climacterical years in the previous chapter, ‘The Seven Ages of Man’ was a particularly frequent trope whose origins dated back to antiquity. One popular representation was found in the most influential schoolbook of the period, the *Orbis Pictus*; originally published in Latin and German in 1658, it was translated into English in 1659 and went through numerous editions.<sup>26</sup> An image of the

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Hayne’s made a significant 67% of the total number of purchases across the first four years of his accounts. These items included kitchen equipment, furniture, soft furnishings, and dining equipment – all items necessary for the establishment of a new household. See *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 163-7.

<sup>23</sup> Hamling, ‘An arelome’, pp. 59-84; Richardson, *Domestic Life*.

<sup>24</sup> Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 67.

<sup>25</sup> David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 1-7.

<sup>26</sup> Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (London, 1659).

Seven Ages appears alongside diagrams of the human body and the natural world, with the Seven Ages thus envisioned as part of these natural processes and not the result of man-made rituals (see Figure 7). It shows the major life cycle events of both men and women, which notably varied, along with the following description:

*A Man is first an Infant, then a Boy, then a Youth, then a Young-man, then a Man, after that an Elderly-man, and at last, a decrepid old man. So also in the other Sex there are, a Girl, A Damosel, a Maid, A Woman, an elderly Woman, And a decrepid old Woman.*<sup>27</sup>

In this account only the natural transitions are described, yet other contemporary descriptions of the Seven Ages of Man also included social transitions or rites of passage. In Shakespeare's famous speech in *As You Like It*, the Seven Ages of Man include 'the whining schoolboy', 'the lover', associated with the young, and 'the justice', also associated with the elderly.<sup>28</sup>

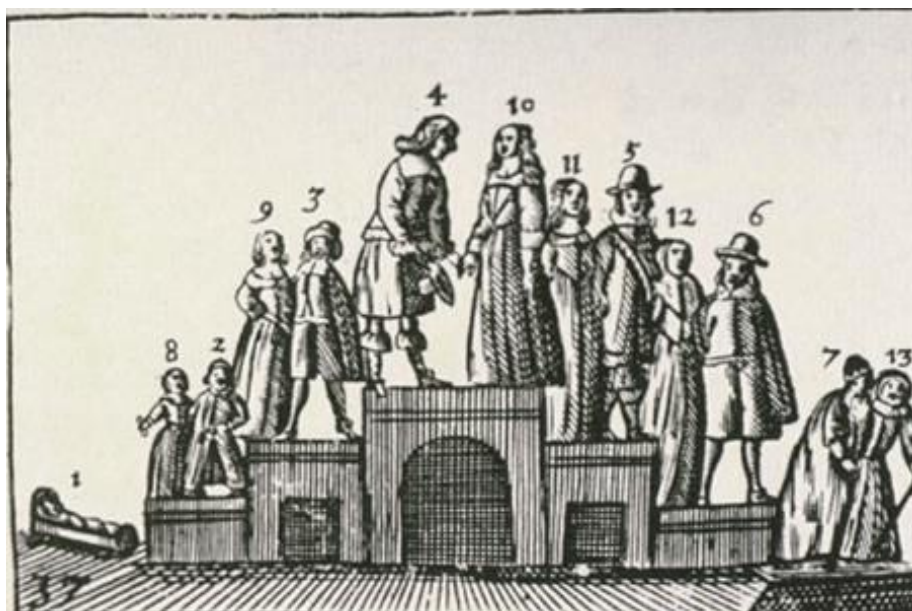


Figure 7 - 'The Seven Ages of Man' in Johann Amos Comenius' *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* [1672 edition].

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7.

<sup>28</sup> William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene VII.

Out of all the life stages a person might pass through, birth, marriage, and death were clearly the most important because these changes in the state of the individual also constituted a change to society. According to David Cressy in his landmark study of life cycle events in early modern England, these major rites of passage were marked by ‘intensely scripted’ ritual activity, which involved both social customs and religious rites, giving ‘cultural meaning to natural processes’.<sup>29</sup> Life cycle events saw the acquisition of new roles and obligations, both in the household and in society at large, and the casting off of former ones. As such, each rite of passage was formulated as a major transition. Birth and baptism marked a person’s initiation into the world, their family, their community, and the church, whilst death marked the passage of a soul from one world to another. Meanwhile marriage, although not necessarily a stage every person would experience, arguably marked the most important personal, social, and economic transformation.<sup>30</sup> As a result of the formative roles these events had in producing, maintaining, and extending a family’s social status and connections, the dated objects that commemorated them both informed audiences about these fundamental changes to the household in the present, but also acted as a storehouse of memories of these occasions for the future.

i) Birth

The birth of a new child had important ramifications for the family, the household, the community, and the state. As well as ensuring the continuation of the family line and thus the longevity of its name, for elite families in particular childbirth provided the all-

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<sup>29</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>30</sup> Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Single women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

important heir, enabling the transfer of land ownership and property within the family.<sup>31</sup>

This in turn was thought to help maintain the commonwealth and the stability of the nation.<sup>32</sup> It was for this reason that in his 1622 treatise *Of domesticall duties*, William Gouge emphasised the significance of the first born child as heir:

Houses and families by this means are upheld and continued from age to age. How needful it is for the establishment of a commonwealth that families should thus be continued, is evident... by experience to all such as have but halfe an eye to see wherein the stability of a commonwealth consisteth...<sup>33</sup>

Gouge's treatise was part of a wider body of pedagogical literature that emerged in the late fifteenth century but flourished from the sixteenth century onwards across Europe, advising on the right governance of the household. Within these prescriptive texts the family itself was envisioned as a metaphor for the state, in which the maintenance of authority, hierarchy, and social order within the household was seen as fundamental to the good health of both the state and church.<sup>34</sup> In a similar text published in 1619, *A bride-bush; or, A direction for married persons*, the author William Whately impressed upon the reader the dual importance of children in both preserving the family name and supporting the commonwealth:

the hope of posterity, the stay of old age, the comfort of weakenesse, the support of every mans house and name, together with the flourishing and populous estate of every Church and Common-weale, doth even hang upon the fruit of matrimony.<sup>35</sup>

The birth of a new child was thus a significant moment for both the family and society as a whole, and as such a host of material culture and associated social rituals were

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<sup>31</sup> Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), p. 104; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>32</sup> Helen Berry and Elizabeth A. Foyster, *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> William Gouge, *Of domesticall duties* (London, 1622), p. 577.

<sup>34</sup> Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, eds, *A Cultural History of Childhood and the Family in the Early Modern Age* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> William Whately, *A bride-bush; or, A direction for married persons: Plainely describing the duties common to both, and peculiar to each of them* (London, 1619), p. 17.

connected with the occasion. Indeed, the birth itself was only one event in a series that celebrated the arrival and which were marked by sociability, feasting, and gift-giving.<sup>36</sup> Shortly after the birth, local women known as ‘gossips’, or God-siblings, would visit the mother, giving both durable and edible gifts intended to aid her recovery and mark the baby’s entry into a wider social circle.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile baptism, which would usually occur a few days after the birth, welcomed the child into the Christian community and was further marked by feasting and the exchange of gifts, as discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. Dated objects that commemorated a birth may have been given at any one of these occasions, marking one of many stages in this rite of passage. Despite the celebrations, however, early modern childbirth and infancy were also times surrounded by anxiety. Although the demographer Roger Schofield has shown that maternal mortality during childbirth peaked at only about 1.5% in the seventeenth century, for the child on the other hand, even if they survived birth, their survival past infancy was uncertain.<sup>38</sup> Studies based on parish registers suggest that one in seven babies may have died during their first year during the period 1550-1700, with a higher rate in London.<sup>39</sup> As many as a quarter did not survive to see their tenth birthday during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>40</sup> The expense of purchasing objects for a child and having them inscribed with personal details like initials and dates is therefore significant given that they might not live past infancy. It is perhaps not surprising therefore that for some of the examples discussed below, when a

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<sup>36</sup> Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 165.

<sup>37</sup> Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 84–7.

<sup>38</sup> Roger Schofield, ‘Did the Mothers Really Die? Three Centuries of Maternal Mortality’ in Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M Smith, Keith Wrightson, and Peter Laslett (eds.), *The World We Have Gained* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986) pp. 231-60.

<sup>39</sup> Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984), p. 138.

<sup>40</sup> Roger Schofield and Edward Anthony Wrigley, ‘Infant and Child Mortality in England in the Late Tudor and Early Stuart period’ in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 61-95 (p. 65).

successful birth was commemorated with dated material culture, such objects focused their inscriptions on the family as a whole rather than individual children.

The Le Strange family provide a prime example of how gentry families might respond to the birth of a child and allow for the introduction of the first object category of this chapter, dated cradles. Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths have undertaken in-depth analysis of the account books of Alice Le Strange to explore the patterns of household consumption for an upper gentry family living in the early seventeenth century.<sup>41</sup> In their discussion of the connection between the family life cycle and consumption they note how despite three of Alice's children dying as babies, the Le Strange family's christenings were still lavishly celebrated.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, whilst the family bought only a few new things for their children and very few toys, which were instead likely homemade or passed down through the family, they did invest in a new cradle at the birth of every child, costing between 2s 8d and 6s, suggesting therefore that older cribs were not reused.<sup>43</sup> The time in which the cradle was functional was short-lived, as it would become redundant once the baby for whom it was made began to grow. This suggests that the crib itself was a hugely symbolic purchase. For the Le Stranges each successful continuation of the family line was a cause to be celebrated with a brand new cradle, enhancing its role as an item for the display of familial history, something made all the more important considering their experience of childhood death. Indeed, although none survive that can be attributed to the family, the cribs the Le Stranges purchased may well have been inscribed with initials and dates like the examples discussed below.

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<sup>41</sup> Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.



*Figure 8 - Side panel of oak cradle, England, dated 1641. Victoria and Albert Museum.*

Whilst many cribs were made in wicker and have consequently been lost, a number of the more expensive, oak examples have survived.<sup>44</sup> Their survival indicates their role as family heirlooms, preserved after the child has grown. Of these, several extant seventeenth-century cradles are inscribed with dates and initials. Mostly these are formed of two sets of initials, or three initials combined, typically used to refer to the initials of married couples, which suggests that in these instances the birth was celebrated as an important rite of passage in the lives of the parents and the family more broadly, rather than the child's individually.<sup>45</sup> A panelled oak cradle in the V&A demonstrates how recording a child's date of birth was the primary function of its design, and indeed was integral to the wider role the object played.<sup>46</sup> Although there are strapwork scrolls along the upper edge of the cradle, the main body of the object is decorated only with an

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<sup>44</sup> Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards, *The Dictionary of English Furniture: From the Middle Ages to the Late Georgian period* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1986), vol. II, p. 153.

<sup>45</sup> There are some examples in which only a single set of initials are recorded. A later seventeenth-century cradle survives inscribed '1691 DW', although it is unclear if this single set of initials is those of the infant, a parent, or perhaps even godparent. Macquoid and Edwards, *Dictionary of English Furniture*, vol. II, p. 152.

<sup>46</sup> V&A, London, museum no. 1769-1869.

inscription in large bold lettering. Carved into the sides are the initials CB MB, which are likely those of the parents, whilst the date and year are inscribed separately - one side reads ‘OCTOBER 14<sup>TH</sup> DAI’ and another ‘1641’ (see Figure 8). A comparable oak cradle from later in the seventeenth century also proudly proclaims the date of a child’s birth alongside the initials of the parents, and not the child. Unlike the previous cradle which had a full date, this example is inscribed with just the year, 1691, and the initials EMG (see Plate 13).<sup>47</sup> We know that these letters stand for the parents’ names rather than the infant since they are placed in a triangular form. This cypher was used exclusively to identify married couples and was universally adopted and understood across the manufacturing trade and society.<sup>48</sup> The top initial, here ‘M’, referred to the couple’s surname and ‘E’ and ‘G’ to their first names, with the triangular form representing their union. That the inscriptions on these cradles positioned the child’s birth as part of a wider family history is further echoed on a seventeenth-century cupboard which is inscribed ‘UNTO US A CHILDE IS BORNE’, taken from Isaiah 9:6, alongside a precise date, ‘YE XXV DAYE OF JANUARIE 1640’.<sup>49</sup> The cupboard was purportedly owned by the Cavendish family and indeed William Cavendish, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Devonshire, was born on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1640, with this chest likely commissioned to celebrate the occasion.<sup>50</sup>

The practice of dating and initialling cradles emphasises that they were not intended to be reused by subsequent babies in that family. By associating the cradle specifically with the birth of a particular child it displayed the wealth of the household who could afford to

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<sup>47</sup> V&A, London, museum no. 596-1886.

<sup>48</sup> The three initial cypher is more commonly found on ceramics from the mid to late seventeenth century. For a discussion of the cypher and other examples see Michael Archer, *Delftware in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (London: Phillip Wilson, 2013), and in particular p. 34.

<sup>49</sup> Victor Chinnery, *Oak Furniture: the British Tradition* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors’ Club, 2016), p. 25.

<sup>50</sup> Percy Macquoid, *A History of English Furniture* (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1938), vol. 1, fig. 128. The cupboard recently came up for auction in Dorset by Duke’s Auctions, 5<sup>th</sup> December 2014, lot no. 1268, but remained unsold.



purchase multiple cradles for births in their family alongside other items of furniture, as well as highlighting each important addition to the family, which, as discussed above, demonstrated the solidity of the family line but also their contribution to the smooth-running of regional and national society. Meanwhile their likely role as heirlooms suggests they were also made to act as a material memory of formative occasions in the establishment and development of the household.<sup>51</sup> As such these cradles reflect the multiple temporalities I argue are distinctive of the domestic sphere. In the first instance, at the time they were acquired, they responded to and reified the major rite of passage that was childbirth. Over a longer period, meanwhile, through their display in the home alongside other objects that commemorated similar events, they communicated desired information about the identity of the family throughout the diachronic trajectory of its lifetime. Meanwhile ultimately their role as heirlooms spoke to a more eternal conception of time, as well as anticipating future roles and audiences. Thus through their continued presence in the home as domestic furnishings they conditioned the temporal experience of everyday life in which past, present, and future converged.

## ii) Marriage

Marriage was the bedrock of society, identified as synonymous with the establishment of a household.<sup>52</sup> Although marriage rates fell slightly from the end of the sixteenth century, still more than 80% of the population who reached adulthood would marry in the

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<sup>51</sup> Similarly, Karen Hearn has discussed how, in light of the risk of death at childbirth, pregnancy portraits acted as visual records of a mother who might not survive past the birth. See ‘‘Saved Through Childbearing’’: A Godly Context for Elizabethan Pregnancy Portraits’ in Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (eds.), *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), pp. 65-70 (p. 66).

<sup>52</sup> See Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. p. 2.

seventeenth century.<sup>53</sup> Marriage was a fundamental transformation, with the ritual of matrimony marking ‘the passage from one state to another.’<sup>54</sup> It triggered a huge shift in the social, economic, and sexual roles of those involved, and it also provided the necessary context for the production of valid heirs, which was fundamental to the wellbeing of both the family and the state. Indeed, its significance is testified to in the abundance of prescriptive literature that emerged in this period. Publications like William Whately’s *A bride-bush; or, A direction for married persons* (1619) or Thomas Gataker’s treatise *Marriage Duties briefly couched together* (1620) advised couples on the ideal behaviour, duties, and management of domestic affairs for man and wife.<sup>55</sup> For women in particular it was a momentous transition from the authority of her father to her husband, leading to new domestic roles as wives, mothers, and housekeepers.<sup>56</sup> Men meanwhile became householders and masters, and were provided with the opportunity to father a legitimate lineage.<sup>57</sup> Throughout a marriage material culture was used to reify, negotiate, and extend these transformations.

The objects associated with marriage included both gifts and items acquired by the couple themselves to set up their new household. Moreover, not all dated objects recorded the date of marriage itself; such items could also include objects purchased some time after the wedding itself, used to celebrate a marriage and the life of the household over time. For example, Isaac Walton, whose material dating practices are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis, commissioned two items of furniture to mark his two marriages. The first is an elaborately carved chest inscribed with the precise date of his first wedding, ‘27<sup>th</sup> Day of December AD 1626’, but the other, an ornate court cabinet, is dated some

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<sup>53</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 285.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>55</sup> Thomas Gataker, *Marriage Duties Briefly Couched Together* (London, 1620).

<sup>56</sup> Diana O’Hara, *Courtship and Constraint* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 287.

years after the second wedding itself took place. Marriage was therefore part of the long-term establishment of the household and was celebrated as more than just a single, synchronic moment in time. The objects associated with it therefore had a diverse temporality; on the one hand they marked a specific date, on the other they represented the much broader temporality of the household as it unfolded across time.

For gentry families, chests like Walton's were objects particularly associated with marriage and they are the next object category considered here. Chests are one of the oldest forms of furniture and were often associated with marriage, as it was customary for a woman to bring one with her to her new home.<sup>58</sup> They are portable objects and since they were often acquired at a time when a woman would enter a marriage, they embodied major transitional moments in a person's life socially but also physically from one household to another. In medieval Europe chests were among some of the only larger items in otherwise sparsely furnished rooms and thus provided a range of functions as both seats and storage receptacles.<sup>59</sup> Whilst the advent of chairs and stools in the early modern household meant chests may have become less important in providing extra seating, chests retained an importance in household furnishings and were used to store all kinds of goods. These included chests used to store linens and other household items that had been collected as part of a dowry prior to this point.<sup>60</sup> Many surviving examples of chests are of the simple boarded or joined type that would have been ideal for this kind of household storage. Hamling and Richardson's analysis of the contents of chambers in Faversham, Kent, between 1560-1600 reveals that chests were the most common items of furniture found in households, with some 728 chests recorded in the 215 inventories for the period.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Hamling, 'An Arelome', p. 68.

<sup>59</sup> See Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards' entry on 'Chests' in *The Dictionary of English Furniture*, vol. II, pp. 1-26.

<sup>60</sup> Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 72.

<sup>61</sup> Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, pp. 41-2.

Meanwhile, the continuing popularity of chests into the seventeenth century is demonstrated in the study of production and consumption in early modern English households by Overton *et al*, who have shown that in Kent over 90% of inventories mention chests throughout the period 1600-1750, whilst a lower figure of 50% for Cornwall is still significant in light of the markedly lower percentage of other goods found in Cornish inventories.<sup>62</sup> Yet chests gradually began to be replaced in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century by chests of drawers, with drawers facilitating their use since it was no longer necessary to remove everything from the top to reach items stored at the bottom.<sup>63</sup>

Whilst the domestic environment might contain a range of different chests for different purposes, from plain to highly decorated examples, this section is interested in those chests that survive inscribed with dates alongside names or initials, which suggest they played a significant role in both celebrating and reifying key moments in a household's establishment. Some extant chests, for example, record a couple's initials alongside a date, indicating that they were most likely acquired to commemorate a marriage, although as Walton's purchases show, the dates do not necessarily correspond to the date of the wedding itself. One late Elizabethan example is an oak chest with a drawer at the bottom, inscribed 'AF' 'CF' in diamonds on either side of the date 1594 (see Plate 14).<sup>64</sup> However, many other chests survive with just a single set of initials alongside the date. An ornately carved oak chest now in Petworth House, West Sussex, but likely made in Derbyshire, is inscribed with the initials 'KY' alongside the date 1647.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile

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<sup>62</sup> Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 90-1.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>64</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.W/12.

<sup>65</sup> Petworth House and Park, West Sussex, NT, museum no. 485365.

another likely made in Yorkshire is inscribed 'IM' with the year 1623 (see Plate 15).<sup>66</sup> It is also decorated with panels depicting a male and female bust, further suggesting that the chests were made on the occasion of a marriage. It is possible that the single sets of initials found on these two chests belonged not to the man but to the woman who was entering the marriage. It was customary for her father or husband to commission a chest to commemorate the occasion, and they were often used to hold the dowry.<sup>67</sup>



*Figure 9 - Elm chest, England, dated 1640. Victoria and Albert Museum.*

Further evidence that the initials referred specifically to a woman is found on several other chests that record just a female name in full alongside the date. A boarded elm chest in the V&A is inscribed 'ELESABETH LOVELL 1640' (see Figure 9).<sup>68</sup> No documentary evidence survives on the chest or on who Elizabeth Lovell was, although based on the style it was possibly made in Shrewsbury, and so perhaps Elizabeth also came from that

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<sup>66</sup> Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire, NT, museum no. 959796.

<sup>67</sup> Hamling 'An Arelome', p. 68.

<sup>68</sup> V&A, London, museum no. W.31-1926.

area.<sup>69</sup> Meanwhile the inscriptions found on two more chests make much more explicit statements of ownership. One reads ‘THIS IS ESTHER HOBSONNE CHIST 1637’ alongside floral decoration, whilst over eighty years later another survives made in the North Country and inscribed ‘SARAH WARD HER CHEST 1722’ alongside two birds eating from fruit trees.<sup>70</sup> Again, frustratingly little trace remains of both women. In the case of Esther Hobson, when the chest was acquired by the V&A it was believed to have originated from Brigg, in Lincolnshire, where the Hobson family had been tenant farmers on Lard Yarborough’s estate for many generations. No Esther Hobson is recorded in the parish registers there during the seventeenth century, although of course she may not have been Esther Hobson at birth. Many other Hobsons however are recorded in Brigg, while there are several others, including an Esther Hobson, recorded to be living in Kirkburton, West Yorkshire at this time. Perhaps, then, Esther came from another branch of the Hobson family and the chest was at some point passed on to the Lincolnshire Hobsons, but more research remains to be done on the connection between these two families.<sup>71</sup>

Whoever Esther Hobson or Elizabeth Lovell were, these bold inscriptions suggest a great sense of pride in both their social transformation and ability to possess such elaborately decorated objects. Indeed, these items would clearly communicate a range of information about the status of the owner at the time they were acquired. As well as their short-term significance in the present moment, these objects also reflected longer timelines. Catherine Richardson has described how such objects as these chests would move through time and take on new meanings. She emphasises how a girl of middling wealth might acquire certain objects at specific, extraordinary occasions in her life,

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<sup>69</sup> V&A archive, item no. MA/1/S3483.

<sup>70</sup> V&A, London, museum no. 527-1892; St Fagans National History Museum, Wales.

<sup>71</sup> These chests are discussed further in my chapter, ‘Women in the Sea of Time: Domestic Dated Objects in Seventeenth-Century England’ in Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (ed.), *Gendered Temporalities in the Early Modern World* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 47-68.

particularly following the death of a relative or godparent. These accumulated goods, gathered in anticipation of a time when they would form the basis of a new household, would later become part of her marriage negotiations and would be ‘representative of her family’s prosperity’.<sup>72</sup> Significantly, Richardson describes these objects as being potentially stored in a chest, with this object coming to represent all that a woman herself owned, her connections with her own family and kin, and her transition into a new household and a new role.<sup>73</sup> Ultimately, the chests and the objects contained within them would be dispersed amongst subsequent generations with their presence in wills demonstrating that they were given as such.<sup>74</sup> From this point they would act as a material memory of the original owner and through their dates provide a marker of her own position within a much broader sea of time.<sup>75</sup>

Chests are therefore a highly significant category of dated object which were intimately connected with marriage and in particular the transition of a woman into a new role and a new family. Yet other categories of furniture also survive with inscriptions connected with marriage and the household, demonstrating the wider practice of acquiring dated furniture in particular to consolidate and extend this rite of passage. Many dated chairs survive, some of which include additional decoration indicating that they were acquired to commemorate a marriage and the wider development of the household across time. One oak armchair thought to have been made in Westmorland bears very little decoration apart from the inscribed initials WAS, indicating a married couple, and the year

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<sup>72</sup> Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 78.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-8.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>75</sup> The phrase ‘sea of time’ is used by several contemporary writers, most notably Francis Bacon in his *On the Advancement and Proficiency of Learning*. In his discussion of the power of the written word to endure throughout time, he asks, ‘how much more are letters to be magnified, which as ships, passing through the vast sea of time, counite the remotest ages of Wits and Inventions in mutuall Trafique and Correspondency?’ (London, 1640), p. 64. I have adopted it in this thesis as a useful metaphor for conceptualising time not just as a linear continuum but as something which moves both backwards and forwards, and indeed in multiple other directions at once, therefore emphasising its polychronicity.

1571 (see Plate 16).<sup>76</sup> Meanwhile a later oak armchair is much more vibrantly decorated, including a back panel decorated with a variety of inlaid motifs alongside the inscription in black ‘1631/WV’ (see Plates 17 and 18).<sup>77</sup> A carved archway encloses the inscription with the columns made of a highly stylised bearded man and woman, each wearing a ruff, again suggesting the initials referred to a married couple. Above the initials there is further inlaid decoration comprising of a building façade with columns, towers, and a gabled roof, on which sits a bird, possibly a dove. Even more extravagant was the commission of a pair of chairs, rather than just one, to mark a marriage; this was the case for ‘EO’ and ‘MO’, who acquired a pair of matching carved oak armchairs each inscribed with their initials and the year 1689, likely made in the Burnley area and now housed at Rufford Old Hall, Lancashire (see Plate 19).<sup>78</sup> Such an investment was a powerful display of the status and wealth of the household, as well as an enduring marker in time of the marriage that was necessary for its longevity.

Meanwhile another oak armchair dated 1634 was also likely made to commemorate a marriage.<sup>79</sup> This chair has undergone repairs since it was created in the seventeenth century and some features are highly unusual for the period, notably the legs and arms, which may have therefore been the result of later modifications. However, the seating rail is typical of West Country furniture whilst the chair’s main feature, an ornate back panel, is characteristic of carved decoration from this period. In the centre a stylised Adam and Eve are depicted holding the forbidden fruit (see Figure 10). Between them is the Tree of Knowledge, around which a serpent wraps itself. The year 1634 is carved across either side of the couple. Above the tree is a further carved image of an angel, with the initials

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<sup>76</sup> Sizergh Castle, Cumbria, NT, museum no. 997985.

<sup>77</sup> CTF, Chicago, D.O.W/43. See also the catalogue entry for this chair in Tobias Jellinek, *Early British Chairs and Seats: 1500 - 1700* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors’ Club, 2009), p. 100, pl. 101.

<sup>78</sup> Rufford Old Hall, Lancashire, NT, museum nos. 783878 and 783879.

<sup>79</sup> Sold by Marhamchurch Antiques to a private collector.



WC either side. The story of Adam and Eve eating fruit from the Tree of Knowledge was a popular choice for decorative wares celebrating a marriage. This is particularly notable in



*Figure 10 - Oak armchair, England, dated 1634. Private Collection. [Image courtesy of Paul Fitzsimmons]*

ceramics where tin-glazed earthenware objects like chargers representing Adam and Eve's Temptation and Fall were often accompanied with a triad of initials of the couple and a date.<sup>80</sup> Yet it also features on marriage furniture; for example the chest discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis carved with an inscription commemorating the marriage of Izaak Walton to Rebecca Floud in December 1626 was also decorated with images showing Adam and Eve in the Garden at the moment of the first temptation.<sup>81</sup>

As Tara Hamling has noted in her examination of wooden furniture decorated with religious imagery, chairs like these are somewhat of a paradox since when occupied, its decoration, concentrated on the back panel, would have been obscured at the very time when the most attention was focused on it.<sup>82</sup> Like chests however, chairs had a range of associations and meanings that meant they were particularly appropriate objects for displaying the status and identity of an individual and to chart the development of a household across time. Chairs were highly symbolic objects in the early modern home, signifying rule and ownership. High status chairs in particular, such as elaborately carved armchairs like these, 'represented the status and patriarchal authority of the head of the household' and in this way such chairs 'could act as a symbolic surrogate for the physical presence of the patriarch' when it lay vacant.<sup>83</sup> Meanwhile possession of a chair, or the occupied chair, signified unquestioned control of a household.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, whilst chairs were becoming more common, at the start of the seventeenth century they were still often outnumbered by stools, forms, and benches collectively as the primary form of seating. For

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<sup>80</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, p. 204.

<sup>81</sup> Discussed in detail by Catherine Belsey in *Shakespeare and the Loss of Eden: The Construction of Family Values in Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 61. See also Hamling, 'An Arelome', p. 70.

<sup>82</sup> Tara Hamling, 'Reconciling Image and Object: Religious Imagery in Protestant Interior Decoration' in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 321–334 (p. 326).

<sup>83</sup> Hamling, 'Reconciling Image and Object', p. 326.

<sup>84</sup> Richardson, *Domestic Life*, pp. 112–113.

example, a survey by Richardson of urban rooms using Kent inventories from 1560-1600 shows that in total 2426 chairs were recorded out of a total of 8663 for all forms of seating, which included some 4103 stools.<sup>85</sup> Meanwhile the work of Overton *et al* shows that again in Kent for the first three decades of the seventeenth century the median number of chairs owned in a household was three, whilst in Cornwall it was just one.<sup>86</sup> This suggests that occupation of a chair in comparison to other forms of seating was indeed reserved for the more important members of the household or for high status guests.

If chairs represented rule over the household, then the key life cycle events that were recorded through the temporal inscriptions on dated chairs symbolically linked these successes to the patriarch of the household whose role it was to ensure the continuity of the family line. The way in which dated chairs could be used to reify other successes in a family's history can be unpacked through an exploration of another dated oak armchair.<sup>87</sup> Unlike the chairs discussed above, the decoration on the back panel of this chair is painted rather than carved. As such it has faded somewhat, but clearly displays a large coat-of-arms, which has been identified as that of Wilbraham family of Woodhey, Cheshire. No date is visible, but an x-ray has revealed the date 1621 also painted at the top of the panel, on either side of the crest, which is now invisible to the naked eye (see Plates 20 and 21). This date allows us to trace the chair to Sir Richard Wilbraham, who was born 1579 and died 1643. Before 1621 Richard's family were certainly of a high social status; a long-established and powerful family of Cheshire, they had acquired the estate of Woodhey by marriage in the fourteenth century. Richard's grandfather, also called Richard, was master of the jewel house and of the revels to Queen Mary, as well as an MP, whilst his father William twice married the daughter of a knight. On 5 May 1621 however, the year

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p. 210.

<sup>86</sup> Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 91, table 5.1.

<sup>87</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.W/2.

inscribed onto this chair, James I created the Baronetcy of Wilbraham of Woodhey, for Richard Wilbraham and the family were elevated even higher.<sup>88</sup> This change would also have been reflected in the family's coat-of-arms and is seen on the chair with a baronial coronet topping the right side of the arms. The painting on the panel of this chair was therefore undoubtedly commissioned to celebrate this landmark moment of the family's elevation to the peerage.

The importance attached to displaying lineage and social status by elite families has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter, as has the pedagogical role of coats-of-arms and genealogies for future generations. This social context helps to further understand the decision to date this chair. It is likely that such an elaborately decorated armchair was intended to reflect the social elevation of the Wilbraham family at the time in which it was acquired, but it was also highly likely to have been envisioned as an heirloom that would communicate carefully selected information to future audiences. Indeed, further evidence gathered from paint and x-ray analysis of the chair supports the idea that it was chosen to be an important family heirloom. The paint analysis showed that below the coat-of-arms is another layer of paint whose ground had traces of calcium sulphate, or gypsum, with further traces of pigment on top. These paint traces demonstrate that at one time there had been another painting on the panel that had been cleaned off and over which the Wilbraham coat-of-arms had been painted.<sup>89</sup> The panel had therefore evidently had a previous life before the 1621 decoration. Moreover, the frame of the chair is more plausibly a late sixteenth-century construction, yet there is no evidence that any other

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<sup>88</sup> George Edward Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage* (Exeter: W. Pollard & co., ltd., 1900), p. 163.

<sup>89</sup> Findings documented in McCrone Associates, paint analysis report, Project MA53698, McCrone Associates Inc., 850 Pasquinelli Drive, Westmont, Illinois, USA, privately commissioned, 9 November 2012. See also Adam Bowett, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Armchair from Cheshire', *Regional Furniture*, 28 (2014), pp. 89–96 (pp. 89-91).

panel but this one was ever fitted.<sup>90</sup> It is likely then that an existing, earlier chair was chosen in 1621 to be repainted with the crest and date following the creation of the baronetcy, rather than an entirely new chair being commissioned at that time. This poses a very interesting question: why was an old chair chosen to mark such a momentous occasion, why not buy something new? It suggests that the chair itself had established significance. One possibility is that Richard acquired it on the death of his father in 1610 as inheritance and if the chair was an inherited piece then it would have been ideally placed to be further extended as a monument of family history - the transformation and elevation of the object mirroring the transformation and elevation of Richard's, and therefore also his family's, status.<sup>91</sup>

Indeed, it is particularly interesting that Richard decided to have the chair dated, since it points toward the fact that this elevated status was new, particularly at a time when families were at pains to emphasise the longevity of their status, with some making fraudulent claims to this end. Yet what the date does is allow Richard to show off *his* important place in the family's history and tie it to his biography; the date pinpoints the achievement to Richard himself by enabling people to locate who was head of the household when they received this elevation in rank. As outlined above, the choice of a chair to commemorate this occasion was unlikely to be incidental since they had clear connotations of rule and ownership. Importantly, Hamling has emphasised the significance of the empty chair in this period, arguing that chairs 'could act as a symbolic surrogate for the physical presence of the patriarch' when it lay vacant, and indeed, like the other chairs, the decoration of the Wilbraham chair is only visible when it is unoccupied.<sup>92</sup> That chairs

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<sup>90</sup> This observation was made by Adam Bowett in the original catalogue entry for CTF, a reduced version of which can be seen in Adam Bowett (ed.), *100 British Chairs* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2015), p. 16.

<sup>91</sup> Bowett, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Armchair', p. 92.

<sup>92</sup> Hamling, 'Reconciling Image and Object', p. 327.

could act as material proxy for the body is particularly significant for the Wilbraham chair since the date 1621 allowed the chair to be traced back directly to *Richard Wilbraham* and thus was tied up in his biography. In this way, the dated Wilbraham chair became an object intimately connected to Richard. As it was passed down to subsequent generations, future baronets would take up this place, sitting where their ancestors had sat before them, but the vacant chair would all the time refer back to that date, 1621, when it was Richard who was made baronet. The dated chair, as opposed to the blank chair, thus became a symbolic object of control within the home and social status outside it. Indeed, at some point, although we do not know when, the date was painted over, which is why it is no longer visible. Perhaps this was an attempt to depersonalise the chair and remove Richard's ownership from it. Although it was likely intended by Richard to act as an heirloom to future generations of Wilbraham baronets marking the moment of this transformative event, the family's lineage sadly took a different course to the one he would have imagined. His grandson, the third Baronet, died without a male heir, and despite building a new house at Weston Park in 1671, which this chair could have helped to furnish, the baronetcy was extinct on his death, and the estate passed to his daughter's husband.<sup>93</sup>

The furniture discussed in this section reflected the diachronic development of a household over time and demonstrates how crafted objects were used to mark out key moments in its history. These objects also highlight the complex temporality that existed in the early modern home and a wider acceptance in early modern society of a multitemporal experience of time, in which the boundaries between past, present, and future were collapsed, than exists today. The examples discussed above suggest how, on the one hand, objects were used to reify changes made in the present and to construct identities at that

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<sup>93</sup> Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage*, p. 164; Bowett, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Armchair', p. 93.

time. Yet they were also acquired with future use in mind, as these objects were used to communicate carefully selected information across time. As Jonathan Gil Harris argues, these objects were polychronic, referring at once to different dates, moments, or ages of time.<sup>94</sup> It is also important to remember that the number of dated objects that survive suggests that these pieces would not have stood in isolation. They may have been displayed next to other dated pieces, old and new, marking important stages in the family's life cycle, collectively acting as a material timeline of the family's history. In this way these objects further reflect the diachronic temporality of the early modern household, as past, present, and future were constantly mixing and informing one another, but also competing, through the material world.

### iii) Death

As the final category of object in this section, beds represent a range of rites of passage, from birth to the consummation of marriage, yet it is the ultimate life cycle event, death, that provides the focus of analysis here. Beds reflected different kinds of transition and as such their temporality was one of both the everyday and the eternal. Going to bed marked a transitional moment in the passage of the day, which was emphasised by the materiality of the bed, raised above the ground and divided from the rest of the room by bed hangings or curtains.<sup>95</sup> Arising from bed likewise marked the beginning of a new day and making it through the night unharmed. Indeed, the bed was a site imbued with fear and tension as much as it was connected to domestic comfort and marital intimacy. In her study of early modern sleep, Sasha Handley has commented that, 'Christians routinely prepared for sleep as if they were approaching the grave', and has shown how this association between sleep

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<sup>94</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Bristol: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 4.

<sup>95</sup> Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, p. 245.

and death emerged from a range of classical and biblical texts.<sup>96</sup> The preoccupation with death in the bedchamber is further evident through the presence of *momento mori* inscriptions and symbols on objects and imagery in this space, including jewellery, printed imagery, and portraits.<sup>97</sup> The most potent reminder of mortality in the bedchamber however was the bed itself as the site of sickness and death. These associations between sleep and death, bed and the grave, are emphasised by Richard Daye in his *Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578), who gives a prayer to be said at the time of going to bed. He writes, ‘When the day is ended, we geve ourselves to rest in the night: so when this life is ended, we rest in deth. Nothing resembleth our life more then the day, nor death more then sleepe, nor the grave, more then the bed.’<sup>98</sup> Meanwhile Lewis Bayly in *The Practise of Piety* warned his readers to undertake proper night-time devotions since upon sleeping they may not wake up:

Let, therefore, thy bed-clothes represent to thee the mould of the earth that shall cover thee; thy sheets, thy winding-sheet; thy sleep, thy death; thy waking, thy resurrection: and being laid down in thy bed, when thou perceivest sleep to approach, say, “I will lay me down and sleep in peace, for thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety.”<sup>99</sup>

The bed was therefore a powerful material representation of the passage of time, marking a person’s movement through daily time by delineating night and day, and eternal time by marking the transition from this world to the next.

One remarkable bed held at the St Fagans National History Museum, Wales shows how dated inscriptions could further enhance the temporal transitions represented by beds.<sup>100</sup> The headboard of the bed is inscribed ‘James Price May 4 1658’ (see Plate 22).

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<sup>96</sup> Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 81-2.

<sup>97</sup> Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, pp. 231-8; Tarnya Cooper, ‘‘Frail Fresh as in a Glass’’: The Portrait as an Immortal Presence in Early Modern England’ in Mary Rogers (ed.), *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 197–212.

<sup>98</sup> Richard Daye, *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (London, 1578), pp. 9-10.

<sup>99</sup> Lewis Bayly, *The practise of pietie directing a Christian how to walke that he may please God* (London, 1613), p. 428.

<sup>100</sup> St Fagans National History Museum, Wales.



The use of a full date like this, rather than the year dates more often seen on furniture, suggests that this inscription was made to commemorate a very significant moment in which an accurate date was necessary, much like the objects discussed in the previous chapter that recorded the precise time of birth. Further explanation as to the role of this date is seen in an engraved image to the left of the inscription depicting a figure holding a bow and arrow, who is helpfully labelled above as ‘Death’. The image of Death and the dated inscription have been crudely carved into the bedhead and do not appear to have been a considered part of the original decoration of the bed. Indeed, Victor Chinnery has noted that the construction of the bed likely predated the year in the inscription.<sup>101</sup> It seems highly likely then that James Price died in this bed and the dated inscription was added some time after in order to record both the time and location of his final moments on earth for posterity. We can compare this to the dating of other objects associated with beds, death, and sleeping, such as the linen sheets used to cover the bodies of the recently deceased whilst they lay in the home before burial which sometimes survive with dates embroidered into them.<sup>102</sup> The inscription of death dates onto beds and associated objects reifies the transformation of these objects into ‘physical and symbolic bridge[s] between sleep and death.’<sup>103</sup>

The association between beds and death, and the use of a dated inscription on Price’s bed to record his passing, could explain the dates found on other beds. An elaborately carved bedstead in the V&A is made of walnut inlaid with holly and bog oak and is decorated with various architectural motifs such as columns and archways (see Figure 11).<sup>104</sup> Along the frieze at the top of the headboard the initials R C are carved, as is the

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<sup>101</sup> Chinnery, *Oak Furniture*, p. 353, fig. 3:464.

<sup>102</sup> Handley, *Sleep*, pp. 83-4. See also Handley’s article, ‘Objects, Emotions and an Early Modern Bed-sheet’, *History Workshop Journal*, 85 (2018), pp. 169-194

<sup>103</sup> Handley, *Sleep*, p. 82.

<sup>104</sup> V&A, London, museum no. 316-1867.



*Figure 11 - Elm, holly, and bog oak bed, England, dated 1593. Victoria and Albert Museum.*

date 1593. The bedstead came to the museum through the Corbet family of Moreton Corbet Castle, near Shrewsbury. That the bed belonged to the family is confirmed by the repetition of a crow or corbeau, the Corbet crest, on various parts of the decoration. The bird is carved into the back of the bed and is also inlaid on three sides of the cornice. In 1593 the head of the family at Moreton Corbet Castle was Richard Corbet, so it is possible that the bed was made for him. Yet another possibility is that the bed actually belonged to a separate branch of the family with the initials referring to Richard's uncle, Robert Corbet. Through his marriage to Jane Kynaston, Robert inherited the state of Stanwardine-in-the-Wood, Shropshire, after which he began to build a new, larger Hall at Stanwardine

that was ultimately completed by his son, Thomas.<sup>105</sup> An expensive and elaborately carved bed like this would have been an appropriate acquisition for Robert's new family seat since beds symbolised the events so central to a household: birth, marriage, and death. Robert died in 1593, the year inscribed onto this bed, and so it is possible that the inscription was added at this time. Indeed, whilst the date is carved neatly rather than crudely into the headboard, it is notable that much of the other decoration is inlaid, suggesting that the date may have been a later addition. If the Corbet bed was dated to mark the death of Robert, then like James Price's bed it reflects the multiple temporalities of the home; it represents everyday cycles of time, movement through the life-cycle, and ultimately the eternal time through which everyone and everything passes, with Price's own position within these temporal schemes pinpointed for posterity.

## **II) Dated Furniture and Expressions of Loyalty: A Case Study of the Stanley Family's Furniture**

Thus far the case studies discussed in this chapter have focused on dated furniture used to mark extraordinary life cycle events and has analysed how the dates on these objects both reified important rites of passage as well as displaying their achievements to a wider audience, both present and future. Yet dated furniture could also be used to link a household to events of wider political significance and to enhance their status through displays of loyalty. Two items of furniture identified as belonging to the Stanley family of Lancashire provide a rich case study for the second section of this chapter, which explores how temporal connections on furniture between events of familial and national importance

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<sup>105</sup> Augusta Elizabeth Corbet, *The Family of Corbet. Its Life and Times* (London: St Catherine's Press, 1915), vol. II, pp. 271-2.

could be used to bolster a family's fortunes and to construct, often selectively, their identity.

The furniture under consideration consists of an oak armchair and an oak standing chest both dated 1659 (see Plates 23 and 24).<sup>106</sup> The armchair is highly individualised. As well as having the initials WS, the date, and an array of carved decoration, it is unusual in having double-arms. These arms along with the intricately carved back panel consequently render the chair both highly impractical and uncomfortable.<sup>107</sup> Likewise, the chest is also of an unusual design. It has variously been identified as a 'standing chest', 'cupboard desk', cabinet, dresser, and bureau by curators and specialists as a result of its form, which comprises a large box or chest with a sloped lid, raised on legs surmounted by an additional balustered rail.<sup>108</sup> The chest is also decorated with a variety of carved motifs and inscriptions, some of which are repeated on the chair. The design of these objects shares such a strong resemblance that they were undoubtedly made in the same workshop. Yet these pieces bear little resemblance to any regional styles that could help to identify a particular area or craftsman. The standing form of the chest is very rare but there are some comparable examples from north-west England, which very tentatively suggests this could be where they originated, and indeed this was a particularly strong region for the production of oak furniture.<sup>109</sup>

Various elements of the decoration of these pieces help to identify them as belonging to the Stanley family. The standing chest in particular displays several motifs connected to

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<sup>106</sup> The 1656 chair was part of the Clive Sherwood Collection but was sold in 2002, its current whereabouts is unknown. The 1659 chair is located in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, museum no. 14.202; the chest is in the V&A, London, museum no. W.17-1951.

<sup>107</sup> See Jellinek on this point in *Early British Chairs*, p. 86, pl. 78. Whilst the chairs are not unique in having this double-arm arrangement, such a design is very rare in this period.

<sup>108</sup> Tobias Jellinek and Victor Chinnery have referred to it as a 'standing chest', which is the term I will adopt as it seems to have more similarities in form and function with a chest than with a cupboard or cabinet.

<sup>109</sup> This was noted by Chinnery in *Oak Furniture*, p. 399.

the Stanleys, most importantly the central panel of the front section, which bears the family's badge, depicting an eagle preying on a swaddled child.<sup>110</sup> This badge, as well as the stags displayed on the 1656 chair, are both found on an earlier, undated bed made for Thomas Stanley in the early sixteenth century.<sup>111</sup> The Stanleys were an influential Lancashire family who held the earldom of Derby. At the time these items of furniture were commissioned Charles Stanley held the title of 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby, but as the pieces are inscribed WS they were evidently not made for him. There are two other candidates however. Charles Stanley had a son, William, who was born sometime around 1655. Indeed, a further chair identical in form to the 1659 example under consideration here, again with initials WS but with the date 1656, also survives and was perhaps made to celebrate the occasion of William's birth. Yet in comparison to the relatively tame decoration of the 1656 chair, which is limited to deer, unicorns, a camel, and an ostrich, the decoration of the two 1659 pieces has a much more overtly political focus, and thus suggests it was more likely to have been Charles' brother, also called William, who was the owner of the items.

William Stanley was born in 1640 and would have been aged 19 at the time the later armchair and standing chest were made. He was the son of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby, James, who became a family legend as 'the Martyr Earl'.<sup>112</sup> The Stanley family were ardent and significantly active royal supporters. James fought for the King during the Civil War, subsequently offering asylum to fugitive royalists on his estate on the Isle of Man, and between 1650 and 1651 he commanded troops for Charles II in support of his invasion.

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<sup>110</sup> Whilst there are many branches of the Stanley family this crest confirms the chest was owned by a member of the Lathom branch, the crest originally belonging to the Lathom family of Lancashire and being adopted by this branch of the Stanley family following the marriage of Sir John Stanley to Isabel de Lathom in 1406. Peter Edmund Stanley discusses this and the origins of the crest in *The House of Stanley: The History of an English Family from the 12<sup>th</sup> Century* (Edinburgh: The Pentland Press, 1998), pp. 116-7.

<sup>111</sup> See Chinnery, *Oak Furniture*, pp. 399, 349, fig. 3:455b.

<sup>112</sup> W. A. Thorpe, 'Early Royalist Furniture', *Country Life*, 115 (1954), pp. 1145–1146.

However, he was captured in September 1651 and was tried and executed the following month.<sup>113</sup> The Stanley's royal support did not end there though. In 1659, the year inscribed onto these two items of furniture, the Stanleys were involved in another uprising intended to pave the way for the restoration of Charles II. This uprising was led by George Booth, alongside Charles Stanley, the 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby, and other local gentry.<sup>114</sup> Like the rest of his family, William Stanley was a strong supporter of the future king Charles II and very likely also took part in the 1659 uprising; his name appears on a list of royalist sympathisers compiled by Roger Whitley and in 1659 his mother lamented that his horses had been seized by the authorities.<sup>115</sup> Meanwhile William's close position to Charles II following the Restoration was confirmed again by his mother who wrote on 7<sup>th</sup> May 1660, 'My second son is with his master [Charles II] who they tell me does him the honour of liking him'.<sup>116</sup>

In her article on love and loyalty in this period, Angela McShane demonstrates how domestic objects could be used to express loyal, and particularly royalist, sentiments.<sup>117</sup> McShane is interested in how and where emotive relations between the subject and the state were constructed, and importantly emphasises that the relationship between material goods and the passions was a well-established feature of early modern contractual obligation. However, rather than considering those goods that have formed the basis of previous work such as medals and etchings, which she sees as restricting the social scope of these studies, McShane focuses her attention on what she terms 'cheap and accessible

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<sup>113</sup> Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, pp. 183-186.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>115</sup> Henriette de Witt, *The Lady of Latham; Being the Life and Original Letters of Charlotte de la Trémoille, Countess of Derby* (London, 1869), p. 234. See also the entry on William in Basil Duke Henning, *The House of Commons 1660-1690* (London: Published by the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1983), p. 475.

<sup>116</sup> de Witt, *The Lady of Latham*, p. 241.

<sup>117</sup> Angela McShane, 'Subjects and Objects', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), pp. 871-886.

political commodities' like ceramic, metal, and paper wares.<sup>118</sup> Through her examination of these objects McShane is able to show that domestic goods provided a vehicle through which the household could engage with and express their love of the state, materialising these 'intensely personal and mutually binding relationships', which involved expectations on either side.<sup>119</sup> The Stanley family's furniture was extravagant and highly costly and so we can hardly regard it as an example of the 'cheap and accessible' objects McShane is interested in. Yet the idea that domestic wares could be used to express loyalties to wider political causes rather than purely familial events, and that by doing so they helped to forge emotive relations and obligations between the household and their cause, is certainly useful. We can use these ideas to examine further how the decoration on the Stanley furniture may have both displayed and produced loyalty to the crown, as well as incurring mutual obligations.

The Stanley family and William himself evidently had strong affiliations to the Crown, and these connections were made manifest through the decoration of their furniture in which they identified themselves directly with the royal cause. The standing chest does this most explicitly. The end stiles are decorated with acorn sprigs, whilst the turnery on the legs and elsewhere also appear to represent acorns. The old oak with the new sprig issuing from it, or the oak and acorn, was used repeatedly in royalist visual and material culture to represent the prospect of restoration.<sup>120</sup> It drew on the story that after the Battle of Worcester in 1651 Charles II had hid in an oak tree at Boscobel, and in fact James Stanley himself had escorted Charles to Boscobel following the battle, this legend therefore being referenced as part of the family's own history.<sup>121</sup> More explicit in its

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<sup>118</sup> McShane, 'Subjects and Objects', p. 872.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 885-6.

<sup>120</sup> Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 26.

<sup>121</sup> Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, p. 186.

display of support for Charles II is the panel directly to the left of the Stanley badge, which depicts a figure on horseback, facing right with his hand bearing a truncheon and a scarf blowing behind him. This image was taken from a medal created in 1642 to commemorate the Battle of Edgehill, which featured a bust of Charles I on the obverse and on the reverse Prince Charles (later King Charles II) depicted in the same manner as on this panel.<sup>122</sup> The significance of this panel is emphasised by its exact repetition on the back panel of the 1659 armchair in which it takes central place, making clear that the focus of both of these pieces was the prospect of Charles' restoration and the Stanley family's involvement in it. Indeed, by placing these iconographies alongside the date 1659 in which the uprising took place and the initials WS, William Stanley is explicitly connecting himself with the event and emphasising his role within it. Moreover, by displaying these features alongside the family's crest, the family name and its identity is constructed and expressed with direct relation to the royalist cause.

We can therefore see the chair as a piece of propaganda by William Stanley to communicate his family's closeness to the King and his cause. I would argue however that rather than being made in 1659, the later chair and chest were likely made following the Restoration of Charles II. If so then the decision to include the date suggests it was not just intended to mark the moment the object was made, but instead it was bound up in the wider symbolic meaning of the chair. There are several reasons that suggest the chair was commissioned by William Stanley a few years after 1659. The first is due to his circumstances at that time. Many of the Stanley's estates had been seized during the Civil War and following his father's execution Charles Stanley ascended to the Earldom to find the family estates in a state of confusion and disorder. The ancient house at Lathom had

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<sup>122</sup> Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II* (London: British Museum, 1885), p. 299.



been destroyed during a siege and so much of the remaining estates had been sold by the Parliamentarians that he was left with very little income.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, following the rising in 1659, Charles Stanley was himself captured and imprisoned.<sup>124</sup> Finally William Stanley was only 19 in 1659 and as we know he was himself facing difficult circumstances - his horses, for example, had been seized. It seems unlikely then that in these circumstances, as well as the wider upheaval of the 1650s, that William would have been in a position financially, or otherwise, to commission items of monumental furniture like this chair and chest.

Additional evidence that the two 1659 pieces were commissioned after the Restoration of Charles II can be found in the inscriptions found on both items. The standing chest has three lines of text that collectively read, 'REPENT THE LORD IS AT HANd/WATCH And PRAY/LIVE WEL ANd dIE WEL'. The chair meanwhile references this longer inscription with the single word 'WATCH', suggesting first that the two objects were intended to be displayed together and second that the chair was used to add further weight to the chest's fuller message. These inscriptions refer to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins in which the five virgins who are prepared for the bridegroom's, or Christ's, arrival are rewarded, while the five who are not prepared are disowned. The parable had clear eschatological associations with the end of time. Yet this sense of end times seems paradoxical if the objects were made in 1659 since the commissioning of furniture suggests William was looking to the material future. It is more likely that the objects were made after 1660 when it was known that Charles II had indeed been restored to the throne, with the idea of return being an additional theme of the parable. Thus by referring back to the events of 1659 William was able to demonstrate how his family had been wise and

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<sup>123</sup> Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, pp. 185, 192-3.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

waited loyally, and had been rewarded. Moreover, by using these objects to make references to the wider events of the 1650s, William Stanley was able to rewrite history and bolster his family's claims of status and nobility; a time when they had suffered loss of land, money, and status was now reconfigured to emphasise their prominent role in the Restoration.

The temporality of these objects is therefore diverse. Through their dates they mark out specific moments in time, yet if they were acquired later then they demonstrate how objects could be used to negotiate the past, remoulding the memory of it with an eye to both present and future audiences. The Stanley furniture also shows how powerful references to time could be; the careful selection of dates inscribed alongside references to past events enabled the Stanleys to rewrite the past and actively shape their current fortunes. In these objects then a collapse of temporal boundaries between past, present, and future is evident. They suggest the presence in seventeenth-century homes of Harris' conception of both polychronicity, that is, the ability of things to refer to different moments in time at once, and multitemporality, or the interplay between past, present, and future.

This chapter has contributed a distinct perspective to the ongoing discussion of the link between material goods, identity, and memory in early modern England by closely analysing the relationship between forms of furniture and the presence of dates. The dates on the furniture discussed in the first part of this chapter were used to commemorate, reify, and extend major rites of passage. However, the dates on these objects continued to accrue meaning after the event itself was over and in conjunction with other dated or undated wares, emphasising the need to consider their diachronic trajectories. When all these goods were arranged and displayed together within the family home, they became a kind of

timeline of the family's development and the history of that household. Joining together older inherited goods with newer pieces which would themselves ideally become heirlooms, these dated wares provided material weight to claims of status throughout the life of the household and particularly at times of crisis, as well as looking forward to future generations of the family in which these significant investments would continue to be circulated. The second section of this chapter has documented ways in which dated furniture might also mark out other formative moments in a family's history. The Stanley furniture used temporal references to add weight to its display of loyalty to the royalist cause, rather than to commemorate any specific life cycle event. By decorating these pieces with references to iconic moments in the Stanley family's history, these items of furniture facilitated the production and re-configuring of the Stanley family's memory and that of the wider public. Ultimately, this chapter has argued that dated furniture shows the complexity of temporality in the seventeenth-century home as past, present, and future converged through these objects. It has also further demonstrated the malleability of time outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis, as dates offered an opportunity to rewrite history and to communicate these reconstructed events to desired audiences across temporal divides.

## CHAPTER 3 – THE HEARTH

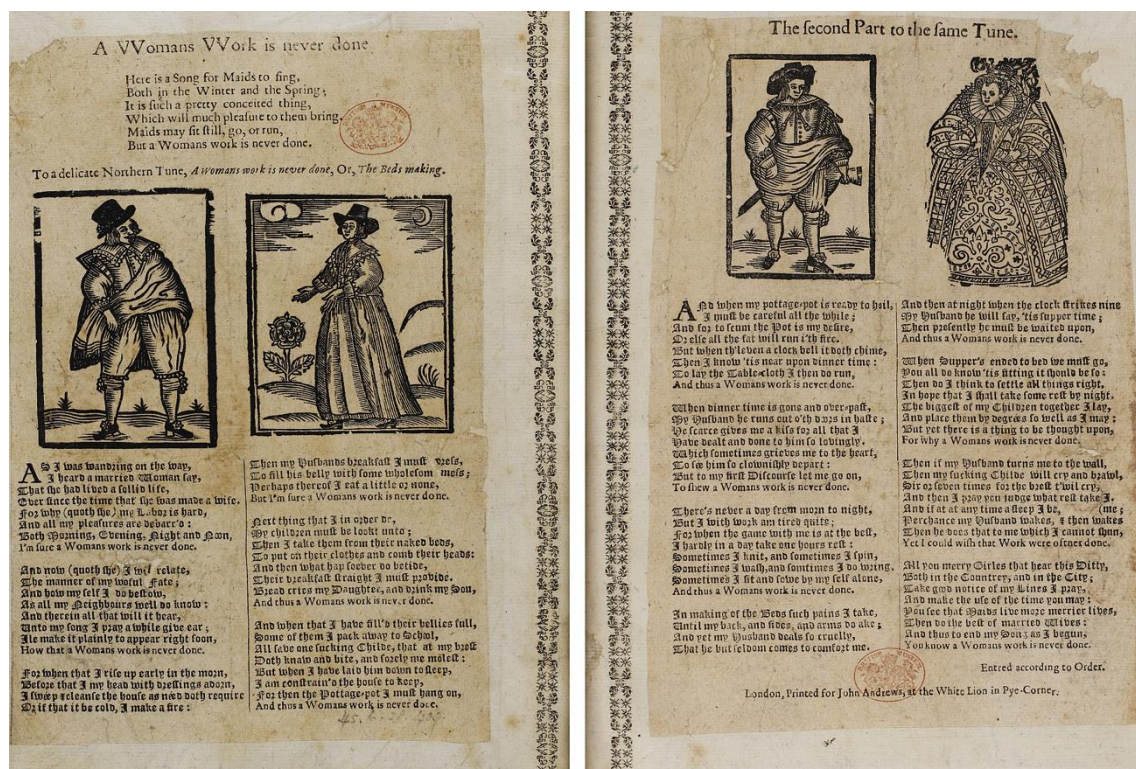


Figure 12 - Broadside ballad, 'A Woman's Work Is Never Done', London, c.1660. EBBA ID number 30355.

A mid-seventeenth century broadside ballad entitled, 'A Woman's Work is Never Done', emphasises the daily cycles of time associated with household maintenance, production, and consumption (see Figure 12).<sup>1</sup> The female protagonist of the ballad relates to the narrator the chores of her daily life. Her tasks begin by attending to the fire: '...when that I rise early in the morn,/Before that I my head with dressing adorn,/I sweep and clean the house as need doth require,/Or, if that it be cold, I make a fire.' The timing of tasks related to heat and light, such as lighting the fire, is particularly interesting. By delineating the

<sup>1</sup> 'A Woman's Work Is Never Done' (London, c.1660), EBBA ID number 30355. Helen Smith discusses this ballad in her chapter on gendered labour in Helen Smith, 'Gendered Labour' in Andrew Hadfield, Abigail Shinn, and Matthew Dimmock (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 177-192, in which she states that although the earliest surviving version of the ballad is dated 1660, the earliest reference to it dates to 1 June 1629 when it was part of the estate of 'the widow Trundle' who sold ballads (p.190).

start and end of day, occurring at sunrise and sunset, these activities and the objects used to facilitate them provide the boundaries of the temporal cycle of a woman's day. Meanwhile the ballad ends by reinforcing the circular nature of the temporal experience of daily life with the final lines, 'And thus to end my Song as I begun,/You know a Woman's work is never done.'<sup>2</sup>

Yet the woman's experience of time in this period is multi-layered and complex. It is not just natural cycles that shape her day, but also the manmade markers of clock time. Following the initial tasks at first rise, the woman's day progresses as she attends to her husband's and children's needs, but she is notably sensitive to the markers of time passing around her: 'But when th'leven a clock bell it doth chime,/Then I know tis near upon dinner time', and likewise, 'at night when the clock strikes nine/My Husband he will say, tis supper time.' Importantly clocks were often found in the kitchen of late seventeenth-century homes. Sara Pennell notes that Westmorland inventories between 1650 and 1750 show that clocks found in the kitchens of these homes were often the only timepieces in the whole house, noting the significance of their use in a room that was 'the heart of so much quotidian activity'.<sup>3</sup> This complicates the association of timepieces with the gendered control of timekeeping, since by placing clocks in the kitchen these devices were arguably more likely to be referred to 'by female servants, their mistresses and housewives in general' on a daily basis, than by men.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, by scheduling her tasks around these audible markers of clock time, the woman in the ballad is clearly alert to this alternative

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<sup>2</sup> This ballad and its reflection of female experiences of time is discussed in my chapter, 'Women in the Sea of Time: Domestic Dated Objects in Seventeenth-Century England' in Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (ed.), *Gendered Temporalities in the Early Modern World* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 47-68.

<sup>3</sup> Sara Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History': The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History*, 11 (1998), pp. 201-16 (p. 204).

<sup>4</sup> Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History', p. 204.

manifestation of the passage of time, which operates alongside the natural cycles of the day.

This ballad reflects one way in which interaction with the hearth and objects associated with its activities may have shaped domestic experiences of time. By emphasising cyclical time, this ballad presents one facet of time discussed in this chapter, which considers the hearth as a key site of temporal experience and reflection in seventeenth-century middling and elite homes. This chapter looks at the curated hearth in two of its manifestations – the working hearth of the kitchen and the social hearth found in rooms like the parlour, hall, or great chamber.<sup>5</sup> The objects that furnished these hearths will provide the focus for discussion, from skillets and spits, to firebacks and warming pans, and I argue that these objects show the diverse temporality that converged in the home. On the one hand, as objects used or viewed within the rhythms of daily life, these items reaffirm the narrative of the ballad, conditioning the everyday cyclical experience of time within the home, whether that be through the natural cycles of the day, moving from light to dark, or the routine tasks with which they were associated. Yet, through their dated inscriptions these objects also served to combine the quotidian with the eternal, as they allowed the users to reflect upon their position in the wider scheme of time and to project desired information about their identities to future audiences. The first part of this chapter on the working hearth also considers gendered experiences of time and how associated dated objects both informed these experiences and could be used as a tool to reflect upon them. It then goes on to consider how the dating of some objects may have been a result of the growing self-consciousness of makers. The second part of this chapter on the social hearth looks at those dated objects and fixtures used to display the establishment of a

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<sup>5</sup> Of course both types of hearth were in a sense for display and for function - these terms are used here to differentiate the working hearth used for cooking from those used in more formal settings.

household and its public persona, with the hearth discussed as a particularly potent site for this. Indeed, both parts of this chapter argue that the hearth was a space in which time played a significant role; whether that be through the timing of food preparation or the use of dates to facilitate household accounting, or as places in which major moments in the life of the household were recorded, reflected upon, and extended.

The hearth was at the heart of the seventeenth-century home. It was closely tied to ideas of the household and thus the objects associated with it held particular resonance in the domestic context. The practical and symbolic significance of the hearth throughout history has been emphasised by anthropologists who have highlighted in particular its role in promoting kinship.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the importance of the hearth is tied to its provision of warmth, light, and nourishment. As such, the fire had long been a site of communal gathering, providing a place of security as well as entertainment, embodying ‘the family, hospitality and life itself’.<sup>7</sup> Despite changes in the structure of the home more broadly and the hearth specifically across the early modern period, its significance was not diminished. Indeed, the possession of a hearth brought voting status in some urban boroughs, while the hearth tax implemented between 1660 and 1689 meant that households were taxed according to the number of hearths that they maintained.<sup>8</sup> As well as its practical role the hearth was therefore an importance signifier of status and wealth.

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<sup>6</sup> For example, see Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones, *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially pp. 42-3. See also, Joseph Rykwert, ‘House and Home’, *Social Research*, 58 (1991), pp. 51–62.

<sup>7</sup> Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 95-6.

<sup>8</sup> P. S Barnwell and Malcolm Airs, *Houses and the Hearth Tax: The Later Stuart House and Society* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2006). There were thirteen ‘Potwalloper’ boroughs in which anyone who had a hearth on which to boil (wallop) a pot was enfranchised – see Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 8.

The design of the hearth was not static. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a revolutionary period for the proliferation of chimneys, although the pace of change was markedly higher in urban settings and in some parts of the country, notably southern counties.<sup>9</sup> For the level of householder under consideration in this thesis, with larger properties and disposable income to spend on novel goods, the long seventeenth century was a period in which these new hearths were a focus of elaboration. Aside from the reduction in smoke rendering objects cleaner, the investment in chimneys in turn resulted in an investment in a greater variety and number of wares with which to maintain, utilise, and adorn the hearth. Andirons, grates, bellows, tongs, and shovels were just some of the objects that could be used to facilitate the combustion of the fire and some of these objects became increasingly necessary as the adoption of coal led to the closure of the hearth.<sup>10</sup>

Many surviving examples of these objects are dated. This evolution in design also had an impact on how the hearth was used for cooking, with the move from an open flame to enclosed range cooking, which again necessitated an influx of new or modified cooking equipment - using a cauldron suspended from a beam over an open fire became redundant, for example.<sup>11</sup> However, not all of this new material culture was born out of necessity. The study of consumption by Overton *et al* has shown that in Kent, whilst the variety of

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<sup>9</sup> These changes were notably outlined in detail by W. G. Hoskins in his landmark article of 1953 in which he coined the term ‘the Great Rebuilding’ to describe the period of heightened building work and architectural change that he argued took place c.1550-1640. His work remains highly influential but strongly contested, as many have since reassessed the extent and impact of this change, questioning the exact time period and regionality of their occurrence – see for example, R. W. Brunskill, *Traditional Buildings of Britain: An Introduction to Vernacular Architecture* (London: Gollancz, 1981), and Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste* (London: UCL Press, 1994). See also Matthew Johnson, *English Houses, 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow: Longman, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Sara Pennell has discussed in detail the impact of the adoption of coal as a domestic fuel from the sixteenth century and how it necessitated further investment in the hearth. See ‘Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century Britain: The Matter of Domestic Consumption’ in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 54-84, as well as her recent monograph *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), pp. 61-4.

<sup>11</sup> Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 71



cooking and hearth objects present in inventories increased between 1600 and 1750, much new equipment was what they termed ‘accessories’, or objects in addition to the basic equipment that had been present in inventories at the start of the seventeenth century, enabling new and varied types of cookery.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, as well as being valued for their functional role in facilitating the use and maintenance of the fire, the rise in wares associated with the hearth also occurred because the fireplace became a new focal point for decoration.<sup>13</sup> Firebacks and warming pans, discussed in detail in this chapter, as well as large features and fixtures like carved over-mantel decoration, provided new opportunities for display, and importantly, customisation, in which dates often played an intrinsic part.

Yet whilst the investment in the construction, maintenance, and material culture of the hearth demonstrates a clear enthusiasm in the new opportunities it presented for comfortable living, as a site it was far from benign. Indeed, although the hearth undoubtedly had high symbolic value in the home, it also posed a threat to the well-being of the estate and its inhabitants. Tara Hamling has discussed the dangers of the hearth in detail in an essay in which she connects the use of religious imagery around the hearth in post-Reformation England to concerns over the volatility of fire. According to Hamling, the use of unsuitable materials alongside poor infrastructure meant that there was ‘a real and present danger of physical injury from malfunctioning or mismanaged equipment, and these accidents in or near the home could be interpreted in moral and spiritual terms.’<sup>14</sup> The widespread presence of apotropaic symbols on cast-iron firebacks meanwhile has

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<sup>12</sup> Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 101.

<sup>13</sup> See for example, Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), Chapter 5; and Tara Hamling, ‘Seeing Salvation in the Domestic Hearth in Post-Reformation England’ in Jonathan Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 223-245 on the use of the fireplace and its surroundings as a site for the display of religious imagery.

<sup>14</sup> Hamling, ‘Seeing Salvation’, p. 225.

been well-documented by Jeremy Hodgkinson and Timothy Easton, and demonstrates that the fireplace was seen as a particularly vulnerable aperture through which malevolent and supernatural forces could enter the home.<sup>15</sup> The risk of accidental fire, personal injury, or loss of estate, whether the result of divine judgement or the work of evil spirits, meant that whilst the fireplace was a site for display, investment, and adornment, it was also a site fraught with anxiety.

### I) The Working Hearth

Scholarship has traditionally viewed the early modern kitchen as a peripheral, unchanging, and largely insignificant space in the home, and as such it had received very little attention until recently. Even those who did study the kitchen and its material culture were dismissive of its importance. In her study of household pots Anne Yentsch portrayed the kitchen as ‘a colourless, routinized place; a feminized zone of processing, not transformation’, whilst the cooking pots themselves were determined not to be ‘objects to which power accrued’.<sup>16</sup> Yet in recent years important work by Sara Pennell has challenged the view that the kitchen was merely a plain and functional space, re-establishing its significance at the heart of daily domestic life. In her monograph *The Birth of the English Kitchen*, Pennell affirms that far from being a space ‘unambiguous in meaning and impervious to change’, the kitchen was ‘a domestic zone participating in and embodying some of the most significant socio-economic, socio-technical and cultural transformations in British culture’ with ‘some of the key transformations in British society

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<sup>15</sup> Jeremy Hodgkinson and Timothy Easton, ‘Apotropaic Symbols on Cast-Iron Firebacks’, *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society*, 21 (2013), pp. 14–33.

<sup>16</sup> Pennell, ‘Pots and Pans History’, p. 202; Anne E. Yentsch, ‘The Symbolic Divisions of Pottery: Sex-Related Attributes of English and Anglo-American Household Pots’ in Randall H. McGuire and Robert Paynter (eds.), *The Archaeology of Inequality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 192–230.

before the nineteenth century [being] tested and realized in and before the hearth'.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, Pennell sees the kitchen as a key social space within the home; a hive of quotidian, routinised activity, but also a liminal space where family, kin, and neighbours interacted, and which had the potential for household disruption.<sup>18</sup>

Pennell's work is additionally important because it demonstrates how locating the kitchen hearth in the early modern home is not always a straightforward affair, with the kitchen at the start of the seventeenth century 'unfixed and at times contested, not only spatially but in terms of naming too'.<sup>19</sup> Work by Overton *et al* has demonstrated that in Kent houses cooking could take place in a variety of rooms, even when a kitchen was present. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, 53% of all cooking took place in halls and 32% in kitchens, although this trend was gradually reversed by the end of the century with 31% of all cooking occurring in halls and 63% in kitchens.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, an examination of probate inventories from London, Norwich, Thames Valley, and Westmorland by Pennell has shown that the hearth and its equipment could still be found in a whole host of variously named rooms, including the 'hall', 'bodystead', 'buttery', and 'cellar'.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, it was possible for the kitchen to contain no hearth at all, instead being retained as a room for general storage or for processing food and drink (such as brewing), whilst the cooking itself took place in other rooms.<sup>22</sup> Nehemiah Wallington records that on one occasion his family were dining in the hall when his son 'stomeled and felle down and hit his face against the porage pot....But thankes be unto God that the potte wase one the fier or eles hee had fell his face

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<sup>17</sup> Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen*, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Pennell, 'Pots and Pans', pp. 207-8.

<sup>19</sup> Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 128, Table 6.5.

<sup>21</sup> Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 41.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 40; Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 130.

into the fier.’<sup>23</sup> On this occasion then Wallington’s family were both cooking and eating in the hall. This may have been a temporary arrangement due to damage Wallington had caused trying to renovate his house, and by 1632 he records cooking taking place in a kitchen; yet this example serves to remind us that the house and its internal spaces were not static but could be constantly changing or adopting new functions.<sup>24</sup> Meanwhile, other unrelated activities could also take place in the kitchen. In Kent at the start of the seventeenth century, 10% of all spinning occurred in the kitchen, with this figure rising to 23% by the end of the century.<sup>25</sup> This emphasises the multifunctional character of the kitchen as a space for working, sitting, and eating, as well as for processing or cooking food.

The kitchen was also a site particularly associated with feminine activity and as such it provides an invaluable opportunity for studying gendered temporalities and the connections between women, time, and material culture in the seventeenth-century home.<sup>26</sup> The objects of the kitchen discussed in this section necessarily conditioned everyday experiences of time in the present, tied up as they were in the cyclical rhythms of the day, but they could also be used to reflect upon eternal notions of time through dated inscriptions. Importantly, these objects were associated with a particularly feminine set of tasks or responsibilities, as is evident in household advice literature. For Gervase Markham in his description of the virtues of the ideal English ‘hus-wife’, the principal attribute of such a woman was ‘a perfect skill and knowledge in cookery, together with all the secrets

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<sup>23</sup> Nehemiah Wallington, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection*, ed. by David Booy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 63.

<sup>24</sup> Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 101.

<sup>25</sup> Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 128, Table 6.5.

<sup>26</sup> For wide-ranging essays on gendered experiences of time during this period, see Wiesner-Hanks (ed.), *Gendered Temporalities*.

belonging to the same, because it is a duty really belonging to the woman'.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Markham goes so far as to suggest that any woman lacking in such skill would be breaking her wedding vows, since she could not 'serve and keep [her husband]... with that true duty which is ever expected'.<sup>28</sup> By the end of the period, providing adequate wares to allow the housewife to undertake these duties was regarded as a significant responsibility for the head of household, with *The Ladies Dictionary* of 1694 remarking that 'the best Housewife in Nature can never be able to shew her Art, her Education and her housekeeping upon bare Walls'.<sup>29</sup> This was made even more important since a well-run and well-maintained kitchen reflected the good order of the household itself, and in turn informed its wider reputation in the community. A housewife who was forced 'to send to her neighbours for every Skillet and Stew pan, or Washing-Tub she wants' was a burden to her community. In contrast, with 'all things necessary about her ... She becomes the Envy of her Neighbours that come to visit her and her Reputation runs thro' the Parish like wildfire. The brightness of the Bosses of her Fire-Irons and the glaring lustre of her Pewter, and Preserving Pan, are the discourse of all her Acquaintance'.<sup>30</sup>

Through the maintenance of the material goods of the house, particularly those wares associated with housewifery, women could negotiate the terms on which patriarchal codes operated within the home. Work by Catherine Richardson has shown that despite a recommendation in conduct books that women take on a subordinate role in the household, in reality women were able to assert a degree of agency through the maintenance of the material goods of the home and the daily routines of production and consumption.<sup>31</sup> Yet

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<sup>27</sup> Gervase Markham, *The English Hus-Wife: Containing the Inward and Outward Virtues Which Ought to Be in a Complete Woman* (London, 1615), p. 57.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> N. H., *The Ladies Dictionary, Being a General Entertainment of the Fair-Sex* (London, 1694), p. 183.

<sup>30</sup> H., *The Ladies Dictionary*, p. 184.

<sup>31</sup> Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 27-8, 46.

Richardson also emphasises that agency within the home was complex, particularly in relation to its materiality. Ultimately it was the male head of household who commanded overall control, but through the routines of daily use and the distribution of skills needed to use and maintain specific household goods, ‘different kinds of agency, operating in different physical spaces at different times of the day’ could coexist within the home.<sup>32</sup>

i) Pots and Pans

The ballad used to open this chapter provides a sense of the way in which quotidian tasks associated in particular with the hearth could shape daily experiences of time for women. Importantly, wares associated with the hearth represent a notable proportion of extant seventeenth-century dated objects; I have identified 168 dated hearth objects in the collections surveyed for this thesis out of 521 objects in total. This is even more significant when we consider that some of these objects were amongst the few items that could remain the legal property of women. As Pennell states, cooking vessels, utensils, and hearth goods were frequently incorporated into the ‘paraphernalia’ legally allowed as limited property to married women.<sup>33</sup> These objects could have high emotional as well as monetary value to women as is evident by their appearance in wills as bequests to female kin. Analysis of women’s wills in Stratford-upon-Avon between 1537 and 1649 by Stephanie Appleton has shown that whilst men were concerned with providing for all their children, women gave to their daughters but also ‘had greater scope to leave gifts to other members of their extended families, most notably nieces and granddaughters.’<sup>34</sup> Domestic

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<sup>32</sup> Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 47. See also Joanne Bailey’s assessment of the scholarship around patriarchy in early modern homes in *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 4–6.

<sup>33</sup> Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 212.

<sup>34</sup> Stephanie Jane Appleton, ‘Women and Wills in Early Modern England: The Community of Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1537–1649’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham (2016), p. 222.

wares were particularly favoured as female bequests, with women making on average 3.1 bequests of general household goods, in comparison with 1.4 on average by male testators. The disparity is even greater for kitchen wares, with women bequeathing on average 2.2 kitchen items compared to just 0.45 by men.<sup>35</sup> To take just one example, when the Stratford widow Alice Smith composed her will on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1632, she bequeathed household objects to a significant number of female relatives. These predominantly comprised of linens, tablewares, or kitchen wares, including a range of hearth objects such as: a ‘pott posnett a kettle weighing Five poundes and a halfe a paire of bellowes a fire shouell and the tonges in the Kitchen a little broach a paire of Cobirons and a dripping pan of iron’ given to her niece Hannah Gibbard; ‘the second Kettle in the Kitchin weighing eight poundes and a halfe one of the biggest spittes the best plate dripping panne’ to another niece, Mary Trappe; and ‘the biggest pott and the biggest kettle in the kitchin the Rackes and the biggest spitt a little spitt a plate dripping pann’ left to a further niece, Hannah Hanckes.<sup>36</sup> These items may well have had memorable dates and/or names inscribed onto them, marking out and extending the networks within which these women operated through their circulation to other female kin. Dated examples would also communicate information about a woman’s skills, status, and identity at that moment in time to posterity, marking out her engagement with these objects and her life in the broader sea of time. It is to these dated objects that this chapter now turns.

Cooking pots are one of the largest categories of dated kitchen wares to survive, encompassing a variety of different shapes, sizes, and forms. Indeed, naming and defining the uses of these different types of pots and pans is not always a straightforward affair.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 506-7.

<sup>37</sup> Pennell discussed the complexity of knowing which pots the various terms used in inventories referred to, and which pots were used for different tasks in *Birth of the English Kitchen*, pp. 71-2.

Since the long seventeenth century was a transitional period in hearth technology, encompassing the movement from open to closed hearths and from wood burning to coal burning, a myriad of different cooking pots were available depending on what kind of hearth operated in the home. The general trend across the seventeenth century was for the increased use of coal, as is evident by the presence of grates, ranges, and coal itself in inventories, yet the rate of this change was also strongly influenced by region.<sup>38</sup> Cornwall, for example, continued to burn wood rather than coal for much of the seventeenth century, despite the greater availability of coal and the higher price of wood.<sup>39</sup> Where houses did adopt the grate or stove, there was also necessarily a change in the type of cooking pots utilised. On an open hearth boiling was the most popular cooking method, and this was largely achieved through suspending bronze, iron, or brass round-bottom pots variously termed cauldrons, boilers, kettles, or porridge pots over the open fire.<sup>40</sup> Such methods were common in the sixteenth century, but from the start of the seventeenth century the movement from open flame to enclosed range cooking saw a steady decline in the number of these wares, with a preference instead for flat-bottomed pots.<sup>41</sup> Cauldrons, for example, were recorded in over 20% of households sampled by Overton *et al* in Kent and Cornwall in the first three decades of the seventeenth century, yet by the 1690s they had all but disappeared from Kent and could be found in just 4% of households in Cornwall.<sup>42</sup> More resilient though was the tripod-legged cooking pot that stood directly over the embers of the fire, which continued to be used in some areas throughout the seventeenth century, their numbers increasing dramatically in Kent from just 5% of households at the start of

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<sup>38</sup> Pennell, 'Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century Britain', p. 72; Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 98.

<sup>39</sup> Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, pp. 98-100.

<sup>40</sup> Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 71.

<sup>41</sup> Pennell, 'Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century Britain', p. 72.

<sup>42</sup> Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 99, Table 5.2.



the century to 69% by the end.<sup>43</sup> The adoption of the saucepan from the last quarter of the seventeenth century was a further shift in the material culture of the hearth, although these objects were still relatively rare compared to other cooking vessels, particularly in those areas like Cornwall that had adopted less change in cooking methods.<sup>44</sup>

That West Country counties like Cornwall were slow to take up enclosed range cooking is likely the reason why it was manufacturers based in these regions who continued to make cauldrons throughout the seventeenth century. As stated, it was in these areas where the cauldron remained a popular cooking vessel, compared to the north of England and the Midlands where changes in hearth technology had made them redundant. A group of at least five bronze cauldrons are inscribed with dates that are comparatively late when such changes are taken into account, ranging from 1657 to 1685. These cauldrons can all be traced to the Sturton Foundry in Somerset, which was operational for much of the seventeenth century, with dated wares confirming the Sturton family was active between at least 1630 and 1712.<sup>45</sup> Scratchmarks, a kind of maker's mark, were used to identify various members of the Sturton family as the founders of these objects. As such, the additional inscriptions of initials alongside dates on cauldrons was more likely to indicate the owner rather than the maker, for example, one inscribed 'AM 1683' by John Sturton (see Plates 25 and 26) and another inscribed 'FB 1675' by Francis Sturton.<sup>46</sup> Intriguingly, between the initials on the latter is an inverted heart. This motif is seen on a skillet made by Francis, dated 1693, as well as a mortar dated 1687, although the mortar

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 73; Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 100.

<sup>45</sup> For a history of the Sturton foundry and a catalogue of some of their surviving wares, see Butler and Green, *English Bronze Cooking Vessels*, pp. 98-119.

<sup>46</sup> Only the cauldron dated 1683 is in a museum collection, Museum of Somerset, Somerset, museum no. 187/2004/119. The others are all in private collections, although they can be viewed in Roderick Butler and Christopher Green's catalogue *English Bronze Cooking Vessels and their Founders, 1350-1830* (Honiton: R and V Butler, 2003), pp. 102, 111, 119.

bears no scratchmark.<sup>47</sup> Evidently this was a further kind of trademark motif for Francis rather than a decorative element requested by the owner.

The dating of cooking vessels like these was a particular speciality of the Sturton family, with a far higher proportion of their wares surviving with dates than any other known foundry from this period. Alongside the cauldrons, at least six skillets survive made by members of the family, all bearing dates. These were cooking vessels formed of three legs, a bowl, and a long handle to ensure the cook did not have to get too close to the hearth when they were in use.<sup>48</sup> They were particularly useful for making smaller quantities of food than cauldrons and thus became more desirable as cooking methods changed and boiling food altogether in one large pot became less common. Like cauldrons, however, their manufacture appears to have been entirely confined to the southwest of England, notably Somerset, with none having yet been identified further north than Bristol.<sup>49</sup> Again this is most likely due to the retaining of down-hearth cooking in the southwestern region, with skillets designed to stand directly on the embers of the fire. Unlike the cauldrons made at the Sturton Foundry though, in the case of the dated skillets the identity of the maker has been incorporated into the inscription on at least four.<sup>50</sup> For example, one skillet made by the elder Thomas Sturton bears the inscriptions ‘Thomas Sturton 1652’.<sup>51</sup> Meanwhile another made by Sturton’s son, also called Thomas (fl.1658 and 1681), is inscribed ‘1667 MP/THOMAS STURTON’.<sup>52</sup> We can further understand the motivations of these makers in clearly identifying themselves by comparing the

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>48</sup> Butler and Green, *English Bronze Cooking Vessels*, p. 10; Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 100.

<sup>49</sup> Butler and Green, *English Bronze Cooking Vessels*, p. 18.

<sup>50</sup> It remains unclear why the cauldrons were not inscribed with makers’ names in this way, since both kinds of objects were being made by the same individual makers at similar dates. It is possible this is an anomaly due to survival.

<sup>51</sup> Leicester Museum, Leicester, museum no. 574 181/923.

<sup>52</sup> Sold Bigwood Fine Art Auctioneers 29/09/15, lot 130.

inscriptions on these skillets to those found on two others from the Sturton Foundry. Both were made by the younger Thomas Sturton. One is inscribed on the bowl with a set of marriage initials, IPE, alongside the year 1670, and is accompanied by the words ‘THIS IS GOOD WARE TS’ along the handle (see Plate 27), whilst the other bears the inscription, ‘WIL THIS PLES YOU 1672’.<sup>53</sup> Both sets of inscriptions relate to the quality of the wares, assuring the person buying the pots, or receiving them as gifts as the latter inscription suggests, that they are well-made. By including the names of the makers, the founders were able to build upon their reputation for providing good wares. This acted as a kind of branding, the name Sturton bringing with it associations of well-made, hard-wearing, and thus long-lasting, goods. The Sturtons were not alone in identifying themselves through inscriptions on their wares. Indeed, makers of other metal cooking objects were sometimes even more explicit in identifying themselves; a surviving mortar is inscribed ‘FRANCIS HOWE MADE MEE 1602’, whilst another reads ‘IC MADE ME FOR ALLEN TALBOTT 1632’.<sup>54</sup>

The dates found on many of the Sturton Foundry’s wares, as well as those made by other founders, could also play an important role in establishing the high quality of the items by aiding household accounting and the maintenance of goods. The Sturton makers were keen to emphasise that their goods were well-made, and in turn, long-lasting. Indeed, iron and brass large cooking pots were irregular purchases precisely because they were meant to be durable, and as stated above, they had great heritable potential, suggesting their reuse across generations.<sup>55</sup> Recording when the objects were made would facilitate

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<sup>53</sup> Museum of London, London, museum no. 8 10/369; Private collection.

<sup>54</sup> Both mortars at CTF, Chicago, D.O.M/59 and D.O.M/60. Roger Brownsword has discussed another group of dated seventeenth-century mortars by the Neale family that identify their makers in this way, for example, ‘1631/HENRYE NEALE MADE MEE’. He notes that the confinement of a personality on a cast object was also common on bells during this period. See Roger Brownsword, ‘Neale Mortars’, *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society*, 3 (1995), pp. 13–17 (p. 14).

<sup>55</sup> Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century*

knowing when different pots might require maintenance or replacing, with village blacksmiths or itinerant artisans called upon to supply ‘the all-important mending and repair services that kept pots sound and pans well-tinned’.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, whilst buying used kitchen goods at auctions and household sales was a common practice, inscribing an item with a date would mark them out as inheritance pieces from more generic wares that might end up on the second-hand market.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the date may have also helped to identify specific objects when they were bequeathed in wills or recorded in probate inventories.

That the domestic sphere was a site where daily life overlapped with deeper reflections on eternal time is evident in the inscriptions on some dated cooking pots, which had moral or pious messages. When accompanied by a date such items could prompt reflection on the viewer’s own temporality. Several identical brass skillets survive with the year 1684 and the moral instruction ‘PITTY THE PORE’ (see Plate 28).<sup>58</sup> These skillets were made in the Fathers Foundry of Montacute, also in Somerset, and were part of a graduated set of five motto skillets. Each design had a moral or loyal motto, but the ‘PITTY THE PORE’ skillets are the only ones to also include a date. Since the others are undated it suggests that the inclusion of 1684 on just one design was a conscious decision with particular meaning attached to it; it was not part of the overall decorative design of the group, nor was it there simply to mark when it was made. Moreover, since several copies of this skillet design were made for different customers with the same year, the date was not necessarily meaningful to the owner but had been put there specifically by the maker. Yet since none of the other motto skillets have dates it seems unlikely it was put there for the practical reasons discussed above.

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*Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 145; Pennell, ‘Pots and Pans’, p. 212.

<sup>56</sup> Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, pp. 90-2 (this quote, pp. 91-2).

<sup>57</sup> On the second-hand trade of cooking pots see Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, pp. 92-3.

<sup>58</sup> These are catalogued in detail in Butler and Green, *English Bronze Cooking Vessels*, p. 59.

There are several possibilities as to why this design of skillet was dated. In their catalogue of English bronze cooking vessels, Roderick Butler and Christopher Green suggested that the year may have referred to the Great Frost of 1683/4, encouraging the user to think of the poor in a challenging time.<sup>59</sup> This is certainly possible, as exhibiting a sense of charity would have increased the prestige of the object by reflecting the piety of the owner. However, Butler and Green's suggestion is consistent with other secondary commentary on dated objects that seeks to explain the inclusion of dates by linking them to a single event rather than thinking about their longer-term meanings. If we put the skillets into context with further examples of dated kitchen wares inscribed with moral prompts, it suggests that the reference to the year was not necessarily directly connected to specific events or circumstances. A red earthenware pipkin, another tripod-legged cooking pot used for cooking directly over the fire, similar to a skillet, survives with the somewhat paradoxical inscription 'FAST AND PRAY 1650' (see Plate 29).<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile an earlier bronze mortar makes a bold declaration of the owner's piety with the inscription 'DAVID HOPPRINGIL BELEVIS IN THE LORD GOD 1562'.<sup>61</sup> Such temporal markers perhaps served more abstract purposes, acting as reminders of the passing of time and of the user's own mortality, particularly when combined with these spiritual or moral prompts.<sup>62</sup> The obligation to spend your time well, seen in inscriptions like 'fast and pray' and 'pity the poor', can also be found in contemporary literature. Puritan writers warned of the dangers of misusing time, and this is echoed in autobiographical writings of the godly in this period. In her mother's legacy of 1616, for example, Dorothy Leigh warns how, alongside

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, museum no. G1.C.35-1928.

<sup>61</sup> BM, London, museum no. 1896,0807.7.

<sup>62</sup> See Tara Hamling, 'Old Robert's Girdle: Visual and Material Props for Protestant Piety in Post-Reformation England' in Alec Ryrie and Jessica Martin (eds.), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 135–64 on the use of visual and material props in domestic devotion.

covetousness, idleness was to be avoided as one of the greatest sins, since ‘many are so carried away with idleness and pastimes that they can find no time to pray’. Significantly, she advises that ‘we need to be very circumspect, and watchfull over our selves, les wee bee snared with this part of the dievls policy’.<sup>63</sup> Time therefore ought to be observed, and one’s own use of time vigorously monitored.

## ii) Spit Jacks and Kitchen Technology

In some cases the named and dated inscriptions on kitchen wares may have referred to the maker rather than the owner. This has been discussed above in relation to the Sturton Foundry, where it has been argued that the motive behind such inscriptions was to publicise the work of the foundry and to act as an assurance of quality. Dated inscriptions could provide similar functions on new technology, but with an emphasis instead on the maker as innovator or inventor. Mechanical roasting jacks provide a key example of this. Spit jacks allowed for the even roasting of meat with minimal labour, removing the previous requirement for a human, or even dog, to manually turn the spit for as much as five hours at a time.<sup>64</sup> The most popular type of spit jack in this period was weight-driven. It was powered by winding a weight attached to a line around a barrel; as the weight descended the barrel rotated and a chain transferred the motion to the spit.<sup>65</sup> The earliest surviving dated jack is inscribed 1656, although the mechanical jack had already been present in elite kitchens from the sixteenth century.<sup>66</sup> By the seventeenth century this

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<sup>63</sup> Dorothy Leigh, ‘The Mother’s Blessing, Or, the Godly Counsaile of a Gentle-Woman Not Long since Deceased, Left behind for Her Children’ in Sylvia Brown (ed.), *Women’s Writing in Stuart England: The Mother’s Legacies of Elizabeth Joscelin, Elizabeth Richardson and Dorothy Leigh* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 15–87 (pp. 55–6). For more on the genre of mother’s legacies see Jennifer Heller, *The Mother’s Legacy in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>64</sup> Ivan Day, ‘The Clockwork Cook - A Brief History of the English Spring Jack’ in Ivan Day (ed.), *Over a Red-Hot Stove: Essays in Early Cooking Technology* (Totnes: Prospect, 2009), pp. 99–124 (pp. 99–100).

<sup>65</sup> Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 101.

<sup>66</sup> This jack is in a private collection but is illustrated in Tony Weston, ‘English Roasting Jacks, Part 1:

technology had begun to be adopted in middling homes across urban centres in England, like London, rapidly diffusing by the end of the century.<sup>67</sup> In Kent, ownership of spit jacks increased from around 4% in the first decades of the seventeenth century to 45% by the end. Again, however, there were regional variations, with a lack of ownership of spits in the first instance meaning that up-take of jacks was barely noticeable in Cornwall, with just 2% of households recorded owning them even at the close of the century.<sup>68</sup>

According to research by the food historian Ivan Day, the proliferation of spits using clockwork mechanisms in England from the late eighteenth century owed much to the transfer of technology between clockmakers and metalworkers.<sup>69</sup> Yet there is evidence that at least some jacks were being made by clockmakers themselves at an earlier date, as the following entry in the account book of the Sussex parson Giles Moore's demonstrates:

1 Jan 1656: For a Clock made by Edward Barrett of Lewis, & brought home, Pay'd him  
2 10 0  
For a new Jack at the same time by him made & brought home, Pay'd 1 5 0.<sup>70</sup>

Meanwhile like the pots and pans discussed above, one clockwork-driven brass and iron spit jack carefully records the date it was completed and the name of its maker. The mechanisms of the spit were intended to be set back into the wall and hidden from view but a pierced plate at the front of the spit would have remained on display and is inscribed 'Lewes Predham Sandford fecit 1697' as well as recording another set of initials of the owner, 'JD' (see Plates 30 and 31).<sup>71</sup> Lewis Predham was a leading clockmaker from Sandford, Devon. In 1711 he is recorded to have restored the working mechanism in the clock in the Devonshire church of St Cyriac and St Julitta, and he is also thought to have

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Weight-Driven Spit Jacks of the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society*, 17 (2009), pp. 14–26 (p. 14).

<sup>67</sup> Weston, 'English Roasting Jacks', p. 14; Day, 'The Clockwork Cook', p. 108.

<sup>68</sup> Overton *et al*, *Production and Consumption*, p. 99, Table 5.2.

<sup>69</sup> Day, 'The Clockwork Cook', p. 108.

<sup>70</sup> Giles Moore, *The Journal of Giles Moore*, Ruth Bird (ed.) (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1971), p. 22.

<sup>71</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.M/133.

built the tower clock at St Andrew's Church, Colyton, East Devon.<sup>72</sup> This confirms that clockmakers rather than blacksmiths were at least partly responsible for making jacks at this time.

As well as demonstrating that spits were bound up in wider cultures of observing and recording time, the connection with clockmakers also provides an additional reason behind the dating of spit jacks. Clocks from this period were often signed and dated by their makers. A late sixteenth-century clock made in London by Nicholas Vallin is inscribed 'N. Vallin 1598' on the dial, whilst another also made in London survives with the inscription 'Frauncoy Nowe fecit a London A DM 1588'.<sup>73</sup> Indeed the use of the Latin word 'fecit' on Predham's jack to denote him as maker is found on a large number of seventeenth-century clocks, although many are undated, with inscriptions such as 'Wm. Clement Londini fecit', and 'William Bowyer Fecit'.<sup>74</sup> Like the cooking pots discussed above, the dates on these inscriptions added a sense of authenticity and, alongside the maker's name, allowed the buyer to distinguish high-level workmanship from less accomplished making, as well as providing a dated record of their mastery of the complicated and innovative technology involved. Moreover, at a time when technology was rapidly evolving, providing the date of completion also showed that the object was up-to-date with the latest developments. Indeed, from the late seventeenth century other objects of technological innovation or scientific knowledge were also signed and dated in this way, such as barometers and globes, as well as the coin calendars discussed in Chapter 1.

The rise in the self-conscious artisan during the early modern period has been analysed extensively by Pamela Smith in her influential work, *The Body of the Artisan*.

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<sup>72</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England: Devon* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), p. 596; Walter Jacobson, *Around the Churches of East Devon* (Exeter: Obelisk Publications, 1997), p. 32.

<sup>73</sup> BM, London, museum no. 1958,1006.2139; V&A, London, museum no. M.39:1-6-1959.

<sup>74</sup> BM, London, museum nos. 1958,1006.2058; 1958,1006.2094.



She points to the rise in technical treatises to argue that from the Renaissance artisans had become more self-conscious about their practices and began to make explicit claims about their skills, particularly because they were competing for patronage and in turn their livelihood.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile James Ayres has argued that in the context of early modern Britain, artisans only began to include signatures on their work following the Reformation, concluding that ‘the cult of the individual was largely the product of Humanism’.<sup>76</sup> Significantly, he points to one of the earliest guild regulations for identifying the maker of a work, the 1581/2 *Book of Ordinancies* of the Painter Stainers of London, which states that all works produced by members needed to bear ‘the marks of the house [studio/workshop]...to be appointed by the Master and Wardens *to be known for good work*’ [my emphasis].<sup>77</sup> This suggests that identifying a maker would help to ensure consumers the wares were of reputable quality. As such, the decision of the spit makers discussed above to sign and date their work suggests a self-conscious advertisement of their skills and competency, adding authenticity to the guarantee of it being good work.

Yet the desire for such objects to be dated was certainly not just about the maker. From the late 1660s mechanical roasting jacks had become the fashionable kitchen item of the day, transforming the lives of the middling sorts.<sup>78</sup> Householders would want to proudly mark the installation of such equipment that was both technologically advanced and labour-saving. Indeed, spit jacks were costly items, particularly when elaborately decorated, and it is likely owners would want to show off these new, innovative acquisitions. Whilst complete jacks only rarely survive from this period, the decorative

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<sup>75</sup> Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 31-2.

<sup>76</sup> James Ayres, *Art, Artisans & Apprentices: Apprentice Painters & Sculptors in the Early Modern British Tradition* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), pp. 14, 26 n.58.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>78</sup> Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 74.

parts which would have been on display more often do. In a few instances these have been converted into trivets around the nineteenth century, further ensuring their survival.<sup>79</sup> Both the 1656 jack mentioned above and Predham's jack were made using stylish brass castings and so were evidently decorative pieces in themselves, intended for display as well as function. Two even more highly-decorated

brass plates intended for the front of jacks, now in the V&A collection, provide a further case in point (see Figures 13 and 14). One dated 1670 is still attached to the mechanism of a spit, whilst the other dated 1668 has been removed and incorporated into a trivet, probably in the nineteenth century.<sup>80</sup> The

engraving is of an exceptional quality, with both front plates depicting Atlas holding up the world. On the earlier plate he is also accompanied by an array of fantastical sea monsters, whilst the opening for the spit's pole is placed rather suggestively between his legs, undoubtedly marking this object out as a conversation piece. Both jacks also have the monogram TD. Whilst the great similarity in their design suggests they were at least made in the same workshop, if not by the same maker, it is possible TD also referred to the owner who had both of these Atlas jacks in his home. Meanwhile a further jack, also dated



*Figure 13 - Brass plate from a mechanical spit jack, since converted into a trivet, England, dated 1668. Victoria and Albert Museum.*

conversation piece. Both jacks also have the

monogram TD. Whilst the great similarity in their design suggests they were at least made in the same workshop, if not by the same maker, it is possible TD also referred to the owner who had both of these Atlas jacks in his home. Meanwhile a further jack, also dated

<sup>79</sup> This is the case for the 1656 jack discussed above, as well as for the trivet, which incorporates a brass plate from a spit jack (V&A, London, museum no. 715-1892).

<sup>80</sup> V&A, London, museum nos. 715-1892; M.957-1926.



Figure 14 - Brass plate from a mechanical spit jack, England, dated 1670. Victoria and Albert Museum.

1656, bears similar pictorial-style decoration, comprising the figure of a soldier grasping a halberd and bill (both types of weapon), again standing above two sea monsters.<sup>81</sup> It has been suggested that the decoration of these pieces had much in common with that seen in English lantern clocks of the period, again indicating a connection with clockmakers.<sup>82</sup> No maker is recorded on this jack but instead the date appears alongside the triad of marriage initials FWM. Marking this union in time on an object closely

associated with the hearth, a site so intimately connected with the idea of the household, made it a particularly potent medium for display. This jack thus suggests the convergence of multiple ideas of time; through its date it indicates technological novelty and forward-thinking, but it was also bound up in ideas of cyclical time, recalling a key stage in the life cycle on an object whose use conditioned the cyclical experience of daily life in the home.

Overall, the inscriptions of dates and ownership initials on such highly decorated jacks suggests that the householder was eager to display the acquisition of these items of

<sup>81</sup> Private collection. Illustrated in Weston, 'English Roasting Jacks', p. 16. Despite sea monsters appearing on both this plate and the 1668 plate, they do not appear to have been made in the same workshop.

<sup>82</sup> Weston, 'English Roasting Jacks', p. 16.

domestic innovation and to spark conversations about their novelty, with the decoration transforming these objects from practical to playful. This desire for novelty in the kitchen was markedly different from the motivation behind acquiring the traditional furniture discussed in the previous chapter, which drew on ideas of lineage and ancestry. This tension between novelty and tradition, new and old, in the seventeenth-century home provides further evidence of the multitemporal nature of the household, which at times wanted to look to the future and at other times wanted to look to the past. This tension is explored further in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

Discussion in this chapter has thus far focused on the meanings and uses of the temporal references found inscribed onto objects involved in the preparation and cooking of food. It has argued that on the one hand the use of such objects in the routine activities of daily life would have shaped the experience of time in the present for those involved; the quotidian rhythm of food preparation tasks, alongside other housekeeping chores, providing a cyclical experience of time. The dated inscriptions found on some of these objects meanwhile would have marked out their owners and their domestic skill to both present and future audiences. Themes of novelty and durability have also been explored here, with dates showing off the skill of the maker or the installation of high-status, innovative wares. More abstractly though, by shifting focus from cyclical time to linear time, these dates invoked a sense of the eternal and prompted reflection on a person's own position in time, their mortality, and how they would be remembered in the future. This chapter will now explore this multitemporality of the hearth further by turning attention to hearths found in other more formal, and less utilitarian spaces of home.

## II) The Social Hearth

In addition to a working hearth for cooking, larger houses had several hearths for heating, with these fireplaces also being carefully curated areas for display. In the first half of the seventeenth century such hearths could be found in rooms like the hall, parlour, and great chamber in rural homes, whilst in the latter half of the century the renaming and reconfiguring of some of these spaces into *salons* and cabinets created different sites in which fireplaces might be present.<sup>83</sup> These were rooms used by the family and as entertaining spaces for guests in upper middling homes, and they were all spaces which might have a fireplace to provide heat and light. More than this though, as areas that could welcome guests, the design and decoration of these rooms was used to shape the public persona of the owner and to reflect their social standing.<sup>84</sup> With the fireplace often being the focal point of the room, the objects adorning it would play an important role in this presentation of the household. Yet despite their shared function as rooms for entertaining, these spaces could vary greatly. To understand the meaning of dated hearth objects and their temporal layers, it is therefore necessary to understand the different contexts of the settings and surroundings they were placed within.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the most formal and prestigious room in rural homes was the great chamber. This space was made possible by the ceiling over of the hall, enabling the creation of one ‘great chamber’ above it. It was the space used for formal dining and entertainment, as well as some ceremonial activities such as the lying-

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<sup>83</sup> Whilst this was the standard arrangement of rooms for larger houses, not every house would necessarily have all three. Restrictions due to space or other factors could affect the layout of a house, whilst smaller or more modest houses might combine the functions of these spaces into one or two rooms. See Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, chps. 2 and 4.

<sup>84</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, pp. 121-2. See also Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 3.

in-state of a family member following their death.<sup>85</sup> Hamling has described the great chamber as ‘the symbolic heart of the household, a space for the performance of social interaction and the public discharge of responsibilities.’<sup>86</sup>

The hall, meanwhile, also retained great symbolic value despite losing some of its earlier functions during this period with the growing tendency towards additional rooms with specialised roles.<sup>87</sup> The hall was usually the first space encountered when guests entered a country house, although in the townhouses of urban centres like London and Bristol the hall was more frequently found on the first-floor, above a ground-floor shop.<sup>88</sup> As the principal entry room in the house, it would be appropriately decorated to provide an impressive reception room, communicating the status and wealth of the owner. Its size was also significant, with a large hall accommodating and therefore symbolising a large household, and in turn representing the social position of the owner.<sup>89</sup> Yet the role of the hall as the main dining space in the home during the Middle Ages had largely waned in rural houses by the mid-sixteenth century, and whilst lower members of the household might still dine in it, the family was now more likely to remove itself to other, more intimate spaces.<sup>90</sup> With that said, in urban locations restrictions due to space meant that the hall remained as a multi-functional space in many town houses during the seventeenth century. In Bristol, for example, the ‘forestreet chamber’ - as the hall was more frequently called - remained the social centre of the house in the absence of a ground-floor parlour, as well as a more general space for living and even sleeping.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 83.

<sup>86</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, p. 148.

<sup>87</sup> Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 273.

<sup>88</sup> Roger Leech, *The Town House in Medieval and Early Modern Bristol* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2014), p. 294.

<sup>89</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, p. 122.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

<sup>91</sup> Leech, *The Town House*, p. 294.

The increased desire for more exclusive spaces is perhaps best seen in the development of the parlour. Used as a withdrawing room from the hall, this was a place of high status, intended for family members and guests of some importance. Yet it was also a more informal room and as such its atmosphere was very different to the lofty spaces of the hall whose purpose was ‘to intimidate and awe’ with the parlour instead ideally being ‘conductive to comfort and recreation’.<sup>92</sup> Wealthier households might have several parlours or withdrawing rooms to provide additional specialised functions, for example a ‘dining parlour’, or a ‘little parlour’ for a more intimate environment.<sup>93</sup>

In the second half of the seventeenth century there was a further reconfiguration of space in the English rural home and a new phase of ‘rebuilding’.<sup>94</sup> The great architectural historian Mark Girouard has put the changes found in the design of homes in this period down to the influx of continental tastes following the Restoration. Due to the upheaval of the Civil War many of the elites had fled to the continent, some of whom followed the future King Charles II to his exile in France. When they returned following the Restoration in 1660, they brought back with them new tastes and ideas for the planning of their homes, influenced by French and Dutch design. According to Girouard, the adoption of these new designs became so popular in the latter part of the century that ‘by 1700 it had become more or less obligatory for anyone wanting to be in fashion’ to adopt them.<sup>95</sup> Most notable of these changes was the creation of the *salon* or saloon, as seen in France. This large, central room came to replace the great chamber or great dining room, and although the *salon* may have been adjoined to the hall, this had increasingly become a space to move

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<sup>92</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, p. 131. For detailed outlines of the functions and characters of these rooms, see pp. 122-164.

<sup>93</sup> Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, pp. 289-92.

<sup>94</sup> Platt, *The Great Rebuildings*, chp. 5.

<sup>95</sup> Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 126; this quote p. 129.

through rather than dwell in. Meanwhile cabinets, formerly termed closets, began to become more important and more richly furnished spaces, whilst withdrawing chambers also became increasingly less intimate and were used instead as general reception rooms.<sup>96</sup>

Throughout this period the proliferation of rooms and their increasing specialisation would have had a profound impact on the way people perceived the space of their homes, the daily activities that occurred within them, and the associated material culture. As Catherine Richardson has noted, by the start of the seventeenth century, these changes meant that ‘the way in which individuals thought about their life in relation to their house was greatly altered’.<sup>97</sup> This next part of this chapter focuses on a case study of firebacks and warming pans that would have adorned the hearths in these new and evolving spaces. It discusses how such items conditioned a variety of temporal experiences and will show the striking similarities between different aspects of hearth decoration, arguing that the hearth in these rooms was a carefully curated site of temporal reflection.

#### i) Firebacks

Positioned in the heart of the hearth, firebacks were a key focal point for fireplace decoration and could provide the primary visual site for contemplation and reflection for both the household and their guests. They survive in relatively high numbers and from the late sixteenth century they were frequently inscribed with a date, which alongside their connection to activities that took place at specific times of the day means they provide a key case study for exploring the temporality of the hearth.<sup>98</sup> Firebacks are cast-iron plates

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<sup>96</sup> For a more detailed description of these changes see Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 120-137.

<sup>97</sup> Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 83.

<sup>98</sup> As with other categories of dated object, firebacks are subject to caution over whether they are originals or copies. Like with these other wares, commercial copying of older firebacks began in earnest during the nineteenth century. Modern castings can sometimes be discerned because techniques have improved to allow



that were placed at the back of the fireplace; they had the dual purpose of reflecting heat back into the room and protecting the rear of the fireplace from damage caused by the fire. Production took place largely in the blast furnaces of the Weald of south-east England, which encompassed parts of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey, although some were also made in the New Forest, and others were imported from the Netherlands and Germany. Whilst the earliest documented production of firebacks in England is in c.1547, it is likely that they were made from the late fifteenth century.<sup>99</sup> Although plain firebacks could easily be produced, they were also an ideal medium for a range of decorative schemes and they survive adorned with a variety of motifs, iconographies, lettering, and numerals. As such they reveal a wealth of information about their owners, yet until recently they have received very little scholarly attention. The work of Jeremy Hodgkinson on firebacks in particular stands out, whose interest in the iron industry has resulted in the publication of several articles for specialist journals as well as a monograph on the history of fireback production in early modern Britain with a catalogue of existing backs.<sup>100</sup> Meanwhile, recent work by Tara Hamling on the religious iconography found in the domestic hearth has broadened the discussion outside of production, providing greater knowledge of the meanings firebacks and their decorative schemes could have within the context of the home.<sup>101</sup>

In many ways firebacks lent themselves to the inscription of dates, as the way in which they were produced made them an ideal medium for relatively cheap customisation.

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for the more even flow of iron into the mould, creating a more even surface. Meanwhile copies can result in less definition and sharpness of line, as well as shrinkage in size. Yet copies of firebacks were being made even in the early modern period itself, so just because a fireback is evidently a copy of an original does not necessarily mean it is any less 'genuine'. See Jeremy Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks of the 16th to Mid 18th Centuries* (Crawley: Hodgersbooks, 2010), pp. 215-9.

<sup>99</sup> Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks*.

<sup>100</sup> Hodgkinson, 'Pre-Restoration Iron Firebacks', *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society*, 20 (2012), pp. 2-15; 'Apotropaic Symbols'; and *British Cast-Iron Firebacks*.

<sup>101</sup> Hamling, 'Seeing Salvation'.

Firebacks were made using the sand-casting technique in which a board is first pressed into 'green' sand that contains a proportion of clay to create a mould that will dry out and harden, after which molten iron is poured in before being left to cool.<sup>102</sup> Such a technique meant it was easy to add decorative elements since stamps, patterns, and even objects could be pressed into the sand before the iron was poured in to create decoration in relief. Indeed, that firebacks were seen as opportune objects for customisation is evident in the impression of seemingly random items into the mould to create decoration. Existing examples include impressions made from everyday objects like scissors, table knives, and food moulds, suggesting that the desire for customisation was so high that whatever was at hand could be utilised. Individual stamps of letters and numbers could also be used, and these were most commonly implemented to inscribe the fireback with dates and initials. Many examples exist decorated simply with a date and a trio of initials, and these were relatively inexpensive ways of customising a fireback (see Plate 32). For example, on 20<sup>th</sup> November 1657 the Sussex parson Giles Moore purchased 'a plate cast for my kitchen chimney... marked G.<sup>M</sup>.S.'; these were his and his wife Susan's initials.<sup>103</sup> Since they had been married for some time before 1657 the fireback was not purchased to mark the occasion of their marriage. However its acquisition the year after Moore became rector of Horsted Keynes, Sussex, having previously worked as a priest in Rochester, suggests it may have been acquired as part of a broader material campaign to reflect his new professional and social status.<sup>104</sup> In some cases stamps comprising an entire date have evidently been used because the edges of the stamp are visible where it has been pressed too firmly into the mould. Hodgkinson has suggested that the use of such stamps rather

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<sup>102</sup> Hodgkinson, 'Pre-Restoration Iron Firebacks', p. 2.

<sup>103</sup> Moore, *The Journal of Giles Moore*, p. 24.

<sup>104</sup> Danae Tankard, 'Giles Moore's Clothes: The Clothing of a Sussex Rector, 1656–1679', *Costume*, 49 (2015), pp. 32–54 (p. 32).

than individual numerals implies they were made for a single purchaser who desired some standardisation across a group of firebacks, since it was almost impossible to align individual stamps identically every time.<sup>105</sup> Yet it could also suggest the popularity of dates as a design feature on firebacks, with founders acquiring date stamps each year because they knew they would be well-used.

From the mid-sixteenth century, a number of firebacks were increasingly cast from single patterns carved into wood to create a mould. This meant that the pattern could be used repeatedly to create identical firebacks.<sup>106</sup> The carving of an elaborate pattern must have been a costly enterprise affordable only to a few, but once the mould was made castings could be sold to other customers. The use of whole carved patterns did not preclude an opportunity for customisation however, so that even if the main pattern of a fireback had originally been intended for someone else there was still the possibility for personalisation. Once the pattern had been pressed into the mould, individual number and letter stamps could then be pressed into the sand as well before casting. Examples of such personalisation can be seen on a fireback now at Ightham Mote, Kent, in which a date stamp for the year 1583 has been added to an existing design for an armorial fireback.<sup>107</sup> Meanwhile another fireback is an exact copy of an armorial fireback now at Anne of Cleves House, Sussex, but the last two digits of the date have been amended so it reads 1664 rather than 1641.<sup>108</sup> This fireback is also decorated with the Stuart arms and the

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<sup>105</sup> Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks*, p. 122. Examples of firebacks where over-pressing has shown the edges of a stamp can be seen in the same volume, pls. 150 and 151.

<sup>106</sup> Prior to this, near-identical firebacks could still be made by pressing an existing fireback into the sand mould, but this resulted in a loss of quality as well as size due to the shrinkage that occurs as the iron cools. See Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks*, pp. 121, 139.

<sup>107</sup> Ightham Mote, Kent, NT, museum no. NT 825358.

<sup>108</sup> The original 1641 fireback is at Anne of Cleves House, Sussex. The updated 1664 fireback is now in a private collection but can be seen in Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks*, pl. 148.

initials CR for *Carolus Rex*, and so amending the year was a simple and convenient way of bringing it up-to-date, transferring allegiance from one King Charles to the next.

The purchase of a fireback evidently presented a prime opportunity for customisation and, as a result, personalisation, whether through the more expensive process of having an entire pattern carved, or simply through the addition of dates and letters to an existing or plain mould. How these firebacks were obtained though is an important question: was there a stock of generic designs available from a local ironmonger with dates pertinent to that year, or were firebacks always commissioned individually, with the purchaser actively requesting a date? In the case of Giles Moore, discussed above, he records that he commissioned the fireback to be engraved with the initials of himself and his wife, and for those firebacks with triads of initials we can assume this was always the case. However, for others which bear only single sets of initials it is possible that they belonged to the founder or patternmaker and so we cannot assume that firebacks with initials were always individual commissions.<sup>109</sup> Geography limited where people could acquire firebacks and what kinds were available. Those living near iron-making regions like the Weald could purchase firebacks from their local furnace and so there was an increased opportunity to obtain a personalised fireback. Elsewhere in the country, though, such opportunities may have been limited. According to Hodgkinson, whilst firebacks could be delivered to ports and landing stages through coastal shipping, the weight of firebacks made further transportation over land expensive and difficult.<sup>110</sup> Records demonstrate that in some cases local ironmongers could source firebacks from further afield, buying them in bulk to sell in areas far away from the iron-producing regions, and this suggests that in these cases it

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<sup>109</sup> Several firebacks, for example, survive with the initials IM, which were likely those of the patternmaker since they are found on backs which were cast from whole carved patterns.

<sup>110</sup> Hodgkinson, 'Apotropaic Symbols', p. 14.

would be more difficult to personalise a back.<sup>111</sup> Acquiring a highly personalised and elaborate fireback in regions outside of these areas was likely therefore to have been an expensive business, which only a few could afford.

Documentary evidence for where firebacks were acquired from, how they were decorated, and where in the home they were placed can be problematic. Firebacks do not always appear in inventories or wills, possibly because they were regarded as fixtures rather than moveable property.<sup>112</sup> Meanwhile, where inventory evidence does exist, it is sometimes unclear whether firebacks were elaborately decorated or just plain iron plates. For example, the inventory made in 1633 following the death of William Yemans, a prebend of the Cathedral in Bristol and vicar of a local parish, shows he owned an impressive number and variety of wares. This included a large number of objects related to the four hearths in his home, with firebacks recorded in the parlour, the kitchen, in the ‘Chamber over the parlor’ and the ‘Chamber over the Kitchin’.<sup>113</sup> Yet these firebacks were all grouped together with other objects when valued so it is impossible to know what their individual value was and in that way deduce the extent of their decoration. Some inventories do offer more clues though. The probate inventory of George Baldwin, a gentleman of the City of Bristol who died 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1614, records that he had two firebacks, one in the parlour and one in the kitchen. The kitchen fireback however was valued at a higher price than that of the parlour, appraised at 15s compared to 8s. Since it is unlikely that the kitchen fireback was more highly decorated than that for use in the parlour, it is possible that the kitchen hearth was much larger, and required a bigger, more expensive back.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>113</sup> Edwin George and Stella George, eds., *Bristol Probate Inventories* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 81-2.

<sup>114</sup> George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, vol. 1. pp. 16-9.

The firebacks themselves therefore provide the best evidence for their meanings and temporalities. The position of firebacks in rooms such as the parlour or the hall meant that they became particularly appropriate sites for decoration centred around the identity of the family. Moreover, like the furniture discussed in the previous chapter, they demonstrate the complexity of the temporality of the domestic sphere and the importance of tracing the diachronic nature of objects across time. The inscriptions on some firebacks were evidently intended to mark the establishment of a household as they refer to a marriage. Many firebacks survive like the one Giles Moore commissioned with a triad of initials that represented the union of a husband and wife. Meanwhile two firebacks dated 1582 make this connection with marriage much more explicit. Both firebacks are inscribed with the initials IA, likely that of the maker, and are thought to have been made at the Pounsley Furnace in the Weald. They also each have a lengthy dedicatory inscription. One reads, ‘Thomas Unstead Isifild And Dinis His Wif Ano Domino 1582’, whilst another is inscribed ‘Thes Is For James Hide And Ion His Wif 1582’.<sup>115</sup> A James Hyde is recorded to have married a Joan Blackefane at Horley, Surrey on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1579, so if this fireback was made for that couple then, like with the back acquired by Giles Moore, it evidently did not mark the date of their marriage. Instead it more likely positioned their marriage more broadly in time, situating their union in relation to the hearth as synonymous with the very notion of household.<sup>116</sup>

Indeed, there is an important distinction to be made between the idea of commemoration as marking the ‘event’ of a marriage (as is assumed in much secondary literature) and referring to a marriage more generally as a social institution, without

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<sup>115</sup> The current whereabouts of the first of these firebacks is unknown but both are catalogued in Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks*, plates 127 and 128.

<sup>116</sup> Another fireback from this set also dated 1582 bears a comparable inscription that relates to a different set of familial relations, reading ‘THIS IS FOR WILIAM BRON AND ELISABTH HIS SISTR 1582’. V&A, London, museum no. M.977-1926.

necessarily marking the commencement of that union. This may be because marriage was regarded as a process made up of multiples stages, including courtship, betrothal, the marriage ceremony itself, and consummation, rather than a single event in early modern England.<sup>117</sup> In his treatise on marriage and domestic duties, William Perkins for example outlined the process of betrothal and marriage.<sup>118</sup> He first described in detail the marriage contract before going on to outline the next stage in the process, the marriage, ‘whereby the continuation formerly begunne in the contract, is solemnly manifested, and brought to perfection.’<sup>119</sup> The marriage itself was consummated by three sorts of actions: first of the parents of the couple, who deliver the bride to the bridegroom upon the wedding day; second, of the minister who publicly pronounces the couple married in the eyes of the Church; and third of the couple themselves, who consummate their union in the marital bed.<sup>120</sup> If marriage was a multi-stage process rather than a single event, this challenges the idea that dated objects were acquired to commemorate a single, specific occasion – otherwise, to which of these many stages of the marriage process did the date refer? It suggests instead that dated objects could be acquired throughout the course of a marriage, and indeed in the years after the wedding itself, to commemorate its development over time, rather than at only one static moment.

Meanwhile, the decoration of a further dated fireback does not have an inscription that explicitly links it to marriage, but such connections would have been understood by contemporary audiences as a result of its imagery. The fireback, dated 1619, bears no names or initials, but portrays Adam and Eve naked with the serpent entwined around the

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<sup>117</sup> Diana O’Hara, *Courtship and Constraint* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

<sup>118</sup> William Perkins, *Christian oeconomie, or, A short survey of the right manner of erecting and ordering a familie according to the Scriptures* (London, 1609).

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-83 (this quote p. 83).

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84-96.

Tree of Knowledge. Both figures hold an apple as well as a branch for modesty.<sup>121</sup>

Although it is unclear where in England this fireback was made, it bears similarities in the style of its date to three other firebacks, all dated 1619, which bear the royal arms, suggesting that the pattern maker for this series was the same.<sup>122</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the story of Adam and Eve eating fruit from the Tree of Knowledge was a popular choice for decorative wares bound up with ideas of marriage. The marital bed was sometimes decorated with scenes from this Old Testament story and the bed was a particularly appropriate site for such imagery since it was the place of conjugal relations.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, Sasha Handley has noted that depictions of Adam and Eve were often found on bedsteads and textiles in sleeping chambers, as well as on wall paintings.<sup>124</sup> We can therefore place this fireback in the context of these other objects and infer that it was acquired to represent the union of marriage and may have been used to decorate the hearth in the bedchamber itself.

Firebacks such as these made the display of family identity central to their decorative schemes, and the context of the fireplace for such decoration was unlikely to be coincidental. The symbolic role of the hearth as the traditional heart and lifeblood of the home meant placing these familial monuments at the centre of the fire enhanced their meaning with homeowners linking themselves to the symbolic provision of heat, light, and nourishment that the hearth traditionally provided. Which rooms marriage firebacks might have been placed in is uncertain, but alongside the bedchamber they would also have been ideally suited to the informal space of the parlour as a room used by family members and

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<sup>121</sup> Stroud District Museum, Gloucestershire, museum no. STGC 2371. For a detailed analysis of other firebacks which depict biblical stories see Hamling, 'Seeing Salvation'.

<sup>122</sup> Hodgkinson, *British Cast Iron Firebacks*, pl. 246.

<sup>123</sup> Belsey, *Shakespeare and the Loss of Eden*, pp. 170-1.

<sup>124</sup> Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 105.



more intimate guests. Fixed-surface decoration in parlours often used biblical stories to reflect familial themes and so firebacks that documented familial relationships would be well-placed amongst such decoration.<sup>125</sup>

Moreover, cast-iron was a highly suitable material for displaying affective relationships. It is hard-wearing and can endure even fire (although with some fading over time), suggesting a permanence that organic materials would not possess. Jeremy Hodgkinson has noted that very few firebacks survive with motifs relating to the Commonwealth or the unpopular reign of William and Mary, implying that these periods of government were perceived to be unsuitable for the permanence that cast-iron implied.<sup>126</sup> Yet it was perhaps for these reasons that it was seen to be a particularly appropriate material to represent enduring familial bonds as the brevity of the single dated moment was made ever-lasting through the durability of the object itself. This emphasises the polychronic nature of these objects; their durability allows a moment from the past to be projected into the future, preserving its memory for posterity. In turn this reflects the multitemporality of the seventeenth-century home, where several systems of time converge: the life cycle, the single synchronic moment, and the eternal.

The hearth was evidently viewed as an appropriate site for the commemoration of extraordinary events. The symbolic importance of the hearth, its visual centrality to a room, and the material resilience of iron enabled owners to use firebacks to project ideas about the durability, permanence, and strength of their family line, even if the reality was quite different. Indeed, many firebacks are decorated with coats-of-arms or other heraldic devices, which displayed a family's high social status. Two identical firebacks made for Henry Percy, the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Northumberland, are in the collection at Petworth House,

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<sup>125</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, p. 133.

<sup>126</sup> Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks*, p. 149.

previously the Percy family's estate (see Plate 33).<sup>127</sup> The firebacks are both dated 1622 and alongside the initials HN they are each decorated with a crescent moon surmounted by an earl's coronet. Northumberland undoubtedly had cause to augment his efforts to reassert himself and his household as a prominent family of wealth and standing. Although nominally Protestant, he was a noted Catholic sympathiser; in 1605 he had been sent to the Tower for his suspected involvement in the Gunpowder plot and served nearly sixteen years imprisonment there.<sup>128</sup> He was released in 1621, the year before these firebacks were cast and so we can view these objects as part of a wider effort to fortify his family's name and social position following these years of adversity. The date 1622 marked out a new chapter in the family's history, one in which their fortunes were finally reversed. Indeed, following his release Northumberland made concerted attempts to improve the prospects of his son at court by cultivating influential friendships, and we can see the commission of these firebacks as part of this campaign.<sup>129</sup>

The multi-layered temporality expressed in firebacks is seen particularly clearly in those examples that record a death. Such firebacks raise further interesting possibilities about the materiality of iron and the meaning of these backs when placed within the context of fire. Two sets of firebacks were made reusing the boards carved with memorial inscriptions that were initially impressed onto grave slabs. The earliest known back to have been cast in this way is inscribed 'Anno Domini 1582/The 27 Day Of/Februarye Dyed/Richarde Graye/Parson Of/Wythiham'.<sup>130</sup> The original grave slab for which the pattern was made survives in St Michael and All Angels Church in Withyham, East Sussex, where we are told Richard Graye was parson. However, perhaps Graye's family

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<sup>127</sup> Petworth House, Sussex, NT, museum nos. NT 485698.1 and NT 485698.2.

<sup>128</sup> Gerald Brenan, *A History of the House of Percy* (London: Fremantle & Co., 1902), pp. 61-2.

<sup>129</sup> Mark Nicholls, 'Percy, Henry, ninth earl of Northumberland (1564–1632)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21939> (Accessed: 4 February 2017).

<sup>130</sup> St Michael and All Angels Church, Withyham.

also wanted a memorial to him in the form of a permanent fixture for their home, where the date of his passing, carefully recorded on this grave slab, could provide further reflection and testament to him in their daily life. The recasting of a grave slab design was a simple and cost-effective way to do this, with the added association of Richard's grave and his earthly body beneath the slab acting as a poignant reminder of their own mortality and movement through time. It represented an investment in one of the most durable kinds of materiality, iron, in the face of the transience of earthly life.

Meanwhile the inscription on another set of firebacks offers more intriguing suggestions as to why they were cast. The grave slab of Anne Forster provided the design for a series of at least eight firebacks cast to commemorate her death in 1591, but which are all slightly different in design. The original grave slab in St George's church, Crowhurst, East Sussex, is inscribed 'Her Lieth Ane Forst/R Daughter And/Heyr To Thomas/Gaynsford Esquier/Deceased Xviii Of Januari 1591 Leaving/Behind Her Ii Sones/And V Daughters'.<sup>131</sup> Curiously one fireback cast from this design uses the original panel twice and in the centre has the additional date of 1593, alongside the initials GM, suggesting the grave slab design was still being recast into firebacks some two years after Anne's death (see Plate 34). The initials may have referred to George More, born 1553, since the fireback was documented in his house, Baynard's Mansion, Ewhurst, during the twentieth century.<sup>132</sup> The lengthy inscriptions memorialise Anne in relation to the different branches of her family that have formed her own identity over the course of a lifetime, from her father in her past to the children who will carry her memory into the future. These firebacks are thus truly polychronic objects, reflecting at once different moments in time

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<sup>131</sup> Hodgkinson, *Cast Iron Fire-backs*, pl. 169.

<sup>132</sup> This fireback was previously at Baynards Mansion, Ewhurst, Surrey, although its current whereabouts is unknown. A photograph of it can be seen in Judie English, 'George More's Other House: Baynards Mansion, Ewhurst', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 89 (2002), pp. 53–63 (p. 62).

through their various dates both within and beyond her own life cycle, alongside references to past and future generations, simultaneously reaching backwards and forwards in time.

These grave slab firebacks are a key example of how the memorial culture seen in churches as analysed by Nigel Llewellyn could be readily translated into domestic monuments. Yet a captivating memorial in St Thomas's Church, Salisbury shows that this exchange could also take place the other way around; on this occasion a domestic hearth object has moved out of the home and been transformed into a church monument. This is an oak panel fixed to the south wall of the south aisle of the church. The larger, upper section of the panel is elaborately carved with two Old Testament stories. Abraham's attempted sacrifice of Isaac is portrayed on the left side, and on the right side is Jacob's dream. Below this carved panel a smaller, additional section has been added later. It reads 'Here underlyeth the Body of Humphry Beckham who died the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of February Anno 1671 Aged 83 Yrs. His own Worke' (see Plate 35). Humphry Beckham was a prominent craftsman in Salisbury. He was a Master Joiner who hailed from a family of skilled joiners and woodcarvers. He became Warden and Chamberlain of the Joiners Guild in 1621. Following his death in 1671, several carved chimneypieces were listed in his inventory, of which the main panel of this memorial was likely one.<sup>133</sup> Beckham's family therefore chose a decorative domestic object, made by Humphry himself, to form a permanent memorial to him in his local church, transforming it through the addition of the inscribed panel.

Taken together, these intriguing death firebacks demonstrate how, as items intimately connected to both daily life and family memory, domestic wares were perceived to be

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<sup>133</sup> Victor Chinnery, *Oak Furniture: The British Tradition* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2016), pp. 407-9.

highly suitable mediums for enduring memorials to family members. By repurposing the design of a grave slab to create objects for everyday use in the home, or by transforming a domestic object into a memorial, ideas of eternal time evidently had powerful sway in the domestic sphere and operated alongside daily cycles of time. In the case of the firebacks in particular, this multitemporality was enhanced by the contrast between the materiality of the back on the one hand, which suggested permanence, and the fleeting lives of those who were recorded on them.

ii) Warming pans

The dated firebacks discussed above did not act alone in crafting narratives about the family. The hearth could be a carefully curated space in more formal rooms with other objects and fixtures used to reinforce desired messages. Brass warming pans are a further category of object that had great symbolic value in the home, reflecting the bonds of marriage and domestic comfort, as well as frequently being used to express loyalty.<sup>134</sup> They were high-status items available largely to upper middling and gentry families, with costs dependent on the quality of material and decoration, but varying from one to several shillings, or more.<sup>135</sup> In *The Academie of Armorie*, Randle Holme described the use of these objects, intended ‘to receive either hot coales, or an Iron heater in to it, which being shut closse with a cover for the purpose, the maide warmes her masters Bed’.<sup>136</sup> Warming pans were therefore associated with specific points in the daily cycle of time, with their use

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<sup>134</sup> Angela McShane, ‘Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), pp. 871–86; Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, p. 227.

<sup>135</sup> McShane, ‘Subjects and Objects’, p. 875.

<sup>136</sup> Holme’s drawings and descriptions are published in N. W. Alcock and Nancy Cox, eds, *Living and Working in Seventeenth-Century England: An Encyclopedia of Drawings and Descriptions from Randle Holme’s Original Manuscripts for the Academy of Armory*, 1688 [London, British Library, MSS Harley 2026, 2027, 2034], CD-ROM. (London: British Library Publishing, 2000).

anticipating bed time and the end of the day. However, although they would be used in the bedchamber, the impressive decoration of surviving examples and their correlation to themes found on other wares that adorned the fireplace meant that in wealthier homes they may have been stored and displayed in any room that had a hearth.

Of the seventeenth-century English warming pans that are known, at least forty-four are dated, and those surviving pans which bear dates significantly outnumber those which do not.<sup>137</sup> The earliest is dated 1604, although warming pans had undoubtedly been in use for some time.<sup>138</sup> The majority of these pans also have inscriptions around the outer edge of the pan lid, as well as further decoration in the centre. The style of lettering used for these inscriptions is the same across nearly all the pans, yet it is a style not seen elsewhere. Butler has suggested that this was due to the lettering evolving from the way in which it was formed, by frontal punching on a domed surface, rather than as a result of all the pans having been made in the same workshop.<sup>139</sup> Butler does remark that close proximity of numerous workshops may also have resulted in the copying of this distinctive style, although no makers or regions of production are currently known.<sup>140</sup>

Like the firebacks discussed above, warming pans frequently survive decorated with coats-of-arms. At least seven extant dated pans are decorated with family arms, three of which, dated 1615, 1630, and 1631, refer to the Earl of Essex (see Plate 36). During these years Robert Devereux held this title; Devereux was a notable puritan and Parliamentarian, becoming the first Captain-General and Chief Commander of the Parliamentarian army.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Through my own research I have been able to extend the published lists of seventeenth-century brass warming pans made by Ernest Hopwell and Roderick Butler to include a further seven dated pans not then known to the authors. See Ernest Hopwell, 'Summary of a Discussion on Warming Pans at the 1991 Spring Meeting', *Base Thoughts: Journal of the Antique Metalware Society*, 4 (1992), pp. 11–28; and Roderick Butler, 'Further Notes on Warming Pans', *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society*, 1 (1993), pp. 1–3.

<sup>138</sup> Hopwell, 'Summary of a Discussion on Warming Pans', p. 11.

<sup>139</sup> Butler, 'Further Notes', p. 1.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> John Morill, 'Devereux, Robert, third earl of Essex (1591–1646), parliamentarian army officer.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2014),

Yet warming pans were also used to express royalist sympathies, with a further thirteen dated pans decorated with royal arms or inscriptions related to royalty. Such ‘loyal’ warming pans have been discussed by Angela McShane in connection to other material expressions of love and loyalty during this period.<sup>142</sup> One particularly interesting example not discussed by McShane is a brass warming pan inscribed ‘GOD SAVE KING CHARLES 1645’ around the edge, with the royal arms in the centre (see Plate 37).<sup>143</sup> The pan is in the collection at Dunster Castle, Somerset, where it is thought to have originated, and which was owned by the Luttrell family at this time. Prince Charles, later Charles II, visited Dunster in May 1645 and so it is likely that this warming pan was made at the time of his visit. The date would have therefore memorialised the occasion on which the family was honoured by the visit of a member of royalty, and its subsequent display around the hearth must have provided an impressive declaration of the prominent role of the family and their closeness to the king.

Yet all was not necessarily as it seemed. The warming pan made a bold, material declaration of the loyalty of a family who had in reality supported Parliamentary forces on the outbreak of the Civil War. The Luttrells had strong puritanical ties and the head of the family, Thomas Luttrell, was even excommunicated for non-attendance at church, possibly in protest against the Anglican ceremony. During the war Thomas established a Parliamentarian garrison at Dunster Castle, and in May 1643 arranged for provisions to be transported to Protestant forces in Ireland. Yet later that year the family were persuaded to swap sides to support the King following their surrender of Dunster Castle to royalist forces.<sup>144</sup> By referring to the date of the visit, and accompanied by an outpouring of royal

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<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7566> (Accessed: 23 May 2019).

<sup>142</sup> McShane, ‘Subjects and Objects’.

<sup>143</sup> Dunster Castle, Somerset, NT, museum no. NT 725889.

<sup>144</sup> George Yerby and Paul Hunneyball, ‘Luttrell, Thomas (1583-1544), of Dunster Castle, Som.’ *The History*

allegiance in the decorative scheme of the pan, this object allowed the Luttrell family to rewrite history and instead memorialise their loyalty to the new king, thus further emphasising the malleability of time and temporal references in this period.

Meanwhile religious themes are also common on dated warming pans. Of those known, at least fifteen have religious mottoes or biblical images. The inscriptions on some of these pans appear to reflect the turbulent and uncertain context of the Civil War. One dated 1647 is inscribed ‘THE LORD IS OUR DEFENCE’, whilst another dated 1648 reads, ‘BLESSED BE THE PEACMAKER’.<sup>145</sup> Meanwhile two further pans connect the piety of the owner with support for the King by placing the inscriptions ‘SEARVE GOD AND LIVE FOREVER 1660’ and ‘FEARE GOD HONNOR YE KING 1662’ alongside the royal arms and the initials CR, for *Carolus Rex*.<sup>146</sup> The dating of these two objects was particularly potent since Charles II had only recently been crowned, so the pans perhaps acted as a way to bolster royal support. The latter inscription was fairly common on wares expressing allegiance to royalty, a version of which also appeared on an earlier warming pan dated 1615, although the political climate following the Restoration must have given the 1662 fireback added significance.<sup>147</sup> Such inscriptions referred to the idea that kings were accountable to God alone, and was taken from 1 Peter 2:17, ‘Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king.’

Significantly a plasterwork and stone chimneypiece from Lower Old Hall, Norland, West Yorkshire also bears an inscription carrying this message, reading, ‘FEARE GOD

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*of Parliament Online* (2010), [https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/luttrell-thomas-1583-1644#footnote31\\_hw5c97i](https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/luttrell-thomas-1583-1644#footnote31_hw5c97i) (Accessed: 23 May 2019).

<sup>145</sup> Both pans documented in Hopwell, ‘Summary of a Discussion on Warming Pans’, p. 16.

<sup>146</sup> The former was in Horace Walpole’s collection at Strawberry Hill and was believed by him to have formerly belonged to Charles II because of the presence of his initials and arms, but such a connection is unlikely. See Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole...at Strawberry-Hill* (Strawberry Hill, 1774), p. 154. Both pans are described in Butler, ‘Further Notes’, p. 3.

<sup>147</sup> The warming pan reads, ‘FEAR GOD AND OBAY THE KING 1615’ and is described in Hopwell, ‘Summary of a Discussion on Warming Pans’, p. 16.



HONOUR THE KINGE', alongside the date 1635, emphasising the correspondence of themes across hearth decoration (see Plate 38). The chimneypiece also displays the royal coat-of-arms and the initials CR. A date stone over the entrance to the house tells us it was built in 1634, so the chimneypiece was evidently a striking feature built around the same time, intended to show off the wealth of the owner, George Taylor, a local dyer, and his impressive new property. Both the date stone and the chimney piece also incorporate Taylor's initials and those of his wife Elizabeth, so we can see these features as a way of documenting Taylor's establishment of a new household. The house comprised a number of specialised rooms, including a kitchen wing at the rear, and several heated rooms, including a parlour. Indeed, it has been noted that by the mid-seventeenth century the West Riding clothiers included in their ranks men of great wealth, able to build substantial homes with the same sort of specialised rooms, comfort, and magnificence found in the houses of contemporary lesser gentry.<sup>148</sup> The chimneypiece therefore reflected not just Taylor's piety and loyalty to the King, but also marked the point in time at which he was able to provide a considerable seat of inheritance for future generations of his family. Indeed, since the hearth had significant resonance in the domestic context and was intimately bound up in ideas of the household, it is no coincidence that Taylor would choose it as the site for commemorating this key achievement, establishing a context for his hoped-for heirs to remember him as founder. We can therefore see this chimneypiece as further demonstrating the multitemporality of the domestic sphere. On the one hand it marked out a specific moment in time, but on the other, through its permanent position in the fabric of the house, it reflected much longer temporalities as it looked forward to posterity, to future contexts and audiences.

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<sup>148</sup> Barnwell and Airs, *Houses and the Hearth Tax*, p. 140.

Meanwhile another warming pan uses imagery from a biblical story to more covertly express allegiance to the Stuart cause. Inscribed ‘DAVID KING OVER ISRAELL 1653’, it is accompanied in the centre by a depiction of the crowned King David holding a sword and banner (see Plate 39).<sup>149</sup> Protestant iconography drew heavily upon the Old Testament and King David was a popular figure in art from this period, and significantly, the depiction of historical events like this alongside current dates would have further added to the sense of the polychronicity of these objects and the household more broadly.<sup>150</sup> The selection of this story was undoubtedly used on this pan to suggest the allegiance of the owner to the Stuarts. The biblical story of the refusal of David to kill King Saul was again understood to symbolise the divine right of kings and the importance of not taking up arms against a king.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, James I had often been likened to King David, and indeed, Charles II would be following the Restoration, further blurring the temporal references on this pan.<sup>152</sup> The date on the object is unlikely to have been a mere coincidence but furthered its message. In 1653 the Commonwealth government collapsed, and there were hopes at this point that the King might return, which may have inspired the commissioning of this pan. However, given the contemporary association between King David and Charles II *after* his coronation in 1660, it seems likely that the pan was commissioned not in 1653 but later, during Charles’ reign, and dated retrospectively to stress the continued loyalty of its owner to the Stuart dynasty even during turbulent times. More broadly, it may have also been an attempt to rewrite the narrative of those years for present and future audiences, by emphasising the strength of royalist support during the Commonwealth. If so this further emphasises the idea that whilst dates on objects are often assumed to be the

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<sup>149</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.M/12.

<sup>150</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, pp. 119-20.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189-191.

<sup>152</sup> Mark Goldie, ‘Restoration Political Thought’ in Lionel K. J. Glassey (ed.), *The Reigns of Charles II and James VI and II* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 12-35 (p. 13).

date they were acquired, this is not always the case; dates cannot be taken at face value. Additionally, the fact that religious mottoes or biblical iconographies are found on so many warming pans from this period is significant because it further demonstrates that there was clear crossover between the decorative schemes found on firebacks and those found on warming pans. This adds weight to the suggestion that warming pans would have been displayed around the hearth when not in use, as part of a carefully curated system of polychromic decoration focused on the hearth.

This chapter has argued that the hearth was a key site for reflecting upon time and shaping temporal experience in the seventeenth-century home due to its role in both everyday activities and as a site for musings on the eternal. The use of objects related to the hearth would have conditioned the daily, cyclical experience of time, as they delineated the start and end of the day, as well as through their use at predictable, or timed moments of the day, for example, the preparation of meals. Yet their dated inscriptions would have also prompted meditation around a person's position within a much broader scheme of time, encouraging reflection on historical and national events and a hope for desired outcomes, such as the Restoration. The hearth was intimately bound up in ideas of the household and was a fundamental site in the domestic sphere. As such, objects and fixtures found in this space would have had particular resonance in the domestic context. The inscriptions of dates on some of these wares marked them out as special items of inheritance to be kept within the family and within the domestic setting, rather than as pieces that could be sold or dispersed. The objects themselves were polychronic, not only through the multiple references to time found in their decoration, but through their ability to communicate messages across time from past to future audiences. Their presence and use within the domestic sphere in turn reflect the multitemporality of the home in the seventeenth

century, with concerns over commemorating and communicating identity in the present existing within much broader ideas of the eternal.

## CHAPTER 4 – TABLEWARES



*Figure 15 - Tin-glazed earthenware plate, London, dated 1661. Crab Tree Farm.*

This chapter turns its attention to the third category of domestic dated objects explored by this thesis – tablewares. One such object that exemplifies many of the themes discussed in this chapter is a tin-glazed earthenware plate, now in the CTF collection (see Figure 15).<sup>1</sup> The plate is decorated with blue writing on a white background, typical of wares known as ‘English delft’ because of their similarity to Dutch styles, produced in the potteries that lined the south bank of the Thames in London. The only decoration on this plate is the inscription, reading ‘Weilcom my Friends 1661’. Such an inscription emphasises the role

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<sup>1</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.C/17.

tablewares like this had in signalling the hospitality provided by their owners, discussed below as central to English society and middling identity in particular. Moreover, this plate is in fact one of a moulded set of at least four identical examples, made in a novel octagonal design.<sup>2</sup> This further demonstrates many of the reasons why ceramic wares proved so popular in the seventeenth century: they were easily customisable, carrying personalised inscriptions and designed in striking or unusual forms, and they were relatively inexpensive, facilitating frequent and multiple purchases. Indeed, this chapter discusses the desire for novelty when acquiring domestic goods, with ceramic wares in particular catering to this demand, notably with the expansion of the domestic industry over the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> It therefore explores some of the tensions between different categories of domestic dated objects, as these tablewares suggest a consumer focus on novelty over tradition. As a result of their dates and their role as inheritance pieces (as suggested by their preservation and survival) these objects continue to manifest the polychronicity discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis and provide further evidence of the multitemporality of the domestic sphere. Yet because of their novel designs, their lack of durability, and their potential to be purchased more frequently than the furniture or hearth wares discussed thus far in this thesis, they raise a different set of questions about the temporality of domestic goods and the household in seventeenth-century England.

Like the categories of domestic object discussed in the previous two chapters, this chapter argues that tablewares operated within multiple systems of time within the home. Meals were daily rituals, occurring at specific times of the day and thus the use of objects

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<sup>2</sup> The three additional plates are catalogued in Louis Lipski and Michael Archer, *Dated English Delftware - Tin-glazed Earthenware 1600-1800* (London: Sotheby Productions, 1984), p. 43, pls. 112a-c.

<sup>3</sup> Aileen Dawson, *English & Irish Delftware 1570-1840* (London: British Museum Press, 2010), pp. 9-11, 15-17.

at this time helped to condition quotidian routines. More formal dining also afforded the most important opportunity for a household to communicate carefully selected aspects of its family history, wealth, and status to a wider audience, with dates in particular displaying major rites of passage or achievements. The objects used at the table were intended to stand out and spark conversation about these events, as well as to encourage reflection on the passage of time. Such items did not just communicate individual messages but were part of a wider system of objects used at meal times that collectively recorded important moments in a family's history and that would work together to paint a carefully curated picture of the family in the present. Like the cooking wares discussed in the previous chapter, these objects were also acquired with an eye to the future as their high level of customisation suggests they were intended as special inheritance items rather than everyday use. Yet many of these objects were made from ceramics and so unlike the enduring or bulky objects discussed in the previous two chapters, these wares raise interesting possibilities about the question of permanence versus novelty in this period. One of the reasons why ceramic tablewares were so popular in this period was their ability to carry a range of customised decoration, whilst their relative inexpensiveness meant new designs could be purchased more often. This chapter will therefore also unpack the complex meaning of dated ceramic wares which on the one hand offered a material record of major events, and on the other were some of the more fragile and potentially transient objects found in the home.

Dated tablewares were also significant because they were bound up in ideas of hospitality, particularly when they were gifted. Hospitality was intimately connected to ideas of the household in the seventeenth century and the ability and willingness to provide

it was one way in which the gentry sought to define themselves.<sup>4</sup> The status and survival of a household depended upon its position within the wider community and the forging of a network of friends and patrons who could provide influence and support.<sup>5</sup> The production and maintenance of these networks was facilitated by the provision of hospitality and entertainment, by gifts, particularly of food and drink, and in turn by the vessels from which food and drink were served, and which themselves may have been exchanged as gifts.<sup>6</sup> The dated, and in some cases highly decorated, wares discussed in this chapter may have been intended for display or use only on special occasions, but they were symbolic of the centrality of eating, drinking, and friendship to the household. Many were directly associated with and used at the rituals and gatherings, during which bonds of friendship and patronage would be both forged and tested, such as weddings, with the sharing of food and drink a fundamental part of these rituals.

### **D) Times and Spaces for Domestic Dining**

Like the domestic practices discussed in the previous two chapters, the timing of mealtimes in the home would have conditioned everyday experiences of time, providing an important temporal marker of the day's passage. At the beginning of the early modern period the main meal of the day occurred at noon, yet this gradually shifted later and later until, by the end of the 1700s, it took place in the evening.<sup>7</sup> This was due in part to the greater availability of artificial lighting like candles and lamps in the home, which allowed for a greater range of activities to take place in the evening, including dining.<sup>8</sup> It was also

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<sup>4</sup> Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Felicity Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 199 (2008), pp. 41–70 (pp. 42-3).

<sup>7</sup> Gerard Brett, *Dinner is Served: A History of Dining in England 1400-1900* (London: Hart-Davis, 1968).

<sup>8</sup> Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, pp. 101-3.



the result of changing work patterns as people increasingly worked outside of their own home and thus it became more practical to have a big meal at the end of the working day rather than at midday.<sup>9</sup> This shift in eating times had important implications on the temporal patterns of the day. Occurring at midday meant the main meal demarcated the shift from morning to afternoon, and as already mentioned, would signal a break in the day's labour. Its gradual movement to late afternoon and eventually evening meant dining would have become increasingly associated with the end of the working day and the transition into night time.

Meanwhile the location of dining in the home was also in transition during the seventeenth century. Whilst the hall had traditionally been the site of eating for the whole household, its decreasing significance over the course of the sixteenth century saw new, specialised spaces emerge for domestic dining in many homes. For larger households, whilst lower ranking servants might still dine in the hall, from the latter part of the sixteenth century the family and higher ranking members of the household increasingly removed themselves to more intimate spaces to eat.<sup>10</sup> The great chamber, or dining chamber, provided the setting for more formal dining, whilst the parlour took on increasing importance as a space for informal, everyday dining, with some parlours specifically referred to as 'dining parlours' and beds gradually disappearing from their list of contents in inventories.<sup>11</sup> In some great houses though by the seventeenth century the parlour had become the room where only the upper servants ate.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 122.

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 289; Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 90; Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 131-2.

<sup>12</sup> Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 104.

In urban settings, restriction of space in townhouses meant fewer rooms, but such divisions between family and servants could still be realised by the lower servants eating in the service areas below whilst the family dined in a first-floor chamber.<sup>13</sup> In Bristol, townhouses which had ground-floor shops nearly all had a first-floor room known as the ‘forestreet chamber’, used as a general living space for eating, sitting and, in many cases, sleeping, thus retaining many of the functions of the medieval hall well into the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries. For wealthier townspeople though this space had generally become reserved only for sitting and dining by the mid-seventeenth century, and by the eighteenth had begun to be referred to as the ‘dining room’ in some inventories.<sup>14</sup>

Over the course of the seventeenth century spaces for dining in country houses continued to change. The continental influences on architecture and room-use, which became increasingly prominent from the 1660s onwards as exiled royalists returned to England (discussed further in Chapter 3), saw the move towards incorporating rooms like the salon or saloon into the design of country houses. The salon took the place of the great chamber or dining chamber as the site for formal meals.<sup>15</sup> Yet the popularity of the salon did not last long; by the first few decades of the eighteenth century, the salon, whilst still in use for activities like dancing and as a general reception room, increasingly became less important as a space for eating. The rise of the dining room - a specialised space used only for eating - in large country houses during the eighteenth century eventually reduced the symbolic and ceremonial significance of the salon, with some grand houses also retaining a parlour for everyday, informal eating.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, p. 104.

<sup>14</sup> Roger Leech, *The Town House in Medieval and Early Modern Bristol* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2014), pp. 294-5.

<sup>15</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 126, 137.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 203; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven

## II) Sociability, Hospitality, and Gifting

Whilst much has been written on the changing spaces within the home used for dining, the material culture of dining and sociability in early modern England has not received a great deal of scholarly attention.<sup>17</sup> The fundamental role of hospitality, however, has been the subject of work by Felicity Heal who has emphasised its centrality to English society.<sup>18</sup> Whilst Heal was the first historian to explore English hospitality in this period in great depth, it has long been recognised by anthropologists as fundamental for the effective functioning of a range of societies located across time and space. Heal has similarly shown how the enactment of good hospitality was a public concern and not just the personal preference of an individual to be a good host. This was mirrored in a myriad of prescriptive literature from the period, which demonstrates that generosity was the duty of all householders and had ramifications for the wider moral economy of society. Yet whilst texts like George Wheeler's *The Protestant Monastery* (1690s) envisaged hospitality as ideally available to all whether rich or poor, a neighbour or a stranger, there was a tension between the types of hospitality different categories of guest could expect.<sup>19</sup> As Heal has shown, as a result of economic and demographic crises in the sixteenth century the nature of hospitality changed in the course of the early modern period and was more likely to be

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and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 293; Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young, eds., *Elegant Eating: Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style* (London: V&A Publications, 2002), p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Notable exceptions include Glanville and Young, *Elegant Eating*; and more recently Victoria Yeoman's article on banquetting trenchers, which has provided an important theoretical foundation for interpreting dining objects, and significantly moves away from the focus on elite dining that has been the basis of previous studies. See, Victoria Yeoman, 'Speaking Plates: Text, Performance, and Banqueting Trenchers in Early Modern Europe', *Renaissance Studies*, 31 (2017), pp. 755–79. From an Italian Renaissance perspective, see the chapter, 'Sociability and Entertainment in the Casa' in Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (eds.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London: V&A, 2006), pp. 205-266; and Valerie Taylor, 'Art and the Table in Sixteenth-Century Mantua: Feeding the Demand for Innovative Design' in Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn Welch (eds.), *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 174-196.

<sup>18</sup> Heal, *Hospitality*.

<sup>19</sup> George Wheeler, *The Protestant Monastery: Or Christian Oeconomicks*. (London, 1698).

given only to the prosperous, whilst the poor could expect to receive alms instead. Heal portrays these varying types of hospitality as a series of concentric circles, the innermost consisting of the household, extending outwards to kin, neighbours, friends, and finally, strangers.<sup>20</sup>

Hospitality was found in the household primarily in the provision of food, drink, and accommodation. Heal emphasises that the supply of these essentials was directly associated with the head of household and would actively shape his social standing and public persona. Indeed, whilst on the one hand hospitality was seen to be a mandatory and key duty of the head of household, on the other hand it had clear benefits for the household, procuring political advantages to the host. In this way, Heal writes, the home was ‘an arena in which the host [could] dramatize his generosity, and thereby reveal his hegemony’.<sup>21</sup> Ideally the host would perform these social rituals in front of a large audience, and in doing so, would be able to articulate his ‘power and magnanimity’, with the household’s generosity and provision of good entertainment perceived as direct attributes of the head of household himself.<sup>22</sup>

Heal also sees hospitality as bound up in the broader theme of the role of the gift since both rely on the principle of reciprocity; like giving good hospitality, gift-giving might elicit something in return, but something which was not necessarily valued in monetary terms.<sup>23</sup> Her analysis of early modern gifting practices is particularly useful in this chapter,

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<sup>20</sup> Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 8-9, 19.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> The reciprocal nature of the gift has long been the focus of sociologists and anthropologists like Malinowski, Mauss, and Levi-Strauss, whose work on non-Western societies showed that mutual gift-giving plays a key role in the maintenance of social cohesion and solidarity. Mauss, a French sociologist, laid down the foundations for the theory of reciprocity in his ground-breaking essay, *The Gift*, in which he argued that the impetus to get something in return was the ‘spirit of the gift’. Yet the gift had to at least appear disinterested and freely given, despite it incurring obligations. (Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen & West, 1954). Originally published in French as ‘Essai sur le don’, 1950.) Since Mauss, reciprocity has been continuously debated by scholars, notably Claude Lévi-Strauss, who argued that goods are vehicles for ‘influence, power, sympathy,

since some of the dated tablewares and drinking vessels discussed here were likely to have been given as gifts to mark special occasions such as marriage, as a way of materialising promises made and further cementing social bonds at this time.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, such dated wares, associated with the consumption of food and drink, take on further significance since for Heal food is a particularly significant category of gift, differing from other forms of exchange. She argues that food gifts are distinctive because of their role in commensality and hospitality, as well as in the more fundamental relief of need.<sup>25</sup> This is particularly interesting because Heal suggests that this bond is partly due to the implication that the gift will be shared. Indeed, food gifts facilitated the construction and maintenance of bonds between giver and receiver, if not by being directly shared and eaten together, then by symbolising such sharing.<sup>26</sup> The importance of sharing and commensality in the provision of food gifts may have motivated the dating of these tablewares that were used in communal rituals involving food and drink. Dated examples of dishes, plates, cutlery, posset pots, and wassail bowls sometimes bear decoration that suggests they may have been given as gifts on occasions which were themselves surrounded in ritualistic activity, like betrothals, marriages, or at New Year, marking the cycles of the seasons, life cycle, and/or ritual year, whilst simultaneously pinpointing a specific moment in time.

### III) Objects for Dining

Dining underwent much change during the early modern period. This included the emergence of new spaces in the home in which meals were consumed, discussed earlier in

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status, emotion' and the skilful exchange of these goods as gifts, 'consists of a complex totality of manoeuvres, conscious or unconscious, in order to gain security and to fortify one's self against risks'. Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Principle of Reciprocity' in Aafke Komter (ed.), *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), pp. 18–26 (p. 19).

<sup>24</sup> Heal, *The Power of Gifts*; Heal, 'Food Gifts', pp. 42–3.

<sup>25</sup> Heal, 'Food Gifts', p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

this chapter, but also the dishes eaten, how they were served, and the tools used to eat them, as well as the expectation of guests and the nature of entertaining.<sup>27</sup> As a result, new materials and new objects could be found on the dining tables of middling and elite homes throughout England. Importantly, the changing materiality of the table and associated dining furniture provided new opportunities for the customisation of wares and the display of wealth, status, knowledge, and social networks to guests. Indeed, whilst silver had long been used to signify wealth and status, typically displayed on a sideboard during formal dining, and often marked with a family's coat-of-arms, the rising ownership of pewter, ceramics, and glass in the seventeenth century provided new opportunities for display at the table amongst the middling sorts.

One of the biggest changes in the materiality of dining in this period was the decline of wood and the rise of metalware, particularly pewter, further down the social scale. This is reflected in the frequently repeated quote by William Harrison, who remarked upon 'the exchange of vessel, as of treen platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treen stuff in old time that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter... in a good farmer's house.'<sup>28</sup> Household accounts and inventories demonstrate that the growing popularity of pewter in the seventeenth century was undeniable. In Kent almost all inventories between 1600 and 1629 mention pewter, with ownership remaining above 90% for the entire period. Whilst ownership was much less in Cornwall, it still rose from 46% at the start of the seventeenth century to 87% by the last three decades.<sup>29</sup> Although pewter was a relatively inexpensive material, it was also found

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<sup>27</sup> See Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018).

<sup>28</sup> William Harrison, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life [1587]*, Georges Edelen (ed.) (New York: The Folger Shakespeare Library and Dover Publications, 1994), p. 201.

<sup>29</sup> Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 102. See also the analysis of pewter in inventories of Thame, Oxfordshire, in Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The

in wealthy homes. The household accounts of the Le Strange family show they bought not only pewter eating vessels but also cheaper versions of objects they owned in silver.<sup>30</sup> Yet despite the evident popularity of pewter as a material for dining wares, very few pewter objects survive inscribed with dates. This could seem puzzling given the survival of other metal tablewares, like cutlery, with dates, as well as the broader desire to customise and personalise wares used in dining, notably ceramics. Indeed, we know that pewter was being personalised as evidenced by the accounts kept by the Sussex parson Giles Moore. On 1 September 1673 he bought ‘3 small deepe Pewter dishes...marked G<sup>M</sup>S’ for 4s 8d.<sup>31</sup> Likewise some 7 years previously he records that he bought a series of pewter items second-hand, ‘4 of which are marked W<sup>L</sup>A. Another TH, and WL underneath. Another F<sup>C</sup>M & another smalle one W.<sup>L</sup>A.’<sup>32</sup> One possible explanation for the lack of surviving dated pewter is that pewter objects had a short life cycle, as pewter could be replaced with new items or melted down and reformed. This was evidently the case with the Le Stranges who changed some of their pewter every couple of years. Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths have noted that the Le Strange’s pewter objects appear to have held little sentimental value, remarking that ‘as it was not heavily ornamented little was lost by having old items melted down and new ones purchased in their place on a regular basis’.<sup>33</sup> It was perhaps this practice of remaking or replacing pewter wares regularly that meant dated examples were less likely to survive, or be commissioned in the first place. Indeed, there is a difference between marking objects just with initials, as with Moore’s pewter, and marking them with dates: initials suggest an investment in displaying ownership in the

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Boydell Press, 2015), p. 158.

<sup>30</sup> 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. 144.

<sup>31</sup> Giles Moore, *The Journal of Giles Moore*, ed. Ruth Bird (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1971), p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, p. 144.

here and now, whereas inscribing dates onto an object generates an awareness of past, present, and future contexts in which it will be used, and thus polychronicity, for which material durability is key. Pewter would thus be an inappropriate material to use for this purpose.

Whilst dated pewter might not survive in large numbers, dated ceramic tablewares certainly do. From the late sixteenth century large quantities of pottery were being imported from Europe but domestic production began to increase rapidly during the seventeenth century. This included lead-glazed and tin-glazed earthenware, as well as stoneware. The growth in the domestic pottery industry encouraged the popularity of ceramics by both bringing down prices as well as allowing for more opportunities in the customisation of one's wares. Indeed, during the course of the seventeenth century ceramic wares gradually began to replace pewter in the kitchen and on the table.<sup>34</sup> Earthenware plates were less expensive than pewter and sets of tablewares could be purchased more cheaply. Most significant though was its ability to carry colourful decoration and to be fashioned into various forms, enabling continual changes of style. Pottery also provided the opportunity to easily develop new forms and types of goods, which from the late seventeenth century created a greater variety of pottery adapted to a host of different markets.<sup>35</sup>

Whilst the evolving native industry provided new opportunities for the decoration of the table and the personalisation of goods, pottery was not without its setbacks. Although ceramic wares were less likely to scratch than pewter, cracks and breakages meant they

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<sup>34</sup> Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 103.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104. This was certainly not just a phenomenon of seventeenth-century England. The Dutch Republic's ceramic industry was also flourishing at this time, with the mass production of blue and white 'Delftware', in imitation of Ming porcelain, providing greater opportunities for customization than imported wares. On consumption in the Dutch Republic see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Fontana, 1988), and in particular, chp. 5.



also needed to be replaced more often.<sup>36</sup> This poses interesting questions about the tension between durability and novelty, and in dated examples in particular there appears a marked contrast between the lack of permanence of ceramic items and the desire to create a lasting material record of an event through the date.<sup>37</sup> Ulinka Rublack has shown how people in early modern Europe had an intimate understanding of the material properties of their goods and such qualities could impact profoundly upon their meaning.<sup>38</sup> For ceramic wares, we can see this in the way some makers played up to the fragility of their goods by including inscriptions that joked about the materials used and their potential for impermanence. One lead-glazed earthenware jug, of a type known as Metropolitan ware because of its production near, and popularity in, the capital, is dated 1645 alongside the inscription ‘BREAK ME NOT I PRAY IN YOUR HASTE FOR I TO NON WILL GIVE DISTAST’ (see Plate 40).<sup>39</sup> The date on this jug further played up to the sense of ephemerality of the object, which requests careful treatment so that it survives the passage of time intact.

Another dated piece of ceramic more explicitly refers to the finite nature of time whilst playing up to the materiality of the object. A tin-glazed plate is inscribed ‘You & I Are Earth 1661’ (see Plate 41), the wording making use of the trickery around the earthenware of the plate and the mortality of the viewer who will themselves one day be rendered back into the earth.<sup>40</sup> This kind of *memento mori* inscription is given additional

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<sup>36</sup> On ceramic durability see Sara Pennell, ‘“For a Crack or Flaw Despis’d”: Thinking About Ceramic Durability and the ‘Everyday’ in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England’ in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 27–40. See also Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 104.

<sup>37</sup> Ulinka Rublack has commented further on this tension in her discussion of leather wallpaper. The cost of such decoration was so high that it deterred owners from changing it to other styles, and at a time when people looked for novelty in their material culture, leather wallpaper therefore proved to be *too* durable. Ulinka Rublack, ‘Matter in the Material Renaissance’, *Past & Present* 219, no. 1 (2013): 41–85 (84).

<sup>38</sup> Rublack, ‘Matter in the Material Renaissance’.

<sup>39</sup> Museum of London, London, museum no. A14709.

<sup>40</sup> Museum of London, London, museum no. A14639. This plate was also the subject of a collaborative

poignancy by the addition of the year, which serves to emphasise the fleeting passage of time. Once the moment itself has past, every time the plate was displayed it served to remind the viewer of their own mortality, and the passage of their life.<sup>41</sup> Finally, another dated ceramic object, whilst not for the table, further mirrors this kind of clever material trickery in the inscription. This metropolitan slipware chamber pot, is inscribed ‘EART I AM ET TES MOST TRU DES DANE ME NOT FOR SO EAR YOU 1656’ (see Plate 42).<sup>42</sup> The chamber pot has been discussed in detail by Tara Hamling, who has drawn particular attention to the spiritual prompt of its inscription to remember one’s own mortality even at moments as mundane as relieving oneself.<sup>43</sup>

Religiously-motivated reminders of the passage of time on ceramic wares can be further linked to other items of pottery that have inscribed dates alongside pious inscriptions. A number of lead-glazed earthenware objects from the first half of the seventeenth century have inscriptions encouraging spiritual contemplation. These include a jug inscribed ‘BE NOT HY MINDED BUT FEAR GOD 1638’, a mug inscribed ‘FEAR GOD 1630’, and another inscribed ‘RALPH JOCELIN FEARE GOD 1633’ (see Plate 43).<sup>44</sup> These objects emphasised the need for the household to behave appropriately and show respect to God at all times, even during moments of relaxation.<sup>45</sup> Yet their dated inscriptions in particular suggests a preoccupation with linking pious behaviour with the

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project I undertook with the artist Grace Holliday as part of the ‘Matter of Objects’ exhibition at Queen Mary University London, May 2016. Grace produced several works of art based on my ideas and interpretations of the plate.

<sup>41</sup> Rublack has explored in detail the way matter impacted meaning during the Renaissance, arguing that ‘how objects were made and what they were made from’ could ‘have a bearing on how they were perceived and gained significance’. Rublack, ‘Matter in the Material Renaissance’, p. 43.

<sup>42</sup> Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent, museum no. 1938 P5.

<sup>43</sup> Tara Hamling, ‘Old Robert’s Girdle: Visual and Material Props for Protestant Piety in Post-Reformation England’ in Alex Ryrie and Jessica Martin (eds.), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 135–64, p.161.

<sup>44</sup> The whereabouts of the first two is unknown but they are recorded in Bernard Rackham, *English Pottery: Its Development from Early Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Ernest Benn, 1924), p. 27; and John Eliot Hodgkin, *Examples of Early English Pottery Named, Dated, and Inscribed* (London, 1891), no. 19, respectively. The third is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, museum no. C.126-1928.

<sup>45</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, p. 208.

passage of time. Indeed, Ralph Jocelin's mug is particularly interesting because the year 1633 is repeated some six times around the vessel, so that no matter what angle one uses or views it from, the date is always visible. This suggests that the date was particularly significant to its meaning, and it may have acted together with the spiritual prompt to encourage Jocelin and his company to reflect on the proper use of their time. A further explanation for the repetition of 1633 on Jocelin's mug can be found in the religious meaning attached to the number 33. This was the supposed age of Christ at his crucifixion, and as such 1633 would be the 1,600 anniversary of his death and might have held a certain association with end times.<sup>46</sup> At the very least, the religious imagery and mottoes found on these objects added a further temporal dimension by referring to spiritual notions of the eternal.

Moreover, it is significant that many of these pious inscriptions are found on drinking vessels, perhaps intended to urge the users to limit their intake of intoxicants and not to squander their time by excessive drinking. We can connect these ideas to further decoration that might have appeared in the rooms in which these objects were used. In her discussion of the parlours of godly households, Tara Hamling has remarked that as informal spaces, subject matter in figurative decoration often focused on familial themes and domestic activities, such as eating. This included, for example, visual depictions of the story of Dives and Lazarus, in which the beggar, Lazarus, longs to eat from the rich man's table. He eventually dies and enters heaven, whilst the rich man is condemned to hell for failing to help his fellow man. In her interpretation of the use of this story, Hamling draws upon the work of Tessa Watt who has commented that 'the image of the poor beggar functioned much like a skull on the desk, which warned one in the fullness of life to be

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<sup>46</sup> Hans Holbein's painting 'The Ambassadors' of 1533 is discussed in these terms, for example. See John North, *The Ambassadors' Secret: Holbein and the World of the Renaissance* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), p. 91

thinking of death.<sup>47</sup> We can see dates on ceramic tablewares as providing a similar function, reminding their users of the passage of time, and that such moments of indulgence remain as fleeting as the moments inscribed onto the wares around them. In this way ceramics provided people with the opportunity to pursue novelty cheaply and easily, yet through a consciousness of pottery's lack of durability alongside the inscription of temporal references, owners of these objects were able to avoid appearing frivolous and instead could communicate their piety to an audience.

Alongside religious inscriptions, dated ceramic tablewares are also frequently sites of royal iconography. Several tin-glazed earthenware plates survive with dated inscriptions alongside images or mottos proclaiming loyalty to the monarchy. The earliest dated ceramic object this thesis has identified is a large charger inscribed 'THE ROSE IS RED THE LEAVES ARE GRENE GOD SAVE ELIZABETH OUR QUEENE 1600', now in the Museum of London's collection (see Plate 44).<sup>48</sup> Alongside the inscription, the charger is colourfully decorated with a cityscape of towers and turrets, thought to represent either the City of London or the Tower of London itself. This charger is a particularly rare piece since dated ceramics declaring loyalty to Elizabeth I are uncommon; as described in the Introduction, there are fewer surviving dated objects overall from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, whilst the explosion of the domestic ceramics industry occurred over the course of the seventeenth century, so there was also less opportunity to acquire such goods as easily and cheaply during Elizabeth's reign. However, as the century progressed, ceramics, and notably tin-glazed earthenware, were frequently used as a material to express loyalty to the crown, particularly following the Restoration of Charles II.<sup>49</sup> To take just two examples, these include a tin-glazed earthenware charger inscribed

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<sup>47</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, pp. 133-4.

<sup>48</sup> Museum of London, London, museum no. C84.

<sup>49</sup> Aileen Dawson, *English & Irish Delftware 1570-1840* (London: British Museum Press, 2010), p. 28.

‘1677 CR’ and a cup inscribed ‘C2R 1660’, each with a portrait of the monarch (see Plate 45).<sup>50</sup> Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there were also many objects made to commemorate the reign of William and Mary, including a tin-glazed earthenware plate inscribed ‘W M R 1691’ alongside portraits of the couple (see Plate 46).<sup>51</sup>

These loyal dated ceramic wares have always been discussed as commemorative in the literature and are referred to as such on museum websites; yet one of the most intriguing features of these objects is the range of dates present.<sup>52</sup> To take the tin-glazed earthenware cups inscribed with portraits and mottoes connected to Charles II as an example, whilst there are those dated 1660, the year of Charles’ return to the throne, cups in identical designs survive with the years 1661, 1662, and even as late as 1679.<sup>53</sup> This challenges the idea that the cups were straightforwardly commemorative of the Restoration. One curator has suggested that the cup dated 1662 may have commemorated Charles’ marriage, which took place in September of that year, or alternatively was aimed at bolstering royal support in a year when Charles’ popularity was particularly low.<sup>54</sup> However, this would not explain the dates on comparable cups from



Figure 16 - Tin-glazed earthenware plate, London, dated 1614. Victoria and Albert Museum.

<sup>50</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum nos. D.O.C/34 and D.O.C/15.

<sup>51</sup> CTF, Chicago, museum no. D.O.C/8.

<sup>52</sup> For example, see a range of catalogue entries in Lipski and Archer, *Dated English Delftware* and Dawson, *English & Irish Delftware*.

<sup>53</sup> For example, Museum of London, London, museum no. A4578; BM, London, museum no. 1938,0314.108.CR; and Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, museum no. Glaisher 1436-1928.

<sup>54</sup> Dawson, *English & Irish Delftware*, p. 32.

various different years, and again demonstrates the propensity for curators in particular to attempt to provide simple explanations for dates rather than exploring their more diverse meanings. Moreover, alongside these wares which identify a specific monarch, dated tin-glazed earthenware chargers featuring a crown motif as a sign of loyalty to the sovereign began to be produced in the years leading up to the Restoration.<sup>55</sup> They are most common for the period 1657-76 but were still being produced until the early years of the eighteenth century, throughout the years of the unpopular monarch James II.<sup>56</sup> This suggests that rather than expressing loyalty to a specific monarch or commemorating a specific event, they instead showed support to the crown more broadly as an institution.

Meanwhile two more examples of dated royal ceramics further support the argument advanced elsewhere in this thesis that such objects were not always made in the year they are dated, as is widely assumed. The first is a tin-glazed earthenware plate made in one of the potteries based in Southwark, London, yet unusually decorated with a depiction of Frederick King of Bohemia and his wife Elizabeth (see Figure 16).<sup>57</sup> Whilst the plate is dated 1614, it could not have been made in that year; it depicts the couple with ten children, the tenth of which was not born until 1627. Indeed, this was most likely the actual year in which the plate was made, since Elizabeth went on to have an eleventh child the following year.<sup>58</sup> Intriguingly, the date is accompanied by a further inscription of a trio of initials, M H M, used to indicate a married couple. This suggests that 1614 may have referred to one of the many significant dates in the long process of marriage, such as a betrothal or wedding date, but the plate could only have been made some 13 years later and was dated retrospectively as a broader celebration of their marriage. The temporality

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<sup>55</sup> For example, Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester, museum no. 1923-227; Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, museum no. 1956-284.

<sup>56</sup> Lipski and Archer, *Dated English Delftware*, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup> V&A, London, museum no. C.38-1928.

<sup>58</sup> Lipski and Archer, *Dated English Delftware*, p. 17.

of this object is therefore very complex; it reflects a stage in the life cycle, a single year in time, but also the collapse of boundaries between past and present.

Further evidence that dated objects may have been acquired retrospectively can be found in a tin-glazed plate, colourfully decorated and dated 1653.<sup>59</sup>

The date seems unusual since it accompanies a full-length portrait of Charles I and his three male heirs (see Figure 17). If made in the year 1653,



*Figure 17 - Tin-glazed earthenware plate, London, dated 1653. Victoria and Albert Museum.*

the plate would be a bold and dangerous declaration of loyalty

to the deceased former monarch and the Stuart line during the Commonwealth, and indeed, in the very year Oliver Cromwell was made Lord Protector. The catalogue entry for this object by the V&A suggests that it demonstrates ‘the latent loyalty to the king that thrived underground during the harsh repression of the Commonwealth period’.<sup>60</sup> However, I would suggest an alternative explanation – that the plate was commissioned retrospectively after Charles II’s Restoration. If made at a later date it would become a powerful statement of the owner’s continued loyalty even throughout the Commonwealth years, particularly with the symbolism present of the continuation of the Stuart line through the portraits of Charles’ male heirs. This plate provides further evidence of the

<sup>59</sup> V&A, London, museum no. C.71-1998.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Dish’, V&A, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O10216/dish-pickleherring-pottery/> (Accessed: 15 December 2018).

polychronicity of domestic objects; not only does it reference a single year in time, as well as looking forward down the Stuart line to the future heirs of the throne, but if it was indeed acquired at a later date it further blurs temporal boundaries by also looking to the past and rewriting the history of that time. In this way a year that had been notable in Cromwell's rise to power was instead repositioned as part of the continuing presence of the Stuart dynasty.

Whilst the tablewares discussed thus far in this chapter were provided by the host and used to communicate the family's wealth, status, and identity, opportunities for guests themselves to display desired attributes of their identity were made possible through cutlery. The use and ownership of cutlery was still limited in the seventeenth century. Spoons were particularly important in the early seventeenth century as food was often served as a kind of soup or pottage. Although forks had been in use amongst the aristocracy from the sixteenth century, it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that their use became more widespread, and this was likely due to broader changes in the way food was prepared and consumed.<sup>61</sup> Where forks were used before this, they were usually for the preparation of food rather than its consumption - for toasting and carving, for example.<sup>62</sup> Items of cutlery were also highly personal and personalised objects; they were not usually provided by the host but instead an individual would have his or her own spoon, and perhaps knife, and was expected to bring them along to eat.<sup>63</sup> To facilitate this transportation, spoons could be attached to a person's girdles or belts, and were sometimes held in a sheath, examples of which survive.<sup>64</sup> As Victoria Jackson has noted in her study

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<sup>61</sup> Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 106.

<sup>62</sup> Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, p. 142.

<sup>63</sup> Victoria Jackson, 'The Material Culture and Social Practice of Dining in England, c.1550-1670', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham (2014), p. 111.

<sup>64</sup> Peter Brown, *British Cutlery: An Illustrated History of Its Design, Evolution and Use* (London: Philip Wilson, 2001), p. 12.



of the material culture of dining in this period, ‘by connecting them to their bodies, people created a clear bond between the utensil and a person’s identity and appearance’.<sup>65</sup>

This intensely personal relationship with cutlery was furthered by a high degree of personalisation through dates, initials, use of material, and other aspects of design. This was useful to identify ownership, particularly when these items were constantly moving in and out of the house, but it also allowed for the showcase of taste, status, and wealth.<sup>66</sup> Despite their individuality though, cutlery with sentimental meaning could also be passed down and used by subsequent generations of family members. Spoons frequently occur in wills, particularly silver examples, whilst the antiquary Reverend William Cole remarked in August 1766 that the set of his father’s ‘old solid Silver Knives & Forks’ had become ‘almost worn out: as they have been in daily use with me these 30 years, & as long perhaps with my Father’.<sup>67</sup> The inscription of names and significant dates on these items marked them out as family heirlooms and their intimate personal connection with former owners made them powerful transmitters of memory.

One example of a highly customised knife and fork set inscribed with the name Samuel Widley and the date 1694 demonstrates both the intensely personalised nature of cutlery as well as its function of display (see Plate 47). The acquisition of this cutlery set at the end of the seventeenth century explains the presence of a fork rather than a spoon – as noted above, forks only became more widespread in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The portability and personalisation of Wildey’s cutlery is demonstrated in several features of its design. First the steel blade and prongs of the set fold down to allow for easy transportation, whilst the set is held together in an accompanying leather travel case,

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<sup>65</sup> Jackson, ‘The Material Culture and Social Practice of Dining’, p. 111.

<sup>66</sup> Victoria Avery, Melissa Calaresu, and Mary Laven, *Treasured Possessions: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2015), p. 214.

<sup>67</sup> William Cole, *The Blecheley Diary of the Rev. William Cole, 1765-67* Francis Griffin Stokes (ed.) (London: Constable, 1931), p. 79

thought to be original. Meanwhile the handles have been made from tortoiseshell, which was a very fashionable material at this time and alone would have ensured Wildey's cutlery was eye-catching. To make the set stand out even more though, both items have been inscribed in the equally fashionable technique of silver piqué with the name and date. Wildey came from a wealthy family of Stepney, London, which explains the expense required for such a fine set of cutlery. He would have been about 15 at the time of their purchase and as such the set was perhaps given as a gift to mark an apprenticeship.<sup>68</sup> In 1703 Wildey is recorded acting as steward at the Stepney Feast, where the use of such a costly and individualised set of cutlery would undoubtedly have made him stand out from the crowd, expressing his status, taste, wealth, and movement through the life cycle as he took the important steps towards establishing himself in a trade.<sup>69</sup> This cutlery set therefore reflected on, and moved through, multiple systems of time: from the single year in linear time pinpointed on it, to the cyclical time of the life cycle, as well as the anticipation of future occasions of fine dining when the cutlery would be used and this year in time displayed, reflecting the interplay between past, present, and future.

Whilst Wildey's cutlery may have marked an apprenticeship, it was also customary to give a pair of matching knives, or a knife and fork set, as a courtship gift. Such tokens gave material proof of a promise made and therefore reified the betrothal. Given the centrality of dining rituals to the life of the household at this time and the communication of its identity, cutlery was a particularly appropriate choice to mark the first steps in establishing a new household. As Jackson has argued, 'the pair of utensils themselves symbolized the bride and groom coming together to form a wedded and...sexual union.' The design and decoration of some surviving sets of cutlery show they were made to

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<sup>68</sup> Jackson, 'The Material Culture and Social Practice of Dining', p. 109.

<sup>69</sup> I am grateful to Angela McShane for access to her research on Wildey for the forthcoming *Marking Time* Yale Centre for British Art exhibition and catalogue.

signal this fundamental moment in a household's life cycle. A knife in the V&A collection is comprised of a steel blade and carved ivory handle depicting the figure of a woman baring one breast and carrying a swaddled baby (see Plate 48).<sup>70</sup> It is engraved 'M Froman' alongside the date 1687. Although only this single knife survives in the V&A collection, it was likely once part of a pair, or a knife and fork set. If so, its pair may well have depicted a male figure to accompany its female counterpart. The primary function of the household was to establish a lineage and this knife symbolises this defining role in its portrayal of a mother and baby. Its acquisition on the occasion of a betrothal in 1687 would have symbolised the formation of a new household and the anticipation of progeny to whom this knife would eventually be passed on. Like Wildey's cutlery set discussed above, this knife was therefore a polychronic object, referring in the first instance to a specific date and key moment within the life cycle, but then taking on new meanings as this year in time became 'past' and it looked towards the future lineage represented through its carved representation of a mother and child.

A further temporal dimension to this object can be found in its materiality. Ivory was a particularly fashionable material for making carved cutlery handles in this period and many examples survive depicting human figures. Other popular materials for decorating cutlery include tortoiseshell, amber, bone, and horn. A pair of wedding knives with an accompanying embroidered sheath again in the V&A's collection have carved amber and ivory handles depicting a male and female bust (see Plate 49).<sup>71</sup> They are inscribed 'Anna Micklethwait' on one handle and 'ANNO 1638' on the other and were most likely given to mark the betrothal or marriage of Anna in that year. It is noteworthy that natural materials like these that were derived from animals were particularly coveted. This was undoubtedly

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<sup>70</sup> V&A, London, museum no. 523-1893.

<sup>71</sup> V&A, London, museum no. M.12 to B-1950.

partly for prestige. These materials were luxurious and precious substances signalling the elite status of the owner. They were also exotic materials, which would have demonstrated power, prestige and an ability to participate in global networks. There were of course also practical reasons why such materials were selected; they were waterproof, light, and hard enough to allow carving. However, there may have also been wider symbolic associations with the materials making them particularly appropriate for marriage cutlery. Materials like bone, shell, and horn are organic substances that grow in layers throughout the lifetime of the animal. Once removed from the animal, they can degrade, and the method of preparing these materials sometimes relied on these natural processes, as rotting removed the core. As such, if they were not prepared or preserved properly, for example if buried in the ground, they would decompose.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps part of the appeal of using an organic, animal material was its ability to mimic the natural life cycles of the household, as these substances would grow, flourish, and eventually return to the earth. Their use in domestic objects used to signal the establishment of a family line reflected the household's role in providing a framework for the natural cycles of birth, marriage, and death. These materials also symbolised the power of time over the material world and would have been particularly potent signifiers of the natural passages of time.

As well as marriage, other major life cycle events were also customarily celebrated with the gift of cutlery. As discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, spoons were typically given as baptismal gifts, particularly by godparents. Several spoons survive with dated inscriptions engraved onto them, which indicate they may have been given for this purpose.<sup>73</sup> One particularly fine silver and parcel gilt spoon in the British Museum's collection is engraved on the back of the bowl with the year 1613, as well as scrolls to add

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<sup>72</sup> Adele Schaverien, *Horn: Its History and Its Uses* (Melbourne: Adele Schaverien, 2006), pp. 43, 1.

<sup>73</sup> Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 106.

further decoration (see Plate 50).<sup>74</sup> The handle of the spoon meanwhile terminates in a seal-top, which has been engraved with the letters RE and WB. Other dated spoons include one inscribed ‘1689 GW GB’, another, ‘GD TS 1681’, and one inscribed ‘1677/WR/WR’, all on the reverse.<sup>75</sup> The initials and dates on these spoons suggest they may have been given as a gift from a parent or godparent to a child, and the placing of the decoration is particularly significant. In this period spoons were typically laid face down on the table, so by placing the inscriptions on the reverse the date would have been visible to other dinner guests and would have clearly identified these costly crafted objects as belonging to their owner.<sup>76</sup>

Like tablewares, cutlery therefore had powerful associations with the identity of the family and helped to condition the experience of time in the home. These objects were symbolic both of the establishment of the household through marriage and its extension through birth. Outside of these extraordinary occasions these objects were also used and displayed at predefined moments of the day, shaping everyday experiences of time. Their presence at mealtimes was particularly significant, as these were occasions in which the identity of the household was communicated to an audience both through practices of hospitality and the pieces selected to adorn the table, which would be handled, interacted with, and likely talked about during the meal. Meanwhile bringing their own cutlery to the table provided an opportunity for guests to communicate both their individual and collective identity within the group at these gatherings, with dated examples helping to intersect their timelines with those of their wider family, friends, and kin. Overall the objects discussed in this section further demonstrate the coexistence of many different kinds of temporality in the home; of a single moment in linear time pinpointed by the date,

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<sup>74</sup> BM, London, museum no. AF.3085.

<sup>75</sup> All three spoons at CTF, Chicago, museum nos. D.O.M/123, D.O.M/124, D.O.M/125.

<sup>76</sup> I am grateful to Angela McShane for this observation.

the natural and social cycles of the day and the life cycle, and the diachronic trajectory of an object as it passes through different times, contexts, and owners. The religious images and mottos found on some of these wares add a further temporal dimension to this polychronicity, as they also signal the eternal time of the spiritual realm.

#### **IV) Objects for Drinking**

The tablewares discussed above demonstrate the importance of mealtimes for the early modern household. They were significant opportunities for display and for the provision of hospitality - a key social ritual for middling and elite groups in this period since it allowed for the forging of networks through the provision of nourishment. It has been shown that many surviving dated tablewares may have been given as gifts to mark important rites of passage in the life cycle, and the selection of dining objects in particular to perform this function was significant because of its connection to hospitality. As Heal has argued, the giving of gifts surrounding food was directly associated with the practice of commensality and even if such objects were not actually used in the sharing of food, they symbolised such sharing.<sup>77</sup> The significance of food gifts in expressing communal bonds is further evident in decorative drinking wares, many examples of which survive with dates.

Posset pots provide the focus of this section, with their design actively facilitating sharing. These pots clearly demonstrate the importance of conviviality to the wider meaning of both their acquisition and use, and more specifically, their temporal references. Dated examples survive in large numbers, most likely because these were wares used for special occasions and given as gifts, which meant they were less likely to be broken or discarded. Of the extant dated examples, the greater proportion are of tin-glazed

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<sup>77</sup> Heal, 'Food Gifts'.

earthenware, with at least forty-eight pots surviving in this material.<sup>78</sup> A further nine however are made from darker, lead-glazed earthenware. The earliest is dated 1631, but most of the pots are dated in the latter half of the seventeenth century. These pots were used for the consumption of posset, a warm, restorative drink made with wine, eggs, sugar, cream, and spices.<sup>79</sup> The mixture ideally separated so that the liquid bottom half could be drunk, whilst the crust that formed on top would then be eaten with a spoon. Most posset pots have one or two spouts that, unlike teapots, attach at the base, acting as a straw to facilitate sucking up the liquid in the lower half. Posset pots also feature two handles on either side to enable them to be passed around easily at a gathering, and indeed, posset was often consumed communally. A number of pots which have been termed ‘posset pots’ do not have spouts but do have multiple handles and were most likely intended for this or similar semi-liquid foods such as syllabubs; one undated later lead-glazed earthenware pot from Staffordshire confirms that vessels of this design were intended for posset with the inscription ‘Robart Pool Mad This Cup And With A Gud Posset Fil’ (see Figure 18).<sup>80</sup>



*Figure 18 - Lead-glazed earthenware posset pot, Staffordshire, seventeenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum.*

<sup>78</sup> This is based on my own database of dated posset pots found in national and regional museums, as well as further examples from private collections, documented in Lipski and Archer, *Dated English Delftware*.

<sup>79</sup> Examples of contemporary recipes can be found in *The Closet of Sir Kenelme Digbie Opened* (London, 1669), pp. 131-5; and Hannah Woolley, *The Queen-Like Closet* (London, 1675), pp. 92-3.

<sup>80</sup> V&A, London, museum no. C.24-1949. See also Lipski and Archer, *Dated English Delftware*, p. 200 on definitions of posset pots.

The cost of these pots is difficult to ascertain. Posset pots rarely feature in inventories. This may have been because they were valued in bulk alongside other ceramic objects. However, since surviving examples demonstrate they could be highly decorated and associated with key life cycle events, their absence in inventories may be because they were given to family members as inheritance pieces before death.<sup>81</sup> Vessels used for the consumption of caudle, an associated warm, spiced drink, do appear in inventories however. Bristol inventories record several entries of ‘caudle cups’, yet all are explicitly listed as made in silver except one which appears alongside another silver object and was therefore also likely to have been so itself.<sup>82</sup> The silver caudle cups are valued alongside other objects, so it is impossible to know their individual worth. Moreover, there is little wider evidence for the cost of English ‘delftware’ or tin-glazed earthenware more generally. Yet one document written for tax purposes and dated 4 April 1696 does give prices for five different kinds of pottery. Under ‘Fine Painted Wares’, ‘Fine large Sillibub potts painted & Cawdell Potts’ are valued between 6d and 2s 6d. Plain, undecorated wares meanwhile are valued much lower.<sup>83</sup> Overall then it is likely that, although there was an element of expense involved in the production of English ‘delft’ due to it requiring two rounds of firing, ceramic posset pots were likely to have been widely available to middling and elite consumers.

Posset is found frequently in household medical literature and was recommended as a cure for a range of complaints such as colds and flus because of its purported restorative qualities. No less than eight complaints are said to be cured with a posset in *Queen*

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<sup>81</sup> Lena Cowen Orlin, ‘Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory’ in Henry Turner (ed.), *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 51–84 (pp. 65–7).

<sup>82</sup> Edwin George and Stella George (eds.), *Bristol Probate Inventories* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 53, 75, 127, 130, 146, 185.

<sup>83</sup> Geoffrey Wills, ‘English Pottery in 1696: An Unpublished Document’, *Apollo*, 85 (1967), pp. 436–43 (p. 443).



*Elizabeths closset of physical secrets*, including agues but also bruises and measles.<sup>84</sup> One writer in 1665 even included a recipe for ‘A Posset Drink to remove the Plague from the Heart’ made with strong ale.<sup>85</sup> Due to its restorative function, posset was also a drink consumed at communal gatherings and social rituals, notably at weddings. Several texts refer to posset being drunk at the ‘bedding ritual’, which occurred at the end of the wedding night, when the couple had retired to their chamber to be put to bed by their family, friends, and local community.<sup>86</sup> In the late seventeenth-century broadside ballad, ‘A Merry Wedding’, it is only after ‘the Cook brought the sack-posset/[and] The Bride-pye was brought forth’ that the guests agreed to depart the bed chamber, much to the couple’s relief.<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile another song features a man who tries to convince his beloved to agree to marry him, with promises that, amongst other things, their friends ‘Shall eat posset at our Bedding’.<sup>88</sup> It may also have been its link to childbirth practices and therefore fertility that made it a particularly symbolic drink to give a couple at their bedding, yet according to the author of *The Pleasures of Matrimony* (1688), the ingredients of the posset were also particularly beneficial for the carnal activities of the wedding night. Sack posset was ‘the Wedding nights old Friend and humble Servant...an Ancient Custom of the English Matrons, who believe that Sack will make a man lusty, and Sugar will make him kind.’<sup>89</sup>

Aside from the bedding ritual, posset was evidently consumed more widely at weddings; many surviving dated posset pots were likely made to commemorate these

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<sup>84</sup> A. M., *Queen Elizabeths Closset of Physical Secrets, with Certain Approved Medicines ...Collected by the Elaborate Paines of Four Famos Physitians, and Presented to Queen Elizabeths Own Hands*. (London, 1656).

<sup>85</sup> ‘Londons Lord Have Mercy Upon Us. A True Revelation of seven modern Plagues or Visitations in London’ (Edinburgh, 1665).

<sup>86</sup> David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 375-6.

<sup>87</sup> ‘A Merry Wedding: Or, O Brave Arthur of Bradly’ (London, c.1693). EBBA ID: 33784. This is a later version of a mid-seventeenth-century ballad with the same name, but varying lyrics.

<sup>88</sup> A. B., *Covent Garden Drolery, or A Colection of All the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues, (sung and Spoken at Courts and Theaters) Never in Print Before*. (London, 1672), p. 66.

<sup>89</sup> *The Pleasures of Matrimony* (London, 1688), p. 60.

events and then would have been subsequently displayed in the home and possibly used at future gatherings. A letter from Sir James Forbes to Lady Rachel Russell in 1693 described a large society wedding he had witnessed at Belvoir, at which he witnessed ‘the preparations for the sack posset, which was the most extraordinary thing I did ever see’.<sup>90</sup> The posset was served following the feast, from a ‘great cistern...first in spoons, some time after in silver cups’; such was its scale that ‘though the healths were many, and great variety of names given to them, it was observed after one hour’s hot service, the posset did not sink above one inch’.<sup>91</sup> It was likely because posset was believed to have beneficial nourishing properties that it was seen to be such an appropriate beverage to be offered at such ritual gatherings, closely linked to the offering of food stuffs to kin and neighbours at the core of ideas about hospitality. Moreover, communal drinking was directly associated with oath-taking and promise making in this period, and so the consumption of alcoholic beverages from multi-handled vessels such as these by members of the parties involved was highly appropriate for occasions such as betrothals and marriages.<sup>92</sup>

Whilst elites may have been able to afford fine silver posset pots or great cisterns such as that at the Belvoir wedding, less expensive ceramic versions were also available for middling consumers. The inscriptions and imagery found on some of these pots emphasises their use as love tokens or at marriage celebrations, where the pot would be passed around the company and then given to the couple as a material expression and reminder of the occasion.<sup>93</sup> At least twenty-one dated seventeenth-century examples survive with the triad of initials associated with a marriage, whilst several others suggest

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<sup>90</sup> Lady Rachel Russell, *Letters of Lady Rachel Russell* (London, 1793), p. 555.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Angela McShane, ‘Material Culture and ‘Political Drinking’ in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past & Present*, 222 (2014), pp. 247–76. McShane’s article is particularly interesting for pointing to the associations of the shared cup for loyal oath-taking with the sharing of the Protestant Communion cup (p. 262).

<sup>93</sup> Avery, Calaresu, and Laven, *Treasured Possessions*, p. 178; Ivan Day (ed.), *Eat, Drink & Be Merry: The British at Table, 1600-2000* (London: Philip Wilson, 2000), p. 22.

they were given as love tokens or to mark betrothals. For example, one tin-glazed posset pot bears the inscription ‘William Carter And Ann The Love I O And Cannot Showe 1651’, whilst two others survive reading, ‘The Best Is Not Too Good For You’, with dates 1692 and 1697 respectively.<sup>94</sup> Another pot decorated with Chinese figures and landscapes in imitation of Ming porcelain is dated 1685 alongside the triad initials ‘T/CA’, and is accompanied by a stand with the same initials but the date 1686 (see Plate 51).<sup>95</sup> This suggests that perhaps the posset pot was made at the time of the couple’s betrothal, with the stand made a year later at the time of their wedding, again emphasising how marriage was envisioned more as a long, drawn-out process rather than a single event. Indeed, the stand is decorated with imagery of a man and woman in European dress who were perhaps intended to represent the couple.<sup>96</sup>

These pots reflect the layered temporality of the household. In the first instance they were made to be used at, and commemorated, a specific occasion in time. Yet after this initial, extraordinary occasion passed, their temporality shifted to reflect longer passages of time. Their survival suggests they were intended to be displayed or even used in the home throughout the lifetime of the couple, after which they were circulated to future generations as a piece of family history which was specifically pinpointed by the date. This was evidently the case for the 1692 pot described above, which forms part of the Glaisher Collection at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Glaisher traced the origins of the pot to a family of Lancashire farmers. It had been passed down as a treasured family heirloom and still retained great sentimental value - Glaisher noted that before he was able

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<sup>94</sup> The first is in a private collection but recorded in Lipski and Archer, *Dated English Delftware*, pl. 891. The latter two pots both in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, museum nos. C.286 & A-1928 and C.248-1928.

<sup>95</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, C.1504 & A-1928.

<sup>96</sup> See also the entry on this pot in Avery *et al*, *Treasured Possessions*, p. 191.

to purchase it a friend of his had first spotted it in a house in Ireland and noted that ‘it was a family piece and they would not part with it’.<sup>97</sup>

Two unusual posset pots provide striking examples of how dated wares might be used to commemorate betrothals or marriages. Both are coated in a yellowish lead-glaze, and were made in Barnstaple, North Devon. The first, now in the British Museum’s collection, is dated 1682 alongside an inscription etched into the pot reading, ‘Com Sit a doun and merry bee and think my masters Curtesee’ (see Plate 52).<sup>98</sup> The main decoration of the pot is comprised of four groups of moulded couples, man and woman, in high relief. Each couple is in period dress and is holding hands, suggestive of a dance. The second pot, dated 1687, meanwhile also has four dancing couples moulded in between its two spouts and two handles, but in place of the lengthier inscription simply has two sets of initials, IH and IR.<sup>99</sup> These initials were possibly those of a couple who were betrothed to be married. The inscription on the first pot and the decoration of both are suggestive of a lively and merry gathering befitting of a wedding. Indeed, whilst the British Museum pot is slightly damaged and has unfortunately lost its lid, the 1687 pot has retained its boldly decorated lid with a large moulded figure of a fiddler playing the music to which the couples dance. Research by Alison Grant on the latter pot has shown that the only wedding near Barnstaple of a couple with those initials to occur soon after 1687 was between John Hammett and Judith Rice at Fremington on 4 September 1689. The posset pot may have therefore been made to mark their betrothal. The Bridegroom's father was Pentecost Hammett who is thought to have been a potter, and was at the very least associated with William Oliver, a prolific potter from the area. There were also a family of potters called

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<sup>97</sup> Quoted in Avery *et al*, *Treasured Possessions*, p. 178.

<sup>98</sup> BM, London, museum no. 1928,0423.1.CR.

<sup>99</sup> Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.

Rice living in Fremington later, and possibly at that time as well.<sup>100</sup> There were therefore links between the couple and the pottery industry in that area, which would explain why such an unusual pot was made for them but does not appear to have been available more widely.

Alongside betrothal and marriage rituals, a warming posset was also consumed at festive occasions around Christmas and New Year.<sup>101</sup> In his catalogue of English ceramics, published in 1874, Llewellyn Jewitt recorded local customs surrounding posset in Derbyshire and the neighbouring counties, where it had been tradition to serve up a posset for supper on Christmas Eve. A small silver coin or wedding-ring was also dropped into the posset, and whoever found it once the pot was passed round was said to have good luck for the coming year. Jewitt stated that the posset pot ‘was thus used but once a year, and often became an heirloom in the family’.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, the popularity of posset around Christmas is supported by contemporary references which demonstrate that the drink was a tradition around Twelfth Night. On 5 January 1659/60, Samuel Pepys was greatly disappointed when, ‘there being a great frost’, he went to visit a friend ‘in expectation to eat a sack posset but Mr. Edward not coming it was put off’.<sup>103</sup> Pepys’ reference to posset here is particularly interesting because it suggests the drink would have been appropriate even without full company, emphasising its ability to symbolise community even in its absence. Meanwhile on 6 January 1667/8 Pepys recorded that during a lively evening of singing and dancing at his home he also provided his guests with ‘a good sack posset’.<sup>104</sup> It

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<sup>100</sup> A. Grant, *North Devon Pottery: The Seventeenth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1983), p. 58.

<sup>101</sup> For more on the material culture associated with New Year celebrations, and in particular the use of drinking wares, see my article, ‘Marking the New Year: Dated Objects and the Materiality of Time in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 6 (2017), pp. 89–111.

<sup>102</sup> Llewellyn Jewitt, *The Ceramic Art of Great Britain from Pre-Historic Times Down to the Present Day* (London, 1878), vol. 1, p. 108.

<sup>103</sup> Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.) (London: Bell & Hyman, 1985), vol. 1, p. 9.

<sup>104</sup> Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 9, pp. 12-3.

is possible that some posset pots may have been given as gifts at New Year. One example in the Fitzwilliam Museum has a date specifically around the festive period, inscribed ‘December the 2 M’ and below ‘A BOOL TO FEEL Y’, likely meaning, ‘A bowl to fill you’.<sup>105</sup> The use of these objects once a year around Christmas time would have conditioned the material and social experience of the passage of the year and emphasised these natural cycles of time. Moreover, if they were given as gifts then the dates also commemorated the wider networks within which their owners operated, pinpointing these friendships in time for posterity.

A related category of wares are the drinking vessels known as ‘tygs’. The name refers to a kind of mug with three or four sets of handles, which are again suggestive of communal drinking since the multiple handles both symbolised multiple users as well as allowing the mug to be passed easily around a gathering (see Plate 53). The term ‘tyg’ is not a contemporary one but seems to have been coined by antiquarians in the nineteenth century, and is now used widely in curatorial or connoisseurial contexts to refer to this particular type of vessel.<sup>106</sup> The vast majority of surviving seventeenth-century tygs were made in the Wrotham pottery in Kent, which appears to have specialised in this particular type of ware; of the fifty-six surviving dated tygs that I have recorded for this period, forty-nine can be identified as having been made at Wrotham. The Wrotham tygs are all made of lead-glazed earthenware and are slip-decorated, and nearly all surviving examples are dated. Most are straight-sided with four sets of double or triple looped handles, dating between 1612 and 1699, but some later Wrotham tygs also survive in globular form. As well as their recognisable shape and design, the Wrotham tygs are further identifiable by their makers who, alongside the date the object was made, also include their own initials

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<sup>105</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, museum no. C.107 & A & B-1928.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Tyg’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2017), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/208279?redirectedFrom=tyg> (Accessed: 2 May 2017).

on the vessels. Five makers have been identified as working in this pottery, although the maker of pots inscribed 'IE' is still unknown.<sup>107</sup> A small number of wares from this pottery are also inscribed with the word 'WROTHAM'.<sup>108</sup>

Alongside inscriptions of initials and dates, the tygs are also decorated with pads of white clay onto which a variety of relief-moulded designs have been applied. Many of these are clearly inspired by heraldry, including shields-of-arms, fleurs-de-lis, and rampant lions. Most interesting however is the application of designs that were evidently copied directly from continental wares, namely the imported Rhenish stoneware bottles of the mid to late seventeenth century also known as Bartmann jugs. These include the arms of Amsterdam and bearded faces. David Gaimster has suggested that such motifs would have been taken directly from the bottles by applying pads of clay to the relief ornament on the stoneware bottles to create a negative mould, which could then be used to apply decoration to the tygs.<sup>109</sup>

The majority of Wrotham wares are now part of the Glaisher collection at the Fitzwilliam Museum.<sup>110</sup> In 1907/8 Dr Glaisher undertook excavations at Borough Green, the village in Wrotham where the potteries are believed to have been located. Glaisher was attempting to locate waste examples of the slipwares, yet despite finding a large quantity of pottery waste, little slipware was found amongst it. This suggests that the slip decorated vessels made at Wrotham like the dated tygs were not only special commemorative pieces

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<sup>107</sup> The Wrotham potters who have been identified are John Livermore, Henry Ifield, John Eaglestone, Nicholas Hubble, and George Richardson. More information on these potters can be found in A. J. Kiddell, 'Wrotham Slipware and the Wrotham Brickyard', *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, 3 (1954), pp. 105–18.

<sup>108</sup> For example, a jug in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, by George Richardson, inscribed 'TM 1656 GR IE WROTHAM', museum no. C.130-1928.

<sup>109</sup> Ian Freestone and David Gaimster, 'Regional Decorative Traditions in English Post-Medieval Slipware' in Ian Freestone and David Gaimster (eds), *Pottery in the Making: World Ceramic Traditions* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), pp. 128–33 (p. 129).

<sup>110</sup> For more on the Glaisher collection see Bernard Rackham, *Catalogue of the Glaisher Collection of Pottery & Porcelain in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1987).

for which the failure rate was low, but also that they made up only a very small percentage of the total output of the pottery, despite their survival rates now.<sup>111</sup> We can infer then that the dated tygs were intended for use on special occasions, rather than on a daily basis. Indeed, the inscriptions of marriage initials on many of the tygs implies that, like the posset pots, they were also given as gifts. One tyg made by George Richardson, inscribed with his initials alongside ‘MH 1642’ is thought to have been made as a love token or betrothal gift for his future wife Mary Hubble, who he married the following year.<sup>112</sup> If we follow Heal’s interpretation of food gifts as symbolising collective bonds alongside McShane’s analysis of shared drinking vessels used to cement promises and oaths, giving the gift of a dated drinking vessel like a tyg could act to both symbolise the extension of social ties and give physical expression to, and thereby reify, the occasion of a promise made. Dates undoubtedly played an important authenticating role on these objects and were part of the wider administrative culture middling users would have been familiar with. Dates were used on legal documents to prevent disputes and to validate the document, and given the increasing involvement of the middling sorts in administrative and legal activities in their localities, it is likely these cultures of dating permeated different areas of life.<sup>113</sup> For example, the role of middling members of society in compiling probate inventories for their neighbours or witnessing wills, both types of document requiring dates, may have given them a sense that dates provided an authenticating quality, which they then extended to other practices.<sup>114</sup> Dating a betrothal

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<sup>111</sup> See John Ashdown, ‘Seventeenth-Century Pottery from Wrotham, Kent’, *Kent Archaeological Review*, 14 (1968), pp. 133-7.

<sup>112</sup> Recorded in the list of Wrotham wares compiled by Kiddell in ‘Wrotham Slipwares’, p. 114.

<sup>113</sup> See Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, chp. 5.

<sup>114</sup> For more on the practice of drawing up wills and inventories in this period, see Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans, and Nigel Goose, eds., *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford: Leopard’s Head Press, 2000).



gift therefore provided further proof that the couple were entering into a contractual arrangement.

Mealtimes were occasions of great significance to the seventeenth-century household. As moments when the family and the domestic interior were on display to a wider audience, mealtimes provided a prime opportunity for communicating carefully selected information about the identity of the household. This was achieved through the use and display of symbolic tablewares intended to spark mealtime conversation, and this chapter has shown how with the rise of the domestic ceramic industry in the seventeenth century, such objects were frequently made in novel and highly-personalised designs. Dates were part of this customisation, providing a way for guests and their hosts to identify and navigate through significant moments in a family's history, whilst dated wares also indicated the wider social networks of the household. As argued in this chapter, many dated tablewares and drinking wares were likely given as gifts, either to mark extraordinary occasions or at New Year and Christmastime, referring alternatively to the life cycle or the seasonal cycle within the multitemporality of the home. On those occasions when objects were given to mark contractual obligations, the dates had the added ability of providing a sense of authenticity to a promise made.

Dates could also communicate the pious or moral character of the household, alluding to the eternal lives of good Christians. The use of dated wares at convivial occasions would have prompted a reflection on the passage of time and one's own movement through it, particularly when the years recorded on the objects had long since passed. When paired alongside moral inscriptions or references to the fragility of wares, such objects could serve to remind the user even at times of relaxation that their lives too were not permanent, and they should therefore behave appropriately to ensure the

salvation of their soul for eternity. The use of domestic objects and material dating practices to prompt contemplation about one's own position in time will be explored further in the next chapter, which considers how texts were used in the home to record and reflect upon different lives in time.

## CHAPTER 5 – WRITTEN TEMPORALITIES

The final chapter of this thesis looks at how the passage of time was recorded and reflected upon in texts created or used within the household. Three case studies provide the focus of discussion, which views these ‘written temporalities’ as domestic objects that can be examined alongside those analysed in previous chapters. It follows the move in recent years to consider manuscripts, printed books, pamphlets, and other textual documents as ‘material texts’. This body of work emphasises the material qualities of books, which are themselves ‘things’, ‘made by skilled labourers, used and stored alongside other possessions and interacting in diverse ways with readers and users.’<sup>1</sup> This materiality can be explored in different ways. As well as in the outer bindings and coverings, according to Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass the material qualities of the text are also found in the pages themselves, in ‘old typefaces and spellings, irregular line and scene divisions, title pages and other paratextual matter, and textual cruxes’.<sup>2</sup> Space and place are also key. Bruce Smith encourages us to consider how ‘images in the room inform texts in hand’ and introduces the idea of ‘ambient reading’ in which the material fabric of the room in which reading takes place is seen to influence the interpretation of the text.<sup>3</sup> Likewise in her study of women’s reading practices, Helen Smith has considered how and where women read, using a range of didactic and exemplary sources, as well as evidence of actual reading practices, to explore how the space and place of reading was thought to impact upon women’s bodies and minds.<sup>4</sup> Moving away from the printed text itself, William Sherman

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<sup>1</sup> Frances Maguire and Helen Smith, ‘Material Texts’ in Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David Gaimster (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 206–16 (p. 206).

<sup>2</sup> Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, ‘The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 44 (1993), pp. 255–83 (p. 256).

<sup>3</sup> Bruce R. Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things’: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), chp. 5. See also James Daybell on female letter-writers in this period,

meanwhile has focused on ways in which early modern people annotated or marked up their books, as well as adding or removing sheets, highlighting that reading could also be a process of making in itself. Sherman's work is particularly significant for this chapter in reminding us that texts were also domestic artefacts and provided spaces for thought and reflection, as well as record-keeping.<sup>5</sup>

Alongside considering the materiality of texts, changing ideas about the family and the household in the early modern period are another significant dimension of this chapter. However, whilst many important studies have been published on family life in the eighteenth century, with some considering the latter years of the previous century in order to provide the necessary context for this discussion, few examine the seventeenth century in its own right. Particularly notable here is the work of Naomi Tadmor exploring family and kinship ties in eighteenth-century England. Tadmor breaks away from the scholarship of the 1970s that wavered between seeing the eighteenth century as marked by the continuity of the extended family, or as a period of change in which the family became increasingly nuclear. Instead, Tadmor rejects these dichotomies, arguing that the family in this period was both nuclear and extended. As such 'family' meant three different things: a residential unit (the household-family); the lineage-family focused on ancestry; and the extended family unit formed around kinship ties.<sup>6</sup>

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*Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). See also Adam Smyth on the cutting up of books in this period, which presents another kind of material engagement with texts in the home, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chp. 1; and James Daybell on the materiality of letters, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2012).

<sup>6</sup> Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Similarly work by Karen Harvey on male domesticity moves away from the traditional view that the household in the eighteenth century was becoming increasingly private, emphasising instead how it continued to be seen as central to the health of the nation's economy and security. See Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). A further important study is Rafaella Sarti's masterful *Europe at Home*, which explores changing family life and material culture across the early modern period, and across Europe as a whole. The ambitious geographical and chronological scope of Sarti's

Most relevant for this thesis is Tadmor's second definition of 'family', focused around lineage and ancestry; the production of dated objects, including texts, to record key moments in a family's history, and their subsequent circulation to future generations as heirlooms, provided material weight to ideas of legacy and lineage in the seventeenth century. These ideas can also be seen in the work by Susan M. Stabile on family and household in eighteenth-century America. In *Memory's Daughters*, Stabile considers how, with men taking control of public memory, women took responsibility for domestic memory, recording and circulating genealogies in print and manuscripts, some of which were intended as family heirlooms.<sup>7</sup> Whilst a woman authored only one of the texts considered in this chapter, the use of texts made or read in the seventeenth-century domestic environment to record the passage of time and to pinpoint oneself or one's family within time is at the heart of discussion in this final section of the thesis.

This chapter begins by exploring the miscellany produced in 1608 by Thomas Trevelyon, who, by copying and piecing together existing calendars and timelines, adhered to more conventional representations of time. In contrast it will then move on to examine the 'diary' made by Elizabeth Isham, begun around 1639, which establishes a much more personal connection with time as Isham creates her own format for recording her life. The final case study of this chapter looks at the 1639 prayer book of Isaac Walton, which was used to record important dates in the family's timeline. It discusses this object in conjunction with other domestic dating practices in the Walton household, namely the dated furniture that Isaac himself commissioned. As such it re-examines themes about the

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work necessarily means it does not pick out the nuances of everyday life in seventeenth-century England; nevertheless, it continues to provide an important basis for any discussion of family life and material culture during this period. Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> Susan Stabile, *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (London: Cornell University Press, 2004).

representation of time and the calendar discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, as well as the use of furniture to mark time discussed in Chapter 2. It is argued here that written temporalities further demonstrate the malleability of time in this period, as it could be moulded to fit different agendas. This experimentation with textual representations of time in the home further blurred temporal boundaries between past, present, and future, as well as between the immediate and the eternal.

#### **I) Thomas Trevelyon's 'Miscellany' and 'Great Book'**

The first case study focuses on two seventeenth-century manuscripts produced by Thomas Trevelyon.<sup>8</sup> The first, known as the 'Miscellany', is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.<sup>9</sup> Completed by Trevelyon in 1608, it comprises 654 brightly coloured pages pertaining to a range of topics from the Kings and Queens of England and Scotland, biblical figures, sins and virtues, to more practical information like distances from London to major towns. Trevelyon also included an array of temporal and calendrical information. As well as a double-page spread dedicated to each month of the year featuring almanac-style tables of temporal and astrological data, there are also pages providing a whole range of practical information related to time or the movement of the planets. These include, but are not limited to, rules to calculate feast days or term dates, a table of Sundays or leap years, as well as a method for calculating the time at night based on the aspect of the moon. Yet Trevelyon was not the original author of this information. Instead, all of these pages were copied from a wide range of different sources, as were the many illustrations

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<sup>8</sup> A third manuscript by Trevelyon, produced c.1603, has also been identified recently in the Special Collection of University College London, MS Ogden 24. It is much smaller and was possibly his first attempt at compiling a miscellany.

<sup>9</sup> For a facsimile of this book, see Thomas Trevelyon, *The Trevelyon Miscellany of 1608: A Facsimile of Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.232*, Heather Wolfe (ed.) (Washington, D.C: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2007).

he added alongside this information.<sup>10</sup> Yet the arrangement of the material and Trevelyon's colouring-in of all the imagery and border decorations makes the 'Miscellany' uniquely his own. Indeed, Trevelyon provides a compelling case study with which to open this chapter on written temporalities because he reproduced established ideas about time whilst at the same time creating his own. On the one hand Trevelyon subscribed to conventional ideas of time by copying out calendars, chronologies, or computations from other sources. Yet on the other hand he also refashioned these himself, amalgamating a variety of different calendrical sources into one - for example, by adding or subtracting information according to his own understanding of time and what attributes of it were important. In this way Trevelyon experimented with ideas and representations of time as much as he reproduced them.

Trevelyon himself is somewhat of an enigma. In her introduction to the facsimile of the 'Miscellany', Heather Wolfe has noted that his surname suggests he was originally from Cornwall or Devon, although it is generally assumed he lived in London at the time he created his 'Miscellany' because of the access he evidently had to a wide range of printed sources. The inclusion of ornate alphabets and detailed patterns for embroidery meanwhile indicates he may have worked as a craftsman of some sort.<sup>11</sup> Some eight years after Trevelyon finished this manuscript, he completed another, even longer version, referred to as the 'Great Booke', which is now housed in the private library at the Wormsley estate, Buckinghamshire.<sup>12</sup> This reproduced much of the content of the

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<sup>10</sup> 'Word & Image: The Trevelyon Miscellany of 1608' (2015), [https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/Word\\_%26\\_Image:\\_The\\_Trevelyon\\_Miscellany\\_of\\_1608](https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/Word_%26_Image:_The_Trevelyon_Miscellany_of_1608) (Accessed: 28 November 2018).

<sup>11</sup> Heather Wolfe, 'A user's guide to the Trevelyon miscellany of 1608' in Trevelyon, *The Trevelyon Miscellany of 1608*, pp. 1-12 (p. 9).

<sup>12</sup> For the facsimile of this book, see Thomas Trevilian, *The Great Book of Thomas Trevilian: A Facsimile of the Manuscript in the Wormsley Library*, Nicolas Barker (ed.) (London: Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 2000).

‘Miscellany’ but was rearranged and greatly extended, running to some 1049 pages. Whilst many pages look identical at first glance, on closer inspection it is clear that in fact none are total matches.<sup>13</sup> The ‘Great Booke’ provides us with a few more clues about Trevelyon. He tells us that he was sixty-eight years old when he finished it and dates its completion to 12<sup>th</sup> September 1616. This places Trevelyon’s birth around 1548 and his age at the time of the production of the ‘Miscellany’ in 1608 to sixty years old. Trevelyon also describes his motivation for creating his ‘Great Booke’, and by extension, the ‘Miscellany’ of 1608. He writes, ‘The matter handled in this booke is three folde, historicall, propheticall, and evangelicall, the first teacheth examples, the second manners, and the laste a spirituall and heavenly institution’. Wolfe concludes that his primary purpose was therefore didactic and mnemonic.<sup>14</sup>

The opening two leaves of the ‘Miscellany’ are missing, so it is unclear how Trevelyon wished the book to begin. The first page we are met with now however is ‘A briefe computation of the time: Compleat within this present yeere 1608’.<sup>15</sup> This timeline shows the years that have elapsed since major events in world history, spanning from the creation of the world 5570 years previously, up until ‘The campe at Tilbury in Essex’. In between, the computation records a diverse range of events, from astrological calamities (‘the whole heavens seemed to burn with fire’) to the birth of Christ, combining both world and national history. Wolfe emphasises how in early modern England knowledge of the past was used as an instructive tool. The cyclical nature of history meant moral or political lessons ought to be drawn from past events. The didactic role of the past in this period has been further emphasised by the historian Daniel Woolf who has argued that, ‘The past was...not *passive*...It was a tool for casting light on the present, through

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<sup>13</sup> Wolfe, ‘A User’s Guide’, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Trevelyon, *Miscellany*, sig. 3r.



precedent, custom, and explanation.’<sup>16</sup> This is exemplified in the work of Trevelyon’s contemporaries like those discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis who compiled chronicles in the aftermath of the Reformation in an attempt to establish a logical, temporal link from England’s mythical foundations to the Protestant present day. As Heather Wolfe concludes, ‘This is the mental world of Thomas Trevelyon: a world where looking to the past was a key means of understanding the future, where faith in the providence of a merciful God was the primary comfort against life’s unpredictability.’<sup>17</sup>

That Trevelyon envisioned both his ‘Miscellany’ and ‘Great Booke’ to function as educational or inspirational tools for future audiences is indicated further by the materiality of these manuscripts. Both are monumental volumes, measuring on average 265mm x 420mm, and are of exceptional length. The ‘Great Booke’ in particular is an incredibly weighty tome and would have been a considerably bulky item in Trevelyon’s home. We can compare these sizable creations to the large, monumental furniture discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. It was argued that those pieces were intended as heirlooms with an instructive function for future generations, and we can see Trevelyon’s manuscripts in a similar light. These were not casual creations but were carefully constructed objects whose durability was key to their wider function. Indeed, the creation of these manuscripts marked the material and temporal transformation of the contents, as Trevelyon took cheap, ephemeral texts and prints and transformed them into something much more permanent, which would ideally outlast him.

Moreover, the pedagogical role of Trevelyon’s manuscripts was a shared characteristic of commonplace books. In *Autobiography in Early Modern England*, Adam Smyth has detailed how these kinds of texts were intended to have a pedagogical

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<sup>16</sup> Daniel Woolf, ‘Afterword: Shadows of the Past in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76 (2013), pp. 639–50 (p. 640).

<sup>17</sup> Wolfe, ‘A User’s Guide’, p. 7.

function.<sup>18</sup> He argues that commonplace books were multigenerational in more than one sense. This could be due to the presence of several hands across time in the compilation of the manuscript, although in Trevelyon's case it is clear his is the only hand present. It could also result from the anticipation of future generations using the book, since there was a 'powerful connection' between commonplacing and improvement, be that moral, spiritual, financial, or other.<sup>19</sup> The inclusion of moralistic quotations or examples from history was intended to inspire a good life. The past could therefore mould the future as compilers 'gathered aphoristic wisdom in order to shape (that is, influence or guide) the life of future readers'.<sup>20</sup> Smyth highlights that in many examples 'this relationship between compiler, text, and future reader' took the form of a father writing to his son whose 'life was there, laid out in the pages of his commonplace book, if he chose to follow it.'<sup>21</sup> Owing to the sparsity of bibliographic information on Trevelyon, we do not know who the intended audience of his books was. However, whether or not it was explicitly intended for his son, or whether it was simply intended for an unknown future reader, this guiding function is clear throughout both texts, in his gathering together of improving remarks, depictions of virtues and vices, and descriptions of inspirational figures from the Bible or history.

As well as the chronicle of world events that opens his 'Miscellany', the didactic possibilities of time are further emphasised by Trevelyon in other pages. Following the monthly calendar and various pages dedicated to practical calculations, Trevelyon moves on to several pages in which he copies out inspirational quotations. These quotations are arranged around the page, running in different directions and placed in or around

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<sup>18</sup> Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 149.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

ornamental designs. Two of the quotations on the first of these pages focuses on time. Both are taken from Thomas Tusser's *Five hundred pointes of good husbandrie*, a source which Trevelyon is particularly fond of, providing a great deal of material for the 'Miscellany'.<sup>22</sup> The first of these offers a reflection on man's relationship with the swift passage of time: 'Time past is forgotten, ere men be aware/time present is thought on, with wonderful care/time coming is feared, and therefore we save/yet oft ere it come, we be gone to the grave'. The second compares the different ages of man to the seasons: 'The yeere I compare as I finde for a trueth/the Spring, Unto childhode, the Sommer to youth/The harvest to manhode, the winter to age/all quickly forgot, as a play on a stage'.<sup>23</sup> Taken together, these quotes provide valuable instruction to the reader about the fleeting nature of time, reminding them to live a good life and not to squander it. This page is followed by another which further emphasises that readers should be aware of their own morality. Moving on to a consideration of ageing, this page includes two sections, also from Tusser, that describe the various stages of life, ending with the ultimate stage, 'to heaven, God send us the way'.<sup>24</sup> There is nothing necessarily unique about Trevelyon copying out these phrases into his 'Miscellany' – as this thesis has shown, mortality and the fleeting nature of time were themes widely expressed in a wide range of media in early modern England, from life writing to material culture. Trevelyon's arrangement of these ideas within his book does serve to further emphasise the point though. By introducing these quotations after a number of pages that contain calendrical information and computations, Trevelyon marries the practical with the ideological. He provides the tools for his readers to monitor their use of time alongside the established wisdom that further encourages this watchfulness.

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<sup>22</sup> Thomas Tusser, *Five hundred pointes of good husbandrie* (London, 1570).

<sup>23</sup> Trevelyon, *Miscellany*, sig. 19r.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. 19v.

Indeed, although in his manuscripts Trevelyon subscribes to conventional narratives and pre-existing depictions of time, he does begin to manipulate his sources to suit his own purposes in the monthly calendar that follows the timeline of world history. At first glance, these pages appear entirely conventional, closely matching the calendars found in almanacs in this period. Each month has a double-page devoted to it. The page on the left-hand side is headed with the name of the month and number of days, followed by a short verse about the qualities or associations specific to that month. January, for example, begins: ‘The yeere both past, and comming on/Janus doth view with doubled face/To shunne sinne present, and to come/God still assist us with his grace’.<sup>25</sup> This is followed by a table detailing sun rise and sun set times, alongside the length of the day, and then another verse which advises on how to treat maladies associated with that month. The rest of this page is given over to a large, coloured illustration pertinent to that month, normally depicting activities associated with that time of year.<sup>26</sup> June, for example, shows sheep being sheered and branded, notably with a large letter ‘T’ playfully personalising the drawing (see Plate 54).<sup>27</sup> On the right-hand side page there is then the calendar for the month, with columns for the prime, day, dominical letter, saints’ days, sunset, ‘Evill dayes’, good days, prognostications, epact, and symbols for red-letter days or astrological signs (see Plate 55). Whilst none of this data is unusual for calendrical tables, particularly those found in almanacs, what is most interesting is that Trevelyon has not simply copied these charts out from a single source but has relied on multiple almanacs. He uses almanacs for 1607 and 1608, and unusually, 1539 as well.<sup>28</sup> Not only this, but Trevelyon

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. 3v.

<sup>26</sup> In the ‘Great Booke’, the table showing the time of sun rise and sunset and the length of the days is omitted from this page. Instead the illustrations, which in some cases show altogether different scenes, are enlarged even further and nearly take up the entire page.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. 8v.

<sup>28</sup> Wolfe, ‘A User’s Guide’, p. 11.

has evidently carefully selected which information he wants to include; he keeps saints' days, but removes any moveable feasts as well as term dates that would customarily be found in almanacs at this time.<sup>29</sup> In this way Trevelyon is able to make the calendars in his 'Miscellany' perpetual; rather than being specific to a certain year, the calendar could therefore be used continuously for years to come. This marks a key difference between Trevelyon's calendar and those found in almanacs. Almanacs were ephemeral, cheaply produced and intended to be short-lived, whereas Trevelyon's 'Miscellany' was intended to have a much longer future, further complicating the temporality of this book. By consciously adapting this ephemeral information for his calendar, Trevelyon shows that he was not just mechanically copying sections of text or image from other sources for immediate use in the present, but that he clearly intended this information to be both used and useful in the future.

In the 'Great Booke' this perpetual time contrasts sharply with references Trevelyon makes to his own place in time. He explicitly identifies himself on several occasions in both the 'Miscellany' and the 'Great Booke' as the creator of these manuscripts, but in the latter these references to his name or initials are sometimes also accompanied by a date. At its simplest this could be merely 'Thomas treuilyan 1616', or on another occasion just '1616', but the most significant of these references is found half-way through the 'Great Booke', when Trevelyon pauses to include a more extended record of himself.<sup>30</sup> Taking up around a third of the page is his name, 'Thomas Treuilyan' with a large illuminated T. Below he goes on to write, 'Being 68 yeares of age when he made an end of this Booke, And in the Yeare of our Lorde God: 1616: And in the 12 day of September: And in the 14 yeare of Kyng James his Raigne the First of England, To this Princely James and his

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 10

<sup>30</sup> Trevilian, *The Great Book*, pp. 49, 646.

Progenie, Whom heauenly Angels guard from tratcherie.’<sup>31</sup> Here Trevelyon uses several different kinds of time to record the moment he accomplished the completion of this mammoth work. First is his age, then the calendrical year, then the regnal year. The reference to his age makes this record of time particularly personal to him, furthering the sense of his own achievement. Yet this is not just a way for Trevelyon to commemorate the completion of the ‘Great Booke’; it also has the effect of anchoring his hand and therefore his presence in a work that is otherwise dominated by the other authors of the texts he is appropriating. By referring to his position in time, Trevelyon makes his presence seem more real, and more memorable in a work that appears both impersonal and timeless. The many references to time in both the ‘Miscellany’ and the ‘Great Booke’ are largely perpetual, referring not to a specific year but applicable to any. This is not just true of the calendars which Trevelyon specifically modifies to make perpetual; the pages devoted to instructions for calculating term dates, moon cycles, or feast days can also be applied to any year. In both the ‘Miscellany’ and the ‘Great Booke’, it is only Trevelyon’s position in time that is accurately pinpointed. The coexistence of specific moments in time alongside a temporal system that is perpetual and therefore could be used for an infinite period to come again suggests the polychronicity of the manuscript like the dated wares discussed throughout this thesis; through this work the immediate and the eternal converge, and boundaries between past moments, present use, and future audiences are blurred.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 456.

## II) The 'Diary' of Elizabeth Isham

The layered temporality between the immediate moment and longer durations can be explored further in another written record of time, on this occasion by a woman, Elizabeth Isham. Born in 1608, the daughter of Sir John Isham (1582-1651), first baronet, of Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, Elizabeth Isham has received much scholarly attention in recent years as a result of the rediscovery of her manuscript, the 'Booke of Remembrance', at Princeton University Library in 2004.<sup>32</sup> She is particularly notable for her deep puritan conviction and her desire from an early age not to marry, in which she was successful, living out her life in her father's home and devoting it largely to her spiritual pursuits. As well as the longer, fuller manuscript, Isham also created a kind of diary that recorded details of her life between 1608 and 1648 (see Plates 56 and 57).<sup>33</sup> The document in question is very much a handmade item, crafted by Isham herself. It is a single folio sheet measuring 387mm x 304mm, which Isham then folded into eighteen, applying enough pressure so that, unfolded, the creases demarcate thirty-six equal-sized boxes in which to write (eighteen on each side, front and back). Each individual box measures approximately 100mm x 64mm. Her writing is therefore necessarily exceptionally small, particularly in later boxes on the verso, to the extent that it has been suggested that she may have used a pin or needle dipped in ink to write.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Isham, 'Booke of Remembrance', Princeton University Library MS RTC01 n. 62. For a detailed consideration of this text and more on Isham herself, see Isaac Stephens, *The Gentlewoman's Remembrance: Patriarchy, Piety, and Singlehood in Early Stuart England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

<sup>33</sup> Northamptonshire County Record Office, NRO MS IL 3365. See also the transcription of the text by the Perdita project at University of Warwick, *Constructing Elizabeth Isham* (2008), <http://web.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/Isham/> (Accessed: 6 December 2017). Although this document is often referred to as a 'diary', its form appears to be unique. Jill Millman, a research assistant for the Perdita project, has questioned whether it can really be termed a diary, noting that 'the project team has not seen this form of manuscript before ... if a diary, it is not one that has been created daily or even annually.' For the sake of ease the word 'diary' will be used here, but with an acceptance of the problematic nature of this term. See Jill Millman, 'The Other Elizabeth Isham', *Constructing Elizabeth Isham 1609-1654* (2007), <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/isham/workshop/millman> (Accessed: 6 December 2017).

<sup>34</sup> Margaret J.M. Ezell, 'Elizabeth Isham's Books of Remembrance and Forgetting', *Modern Philology*, 109

Although it is in many ways a personal account, Isham also likely had a wider audience of family members in mind and, like Trevelyon, may have intended it as her legacy to future generations. Indeed, Isham states explicitly in her ‘Booke of Rememberance’ that she intends to leave that manuscript to her brother and his children, and it seems highly likely that her diary would also have been part of this bequest.<sup>35</sup> In his analysis of puritan reading practices in England during the ‘long’ seventeenth century, Andrew Cambers has argued that diaries and autobiographies of the godly made up some of the reading material intended to shape communal and familial piety. Such texts were not intended to be private but were ‘read, exchanged and cherished in godly families and communities.’<sup>36</sup> We can find evidence in particular of cross-generational reading and examination of spiritual life-writing in the notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington. Born in 1598, Wallington was a wood turner from Eastcheap of a deep puritan conviction.<sup>37</sup> His writings survive across seven notebooks, which include a wide range of material from autobiographical writings and letters, to excerpts copied from pamphlets and newspapers, as well as transcriptions of godly sermons and treatises.<sup>38</sup> Wallington used his notebooks to facilitate often intense spiritual self-examination. Much of the autobiographical writing is devoted to documenting past occasions when he sinned or was tempted by the devil, including numerous suicide attempts, as well as more fortuitous moments in which he sees evidence of God’s mercy. That this record of his life and spiritual status was intended to be open to wider scrutiny amongst his family is evident in a notebook entitled, ‘A Record of

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(2011), pp. 71–84 (p. 81).

<sup>35</sup> Isham, ‘Booke of Rememberance’, sig. 2r.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 42.

<sup>37</sup> Paul S. Seaver, ‘Wallington, Nehemiah (1598–1658), turner and diarist.’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28567> (Accessed: 10 September 2018).

<sup>38</sup> Nehemiah Wallington, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection*, David Booy (ed.) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 1.



Gods Marcys, or a Thankfull Rememberance’, begun in 1619. Near the beginning Wallington added several notes. The first read, ‘The beginning of November 1647 my sonne John Horthan and I did begine to read in this Booke every morning by ourselves alone and by Gods marcy we have read over this Booke January the xxxi 1647’.<sup>39</sup> ‘John Horthan’ or Houghton was Wallington’s son-in-law, and the third note records Houghton’s acquisition of the notebook on ‘September IX 1658’ following Wallington’s death.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, we can see that in the case of Wallington, the spiritual records he made of his life were intended not just for himself but for his family more broadly, and were designated as inheritance items. Isham’s two autobiographical manuscripts were likely also intended in the same light.

It is unclear exactly when Isham began writing this document, but it is evident that it was not written concurrently with events or at the end of every year for several reasons. The most straightforward of these is that Isham opened the account with her birth and must therefore have written at least a portion of the document in retrospect. Yet clues in the way the entries are composed suggest that it was not written up all at one point but was a kind of work-in-progress to which Isham added. Differences in the colour of the ink within various entries suggest information was added at different times, whilst some entries have additions that have evidently been squeezed in amongst existing text at a later date. This suggests Isham went back and revised years rather than writing continuously or indeed chronologically. Margaret Ezell, who has written about this document alongside Isham’s ‘Booke of Rememberance’, has suggested that the entry for year thirty-one may have been the last written completely in retrospect. Prior to this the use of phrases such as ‘as I remember’ and ‘from this time foreward’ suggest these entries were composed

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<sup>39</sup> Wallington, *Notebooks*, p. 29.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

retrospectively. The spatial schemes put in place after this year are also interesting, as Ezell suggests that Isham tried to accommodate the possibility that she might want to return to these entries at a later date, leaving space for future thoughts.<sup>41</sup>

The content of the diary is largely mundane, and this alongside the lack of detail or narrative when compared to her 'Booke of Remembrance' is perhaps one reason why this manuscript has received much less scholarly attention in comparison.<sup>42</sup> Entries are largely restricted to brief, single sentences, with the number of entries per year varying (although later years are much fuller than earlier ones). The majority relate to three main themes. The first is events connected to family members, many of which refer to either visits of extended members of the family, or illnesses and deaths, as well as comments on her own health. Examples include, 'my S[ister] was ill', 'my cosen Bes pagitt died', and 'm[y] uncle Luther was here and gave us 12 pence the first money that we had'.<sup>43</sup> The second category is reflections on her needlework. This includes both the simple documentation of the kinds of stitches practised, for example, 'I did work of breadstich and aranw-[ork] and begun my silken A[dam] and E[ve]', as well as the completion of larger works, some of which were gifted to others, for example, 'I steched my f[ather] a cape'.<sup>44</sup> The final category relates to her spiritual progress and religious activities, such as

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<sup>41</sup> Ezell, 'Elizabeth Isham's Books of Remembrance', p. 83.

<sup>42</sup> Isham and her 'Booke of Remembrance' have been the focus of a significant amount of scholarly work in recent years, with focus particularly resting on Isham's spirituality, singlehood, needlework, and reading practices. See Stephens, *The Gentlewoman's Remembrance*; Isaac Stephens, 'Confessional Identity in Early Stuart England: The 'Prayer Book Puritanism' of Elizabeth Isham', *Journal of British Studies*, 50 (2011), pp. 24–47; Isaac Stephens, 'The Courtship and Singlehood of Elizabeth Isham, 1630–1634', *The Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), pp. 1–25; Ezell, 'Elizabeth Isham's Books of Remembrance'; Anne Cotterill, 'Fit Words at the 'Pitts Brinke': The Achievement of Elizabeth Isham', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73 (2010), pp. 225–48; Julie A. Eckerle, 'Coming to Knowledge: Elizabeth Isham's Autobiography and the Self-Construction of an Intellectual Woman', *A/B: Auto/Biography Studies*, 25 (2010), pp. 97–121; Hillary M. Nunn, 'Stepes Towards Heaven Wherein My Forefathers Have Walked': Spirituality, Family History, and Place in Elizabeth Isham's My Booke of Remembrance', *American Notes and Queries*, 24 (2011), pp. 75–80. See also the work published as a result of the Perdita project, *Constructing Elizabeth Isham*, University of Warwick (2007–8), <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/isham/> (Accessed: 6 December 2017).

<sup>43</sup> In boxes for ages 23, 23, and 8 years respectively.

<sup>44</sup> In boxes for ages 17 and 20 respectively.

prayers or the reading of a sermon, for example in her twenty-fourth year, ‘I read in the booke of the eile of man which helped me to clenys my soul as some sermon did.’ Isham provides very few details and her extensive use of abbreviations or shorthand, particularly in later entries, emphasises the note-like quality of this work. Indeed, the brevity of Isham’s entries is perhaps best exemplified by her record of the death of her mother. We know from her ‘Booke of Remembrance’ that this death had a profound impact on Isham and she felt the loss deeply, yet the entry recording her death in the calendar for her seventeenth year is surprisingly stark, reading simply, ‘my mother died and my selfe and my S[ist]er {maurni[n]g?’.<sup>45</sup> This suggests the calendar was not intended as an emotional account, but rather a more basic record of events. Moreover, despite the note-like form of the diary, it does not appear that it was used as an aid to help Isham write up her more detailed manuscript, the ‘Booke of Remembrance’, as there is very little further overlap in the content of these two texts.<sup>46</sup> It may, however, have been intended to be read in tandem with this longer manuscript, although their precise connection remains unclear.

Despite its straightforward tone, the act of crafting the diary out of a sheet of paper makes the document a very tactile and personal piece. By making her own diary rather than filling in an almanac or even writing on the flyleaves of an existing book, Isham was able to experiment with how best to represent time and how it could be drawn out on a page. Like the chronologers discussed in Chapter 1 who trialled different systems for representing the flow of time, here Isham develops her own system. It functions as follows: Isham works across the page horizontally from left to right until she reaches the end of the row, at which point she moves down to the next row and begins again at the left-hand side of the page. Each side has three rows of six boxes. This system provides

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<sup>45</sup> Isham ‘Booke of Remembrance’, sigs. 18v-20r.

<sup>46</sup> See Millman, ‘The Other Life of Elizabeth Isham’ on this point.

Isham's diary with a sense of the movement of time, but as it requires the reader to go back and forth across the page, it stops short of presenting an entirely linear conception. Moreover, unlike the 'steps' or marks on a timeline, each box on Isham's diary are not equal in value. The first three entries cover a range of years: the first box details her first four years and the next two boxes subsequently chart two years each. After this she begins to reserve one box for one year. This lack of consistency is furthered by her occasional practice of crossing the temporal boundaries of each box, such as in the entry for 1632 in which she writes, 'my cosen Nancy Foxton was here and next year so agen at this time'. The legitimacy of the specificity of each box to represent a single temporal unit is further reduced by the inclusion of phrases that suggest a lack of clarity over when exactly an event occurred, for example 'in this y[ear] and the next' and 'in these 3 or for yeeres'.<sup>47</sup> Thus, whilst Isham does create a sense of temporal progress, despite the use of a grid her representation of time is neither wholly linear nor mathematical. This reinforces the argument made in Chapter 1 of this thesis that ideas and systems of time were far from fixed in this period, and thus an individual could manipulate time and shape its representations in a way that suited their own specific needs.

Time is clearly critical to Isham's production of her diary and she undoubtedly sees temporal references as crucial in the recording of her life; time provides the overall framework for the grid as well as delineating the events described within. In the creation of her diary, Isham uses multiple guiding temporal structures, further exhibiting the multitemporality discussed throughout this thesis. Each section is headed with her age, or more precisely, her 'year', so for example, when she is seven, she labels the box as '8 y[ear]', that is to say, her eighth year. Some of the later entries also include a year date

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<sup>47</sup> In boxes for ages 9 and 10 respectively.

alongside her age. It is therefore interesting to consider the different ways in which Isham records herself and her life in relation to time. Her age appears most significant to her as it occurs in every entry, whilst the year only occurs in seven entries and its use is not consistent. This is important since her age is personal or unique to her at that moment in time, whilst the inclusion of the year would place her more broadly within the context of others. Yet by not referring to the year in the majority of her entries, she does not locate herself within history, or even within the timeline of her family. The overall guiding temporal structure of the grid therefore has the effect of presenting a timeline that is very personal to Isham herself and on which others would struggle to place themselves.

Within each entry, Isham uses several different kinds of time to either describe when things happened or their duration. These vary from specifying moments of the day to entire seasons. For daily time, Isham includes references to broader moments within her daily framework, such as ‘evening prayers’ or occasional references to clock time (although these can be quite vague, for example in her thirtieth year, when she records an ailment that ‘lasted for an hour or 2’).<sup>48</sup> She also frequently refers to days of the week or weekly structures, for example, ‘about 3 w[eeks]’ or ‘Sicke a fortnight’.<sup>49</sup> Finally, more broadly there are also references to seasons or seasonal observances, such as ‘this winter’ or ‘the next summer’, as well as several mentions of events happening around Christmas.<sup>50</sup> Isham’s diary therefore reflects the multitemporality of domestic experience through its combination of this diverse range of temporalities that she experiences and locates herself within, as well as further signalling how ways of recording time in this period were fluid and shifting, as argued in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

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<sup>48</sup> Although Isham does not mention any clocks in her home, in the entry for her thirteenth year she records how she ‘delighted in a sun dial’.

<sup>49</sup> Both in the box for age 32.

<sup>50</sup> In boxes for ages 21 and 22 respectively.

The importance Isham attached to recording the events of her life in time can be further linked to wider conventions in puritan life-writing in this period. As mentioned, Isham was deeply religious and many of her entries record spiritual thoughts and activities. Like others of a deep puritan conviction, self-examination was fundamental in both of the manuscript accounts she made of her life. Indeed, in the box for her twenty-seventh year, she tells us that she ‘examend my selfe at night what I had don in the day’. Her use of markers of time or duration in her diary is reminiscent of those found in the diaries and other life-writing of the godly during this period, which used these references to show that no time had been wasted in the sin of idleness. Lady Margaret Hoby, for example, used her diary, written between 1599 and 1605, to record every activity of her day in sequence. These entries were usually accompanied by a temporal marker, relating a task to an exact clock time or other predictable points in her daily routine, such as dinner time or bed time. In doing so Hoby was able to show that she was not squandering time, but instead every moment of her day was spent either in productive or pious activity. For example, her entry for Tuesday 28 August 1599 begins, ‘In the morninge, after priuat praier, I Reed of the bible, and then wrought till 8: a clock, and then I eate my breakfast: after which done, I walked to the feeldes till: 10 a clock, then I praid, and not long after, I went to dinner’.<sup>51</sup> The repetitive use of phrases such as ‘then’, ‘after which’, and ‘not long after’ in her diary further allowed Hoby to provide a comprehensive account of her day, proving that every single moment had been faithfully recorded.<sup>52</sup> Whilst Isham evidently did not use her diary to record every moment in this way, instead focusing on key events throughout the year,

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<sup>51</sup> Margaret Hoby, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, Dorothy Mary Meads (ed.) (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd, 1930), p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> The temporal references in Hoby’s diary are further discussed in my chapter, ‘Women in the Sea of Time: Domestic Dated Objects in Seventeenth-Century England’ in *Gendered Temporalities in the Early Modern World*, ed. Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 47-68 (p. 55). See also Anu Korhonen, ‘the several hours of the day had variety of employments assigned to them’: Women’s Timekeeping in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 6 (2017), pp. 61-85.

the use of temporal markers to refer to activities is reminiscent of the conventions of godly life-writing and suggests she may have been reflecting upon time in a similar way.

Although Isham clearly saw time as an important tool for the recording of events in her life, for the outside reader the effect of layering various kinds of time can be quite disorientating. In his discussion of the life-writing of Lady Anne Clifford, Adam Smyth has discussed how a similar layering of tenses and times in her chronicle creates a kind of palimpsest, collapsing temporal boundaries.<sup>53</sup> Using a particular passage in her ‘Chronicle’ which describes a journey she made in November 1665 from Appleby to Brough, Smyth discusses in detail the complex temporality that Clifford presents:

The chronicle begins precisely on the ‘10<sup>th</sup> day of November’, ‘being Fryday’, the date of Clifford’s departure from Appleby Castle. But in invoking this departure, Clifford immediately looks back three months to August, when she first came to Appleby Castle – and then, in remembering this, gazes still further back to her childhood, when she stayed in the same chamber with her ‘Blessed mother’. Clifford then returns to the opening date, 10 November, and records her journey to Brough Castle, only to turn back once again to remember her last visit to Brough in September 1664. Finally Clifford looks forward, beyond 10 November, to ‘April following’, to the time when she will leave Brough for another home, in ‘Pendraggon Castle’.<sup>54</sup>

Smyth thus shows that by layering reference to precise moments with more loosely framed temporal reflections, looking back to her childhood for example, as well as the movements back and forth across time, Clifford ‘creates the impression of encompassing a broad temporal panorama.’<sup>55</sup> As this thesis demonstrates, this multitemporality was not specific to Clifford, but was widespread, particularly in the domestic sphere. Smyth also argues that Clifford’s use of different temporal phrases and shifts in tenses further heightens this sense of disorientation on the part of the reader, since it becomes unclear when exactly Clifford is writing. References such as ‘till this day’ help to create a sense of immediacy, suggesting Anne is writing soon after the events have taken place. Yet, Smyth argues, ‘the

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<sup>53</sup> Smyth, *Autobiography*, pp. 82-4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

temporal leaps forward', notably the final line in which she jumps ahead of the apparent time of writing by five months to April, 'collapse this possibility'.<sup>56</sup> The overall effect, Smyth argues, is the crumpling of the boundaries between past, present, and future: 'places, for Clifford, echo with the past activities that they have witnessed, and any move forward necessitates a look back.'<sup>57</sup> Yet as is argued in this thesis, we can see these collapsed temporal boundaries not just in Clifford's life-writing, but as much more widespread in the materiality of the home and the daily experience of the seventeenth-century household.

This discussion of the complex temporality expressed in Clifford's 'Chronicle' provides a valuable insight into the presentation of time in Isham's diary, and indeed, for this thesis as a whole. Whilst Isham does not jump around in time to the extent that Clifford does, there are examples in her diary where she breaks the discreteness of the timeframe for each box by leaping forward. In her entry for her eighteenth year for example she records how 'about this time' she had an accident whilst riding a horse but fortunately was not seriously injured except for a small bruise. She then recalls an incident during her twenty-fifth year when she suffered another accident whilst out horse riding but was again unharmed. Like that employed by Clifford, the temporality suggested in this entry is complex. On the one hand there is the vague reference to the first accident that occurred 'about this time', which suggests to the reader that these earlier records may or may not have happened in the exact year in which they were recorded. Her leap forward seven years, meanwhile, to another accident, further disrupts the temporal guidelines of the grid, since she records this event not in the box for her twenty-fifth year, but for her eighteenth. Indeed, by presenting these two events side by side in this way, Isham

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.



collapses the temporal framework of her diary; the events are recorded together not because they held a connection in time or a chronological relationship, but because they were of a similar kind. Isham's record here invokes a similar layering of time as Clifford's 'Chronicle' as she leaps forward from one event to another which under the structure of her diary would be classed as 'future', but both of which occurred in the past. This all contributes to the very personal sense of time that Isham develops. As the events are connected for her in terms of her experience, so they also share a kind of time for her in the material form of her diary, despite being chronologically very separate. Ultimately Isham's diary may be a personal document, and therefore unlike Trevelyon's miscellanies, but these temporal shifts between past, present, and future, alongside the co-existence of different temporal systems to record time, reflect a much wider tendency towards multitemporal thinking in this period, which is also evident in Trevelyon's manuscript and, as this thesis shows, was made manifest in domestic dated wares.

### **III) The Prayer Book of Izaak Walton**

A 1639 edition of 'The Book of Common Prayer', now housed in the British Library, provides the final case study of this chapter, and demonstrates how these written temporalities could be employed alongside the dating of furniture discussed in Chapter 2 within the home.<sup>58</sup> The prayer book belonged to the author Izaak Walton and was passed down the family line at least twice (see Plate 58). Walton was born in September 1594 in Staffordshire. The son of a tippler - someone who keeps an inn but does not provide lodging or meals - he came from fairly humble origins, and although he attended the local grammar school, he did not go to university, a fact that was noted by his critics. Walton

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<sup>58</sup> British Library, London, item no. C.61.k.5.(1.)

moved to London at the age of fifteen in 1608, becoming an apprentice in 1611 to his sister's husband, a linen draper named Thomas Grinsell. Whilst Walton rose to prominence within the Ironmonger's Company as a linen draper and sempster, he also soon fell into the literary world of London, befriending the poet John Donne and participating in the same literary circle as Ben Jonson. In the course of his life he wrote several biographies, including one of Donne, but he is perhaps best remembered for *The compleat angler*, first published in 1653, which went through multiple editions in Walton's own lifetime and continues to be popular today.<sup>59</sup> Walton therefore moved far beyond his humble origins, and the material culture which will be discussed in this section was likely influenced by this social elevation. The first two pages of the prayer book have been annotated with handwritten notes recording a selection of births, baptisms, and deaths within or connected to the Walton family. Walton's prayer book is of particular interest since he also commissioned at least three pieces of monumental wooden furniture during his lifetime that used dates to commemorate significant events in his and his family's lives. Like the prayer book, these objects were most likely intended to act as items of inheritance in the long term alongside their initial function of recording extraordinary events in the family's history.

Three different people wrote in the opening two pages of the prayer book. The notes on the second page were evidently written by Walton himself, recording the births and baptisms of some of his children, as well as an epitaph dedicated to his second wife Ann following her death (see Plate 59). The notes on the first page, however, have multiple authors, despite being briefer. Several of these entries were written by Walton's son, also called Isaac, who records the death of his father on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1683, as well as his

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<sup>59</sup> Jessica Maritin, 'Walton, Izaak (1593–1683), author and biographer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28653> (Accessed: 18 January 2018).

uncle Thomas Ken and his sister Anne (see Plate 60). Two other entries however appear to have been written by William Hawkins, Izaak Walton senior's grandson through his daughter Anne. Hawkins uses the prayer book to record the death of his father, also called William, in 1691, and 'My Uncle Isaac Walton' who died 29<sup>th</sup> December 1719. It is likely then that it was Hawkins' 'Uncle Isaac', Isaac Walton junior, who passed the prayer book on to him (his own sister Anne having died in 1715), and that Hawkins recorded the death of his father retrospectively (this entry is inserted between two lines written by Walton junior).<sup>60</sup> No other annotations appear on this first page, so it is unclear what happened to the prayer book after Hawkins obtained it, but what is evident is that it was passed down at least twice following Izaak Walton senior's death.<sup>61</sup>

The second page, annotated by the elder Izaak Walton, is similarly complex and there are again signs it was annotated at different points in time. Although Walton uses this page to record a variety of births, baptisms, and deaths within his family, it is far from a complete or chronological record. Walton begins with the birth of his daughter Ann in 1647, followed by 'My last Sonne Izaak' in 1651, thus initially passing over both his first marriage to Rachel Floud in 1626 and her death in 1640, as well as the births and deaths of their seven children. However, he then goes back and records Rachel's death in 1640, and the death of their daughter Ann in 1642. The publication date of the prayer book, 1639, is likely relevant here. It is possible Walton did not acquire the book until sometime after this, and thus the most recent memories are recorded first, then older information. His marriage to Rachel Floud in 1626 certainly would have had to be noted retrospectively.

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<sup>60</sup> See Jessica Maritin, 'Walton, Izaak'; William Marshall, 'Ken, Thomas (1637–1711), bishop of Bath and Wells and nonjuror', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15342> (Accessed: 18 January 2018).

<sup>61</sup> Walton does not refer to the prayer book specifically in his will, although he does leave to his son Isaac 'all my books (not yet given) at Farnham Castell'. It is possible then that the prayer book was part of this bequest or that it had already been given to his son before his death. National Archives Prob/1/47, p. 2.

This second section recording Rachel's and Ann's deaths is written in lighter coloured ink, which, along with the lack of chronological order, suggests that Walton returned to the prayer book at another time and added in their information. It is likely then that this was an evolving and partial record, rather than a carefully planned endeavour. Walton does not go back and record the births or deaths of the six sons from his first marriage. This was perhaps because he felt their lives were too brief to be included into his familial records, although babies lost during childbirth were often depicted in funeral monuments. Again, this is possibly due to the time-lag between the events themselves and when the book was acquired, although this does not explain why Ann, who died in 1642, is recorded, but another Izaak, born from his second marriage, who died in 1650, is absent. Only the third and final Izaak is recorded.

We can compare Walton's piecemeal approach to recording his family history to that found in Nehemiah Wallington's notebooks. In his third notebook, 'A Record of Gods Mercys, or a Thankfull Remembrance' Wallington distributes various records of births, deaths, and other extraordinary events in his family's history throughout the text, which seeks to chart God's providence at work in his life.<sup>62</sup> On the one hand, temporal accuracy appears to be highly valued by Wallington in the recording of these events. The timings of births, for example, are noted in comprehensive detail, as in the case of the birth of his son John: 'In 1624 my wife was in travill againe in great paine on the 18 day of January being monday and the next day in the morning about two a cloke shee was broght abead with a sonne and he was baptized the 25 day of the same month'.<sup>63</sup> Likewise illnesses and deaths are carefully charted according to relevant dates and times. Yet despite this desire for accuracy, Wallington's account is less temporally rigorous in other ways, notably its lack

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<sup>62</sup> Wallington, *Notebooks*, pp. 29-96.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

of chronological structure at times, much like Walton's. For example, Wallington records the birth of his son Samuel at one o'clock in the afternoon on 25<sup>th</sup> February 1630, followed immediately by an account of his death in 1632. However, he then returns to 1630 and describes Samuel's babyhood.<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile the temporal structure of the notebook more broadly is not chronological. Following the records of his own children's births, and sometimes deaths, Wallington goes further back in time to include a memorial to his mother with the exact date and time of her death in 1603 carefully noted.<sup>65</sup> After recording details of her sickness and death, he then continues to move back further to record elements of her life, followed by a list of 'The yeere and hower of the birth of my Mothers <twelve> children', born between 1584 and 1602.<sup>66</sup> In the case of both Wallington and Walton, whilst temporal references are evidently highly valued in accurately recording events, we can also see each author experimenting with the way family history could be recorded in textual objects in the home. Indeed, this was in part because there was no prevailing template for recording key familial events and so the framework for doing so could be adapted depending on the wider function of the text or agenda of the writer. In the case of Wallington, the primary aim of his notebook was to collate a record of God's merciful interventions in his life including these extraordinary moments. As a result he groups events together according to different themes, which can sometimes break the linear chronology of his text.

As discussed above, Wallington's notebooks were passed down the family line as items of inheritance, whilst the fact that Walton's son and grandson went on to annotate the prayer book shows that it too had been established as a family heirloom. Yet why did Walton, unlike Wallington, choose to mark up an existing text rather than create

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 68-9.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 86-8.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., pp. 89-90.

something anew? And why choose a prayer book specifically for the task of recording key moments in his family's history? In his study of marginalia and annotations in early modern English books, William Sherman has noted that the inscription of family histories into existing books during this period was very common, particularly on fly leaves and pastedowns.<sup>67</sup> He argues that such practices demonstrate how the book served, 'as an official place for individuals or groups of readers to take stock – of their families, their beliefs, their belongings, and their textual resources.'<sup>68</sup> He notes how women frequently recorded births, marriages, and deaths in the family in household account books or commonplace books, alongside other annotations such as medicinal and culinary recipes, religious notes, and financial transactions.<sup>69</sup> More commonly though family histories appear inscribed into religious books like family Bibles, but also in prayer books or collections of sermons and homilies.<sup>70</sup> Sherman points in particular to the 1619 Book of Common Prayer owned by a Giles Hungerford, who used the opening pages to record the marriage to and death of his first wife Elizabeth in 1624 and 1632 respectively, followed by the marriage to his second wife Joan and the birthdates, names and godparents of their four children.<sup>71</sup> Hungerford was therefore using his prayer book in very much the same way as Walton, as a site for the recording of extraordinary events in the family's history. However, since the publication date of this volume, 1619, pre-dates all of his entries, it suggests that Hungerford may have been writing in real-time, unlike Walton who recorded his memories retrospectively.

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<sup>67</sup> Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-9. See also Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

<sup>70</sup> Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90-1.

One explanation for the use of religious texts such as prayer books in this way is that people were continuing earlier practices in which families used Books of Hours to record births, marriages, and deaths. Extant sixteenth-century Books of Hours show they were used as sites of family record keeping, containing inscriptions with the dates of major familial events like births and deaths, as well as accounts of wider public rituals, or even more mundane information like medical treatments. In her study of medieval devotional literature, Mary Erler has noted how births and deaths are often found noted under the corresponding month of the book's calendar. She describes the example of the fifteenth-century Book of Hours given by Elizabeth Hull, abbess of Malling, Kent, to her godchild Margaret Nevill on the occasion of her baptism. The calendar was then used to record a variety of events during and after Margaret's lifetime, including both of her marriages and the births of her children, as well as her own death and the remarriage of her second husband.<sup>72</sup> Although it is unclear who wrote these later entries, they were presumably added by either her children or second husband who inherited the book.

Meanwhile, in his discussion of the practice of marking up copies of the Bible with signatures and ownership notes during this period, Sherman has made the very intriguing suggestion that such annotations were a way of 'placing the book in space and time', and even more significantly, of marking 'one's own place in history, particularly after books had passed through multiple households or descended through multiple generations in a single family'.<sup>73</sup> The book here has a direct parallel with the various inheritance objects discussed in previous chapters of this thesis, and Sherman's argument sheds a great deal of light on potential motivations for Walton and his family to mark up their family prayer

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<sup>72</sup> Mary Erler, 'Devotional Literature' in Lotte Hellinga and Joseph Burney Trapp (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 3 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 495–525 (p. 511).

<sup>73</sup> Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 76.

book. Although by recording births and deaths Walton made a material record relevant to his whole family, his entries are nonetheless composed from his own perspective, with himself as the subject. The majority refer to family members as they relate to *him*, for example, ‘my daughter’, ‘my sister’, ‘my brother’. He also records the event of one of his children’s baptisms as taking place in ‘my hoswe’. Walton breaks with this practice on only two occasions: once in order to denote that one of his daughters, Ann, was born from his first marriage, as he records the death of his first wife, Rachel Walton, and ‘*her* daughter’ (my emphasis), and once to refer to his sister and ‘her husband’. Likewise, the two later authors, Isaac Walton (junior) and William Hawkins, also use the first-person possessive.<sup>74</sup> We can therefore interpret their annotations as having multiple layers. On the one hand they provide a record of the family’s history in a book which will ideally be passed down that family line to future generations, memorialising the family as a group or collective. Yet on the other hand, as Sherman suggests, these annotations allow each individual owner to mark their own distinctive place within that family history, and within time more broadly. Several kinds of time thus interact – the briefer lifetimes of individual family members as they are recorded, compared with the longer ‘lifetime’ of the family as it continues on, as well as the more immediate moment of each respective owner’s interaction with the prayer book, and the moments at which they literally put ink to paper and identify themselves.

We can see similarities between the practice of making records of key dates in a family’s history in books with the wider interest in lineage at this time amongst the middling sorts, as discussed in more detail in Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis. In these

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<sup>74</sup> This is the case for all entries on the first page except for that recording the death of Thomas Ken. Although this entry appears to have been written in the hand of Isaac Walton (junior), it does not record the relationship he bore to the family, simply reading ‘Tho: Ken: BP of Bath & Wells, deprived. Dyed mar: 18. 1710/1’.



chapters the use of dated material culture to craft a narrative about a family's history in order to sure up their fortunes was explored in detail. This can help us to interpret further Walton's decision to initiate the process of marking up his family's prayer book with a record of their history, as it fits more broadly with what we know about Walton's life. Tara Hamling has described how Walton's humble upbringing may have created in him a feeling of fragility and uncertainty surrounding his social position and the provision of inheritance for his heirs. Walton lived in Clerkenwell, London, between 1647 and 1651, most likely in rented accommodation. However, in May 1655, he purchased the freehold of a property in Shallowford, near his birthplace in Stafford. Walton was an Anglican and a Royalist sympathiser, so he perhaps felt it wise to remove himself from London during the Puritan dominance of the commonwealth years. However the move to Shallowford also allowed him to provide the all-important family seat for his successors to inherit, bequeathing it to his son 'and all his heirs forever' in his will of 1683.<sup>75</sup> Although we do not know exactly when Walton began recording his family's history in the prayer book, it may have been around the time he moved to Shallowford. His first entry records the birth of his daughter Ann in 1647, but Walton does not record the deaths of those children who died very soon after birth, suggesting it may have been a few years after her birth that he began this endeavour.<sup>76</sup> If Walton did begin his prayer book annotations around 1655, it can be read in the context of his wider desire to establish a legacy and a family seat at this time. It may also have been influenced by the aftermath of civil war, which, as noted in the introduction to this thesis, was a period that saw a notable rise in the production of dated

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<sup>75</sup> Tara Hamling, '“An Arelome To This Hous For Ever” Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, C. 1560-1660' in Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (eds.), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 59–83 (p. 70).

<sup>76</sup> Indeed, the birth of another son (also Izaak) not long after Ann in 1650 who died in infancy is not recorded, suggesting Walton did not record births as they happened.

wares; Walton's interest in recording his family's history may have been part of this wider interest in marking time during this period of upheaval and uncertainty.

The Book of Common Prayer that Walton and his successors annotated was not the only way in which Walton used material culture to mark out important moments in time. During his lifetime he commissioned several pieces of furniture that featured inscribed dates as part of their decoration, and we can interpret these acquisitions as tied to ideas about inheritance and family legacy.<sup>77</sup> Two of these items were made to commemorate Walton's marriages. The first is a wooden chest now held in the collection at Warwick Castle (see Plate 61). It bears the following inscription:

IZAAK WALTON RAICHEL FLOVD  
 joined together in ye Holie Bonde of Wedlocke on ye 27<sup>th</sup> Daie of Decembere  
 A.1626 D.  
 We once were two, we two made one,  
 We no more two, through life bee one

The chest is also decorated with a panel depicting the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden of paradise. Following Rachel's death in 1640, Walton remarried, this time to Anne Ken in 1647. Walton again commissioned a piece of furniture to commemorate their union; an ornate court cupboard with elaborately carved decoration. However, this second piece is dated 1656, and thus may have been made to mark their marriage more broadly, rather than the specific date of their wedding. Alongside the inscription 'IZAAK WALTON ANNE 1656' carved into a frieze at the top, the cupboard is also decorated with a carved panel depicting the scene of the day of judgement, as well as another frieze bearing the inscription, 'VIRTUE NON ARMIS FIDO', which translates as 'I trust in virtue, not arms'. Hamling has argued that this second piece in particular is revealing about

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<sup>77</sup> All three pieces are recorded in Edward Marston, *Thomas Ken and Izaak Walton: a Sketch of their Lives and Family Connection* (London: Longmans & Co, 1908), pp. 166-73.

Walton's desire to set up a household and bolster his family's legacy. She notes how court cupboards were usually used to store or display plate in a hall or parlour and as such they possessed symbolic connotations of both hospitality and inheritance. The heritable potential of this object is furthered by the significance of its acquisition sometime around 1656, the year after Walton had obtained the freehold to the farm and associated lands at Shallowford.<sup>78</sup> Although Walton does not use the temporal reference on the cupboard to commemorate the exact date of his marriage, he may have used it instead to mark the acquisition of a family seat and the augmentation of his family's legacy. The final known dated item of furniture that Walton commissioned further confirms that these dated pieces were tied up in ideas of lineage and inheritance. A wooden hanging cupboard was bequeathed by Walton in his will to his son, and this object bears the inscription 'IZAAK WALTON' and the date 1672. Hamling has argued that, made at the age of 79, this would have been an extravagant commission for Walton, and thus it was 'possibly always intended as an heirloom for his son and namesake.'<sup>79</sup>

As with the prayer book, we can see several kinds of time reflected within the items of furniture that Walton commissioned. On the one hand, their role as inheritance pieces demonstrates an awareness of their future lives in which they would be used by subsequent generations and ideally passed further down the family line. This kind of temporality is therefore long in duration, outstretching Walton and moving beyond him for an undefinable and unknowable period of time. Meanwhile, when taken as a group, these items collectively reflect a kind of 'medium range' temporality – that of the course of Walton's life, marking his two marriages and his old age. Although two of these pieces do refer to other family members, when taken together the furniture marks out Walton's own

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<sup>78</sup> Hamling, 'An Arelome', p. 70.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

timeline, as he is the common feature on all three items. The convergence of these two kinds of temporality reflects Jonathan Gil Harris's assertion of the need to trace the diachronic trajectory of an object through time rather than focusing on a single synchronic moment.<sup>80</sup> This is evidently the case for Walton's prayer book and furniture since, when they are passed down to successive generations, their future meaning and, indeed value, required knowledge of their past contexts.

Yet although Harris rejects the synchronic, we can also see it playing a significant role in the lives of these objects. There is a much more immediate, short-lived temporality reflected in the inscription; the single, brief moment in time which is attested to by the date on each individual item of furniture, or in each entry in the prayer book. This immediacy conveyed by the inscriptions means that the temporality of these items is particularly complex. Whilst the dates soon relegate these objects to the 'past', their heritable properties present them as constantly forward looking, and thus of the 'future'. Both the prayer book and the furniture reflect the interaction between brief moments in time, perhaps already passed by the time of the object or the annotation's creation, and the much longer lifeline of the objects themselves, which for all Walton could know would stretch on for many years and many generations to come. The embedding of these temporal reflections within the domestic sphere was crucial to this end. By choosing to use inscribed furniture alongside hand-written notes in his prayer book to record important dates, Walton ensures that his legacy is kept together within the family and its property and will continue to be passed down. Moreover, by clearly identifying himself as the instigator of these family records, he confirms and reinforces his role as the head of household, even after his death.

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<sup>80</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, 'Shakespeare's Hair: Staging the Object of Material Culture', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 52 (2001), pp. 479–91.

This chapter has added a final category of object to the examination of material dating practices in the domestic sphere. In the case of Isaac Walton, by exploring the different kinds of temporal record he crafted or commissioned alongside one another, the multitemporality of the seventeenth-century home is evident. Taking Gil Harris's suggestion that we analyse both the synchronic moment and the diachronic trajectory of objects, we can see how complex ideas of time were within the domestic sphere, as these items looked to the past, present, and the future for meaning, as well as to the individual and the collective. Elizabeth Isham's account of her life similarly reflects multiple kinds of time of varying duration. Most striking is how much more personal her diary becomes through its use of time than Walton's items, despite the frequent entries that relate to family members or friends. The fact that Isham created the document herself out of a sheet of paper and then devised her own system for recording time, one which was first and foremost based on her own age and thus the progress of her own life, rather than a universal system of time, in many ways makes this a much more intimate account. Trevelyon, in contrast, subscribed to pre-existing representations of time, copying out calendars and timelines from printed sources. Yet he still adapted these systems of time to serve his own needs, demonstrating the malleability of these sources; by adding and rejecting information in the construction of his calendars, Trevelyon moved away from the ephemerality of almanacs and presented his reader with temporal information that could be used not just in that year, but indefinitely.

Despite these differences, all three texts make use of temporal markers, whether that be a year, an hour of the clock, or an age, to reflect upon their own position within a much larger sea of time. Trevelyon's declaration of his age and the time of production in the 'Great Booke' allowed him to pinpoint his own time in a volume that is in many ways both

impersonal and temporally perpetual. Similarly, the notes made by Walton and his successors in their family prayer book provided a way of identifying their own place in the wider family history, which was particularly potent in a book which was intended to change hands as it was inherited by successive generations. Isham meanwhile used a temporal framework which was unique to her through its focus on her age, but plotted onto it events connected to other members of her family or indeed on occasion events of national significance, ultimately privileging her own temporality over universal systems of time onto which others could easily locate themselves.

Overall these three case studies demonstrate an interest in experimenting with different representations and systems of time in the home during the seventeenth century. Since concepts of time were not fixed to one calendar or one governing idea, it could be moulded to suit a range of functions or agendas. The objects discussed here also emphasise the way material culture could disturb temporal boundaries, blurring the lines between past, present, and future. Through their presence within the fabric of daily life on the one hand, and their suggestion of longer durations through their carefully dated biographical records and circulation after death on the other, these textual examples further demonstrate how polychronic objects could operate within the multitemporality of the home.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has focused on an extensive body of dated crafted objects, asking why so many domestic wares were adorned with dates over the long seventeenth century in England. It explains this development in relation to the complex, multiple, and shifting concepts of time that define this key period, combined with greater access to a range of material goods that could be customised. In particular it identifies the practice of dating domestic objects as part of a general understanding of, and engagement with, the multitemporality of the household where various cycles of time converged; from daily and seasonal routines through the life cycle of individuals, to posterity and the life eternal. The addition of a date to domestic objects with particular significance within the home created a polychronic quality in their future lives; the ability to draw upon different moments in time and thereby act as vehicle for family memory. It has identified and considered three categories of dated object in particular: wooden furniture, hearth equipment and decoration, and tablewares, all of which are highly symbolic of the very notion of household. The objects, practices, and beliefs of upper middling and gentry families have provided the focus of investigation, exploring a range of contexts including social status, religion, gender, memory, novelty, and durability in order to understand the factors that conditioned experiences of time in this period.

Through an analysis of these objects it is argued that we need to move beyond dismissing them as straightforwardly commemorative, which is the predominant way they have been discussed in existing literature. Instead the thesis shows how dated objects were polychronic, referring at once to different dates, moments, or ages of time. These objects demonstrate how everyday cycles of time operated within a broader framework of the eternal; such objects were used in the activities of daily life but through their dated inscriptions they signalled an individual's or household's position on a linear temporal

system that stretched forwards (and backwards) for an unknowable, even infinite period of time. Indeed, they are also polychronic in another way, through their ability to collapse temporal boundaries between past, present, and future. Dated objects were used to display carefully selected information about their owner in the present, but were also intended as inheritance items and therefore vehicles of communication across time. As a result of their polychronicity, these objects thereby expressed and extended the multitemporal nature of the seventeenth-century domestic sphere, in which many different kinds of time coexisted, including daily time, seasonal cycles, the life cycle, posterity, and spiritual conceptions of the eternal that existed beyond time. Moreover, dated wares also point to two opposite extremes in consumer behaviour and domestic materiality in the seventeenth century: on the one hand, one in which the historic or the traditional is valued, and on the one other, one in which novelty or newness is valued. Household objects sit on this spectrum between new and old, as does the seventeenth-century household itself; seeking both tradition or modernity at different times, depending on the circumstances. This thesis has therefore made an important contribution to our understanding of daily life in seventeenth-century England by showing that within the quotidian cycles of everyday life there was a notable preoccupation with one's place within much broader schemes of time; ideas of posterity and the eternal were ever-present in everyday life through their reflection and negotiation in dated objects.

Whilst there has been scholarly interest in recent years in time in the early modern period, this thesis makes a unique contribution to knowledge by focusing on the relationship between people, time, and material culture. Existing work on time has focused primarily on its public manifestations, in particular through the rise of clock time, but this thesis argues that we must look to the domestic as the key site in which people experienced a diverse range of temporalities in their daily lives. Moreover, whilst most scholarship has



emphasised the eighteenth century as marking a transformative period in ideas of time, this study argues against this view, and demonstrates how major change was already underway in the seventeenth century. In particular, this thesis challenges the traditional narrative that argues it was not until the rise of Newton in the eighteenth century that people began to envision time as a linear continuum, or followed its progress with any real interest. Instead, this thesis highlights the complexity of experiences of time in this period, which are too-often reduced to being solely governed by the cycles of the seasons; whilst the constant cycle of daily routines, the seasons, the religious calendar, and the life cycle greatly informed how people experienced time, during the seventeenth century people increasingly followed the calendars in their almanacs with enthusiasm and recorded calendrical dates on the objects around them. The conception of time as a linear continuum and its familiarity in daily life was thus far more prevalent before the eighteenth century than has been acknowledged.

This thesis has also provided an original contribution to the study of domestic material culture in England. Seventeenth-century dated objects present a unique opportunity to explore how people used material culture to make sense of their own passage through time in a period notable for its unprecedented social, religious, and political change. Existing scholarship on early modern English material culture has focused mainly on Tudor England or the long eighteenth century, with the seventeenth century positioned as the tail end of the former or the precursor to the latter. My thesis however repositions the long seventeenth century as a transformative period for the material life of the household and the consumer revolution. Whilst existing literature on the consumer revolution focuses primarily on the increased number of luxury goods purchased in the eighteenth century to provide evidence for a change in consumer practices at this time, this thesis demonstrates the importance of thinking more about consumer engagement with material culture, rather

than just numbers of items purchased. As discussion here has shown, in the seventeenth century there was an increased desire to acquire customised wares that could be personalised through a range of decorative additions, notably a date. This was made possible through both the growth of the middling sorts who had the disposable income and inclination to purchase such goods, as well as the growth of native industries, such as ceramic production, which brought down costs and made it easier to purchase personalised wares.<sup>81</sup> As a result, whilst the eighteenth century can be seen as the period in which a greater number of non-necessity goods were purchased than ever before, this thesis shows that the seventeenth century was a vital period in the consumer revolution as a period of marked consumer engagement with the design of their goods.

The nature of this project has necessitated the grounding of this research within a wide body of literature. Drawing on scholarship from history, art history, literary studies, anthropology, and the social sciences, I have adopted a broad, interdisciplinary approach. Each chapter of this thesis explores very different categories of object and consulting this wide-ranging scholarship has allowed me to establish a critical framework for interpreting dated wares. Moreover, these objects rarely leave concrete evidence about their original owners, why they were acquired, or, indeed, why they were dated. My methodology has therefore adopted a threefold approach: first, analysing the materiality of extant objects

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<sup>81</sup> This was certainly not just a phenomenon of seventeenth-century England. The Dutch Republic's ceramic industry was also flourishing at this time, with the mass production of blue and white 'Delftware', in imitation of Ming porcelain, providing greater opportunities for customisation than imported wares. On consumption in the Dutch Republic see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Fontana, 1988), and in particular, chp. 5. In Renaissance Italy this engagement of consumers with the design of novelty or luxury goods can be seen even earlier, with the growth of domestic industries in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – for example, the production of brightly coloured and easily customisable ceramic wares known as majolica expanded considerably from the late fifteenth century in northern and central Italian towns. Other notable industries in Italy at this time include glass production in Venice and Murano, where highly decorated and often colourful wares including cups and tazzas were made in glass and can be found with inscriptions, images, and coats-of-arms incorporated into their designs. See Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (eds.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London: V&A, 2006); and Valerie Taylor, 'Art and the Table in Sixteenth-Century Mantua: Feeding the Demand for Innovative Design' in Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn Welch (eds.), *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 174-196.

themselves, something which surprisingly few historians of material culture undertake; second, contextualising objects using evidence found in contemporary life-writing, probate documents, popular print, and polemical literature; and third implementing the theories of Igor Kopytoff and Arjun Appadurai on object biography, and Jonathan Gil Harris on diachronic objects, to address the changing meanings of an object as it moves through time. This multi-layered approach has allowed me to present a comprehensive exploration of the materiality of time in the seventeenth-century home.

Chapter 1 analysed ideas of time in early modern England, surveying the variety of ways time was experienced and given meaning in the period, from day-to-day planning to grand world chronologies. In doing so it demonstrated the significant complexity and multi-layered quality of time in the seventeenth century. It argued that time was represented as both a linear progression and a constantly turning cycle in this period, and also demonstrated how time could be highly malleable and loaded with religious, political, or astrological meaning. Ultimately this chapter provided the necessary context for subsequent chapters focused on specific categories of object.

The second chapter of this thesis examined the category of dated wooden furniture. I argued that such temporal reflections on showy, status pieces like the monumental furniture discussed in this chapter, provide evidence for the multitemporality of the domestic sphere; these items of furniture were used both in constructing familial identity in the present and establishing the 'facts' to be remembered in the future. Chapter 3 meanwhile focused on the hearth as a key site of temporal reflection and a carefully curated space within the home. By analysing dated objects and fixtures associated with the hearth from firebacks to cooking equipment, this space has been interrogated as a site of both work and display. I argued that through these objects a dual temporality is evident; on the one hand the daily cycles of time experienced through the repetition of tasks and

chores, and on the other the linear, far-reaching time reflected in the dated objects used in these tasks. Tablewares provided the focus of Chapter 4, with such objects discussed in relation to contemporary ideas about hospitality, gift giving, and community. Discussion centred on changing ideas of novelty and tradition in this period, as ceramic wares provided a key opportunity for cheap and easy customisation of goods. The temporal references on such objects communicated the household's social networks, key achievements, and piety to an audience at mealtimes, as well as helping to authenticate a promise made at extraordinary occasions such as marriage.

The final chapter of the thesis addressed how the passage of time was recorded in texts within the household, using three specific case studies. In many ways this fifth chapter returns to the themes with which this thesis began in Chapter 1. The authors of these texts all demonstrate an interest in experimenting with how best to represent time and their position within it, each adopting different visual methods to depict systems of time. They thus reflect the flexibility of ideas of time in this period, which could be adapted to suit a variety of needs. Yet despite their differences, ultimately all these authors attach great importance to maintaining a material record of their or their family's position in time, and one which will ideally be viewed, used, and even added to, by many generations to come.

In summary, this thesis has shown that dated objects should not be taken at face value, as their dates do not necessarily correspond to a specific occasion, and in some cases may have been intended to be actively misleading. It has isolated three potential reasons for inscribing objects with dates in the seventeenth century: first, and most straightforwardly, to pinpoint the moment of acquisition; second, to participate in, manifest, and recall a life cycle event; and third, to rewrite history through the retrospective dating of items some time after the year in question.

Overall, the thesis contributes new knowledge to our understanding of early modern conceptions of time, the day to day workings of the domestic sphere, the transitional nature of the long seventeenth century, and the role of material objects in negotiating, reifying, and extending one's passage through time.

**APPENDIX: CATALOGUE OF DATED OBJECTS**

**COLLECTIONS KEY:**

- BM - British Museum
- CTF - Crab Tree Farm
- Fitzwilliam - Fitzwilliam Museum
- Mol. - Museum of London
- NT - National Trust
- SBT - Shakespeare Birthplace Trust
- V&A - Victoria and Albert Museum

**ADDITIONAL CATALOGUE KEY:**

- AMS 1 - Ernest Hopwell, 'Summary of a Discussion on Warming Pans at the 1991 Spring Meeting', *Base Thoughts: Journal of the Antique Metalware Society*, 4 (1992), pp. 11-28
- AMS 2 - Roderick Butler, 'Further Notes on Warming Pans', *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society*, 1 (1993), pp. 1-3
- BCF - Jeremy Hodgkinson, *British Cast-Iron Firebacks of the 16th to Mid 18th Centuries* (Crawley: Hodgersbooks, 2010)
- DED - Louis L. Lipski and Michael Archer, *Dated English Delfware: Tin-Glazed Earthenware 1600-1800* (London: Sotheby, 1984)
- EEP - John Eliot Hodgkin, *Examples of Early English Pottery Named, Dated, and Inscribed* (London, 1891)
- ECC - A. J. Kiddell, 'Wrotham Slipware and the Wrotham Brickyard', *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, 3 (1954), pp. 105-18

| Date | Object Type | Inscription  | Material  | Collection and Reference                                |
|------|-------------|--|-----------|---|
| 1565 | Fireback    | 1565/ER  | Cast Iron | BCF pl.227  |
| 1567 | Fireback    | 1567(9?)/HB/HB/1567  | Cast Iron | BCF pl.75   |
| 1568 | Fireback    | 1568/FR  | Cast Iron | BCF pl.161  |
| 1571 | Armchair    | WAS/1571   | Oak       | Sizergh Castle, NT 997985                               |
| 1575 | Fireback    | 1575   | Cast Iron | BCF pl.206  |
| 1575 | Skillet     | 1575   | bronze    | BM 1958.0203.1  |
| 1576 | Fire dog    | WyDEDm Man/1576  | Cast Iron | V&A M.1-1985  |
| 1578 | Cup         | AT RT 1578   | glass     | Fitzwilliam C.4-1967                                    |
| 1580 | Cup         | A.F/1580   | glass     | V&A C.522-1936  |
| 1581 | Cup         | JOHN..JONE DIER 1581   | glass     | V&A C.523-1936  |
| 1582 | Fireback    | IA/ANNO DOMINI 1582/THE 27 DAY OF/FEBRUARVE DYED/RICHARDE GRAYE/PARSON OF/WYTHIHAM | Cast Iron | St Michael and All Angels Church, Withyham, East Sussex |
| 1582 | Fireback    | THOMAS UNSTE/AD ISIFILD AND DINIS/HIS WIF ANO DOMINO/1582                          | Cast Iron | BCF pl.127  |
| 1582 | Fireback    | THES IS FOR JAMES/HIDE AND ION HIS WIF/1582  | Cast Iron | BCF pl.128  |
| 1582 | Fireback    | THES IS FOR/WILAM BRON/AND ELISAB./TH HIS SISTIR/1582                              | Cast Iron | V&A M.977-1926  |
| 1582 | Fireback    | TMI/1582/IA  | Cast Iron | BCF pl.158  |
| 1583 | Fireback    | 1583   | Cast Iron | Ightam Motte NT825358                                   |
| 1583 | Fireback    | ER/1585  | Cast Iron | BCF pl.180  |
| 1585 | Fireback    | W/1585   | Iron      | SBT 1993 31 261   |
| 1586 | Fireback    | 1586/FM  | Cast Iron | BCF pl. 117   |
| 1586 | Cup         | GOD SAVE QVYNE ELISABETH/RP MP 1586  | glass     | V&A C.575-1925  |
| 1588 | Fireback    | 1588/HB  | Cast Iron | BCF pl.113  |
| 1588 | Fireback    | 1588/IFC   | Cast Iron | V&A M.77-1957   |
| 1588 | Fireback    | 1588/IFC   | Cast Iron | Buckland Abbey NT809710                                 |
| 1588 | Fireback    | 1588/IFC   | Cast Iron | BCF pl. 281   |
| 1588 | Fireback    | 1588/IK  | Cast Iron | BCF pl.166  |

|      |                  |  |                         |                                       |  |
|------|------------------|--|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1588 | Hearth brick     | 1588   | earthenware             | Mol. A27154                           |  |
| 1589 | Fireback         | 1592   | Cast iron               | Packwood House NT 557758              |  |
| 1589 | Fireback         | 1589/WA  | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 116                           |  |
| 1592 | Fireback         | HER LIETH ANE FORST/R DAUGHTER AND/HEVR TO THOMAS/GAYNSFORD<br>ESQUIER/DECEASED XVIII OF/JANUARI 1591 LEAVING/BEHIND HER II<br>SONES/AND V DAUGHTERS | Cast iron               | St George's church, Crowhurst, Surrey |  |
| 1592 | Skillet          | Henri Apsil Anno DM 1592   | bronze                  | CTF D.O.M/85                          |  |
| 1593 | Bedstead         | RC/1593  | Oak and holly           | V&A 316-1867                          |  |
| 1594 | Table box        | AF/CF/1594   | oak                     | CTF DOW/12                            |  |
| 1595 | Firedogs         | 1595   | iron                    | SBT L262                              |  |
| 1597 | Table mats (box) | 1597   | sycamore                | SBT 1992-4                            |  |
| 1598 | Fireback         | 1598   | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 475                           |  |
| 1598 | Fireback         | 1598/IM IB   | Cast iron               | V&A E.4376-2000                       |  |
| 1599 | Fork             | M.P DEMOREES 1599  | silver, agate and steel | Ashmolean WA1947.191.267              |  |
| 1600 | Plate            | THE ROSE IS RED THE LEAVES ARE GRENE GOD SAVE ELIZABETH OUR<br>QUEENE 1600   | tin-glazed earthenware  | Mol. C84                              |  |
| 1602 | Cup              | Barbara Potters 1602   | glass                   | V&A C.575-1925                        |  |
| 1602 | Knife sheath     | I./N./W.G.W/1602   | boxwood                 | SBT 1868-3/903                        |  |
| 1603 | Fireback         | 1603/ WF   | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 179                           |  |
| 1604 | Fireback         | IR/1604  | Cast iron               | Scotney Castle NT791456               |  |
| 1604 | Warming pan      | GOD SAVE OUR ROYAL KING IACOBUS DG REX REATI PACIFICI/1604   | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 1                         |  |
| 1606 | Fireback         | 1606   | Cast iron               | V&A M.344-1926                        |  |
| 1608 | Fireback         | 1608   | Cast iron               | Petworth House                        |  |
| 1608 | Warming pan      | 1608   | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 1                         |  |
| 1608 | Cabinet          | Maids I advise you have a care/Glasses and lasses are Brittle ware/1603  | Oak                     | CTF DOW/19                            |  |
| 1611 | Tyg              | 1611 B 1612  | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 18870210.31                        |  |
| 1612 | Tyg              | IL/1612  | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 16                            |  |
| 1613 | Fireback         | 1613/M/IF  | Cast iron               | BCF pl.71                             |  |
| 1613 | Spoon            | R E W B/1613   | silver                  | BM AF.3085                            |  |
| 1614 | Warming pan      | 1614   | Brass, iron             | AMS 1                                 |  |
| 1614 | Charger          | M/HM/1614  | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A C.38-1928                         |  |
| 1615 | Warming pan      | The right hon the Earle of Essex his armes, 1615   | Brass, iron             | CTF D.O.M/30                          |  |
| 1615 | Warming pan      | FEAR GOD AND OBAY THE KING/1615  | Brass, iron             | AMS 1                                 |  |
| 1615 | Spoon            | Edward Fowler baptised the 14 of Januari 1615  | Metal                   | CTF D.O.M/126                         |  |
| 1615 | Door knocker     | E.S. Knock, 1615   | iron                    | SBT 1910-23                           |  |
| 1616 | Candle Stick     | WILLIAM/GRANGER/1616   | Pewter                  | V&A M.210-1925                        |  |
| 1616 | Warming pan      | THE LORD RESERVE US UNTO HIS KINGDOM/1616  | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                                 |  |
| 1616 | Warming pan      | 1616   | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                                 |  |
| 1616 | Fireback         | W.C/1616   | iron                    | SBT 1993-31/319                       |  |
| 1617 | Warming pan      | GOD SAVE OUR PRINC CHARLES/1617  | Brass, iron             | AMS 1                                 |  |
| 1617 | Chair            | 1617   | Oak                     | Priests House, NT67016                |  |
| 1618 | Fireback         | TBI/TA/IA/1618/S   | Cast iron               | BCF pl.58                             |  |
| 1618 | Fireback         | 1618   | Cast iron               | BCF pl.185                            |  |
| 1618 | Fireback         | 1618   | Cast iron               | BCF pl.186                            |  |
| 1618 | Fireback         | 1618   | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 187                           |  |
| 1618 | Fireback         | 1618   | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 28                            |  |
| 1619 | Fireback         | IR/1619  | Cast iron               | BCF pl.189                            |  |
| 1619 | Fireback         | 1619   | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 246                           |  |

|      |             |   |                         |                             |  |
|------|-------------|---|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 1619 | Warming pan | GOD SAVE KINGE JAMES/1619   | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                       |  |
| 1620 | Fireback    | EL/1620   | Cast iron               | BCF pl.109                  |  |
| 1620 | Warming pan | GOD SAVE OUR KINGE JAMES/1620   | Brass, iron             | AMS 1                       |  |
| 1620 | Charger     | ANO DODN 1620/OA/E  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam 1394-1928       |  |
| 1620 | Cup         | Rem-ber Thy End/Repent and Amend 1620   | pearwood, silver        | V&A W.31:1.2-1950           |  |
| 1621 | Fireback    | IR/1621   | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 849                 |  |
| 1621 | Armchair    | 1621  | Oak                     | Moseley Old Hall, NT 477302 |  |
| 1621 | Tyg         | IL/1621   | lead-glazed earthenware | V&A 4771-1901               |  |
| 1621 | Tyg         | TI/1621   | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.146-1928      |  |
| 1621 | Chair       | 1621  | oak                     | CTF D.O.W/2                 |  |
| 1622 | Fireback    | 1622/IH   | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 59                  |  |
| 1622 | Fireback    | HN/1622   | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 229                 |  |
| 1622 | Warming pan | GOD SAVE KINGE JAMES/1622   | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 2               |  |
| 1622 | Warming pan | I AND MY HOWS WILL SEARVE YE LORD/1622  | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 2               |  |
| 1623 | Chest       | IM 1623   | Oak                     | Nostell Priory NT959796     |  |
| 1624 | Warming pan | GOD SAVE PRINCE CHARLES/1624  | Brass, iron             | AMS Newsletter 2015         |  |
| 1626 | Chest       | IZAAK WALTON RAICHEL FLOYD/Joined together in ye Hollie Bonde of Wedlocke on ye 27th Daie of Decembere/A.1626 D./We once were two, we two made one,/We no more two, through life bee one. | Oak                     | Warwick Castle NR           |  |
| 1627 | Warming pan | IN GOD IS ALL OUR TRUST/1627  | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                       |  |
| 1627 | Jug         | 1627  | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A PLQ95                   |  |
| 1627 | Tyg         | IL/1627   | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1887,0307,D.2            |  |
| 1628 | Warming pan | GLORY BE TO GOD ON HIGH/1628  | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                       |  |
| 1628 | Bottle      | 1628  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.5-1931        |  |
| 1628 | Cup         | ELIZABETH BROCKLEHURST 1628   | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A C.271-1918              |  |
| 1628 | Jug         | 1628  | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF DOC/57                  |  |
| 1628 | Plate       | RICHARD KEY 1628  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1395-1928     |  |
| 1629 | Fireback    | 1629/CT   | Cast iron               | BCF pl.98                   |  |
| 1629 | Warming pan | GOD SAVE KING CHARLES/1629  | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                       |  |
| 1630 | Fireback    | IW/1630   | Cast iron               | BCF pl.214                  |  |
| 1630 | Fireback    | HB/1630 I/AIS   | Cast iron               | BCF pl.230                  |  |
| 1630 | Sillet      | 1630  | Bronze                  | MoS 187/2004/82             |  |
| 1630 | Warming pan | GOD SAVE KING CHARLES 1630  | Brass, iron             | V&A M. 42-1932              |  |
| 1630 | Warming pan | THE EARLE OF ESSEX HIS ARMES/1630   | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                       |  |
| 1630 | Jug         | OBAY THE KING 163   | Slipware                | Mol. A27662                 |  |
| 1630 | Jug         | FEARE GOD AND/HONNOR THE KING 1630  | Slipware                | Mol. 74.33                  |  |
| 1630 | Mug         | FEARE GOD 1630  | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 19                  |  |
| 1630 | Tankard     | JAMES & ELIZABETH GRENE ANNO 1630/THE GIFT IS SMALL GOODWILL TO ALL   | tin-glazed earthenware  | Mol. a6807                  |  |
| 1631 | Fireback    | 1631  | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 238                 |  |
| 1631 | Warming pan | WHO BURNED THE BED NOBODIE/1631   | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                       |  |
| 1631 | Warming pan | GOD SAVE KING CHARLES/1631  | Brass, iron             | AMS 1                       |  |
| 1631 | Jug         | WILLIAM AND ELIZABETH BURGES 24TH AUGUST 1631/1632  | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A 3839-1901               |  |
| 1631 | Posset Pot  | STEPHEN GARDNER 1631  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1294 & A-1928 |  |
| 1631 | Armchair    | VW/1631   | Oak                     | CTF D.O.W/43                |  |
| 1632 | Fireback    | IW/1632   | Cast iron               | BCF pl.37                   |  |
| 1632 | Fireback    | WR 1632 WR  | Cast iron               | BCF pl.150                  |  |
| 1632 | Fireback    | 1632/HPE (?)  | Cast iron               | BCF pl.151                  |  |



|      |                      |  |                            |                                    |  |
|------|----------------------|--|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1632 | Warming pan          | 1632 THE EARLE OF ESSEX ARMES                                    | Brass, iron                | PC                                 |  |
| 1632 | Warming pan          | WHO BURNED THE BED NOBODIE/1632                                  | Brass, iron                | AMS Article 2                      |  |
| 1632 | Posset Pot           | 1632/1632  | tin-glazed earthenware     | BM 1887,0307.E.101                 |  |
| 1632 | Puzzle Jug           | SI/1632  | lead-glazed earthenware    | Fitzwilliam Gl.C.34-1928           |  |
| 1632 | Tyg                  | TI/1632  | lead-glazed earthenware    | Fitzwilliam C.115.1928             |  |
| 1633 | Fireback             | H/II/1633  | Cast Iron                  | BCF pl.60                          |  |
| 1633 | Fireback             | 1639   | Cast Iron                  | BCF pl.234                         |  |
| 1633 | Fuddling Cup         | IS 1633  | tin-glazed earthenware     | DED 878                            |  |
| 1633 | Fuddling Cup         | MARY LOWNES 1633   | tin-glazed earthenware     | Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 57-16 |  |
| 1633 | Jug                  | 1633   | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam C.1296-1928            |  |
| 1633 | Mug                  | IOHN POTTEN & SVSANNA:1633                                       | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam C.1295-1928            |  |
| 1633 | Tyg                  | 1633/RICHARD IOCELIN FEARE GOD                                   | lead-glazed earthenware    | Fitzwilliam C.126-1928             |  |
| 1634 | Charger              | S/RE/1634  | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam 1396-1928              |  |
| 1634 | Fireback             | 1635/CR  | Cast Iron                  | V&A 795-1896                       |  |
| 1635 | Fireback             | IT/1635/CR   | Cast Iron                  | BCF pl.146                         |  |
| 1635 | Overmantel/fireplace | 1635/FEARE GOD HONOUR THE KINGE                                  | Plaster/stone              | Lower Old Hall, NR                 |  |
| 1635 | Warming pan          | WHO BURNED YE NOBODIE/1635                                       | Brass, iron                | AMS Article 2                      |  |
| 1635 | Dish                 | TTM/1635   | tin-glazed earthenware     | V&A C.26-1931                      |  |
| 1635 | Tyg                  | IL 1635  | lead-glazed earthenware    | ECC                                |  |
| 1636 | Fireback             | RICHARD LENARD FOUNDER AT BRED FOURNIS 1636/RL                   | Cast Iron                  | BCF pl. 429                        |  |
| 1636 | Charger              | 1636   | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam 1298-1928              |  |
| 1636 | Tyg                  | IL P/TE/1636   | lead-glazed earthenware    | PC                                 |  |
| 1637 | Plate                | H/A: /1637/I L   | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam C.1397-1928            |  |
| 1637 | Plate                | C/I/A/1637   | tin-glazed earthenware     | V&A C.278-1919                     |  |
| 1637 | Chest                | THIS IS ESTHER HOBSONNE CHIIST 1637                              | Oak                        | V&A 527-1892                       |  |
| 1638 | Pair of knives       | Anna Mickethwait ANNO 1638                                       | steel, amber and ivory     | V&A M.12 to B-1950                 |  |
| 1638 | Dish                 | I/EA/1638  | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam C.1398-1928            |  |
| 1638 | Charger              | IC/1638  | tin-glazed earthenware     | V&A C.56-1973                      |  |
| 1638 | Dish                 | I/E : A/1638   | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam C.1399-1928            |  |
| 1638 | Jug                  | BE NOT HY MINDED BUT FEARE GOD 1638                              | lead-glazed earthenware    | PC                                 |  |
| 1638 | Tyg                  | IL MN 1638   | lead-glazed earthenware    | BM 18870210.16                     |  |
| 1639 | Charger              | IB M/1639  | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam 1400-1928              |  |
| 1639 | Fuddling Cup         | 'M/ W * /1639'   | tin-glazed earthenware     | CTF D.O.C/58                       |  |
| 1639 | Fuddling Cup         | B/C/M/1639   | tin-glazed earthenware     | DED 879                            |  |
| 1639 | Fuddling Cup         | M/W /1639  | tin-glazed earthenware     | DED 880                            |  |
| 1639 | Pair of knives       | 1639   | steel, amber, ivory, brass | V&A M.444 to B-1927                |  |
| 1639 | Chest                | IG/ THIS CHEST WAS MAD IN THE YEAR OF OVH LORD GOD ANNO DO. 1639 | elm                        |                                    |  |
| 1639 | Chest                | JAMES GRIFFIN  | elm                        | V&A W.302-1913                     |  |
| 164? | Puzzle cup           | GR WAK WROTHAM   | lead-glazed earthenware    | Fitzwilliam NR                     |  |
| 1640 | Warming pan          | HECTOR PRINCE OF TROYE 1640                                      | Brass, iron                | AMS Article 1                      |  |
| 1640 | Jug                  | B/R.M/1640   | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam C.1299-1928            |  |
| 1640 | Tyg                  | ANO ES MAY 1640  | lead-glazed earthenware    | BM 18740801.1                      |  |
| 1640 | Chest                | ELIZABETH LOVELL, 1640   | elm                        | V&A W.31-1926                      |  |
| 1640 | Cupboard             | UNTO US A CHILDE IS BORNE * YE XXV DAYE OF JANUARIE 1640         | oak                        | PC                                 |  |
| 1640 | Armchair             | 1640   | Oak                        | SBT 1993-31/232                    |  |
| 1640 | Charger              | IE 1640  | tin-glazed earthenware     | Fitzwilliam C.1401-1928            |  |
| 1641 | Fireback             | 1641   | Cast Iron                  | BCF pl. 38                         |  |
| 1641 | Fireback             | 1641/EM  | Cast Iron                  | Badesley Clinton Hall NT 342876    |  |
| 1641 | Fireback             | CR/1641  | Cast Iron                  | BCF pl. 445                        |  |

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|------|--------------|--|--|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1641 | Warming pan  | 1641   |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 1            |
| 1641 | Cup          | OH/FR/1641/BR  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 882                  |
| 1641 | Cradle       | C.B.M.B/1641/OCTOBER 14th. DAI   |  |  | oak                     | V&A 1769-1869            |
| 1641 | Boarded box  | 16 TH 41   |  |  | Oak                     | SBT 1966-11/1            |
| 1642 | Fireback     | 1642/TP  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 217              |
| 1642 | Warming pan  | LIVE WEL AND DY NEVER/1642   |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 1            |
| 1642 | Mug          | ANN CHAPMAN ANNO 1642  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A 1107-1853            |
| 1642 | Tyg          | GR MH/1642   |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                      |
| 1643 | Fireback     | JOHN RIVERS/1643   |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 132              |
| 1643 | Dish         | DA 1643  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1887,0210.15          |
| 1643 | Jug          | JOHN SELEMAN/1643  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1376-1928  |
| 1644 | Jug          | R/M ROBERT RIPLEY AND RS/M MARY RIPLEY 1644                              |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1302-1928  |
| 1644 | Jug          | 1644   |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A C.17-1965            |
| 1645 | Warming pan  | GOD SAVE KING CHARLES 1645   |  |  | Brass, iron             | Dunster Castle NT 725889 |
| 1645 | Warming pan  | WHO BURNED THE BED NOBODIE/1645  |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 1            |
| 1645 | Jug          | BREAK ME NOT I PRAY IN/YOUR HASTE FOR I TO NON WILL/GIVE DISTAST<br>1645 |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | Mol. A14709              |
| 1645 | Tyg          | DECEMB:THE FIRST: 1645 S/MM  |  |  | ? "Uncertain glazed"    | EEP no. 4                |
| 1646 | Warming pan  | IN GOD IS ALL MY TRUST/1646  |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 2            |
| 1646 | Cup          | WILLIAM FRISBE/1646  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Mol. C2438               |
| 1646 | Tyg          | GR 1646  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | PC                       |
| 1647 | Fireback     | 1647/RI  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 231              |
| 1647 | Warming pan  | THE LORD IS OUR DEFENSE/1647   |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 1            |
| 1647 | Cupboard     | IM/1647  |  |  | Oak                     | Lavenham NT 65101        |
| 1647 | Chest        | KY 1647  |  |  | Oak                     | Petworth House NT 485365 |
| 1648 | Candle Stick | W/WF/1648  |  |  | Tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A 4752-1901            |
| 1648 | Fireback     | 1648/TK TK   |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 133              |
| 1648 | Warming pan  | HECTOR PRINCE OF TROYE 1648  |  |  | Brass, iron             | Knole Kent NT129647      |
| 1648 | Warming pan  | BLESSED BE THE PEACMAKER/1648  |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 1            |
| 1648 | Charger      | 1648   |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 20                   |
| 1648 | Tyg          | GR 1648  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | PC                       |
| 1648 | Box          | E.W. 1648  |  |  | walnut                  | V&A 433-1896             |
| 1649 | Candlestick  | 1649/EME   |  |  | Lead-glazed earthenware | V&A 4736-1901            |
| 1649 | Fireback     | 1649 LD FAIRFAX COUNQUIROR   |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 243              |
| 1649 | Fireback     | 1649/IM  |  |  | Cast Iron               | V&A M.119-1984           |
| 1649 | Warming pan  | THE GROCERS ARMES/1649   |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS Article 1            |
| 1649 | Fuddling Cup | T/R.P/1649   |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1307-1928  |
| 1649 | Fuddling Cup | 1649   |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam 1306-1928    |
| 1649 | Fuddling Cup | AS/1649  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 883                  |
| 1649 | Plate        | 1649   |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1308-1928  |
| 1649 | Plate        | B/EM/1649  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1408-1928  |
| 1649 | Tyg          | GR B/TE/1649   |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | PC                       |
| 1649 | Tyg          | IL C/W/S/1649  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | V&A C.118-1938           |
| 1649 | Tyg          | NH 1649  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | HMAG                     |
| 1649 | Chair        | 1649 G/SC  |  |  | Oak                     | V&A 428-1896             |
| 1650 | Fireback     | 1650/IM  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 459              |
| 1650 | Fireback     | CURSIUS/NIL DESPERAN/DUM/1650/IM   |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 253              |
| 1650 | Fireback     | 1650/IM  |  |  | Cast Iron               | V&A M.113-1953           |
| 1650 | Fireback     | 1650   |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 259              |

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|------|-------------|---|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1650 | Pipkin      | FAST AND PRAY 1650 W  | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam G.C.35-1928               |
| 1650 | Cup         | RICHARD : WRIGHT : & : ELIZABETH : 1650                       | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1313-1928               |
| 1650 | Jug         | E.V/1650  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1311-1928               |
| 1650 | Jug         | IOHN LEE/1650   | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1312-1928               |
| 1650 | Pot         | THE GIFT IS SMALL GOOD WILL IS ALL 1650                       | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 25                            |
| 1650 | Tyg         | GR 1650   | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1887,0307,D.4                      |
| 1651 | Candlestick | 1651 GR SAS   | Lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1874.1114.1                        |
| 1651 | Candlestick | 1651 BE MH GR   | Lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 29                            |
| 1651 | Jug         | 1651 GR   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 30                            |
| 1651 | Posset Pot  | K.G/1651/1651   | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1319&A-1928             |
| 1651 | Posset Pot  | M/T.D/1651  | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 890                               |
| 1651 | Posset Pot  | WILLIAM CARTER AND ANN THE LOVE IO AND CANNOT SHOWE 1651      | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 891                               |
| 1651 | Tyg         | GR MP AP 1651   | lead-glazed earthenware | Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 41-23/793 |
| 1652 | Fireback    | 1652  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 171                           |
| 1652 | Fireback    | 1652  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 263                           |
| 1652 | Skilllet    | Thomas Sturton 1652   |                         | Leicester Museum 574 181/923          |
| 1653 | Fireback    | 1653 IHA  | Cast Iron               | BCF p. 379                            |
| 1653 | Fireback    | 1653/TLC  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 135                           |
| 1653 | Warming pan | DAVID KING OVER ISRAELL 1653                                  | Brass, iron             | CTF D.O.M/12                          |
| 1653 | Dish        | ATE 1653  | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A C.71-1998                         |
| 1653 | Plate       | 1653  | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A 3861-1901                         |
| 1653 | Posset Pot  | A.S/1653  | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 892                               |
| 1653 | Puzzle Jug  | GR BV 1653  | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1887,0210.48                       |
| 1654 | Puzzle Jug  | C/W.E/1653  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1321-1928               |
| 1654 | Posset Pot  | T.I. 1654   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 32                            |
| 1654 | Tyg         | M.E/NH/1654   | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.117-1928                |
| 1654 | Tyg         | 1654/GR   | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                   |
| 1654 | Tyg         | 1654/GR   | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                   |
| 1654 | Tyg         | 1654/GR   | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam NR                        |
| 1654 | Tyg         | TI 1654   | Lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                   |
| 1655 | Fireback    | 1655  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 123                           |
| 1655 | Warming pan | ENGLAND STATS ARMS 1655                                       | Brass, iron             | CTF D.O.M/74                          |
| 1655 | Warming pan | LORD INCREASE OUR STORE/1655                                  | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                                 |
| 1655 | Puzzle Jug  | N/I M/1655  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Mol. A4356                            |
| 1655 | Tyg         | H/BM/1655   | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.118-1928                |
| 1655 | Chair       | 1655  | Oak                     | Priest's House NT 67015               |
| 1655 | Chest       | 1655 MS   | Oak                     | Dinton NT 261351                      |
| 1656 | Candlestick | IW 1656   | Lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1887,0210.79                       |
| 1656 | Jug         | HI 1656   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 33                            |
| 1656 | Jug         | TM 1656 GR IE WROTHAM   | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.130-1928                |
| 1656 | Chamber Pot | EART I AM ET TES MOST TRU DES DANE ME NOT FOR SO EAR YOU 1656 | lead-glazed earthenware | Potteries M&AG 1938 P5                |
| 1656 | Posset Pot  | HI 1656   | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                   |
| 1656 | Posset Pot  | N.H. 1656   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 34                            |
| 1656 | Tyg         | W/LR/1656/HI  | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.132-1928                |
| 1656 | Tyg         | IW 1656 RBA   | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C..131-1928               |
| 1657 | Cauldron    | W.C/M 1657  | Bronze                  | B&G pl .84                            |
| 1657 | Warming pan | LORD INCREASE OUR STRENGTH/1657                               | Brass, iron             | AMS 1                                 |
| 1657 | Cup         | E.B.1657  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1323-1928               |
| 1657 | Jug         | HI 1657   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 37                            |

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|------|-----------------------|--|--|--|--|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1657 | Plate                 | H/IM/HH/1657   |  |  |  | Pewter                  | CTF D.O.M/1                          |
| 1657 | Posset Pot            | B/E.D/1657   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | BM 1887,0210.124                     |
| 1657 | Tyg                   | HW 1657  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                  |
| 1657 | Tyg                   | IW 1657  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                  |
| 1657 | Table                 | 1657   |  |  |  | Oak                     | Montacute House NT 597630            |
| 1658 | Cauldron              | MG 1658  |  |  |  | Bronze                  | B&G pl. 85                           |
| 1658 | Fireback              | 1658/T/LB/   | FROM A SMOKY LIFE/AND A SCOULDINGE WIFE/ALL MEN THAT |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 61                           |
| 1658 | Fireback              | 1658   | DOE ME SE/TAKE PETIE AND DELIVER ME                  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 99                           |
| 1658 | Fireback              | 1658   |  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 136                          |
| 1658 | Bed                   | DEATH/JAMES PRICE - MAY 4 - 1658                                   |  |  |  | Oak                     | St Fagans National History Museum NR |
| 1659 | Cup                   | FAST AND PRAY 1659   |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1887,0307,D.21                    |
| 1659 | Mug                   | S.B/1659   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.11-1931                |
| 1659 | Puzzle cup            | IW 1659  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 18870210.17                       |
| 1659 | Tyg                   | NH/SD/AB/1659  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.133-1928               |
| 1659 | Tyg                   | 1659/GR  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.136-1928               |
| 1659 | Tyg                   | WROTHAM 1659 GR W/BS   |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                  |
| 1659 | Chest                 | REPENT THE LORD IS AT HAND * WATCH AND PRAY * LIVE WEL AND dIE WEL |  |  |  | Oak                     | V&A W.17-1951                        |
| 1659 | panel from a bedstead | YOUNG FILLIP PUTTICK HIS BED STED ANO DOMNI 1659                   |  |  |  | Oak                     | V&A W.4-1992                         |
| 1659 | Armchair              | 1659 WATCH WS  |  |  |  | Oak                     | Burrell Collection 14.202            |
| 1660 | Fireback              | IS/1660  |  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 52                           |
| 1660 | Warming pan           | THE ERL OF DARBEYES ARMS/1660                                      |  |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                                |
| 1660 | Warming pan           | SARVE GOD AND LIVE FOR EVER/1660                                   |  |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                                |
| 1660 | Bottle                | B/TD/1660  |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1424-1928              |
| 1660 | Cup                   | D/ C.2.R/1660  |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF D.O.C/15                         |
| 1660 | Ewer                  | C/T H/1660   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.7-2001                 |
| 1660 | Mug                   | C R/1660   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Mol. A4946                           |
| 1660 | Plate                 | C/TH/1660  |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.8-2001                 |
| 1660 | Spoon                 | G.D./S.D./1660   |  |  |  | silver                  | Fitzwilliam M.64-1930                |
| 1660 | Tankard               | C/T H/1660   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.6& A-2001              |
| 1660 | Tyg                   | HI 1660  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                  |
| 1661 | Candle box            | RB 1661  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | CTF D.O.W/23                         |
| 1661 | Fireback              | ID(?)/1661   |  |  |  | Oak                     | BCF pl. 202                          |
| 1661 | Skillet               | 1661   |  |  |  | Cast Iron               | B&G pl. 144                          |
| 1661 | Caudle cup            | C II R/1661  |  |  |  | Bronze                  | Mol. A4578                           |
| 1661 | Caudle cup            | C R 2/1661   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Mol. 46.78/581                       |
| 1661 | Dish                  | W/WS/16:61   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1426-1928              |
| 1661 | Plate                 | Weilcom my/Friends/1661  |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF DOC/17                           |
| 1661 | Plate                 | You & I are Earth 1661   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Mol. A14639                          |
| 1661 | Posset Pot            | M E/1661   |  |  |  | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 894                              |
| 1661 | Tyg                   | HI/WA/1661   |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam NR                       |
| 1661 | Coffer                | EN 1661  |  |  |  | Sealskin, pine, leather | SBT 1993-31/39                       |
| 1661 | Fireback              | 16 61/IBM  |  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 13                           |
| 1662 | Fireback              | 1662   |  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 271                          |
| 1662 | Warming pan           | FEARE GOD HONNOR YE KING/1662                                      |  |  |  | Brass, iron             | AMS 2                                |
| 1662 | Posset Pot            | HI 1662  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                  |
| 1663 | Fireback              | I/ES/1663  |  |  |  | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 73                           |
| 1663 | Spoon rack            | 1663   |  |  |  | Oak                     | CTF DOW/18                           |
| 1663 | Tyg                   | ES/NH/B/EM/1663  |  |  |  | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 18,521,127.10                     |



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| 1675 | Plate          | S/PA/1675  | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.1434-1928      |
| 1675 | Posset Pot     | GR/1675  | lead-glazed earthenware       | EEP no. 49                   |
| 1675 | Box            | 1675/GR  | lead-glazed earthenware       | Fitzwilliam NR               |
| 1675 | Toy stool      | M.1657 M   | oak                           | CTF D.O.W/41                 |
| 1676 | Cup            | 16/S/IA/76   | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.11-1963        |
| 1676 | Plate          | S/*A/1676  | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.1435-1928      |
| 1676 | Plate          | M/G.E/1676   | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.1485-1928      |
| 1676 | Posset Pot     | II EW 1676   | lead-glazed earthenware       | ECC                          |
| 1676 | Posset Pot     | K/F.E/1676   | tin-glazed earthenware        | DED 904                      |
| 1676 | Posset Pot     | C/W.E/1676   | tin-glazed earthenware        | DED 905                      |
| 1676 | Posset Pot     | AM/1676  | tin-glazed earthenware        | DED 906                      |
| 1676 | Plate          | K/IM/1673  | tin-glazed earthenware        | Cotehele NT347507            |
| 1676 | Tyg            | IG/1676  | lead-glazed earthenware       | Fitzwilliam C.138-1928       |
| 1677 | Caudle cup     | 1677 IC  | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.1585-1928      |
| 1677 | Charger        | 1677//CR   | tin-glazed earthenware        | CTF DOC/34                   |
| 1677 | Plate          | H/RM/1677  | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam c.1334-1928      |
| 1677 | Posset Pot     | A Y/16 77  | tin-glazed earthenware        | BM 1891,0318.1               |
| 1677 | Spoon          | WR WR 1677   | Metal                         | CTF D.O.M/125                |
| 1677 | Tyg            | GR 1677  | lead-glazed earthenware       | ECC                          |
| 1677 | Box            | F S/1 Fear 6 7 God 7   | elm                           | CTF D.O.W/6                  |
| 1678 | Cup            | MARY OVMFARIS YOUR CVP.1678                                      | lead-glazed earthenware       | Fitzwilliam C.243-1928       |
| 1678 | Posset Pot     | T/C.F/1678   | tin-glazed earthenware        | DED 908                      |
| 1678 | Tyg            | IG/M/ET/AM/1678  | lead-glazed earthenware       | Fitzwilliam C.122-1928       |
| 1678 | Fireback       | IH/1678  | Cast Iron                     | BCF pl. 603                  |
| 1679 | Cupboard       | R 1679 P   | Oak                           | lightam Motte NT825011       |
| 1679 | Fireback       | 1679   | Cast Iron                     | BCF pl. 266                  |
| 1679 | Plate          | D/W:D/1679   | tin-glazed earthenware        | CTF DOC/50                   |
| 1679 | Box            | 1679/LL  | Oak                           | Overbeck's House NT 336745   |
| 1680 | Basin          | 16 L/RK 80   | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.1335-1928      |
| 1680 | Plate          | IA ANNO 1680   | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.2473-1928      |
| 1680 | Dish           | D/GM/T/16 B A. 80  | tin-glazed earthenware        | V&A C.21-1966                |
| 1680 | Posset Pot     | I.M/1680   | tin-glazed earthenware        | DED 909                      |
| 1680 | Cupboard       | WBH/1680   | Oak                           | Rufford Old Hall NT 783918   |
| 1681 | Cup            | RALPH TURNOR/1681(?)   | lead-glazed earthenware       | BM 18870210.21               |
| 1681 | Posset Pot     | E.H/1681   | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.1641 & A -1928 |
| 1681 | Spoon          | GD/TS 1681   | Metal                         | CTF D.O.M/123                |
| 1681 | Press Cupboard | IIS/1681/IM  | oak                           | V&A W.40-1946                |
| 1681 | Side table     | PBK 1681   | Oak                           | SBT 1993-31/258              |
| 1681 | Fireback       | 16 DB 81   | Cast Iron                     | Hodge pl. 875                |
| 1682 | Jug            | VNTO GOD ONLY BE HOMR GLORI/G//IF/1682                           | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.1336-1928      |
| 1682 | Mlug           | S S/1682   | salt-glazed stoneware, silver | V&A 414:853-1885             |
| 1682 | Mlug           | S S/1682   | salt-glazed stoneware, silver | V&A 414:853/A-1885           |
| 1682 | Plate          | .B./ I*/ 1682  | tin-glazed earthenware        | CTF D.O.C/39                 |
| 1682 | Plate          | K R/ 16 82   | tin-glazed earthenware        | Fitzwilliam C.1642-1928      |
| 1682 | Posset Pot     | Com Sit a down and merry bee and think my masters Curtesee. 1682 | lead-glazed earthenware       | BM 1928,0423.1.CR            |
| 1682 | Posset Pot     | ANN BRIT HER CUP 1682  | lead-glazed earthenware       | EEP no. 59                   |
| 1682 | Posset Pot     | RF IG MO RD 1682   | lead-glazed earthenware       | V&A 4717-1901                |
| 1682 | Posset Pot     | DANIEL COCK 1682   | tin-glazed earthenware        | DED 911                      |
| 1682 | Armchair       | AC EH.1682   | Oak                           | V&A W.91-1921                |

|      |              |   |                         |                                 |
|------|--------------|---|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1683 | Cupboard     | 1683  | Wooden                  | Baddesley Clinton NT342629      |
| 1683 | Cauldron     | 1683  | Bronze                  | Museum of Somerset 187/2004/119 |
| 1683 | Posset Pot   | RALPH TOFT 1683                               | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.224 & A-1928      |
| 1683 | Puzzle cup   | AM IG 1683                                    | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.139-1928          |
| 1683 | Wash basin   | D/D:E/1683                                    | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1338-1928         |
| 1683 | Box          | 1683  | Oak                     | Packwood House NT 557666        |
| 1684 | Cupboard     | 16 E E 84                                     | Oak                     | Great Chalfield NT539449        |
| 1684 | Skillet      | PITTY THE PORE 1684                           | brass                   | BM 1878.1101.102                |
| 1685 | Tyg          | MARGARET COLLEY 1684                          | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 61                      |
| 1685 | Candle Stick | I/AM/1685                                     | Tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1340-1928         |
| 1685 | Cauldron     | AM 1685                                       | Bronze                  | B&G pl. 199                     |
| 1685 | Fireback     | 1685/WB                                       | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 72                      |
| 1685 | Fireback     | E/HM/1685                                     | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 86                      |
| 1685 | Cup          | WILLIAM SIMPSON HIS CVP 1685                  | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.225-1928          |
| 1685 | Posset Pot   | T/ 16 C A 85                                  | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1504&A1928        |
| 1685 | Tyg          | EMW/EMW/1685                                  | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 19571201.4                   |
| 1686 | Fireback     | R/IN/1686                                     | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 162                     |
| 1686 | Cup          | W III/1686/WO                                 | lead-glazed earthenware | V&A C.107-1978                  |
| 1686 | Plate        | M*S/1686                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1440-1928         |
| 1686 | Posset Pot   | 16/G/IA/86                                    | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1505&A-1928       |
| 1686 | Posset Pot   | (Pot) T/C A /1685 (Stand) T/C A/1686          | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1504B-1928        |
| 1686 | Puzzle Jug   | P/NM/1686                                     | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1441-1928         |
| 1687 | Fire tongs   | B T E 1687                                    | Wrought iron            | CTF D.O.M/28                    |
| 1687 | Fireback     | 1687/IR                                       | Cast iron               | BCF pl. 197                     |
| 1687 | Fireback     | 1687  | Cast iron               | V&A M.103-1913                  |
| 1687 | Cup          | EC/IE/1687                                    | lead-glazed earthenware | V&A 4754-1901                   |
| 1687 | Posset Pot   | 1687 IH IR                                    | lead-glazed earthenware | RAMM Exeter NR                  |
| 1687 | Posset Pot   | IE 1687 EC                                    | lead-glazed earthenware | V&A 4754-1901                   |
| 1687 | Posset Pot   | W/BA/1687                                     | tin-glazed earthenware  | Ashmolean Hall-Warren 46        |
| 1687 | Posset Pot   | B/LE/1687                                     | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1506&A-1928       |
| 1687 | Posset Pot   | S/R.E/1687 and I/WM [on base]                 | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 916                         |
| 1687 | Posset Pot   | SW 1687                                       | tin-glazed earthenware  | Metropolitan Museum 46.64.15    |
| 1687 | Posset Pot   | A B/16 87                                     | tin-glazed earthenware  | Rijksmuseum NM 12400: 80        |
| 1687 | Cup          | NH/MS/1687                                    | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam Glaisher no. 123    |
| 1687 | Chair        | GL/ GEORGE LEWIS FEBVERY YE 20 ANNO DO 1687/8 | Walnut and cane         | CTF D.O.W/27                    |
| 1687 | High chair   | 1687  | oak                     | V&A 395-1905                    |
| 1687 | Knife        | M Froman 1687                                 | Steel and ivory         | V&A 523-1893                    |
| 1688 | Cup          | TG HS AD ME RP WS RF 1688                     | lead-glazed earthenware | V&A 597-1899                    |
| 1688 | Cup          | G/A*/A/1688                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF D.O.C/19                    |
| 1688 | Plate        | L/I.M./1688                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF D.O.C/37                    |
| 1688 | Plate        | [Owl and Pussy Cat BaDEDd] 1688               | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1443-1928         |
| 1688 | Posset Pot   | B/IA/1688                                     | tin-glazed earthenware  | BM 1943, 7-2.1                  |
| 1688 | Posset pot   | A/A/1668                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF D.O.C/16                    |
| 1688 | Posset Pot   | EW/16:88                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1445-1928         |
| 1688 | Posset Pot   | T/I/1688                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 924                         |
| 1688 | Posset Pot   | G/I P/1688/9                                  | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 925                         |
| 1688 | Cabinet      | H/T.W./1688                                   | Walnut, rosewood, holly | V&A W.14.1. 2-1911              |
| 1689 | Posset Pot   | IE/W/WA/1689                                  | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam NR                  |
| 1689 | Spoon        | GW GB 1689                                    | Metal                   | CTF D.O.M/124                   |

|      |                |  |                         |                                       |  |
|------|----------------|--|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1689 | Tyg            | W/WA/1689/IE                                 | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam Glaisher no. 140          |  |
| 1689 | Chest          | MP 1689                                      | Oak                     | SBT 951                               |  |
| 1689 | Armchair       | EO 1689                                      | Oak                     | Rufford Old Hall NT 783878            |  |
| 1689 | Armchair       | MO 1689                                      | Oak                     | Rufford Old Hall NT 783879            |  |
| 1690 | Fireback       | 1690   | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 225                           |  |
| 1690 | Plate          | RTR/1/Whatt is a merry man?/1690             | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF DOC/24                            |  |
| 1690 | Plate          | 1690   | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1645-1928               |  |
| 1690 | Posset Pot     | IOHN : TAYLOR: 1690                          | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.247-1928                |  |
| 1690 | Tyg            | IOHN HVGH/1690                               | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 66                            |  |
| 1691 | Plate          | W M R/16 M*W 91                              | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF DOC/8                             |  |
| 1691 | Posset Pot     | L/I/F/16.91                                  | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 927                               |  |
| 1691 | Puzzle Jug     | JOHN WEDGWOOD 1691                           | lead-glazed earthenware | V&A 2297-1901                         |  |
| 1691 | Cradle         | E.M.G/1691                                   | oak                     | V&A 596-1886                          |  |
| 1692 | Fireback       | 1692/TB                                      | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 73                            |  |
| 1692 | Warming pan    | 1692   | Brass, iron             | AMS 1                                 |  |
| 1692 | Jug            | RS/1692                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.41-1934                 |  |
| 1692 | Posset Pot     | M. ROBART SHAW 1692                          | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1887,0307,D.61                     |  |
| 1692 | Posset Pot     | THE BEST IS NOT TOO GOOD FOR YOV 1692        | Lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam C.286 & A-1928            |  |
| 1692 | Chest          | IB 1692                                      | Oak                     | Lanhydrock NT 883012                  |  |
| 1693 | Dish           | WR MR 1693                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.2637-1928               |  |
| 1693 | Posset Pot     | SS/1693                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 928                               |  |
| 1694 | Cup            | 1694   | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.296-1928                |  |
| 1694 | Dish           | W R/1694                                     | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1630-1928               |  |
| 1694 | Jug            | 1694   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 74                            |  |
| 1694 | Knife and Fork | SAMUEL WILDEY 1694                           | steel and tortoiseshell | CTF D.O.O/50                          |  |
| 1694 | Posset Pot     | E/B E/1694                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | BM 1957,1201.17                       |  |
| 1695 | Fireback       | IB 1695                                      | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 139                           |  |
| 1695 | Plate          | M/H/1/1695                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF DOC/39                            |  |
| 1695 | Plate          | IQ/1695                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1346B-1928              |  |
| 1695 | Plate          | IQ.1695                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1346A-1928              |  |
| 1695 | Posset Pot     | THE BEST IS NOT TOO GOOD FOR YOV 1695        | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 75                            |  |
| 1695 | Posset Pot     | IE/N/TE/1695                                 | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                   |  |
| 1695 | Posset Pot     | N/I E/1695                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 930                               |  |
| 1695 | Posset Pot     | SM 1695                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 931                               |  |
| 1695 | Tyg            | IE/1695                                      | lead-glazed earthenware | Fitzwilliam Glaisher no. 141          |  |
| 1696 | Cupboard       | 1696/DUW/Tad                                 | lead-glazed earthenware | Quebec House NT528937                 |  |
| 1696 | Plate          | B/I M/ 1696                                  | Oak                     | CTF D.O.C/51                          |  |
| 1696 | Porringer      | E*/E/1696                                    | tin-glazed earthenware  | CTF D.O.C/18                          |  |
| 1696 | Posset Pot     | WILLIAM CHATERLY 1696                        | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 1887,0210.19                       |  |
| 1696 | Posset Pot     | IB RF THE BEST IS NOT TOO GOOD FOR YOV 1696  | lead-glazed earthenware | Potteries M&AG 2754                   |  |
| 1696 | Posset Pot     | H/T T/1696                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | BM 1904,0611.1                        |  |
| 1696 | Posset Pot     | 1696 : ANN : PALTHORPE                       | tin-glazed earthenware  | City Art Gallery, Manchester 1965.116 |  |
| 1696 | Posset Pot     | H/H K/1696                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A 4737-1901                         |  |
| 1696 | Puzzle cup     | IE/E/WM/1696                                 | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                   |  |
| 1697 | Spit jack      | JD/LEWES PREDHAM LANDFORD FECIT: 1697        | brass, iron             | CTF D.O.M/133                         |  |
| 1697 | Jug            | IE 1697                                      | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 81                            |  |
| 1697 | Posset Pot     | HE 1697                                      | lead-glazed earthenware | ECC                                   |  |
| 1697 | Posset Pot     | THE.BEST.IS.NOT.TOO.GOOD. FOR.YOV.1697/IB/RF | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 80                            |  |
| 1697 | Posset Pot     | ED WD RD.1697                                | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 82                            |  |



|      |            |  |                         |                                   |  |
|------|------------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1697 | Posset Pot | II IB 1697                                   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 83                        |  |
| 1697 | Posset pot | AW/1697                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1647-1928           |  |
| 1697 | Posset Pot | THE BEST IS NOT TOO GOOD. FOR YOV 1697/IB/WS | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.248-1928            |  |
| 1697 | Posset Pot | A M/1697                                     | tin-glazed earthenware  | V&A c.75-1931                     |  |
| 1697 | Puzzle Jug | 1697   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 79                        |  |
| 1697 | Tyg        | IE 1697                                      | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 18870210.25                    |  |
| 1697 | Tyg        | 1697   | lead-glazed earthenware | EEP no. 84                        |  |
| 1697 | Chest      | TH 1697                                      | elm                     | V&A W.50:2-1914                   |  |
| 1697 | Plaque     | IH 1697                                      | Stone                   | SBT 1993-31/629                   |  |
| 1698 | Fireback   | RH/1698                                      | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 155                       |  |
| 1698 | Tyg        | IE 1698                                      | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 19090626.2                     |  |
| 1699 | Mug        | IE 1699                                      | lead-glazed earthenware | BM 18870210.47                    |  |
| 1699 | Posset Pot | AS/1699                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | City Art Gallery, Bristol G. 1554 |  |
| 1699 | Posset Pot | B/16 HA 99                                   | tin-glazed earthenware  | DED 938                           |  |
| 1699 | Box        | TN 1699                                      | applewood               | V&A W.37-1919                     |  |
| 1699 | Posset Pot | EK/1699                                      | tin-glazed earthenware  | Fitzwilliam C.1652 & A-1928       |  |
| 1710 | Fireback   | 1710/IB                                      | Cast Iron               | BCF pl. 13                        |  |
|      |            |  |                         |                                   |  |
|      |            |  |                         |                                   |  |

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### Web Resources

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