
Kirkby Stephen, a market centre for the Upper Eden valley since the Medieval period was granted its second market charter in 1605, by James I. The 3rd Earl of Cumberland, a member of the Clifford family and lord of Kirkby manor, had applied for the charter at a time when the king was consolidating his administration in the border counties. A charter was important for the community as no trading was allowed outside a market, thus without one there could be little expansion. Kirkby seems to have had two market charters; the first was issued in 1353, and its conditions applied until the second one was granted. This latter confirmed the original rights but changed the market day from Friday to Monday, while retaining the two annual fairs, one at St Mark's tide in spring, the other at St Luke's tide on October 18th.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Kirkby was a small rural community in the Upper Eden Valley, a part of the Westmorland estates of the Clifford family, which were centred on Appleby Castle. The area was part of the border country that had suffered turmoil since the 14th century; with the Union of the Crowns under James I came greater hopes of peace. Throughout all the years of turmoil, Kirkby had managed to maintain its market rights. However, it remained a small village, surrounded by even smaller hamlets, a village of farmers with no resident landed gentry until the late 16th century.

This work has two aims: first to examine Kirkby Stephen in 1605 at the time of the granting of the second charter, and secondly to look at the effects of this grant over the following century. It is a sequel to the work which was done two years ago on the

community at the time of the first market grant. The problem of finding contemporary source-material, while not as acute as that for the medieval community, still presents great difficulties for a study which is concerned with a small village. There are no contemporary maps and the only surviving sketches were by Machell, a late 17th century antiquarian, whose main interests were churches and armorial bearings. Travellers and diarists dismissed the place in a single sentence,¹ and official returns, the only statistics available, give a distorted picture of a declining village, giving 300 households for Kirkby in 1563 and 147 in 1674². Other sources show that in reality, the village was growing and that the basis for the figures was questionable.

Written sources are disjointed and sporadic for much of the early period. Kirkby's charter did not give it borough status, The use of the word *town* in this work indicates the built up area or township of Kirkby within the parish. Like other small rural communities, it was administered by manor courts: those of the Cliffords, the Whartons and the Musgraves each covered parts of Kirkby. Many of these records have disappeared, and the Clifford ones, which cover the greater part of the township of Kirkby, do not begin until 1695. The Quarter Sessions court books begin in 1660 and are part of the Appleby records, and while the parish registers for Brough begin in the mid 16th century, the early ones for Kirkby Stephen have been lost. The surviving ones begin in the late 17th century. These registers and the Clifford papers are lodged in Kendal record office.

However, in Carlisle Record Office, where the diocesan records are housed, there many wills and inventories dating from around 1570 for the villagers living in Kirkby Stephen. The making of these was a trifle haphazard, some are very brief, but they

represent a wide cross-section of the inhabitants. Many quite poor families made them in order to provide guardians for their children and young widows. Although there are a number of problems in using them, they are invaluable in that they give a glimpse into the lives of ordinary people at the local level. It is possible, for example, to find what John Dickinson of Kirkby owned when he died in 1619, how many sheep Thomas Robinson of Crosby Garret had in 1605 and what Edward Myneres, the first school master of Kirkby, ate in 1605.³ There are, of-course, still plenty of puzzles remaining. Who was Master William Swinbank, was he related to the vicar of the time, did he run a business or was he just wealthy? How did Agnes Smith of Stainmore survive? Who was the well-dressed Thomas Trippet? The wills and inventories to be discussed are samples taken from those of the Upper Eden Valley from Brough to Mallerstang for the period around 1605. Others taken nearly a century later will be used to show the development of consumerism and wealth in some local households which, it may be argued, was the result of the trading initiatives taken earlier in Kirkby.

This does not pretend to be a scientific sampling of inventories: there are not enough to be statistically significant for any one decade. All the study can do is to give some indication of the economic life in the area.⁴ Above all this is an attempt to illustrate the lives of the ordinary villager during the 17th century, This is an aspect which needs more attention, for it would appear that the development of Kirkby was not the result of investment or initiative of the landed gentry, but by the more humble householders like the Bousfields, the Haistwhittles, the Thompsons and the Raws.

After a brief background to the period, this work will be in two parts: the first will examine Kirkby as it was around 1605, looking at the village economy, at the inhabitants, their houses and their occupations. The second part will be an attempt to assess the impact of the charter on the subsequent development of the town over the following century.

Background

A brief background to the period is needed to provide the setting for this study. There are three main points to make. First, this was a period of recovery following a long period of poor harvests and plague.⁵ Outbreaks of the latter had been frequent in the late 16th century but that of the 1590s was one of the worst plagues on record, killing hundreds in Penrith, and in Carlisle while in Kendal the parish registers cease altogether. Locally we know that Brough lost two complete families; and Appleby recorded 127 deaths. Kirkby, however, has no surviving records for the period.

Secondly, the 16th century had been one of vast change in the church life of England. Even a remote Westmorland parish could not escape the effects. The dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII put large quantities of land on the market, while disposing of a whole system of social care; the sick, the poor, the wayfarer, and the lay brothers who worked the estates lost their benefactors. Kirkby parish church, like many others in Westmorland, had belonged to St. Mary's Priory, York. After the dissolution, its advowson, tithes and glebe were bought up by the Wharton family, who were tenants of the Cliffords. Wharton Hall was enlarged and the villagers who lived at Wharton were removed so that a large area could be made into private parkland for the family. Men from Kirkby had protested vigorously against the

changes of Henry VIII; the Pilgrimage of Grace which saw them march on Penrith, and Carlisle, ended disastrously with 14 men hanged from the Kirkby area. Thereafter all was peaceful, although the rest of the century was one of violent religious changes. The hardening of attitudes in Elizabeth's reign, following the near invasion of the Spanish Armada, meant that any dissent was regarded as treason. However, even in November 1605, the Earl of Cumberland could report that all was quiet in Westmorland. Guy Fawkes had had no impact in the county.

The third factor to note was that in 1605, James I had been on the throne of England for two years. The union of the crowns of England and Scotland brought peace to the lawless border regions of the north. The Bishop of Carlisle had reported in 1599 that in the diocese, the churches were without roofs, and were served by 'beggarly runners from Scotland'.⁶ Others had described devastated crops, large areas of waste, and 'the worst wool in the realm'. Peace allowed the agriculture to recover⁷ and Cumbria to become integrated with the rest of England. No longer was it ignored by the crown, which in the past, had done little apart from appoint local tough men, like the Dacres, Cliffords and the Whartons, to subdue the area. Under James I long distance trade developed, with the greatest increase being that of cattle droving. Scottish and Cumbrian beasts were taken south to supply the English markets with the result that the trade of the markets and fairs along their routes also increased significantly.

Location

Kirkby Stephen was one of these market centres. It was situated near the 'King's Great Highway', the main east-west road across northern England which ran through Brough, and, in addition it lay on a route leading southwards with access to Hawes,

Sedbergh and Tebay. The Eden was bridged or forded in three places near the market square. There is physical evidence of drovers' routes in the present day landscape but there are no surviving written records of the markets and fairs of this period. This is not surprising as they are rare throughout England. Even Appleby, with its borough records for the period, has retained only a few horse sale certificates.

The Village

The one fact that can be verified is that in May 1605, George, the third earl of Cumberland, was granted a new market charter for Kirkby Stephen⁸. His family, the Cliffords, had owned the manorial rights of Kirkby Stephen since the 14th century. The previous year the earl had been declared bankrupt [his debts amounted to over £40,000 despite his free-booting days on the Spanish Main] and a survey of all his property was made. This 1604 survey gives an outline of his holdings in Kirkby Stephen from which a general picture of the village may be drawn, although as it shows only names of tenants it is impossible to locate the buildings. The Cliffords administered the major part of Kirkby Stephen. Their late 17th century manorial records show that they had over 130 tenants in Kirkby and despite the land disputes centred on Lady Ann's claims and the civil war⁹, there is little indication that the extent of the Clifford holdings in Kirkby had changed between 1604 and 1695. Throughout the century, in effect they owned nearly all of the built up area as far as Town Head and Stenkrith to the south. They held the line of fields on the outskirts, like Croglin, Sandwath and Trainriggs.¹⁰ They owned two mills, a corn mill along Mill Lane [now Riverside] and another at Stenkrith which was probably a fulling mill as the adjacent field is called the Tenter field. The manor house and farm, probably on the present site in Melbecks, was occupied by the lord's bailiff, William Spencely.

There were unenclosed meadows at Rowe-gate and Sower Pow. By the end of the 17th century there were certainly workshops, and inns but although their origin cannot be dated, they were not new when they were recorded for the manor court. There was a dyehouse, a bakehouse, and a workhouse. This was not a poor house but a workshop at Town Head, and judging by the windows, perhaps used for weaving¹¹. There may have been brewers, tanners and hosiers but these do not appear in the rentals; Probably at this period they were secondary occupation of the farming families.¹² Judging by the present layout, this was a village of farm houses and cottages around the market place and along the main road. Across the back lane lay the town fields in which a number of occupiers leased strips of land.

Two other families claimed manorial rights, these were the Whartons and Musgraves. Both were sub-tenants of the Cliffords, but in addition, Wharton, as noted earlier, had the church lands in his own right. The Musgraves had very little property in the town, although they owned Hartley and its castle and some of the surrounding villages. Wharton's property also lay, in general, outside the town, but the newly purchased church-land lay within the built up area. This glebe land seems to have let out in blocks, and also were let two lime pits.

Kirkby Stephen in 1605 Main Buildings

The church was much as it is today. The central tower of the medieval period had been taken down in the early 16th century and replaced by one at the west-end. The nave roof had been raised with a few small windows inserted at the top of the walls and the south aisle had been widened and buttressed. The Wharton chapel may date

from the late 16th century, when a site for the effigy of the first lord was required. The church wardens were responsible for carrying out all the changes dictated by the Crown; painting out all murals in one reign, and reinstating them again in the next, likewise disposing of the bells and then re-hanging them. It may have been in Elizabethan times that the pulpit was first sited in the centre of the north aisle and the pews introduced. The church-wardens had to control vermin in the parish, [they paid a shilling a head for brocks, and foxes], they swept out the packs of dogs which lived in the church and they had to see that everyone took communion as regulated by civil law. The parish Vestry dates from the Elizabethan. period. This was a meeting, called by the wardens to deal with the civil administration of the parish. They had to ensure that poor law guardians, constables and highway -overseers were elected.

The legacy of the first Lord Wharton was the grammar school, founded in 1566, and funded by the tithes from Kirkby and from another Wharton property, that of Healaugh in Swaledale. He gave the vicarage and its orchard for the headmaster's house. In keeping with the spirit of the age, the school was to concentrate on teaching the humanities to poor boys. Edward Mynesse, its first school master, a notable Scottish Calvinist taught at Ravenstonedale school before. Wharton appointed him to the new school in Kirkby Stephen. He took up to twenty pupils as boarders from outside the district. In this way, the influence of Kirkby was extended beyond its own boundaries and beyond its traditional agricultural base. The only surviving list of poor boys proposed by the vicar for free education comes from 1653. It shows the desperate plight of some families. Robert Mason aged 8, John Hindmere aged 4 and Hugh Cawland aged 11 were all orphans; the latter had no relatives and had to earn his living by knitting. Four others, Christopher Parkin, Michael Waller, Robert

Sowerby and Michael Wilson were members of large motherless families, barely able to survive despite the efforts of their fathers.¹³

The church, the school and the headmaster's house are the only buildings in Kirkby that can now be definitely located for 1605, apart from the mills¹⁴. The cluster of thatched houses around the market and church have long since disappeared although the boundaries of their garths can be found. For more details of the village, it is necessary to look at the inhabitants, whose lives can be seen, although rather mistily, through their inventories.

The people of Kirkby Stephen around 1605.

Before examining the inventories it is necessary to consider the rates of pay and prices for those who were wage-earners or casual farm labourers. The daily rate of pay for a stone mason or a carpenter was 12d, a master craftsman might get 14-16d. A labourer was paid 6d. For a day's shearing the rate was 3d and for a day's ploughing 8d.¹⁵

Women were paid less and often worked piece rate; thus Thomas Trippet owed 'John Ovacall's wife for making shirt bands, 12d' in 1617. Wages were often long overdue. Robert Haistwhittle in 1612 owed eleven different people for work, ranging from 2d to William Todd to 3s 4d to the wife of John Rakestrawe. Huw Hoopps of Mallerstang owed 5shillings to his servant in 1576, John Bousfield owed his servant the same amount while Robert Thompson was owed 16s by the Clifford's bailiff in 1616.

Prices for livestock and crops varied with the season but generally a cow was worth just under £2, a ewe, 3-4 shillings, wool was 6s a stone, malt and biggs [barley] were

6s a bushel, and oats were worth half that value at 3s a bushel. Of-course many households were capable of producing a substantial proportion of their own food and some goods were exchanged rather than sold at the markets .in the Appleby area: thus in 1619, ‘William Horsfall, butcher, exchanged a gelding, grey and wanting one eye, with a cow, black and one ewe with Humphrey Gowling, yeoman’. Most households had their own cow and calf, and a vegetable garden; even a young single woman like Agnes Smith who was in her twenties when she died at Winber End on Stainmore had her own, although she was living with her mother and six sisters.

Individual cases illustrate a few contemporary householders. Henry Blencarn, a prosperous farmer who left £41 worth of inventoried goods in 1602 also owned a house, a cottage and a tenement which he left to be divided between his two sons and his wife. [They appear in the 1604 survey]. He relied on mixed farming. He grew wheat and corn, [bigge and oats] and kept 11 sheep, 3 kyne, 2 stirkes, a yoke of oxen and a stott and two horses and some poultry. He may have been some type of craftsman as his tools were worth 20s. He also had six woods.[sic]. It is not clear if this term was used for woodland or for building timbers but with his wheat these were valued at £22, a considerable sum.

Christopher Barnett, [also in the 1604 survey], died at Kirkby in 1612, leaving £13 10s 8d worth of goods. He had a similar range of livestock, although fewer in number: He also grew corn, but his implements [apart from his husbandry gear] were worth only 18d. Likewise John Todd of Wharton, in July 1615, left 31 sheep and 7 lambs, 3 kine, 3 young cattle and 2 calves, 2 mares and a foal together with corn and hay in the fields.¹⁶

Most of the other inventories of the period show a similar range of livestock and crops. Small scale mixed farming at a subsistence level seems to have been part of the life for the inhabitants of Kirkby whether they were traders or craftsmen. Their houses and tenements came with rights to lease stints on the commons but although they rented strips in the town fields, they did not farm communally.

Most testators were male and if they were married the 'rule of thirds' operated; a third was the widow's right, a third was to be divided between the children and a third could be willed away. Single women and widows are represented among the testators, but married women had no legal rights. They could make wills only with the permission of their husbands, and they were not automatically the guardians of their children, nor had they any rights to their own dowries. Elsewhere in the Eden valley, John Atkinson of Temple Sowerby, for example, in 1625, specified that his wife could have the cow and calf 'which she brought with her from Bolton', and John Hodgson, a century later, allowed his wife, 'the house which was hers before her marriage'.¹⁷

The wills of widows show that they often took over the family tenement until their children were old enough to work. Isabel Morland of Rookby, a widow who died in 1601, was an active farmer. She left 21 sheep, 11 kine, and 14 young beef, and 5 horses, along with corn and hay. She also had poultry and a hive of bees. Margaret Haistwhittle, a widow who was old enough to be a grandmother, left a small herd of sheep, 3 kine with 3 heifers and crops sown in the fields when she died in 1602.

Among the better-off villagers was Master Mynesse who was still a working school-master earning £12 a year, when he died in 1605. There are one or two indications in

his inventory to show a different life style from other inhabitants of Kirkby. His books were worth £4, and his apparel was quite valuable, at £3 6s 4d. He had a mare and an expensive 'hakenay saddle'. His house was furnished with boards, chairs, stools and forms, a new cupboard, an old cupboard, and four chests. Bedding and linen were worth a very large sum of nearly £11. His fire vessels, [he had a chimney], pewter and wooden vessels also show that this was still furnished as a boarding house and perhaps still functioning as he had 6 shillings worth of hung beef. More suprisingly given his age [he had been headmaster for forty years] he had both milk and beef cattle and 54 sheep, as well as corn and hay. His goods were worth over £60.

Another gentleman, Master William Swinbank, who died in 1606, was probably related to the vicar of the period. His uncle Roland, and not his wife, was to be the guardian of his children. He owned a house in York as well as one in Kirkby. He left £50 worth of goods and he was at the forefront of consumerism with expensive fire vessels, specialist cooking pots like a frying pan, and luxury articles such as a looking glass, a water pitcher, pots, a pouch of coals, cushions feather beds and pillows. He had painted coffers, and chests of ash. But why did he also have 14 pairs of sheets, 30 yards of harden cloth [coarse linen], 3 dozen napkins, wool-cards, a line wheel [for spinning flax] and 10 pounds of yarn? Was he a merchant draper holding supplies of yarn for cloth making?, did he run a work- shop or an inn? Maybe he was a gentleman of leisure. All these remain unanswered questions. Inventories only show a small facet of a person's life. They did not include land, or houses. A man's estate included that of his wife so that her spinning wheel was with his goods. ¹⁸

Maybe Wharton's interest had gentrified Kirkby. Thomas Trippet, an unmarried man, died in 1617. His only known connection with the Whartons is that one of that surname acted as an appraiser. He did, however, leave the residue of his goods to 'my lord', unfortunately, unnamed. He was not a farmer, but he owned an expensive black horse and 3 pecks of oats.¹⁹ He had the luxury of a feather bed and its coverings, but no other furniture. His inventory lists his clothes:

2 old cloaks, 4 doublets, 4 jerkins, 7 pairs of hose, 1 old clout, [a hat], 1 hat, 10 handkerchiefs, 3 shirts and remnants, **9 pairs of woollen stockings**, 2 pairs of boots, 2 pairs of shoes, a sword, 2 daggers, a bow a quiver with arrows and a key band.

He had over £27 in gold and money. Any thought that he might be a visitor may be disregarded. He owned a tenement locally and the list of debts owed to him shows that he had lent money to nine local people: some on 5 year bonds.

This inventory illustrates the clothes of a wealthy man. It is very rare to have such details in an inventory. In most cases a man's apparel is given along with his purse and horse. If valued separately it was often worth about 20s. Rock bottom seems to have been reached by Hugh Shaw of Hanging Lunds whose clothing was worth 2s in 1576.

The only details of a working women's clothing in the Eden valley so far found is that for Agnes Sowerby of Temple Sowerby, who died in 1664, a single woman. She left inventoried goods to the value of £10 of which her clothes were worth about £2. She had a blue coat and hat, a stuff petticoat, three waist-coats, [two of them green] two smocks and linen clothes. These details show that the normal grey cloth [straight from the loom] could be dyed a variety of colours at an affordable price for a village

woman. Agnes has no spinning wheel in her inventory; she may have given it away before her death, she may have shared one with a neighbour or she may have used a drop-spindle which would not show up in inventories. She certainly made her own clothes; she left 'the new smock I last made' to John Gowling's wife, along with 'my smocke wastecoate and a hefleexagg [patchwork?] wastecoate, and a green stuffe wastecoate'. In this case [if the transcription is correct], both the patchwork and the smocking refer to the methods of making. This raises the question of where did she get the material, and sewing equipment? She has no yarn or cloth at the time of her death, nor are scissors or threads mentioned. There was a weaver in her village, and there were probably a number in Kirkby Stephen where inventories show lengths of grey cloth although no looms have been found.²⁰ For rural communities an important source of equipment and cloth for the dress-makers was the pedlar. There were a number centred on Penrith who must have worked the Eden valley markets. James Ferguson who died there in 1686, travelled with his stock, [his inventory states that 'there are debts that his wife knew not as he was a travelling man']. His wife Margaret seems to have kept a shop in Penrith. They had bolts of cloth ranging from muslin to kersey, ready-made bodies, [bodices] gloves and muffs, scissors, threads, leather jerkin parts and other things which could not be produced in the home, which included buckles, belts, lace-collars, silk bands, ribbons, hooks, looking-glasses, seeing-glasses, and old hair [for wigs]. They provided not only for the basic needs of the home dress-maker, but also the little luxuries which gave a touch of individuality.

The village houses of the 1605 period were small, with thatched roofs and walls of wattle and daub. A survey of Appleby vicarage farm in 1562, transcribed by Blake Tyson, is the only local one to show what farm buildings of the period were like. As

most of the building ‘had clean goynnedovne’ the assessors listed the work needed on the timber frame work, the watlying and thekyn [wattle thatching].²¹.

More research is needed on the dating of the stone built houses in Kirkby Stephen; at present it is believed that a number of them date from the second half of the 17th century. The farm buildings included housing for the cattle with storage for the hay at one end and the living quarters at the other side. The early inventories list the contents of the ‘hall’ or firehouse, indicating that this was the main, if not the only, room. The presence of fire-irons coupled with a girdle-pan are early indications that there may be a chimney and that cooking was above the basic level of a cauldron on an open fire. A dropping pan and spits, frying pans and kettles show the development of more sophisticated cooking arrangements while chimneys allowed hams and beef to be smoked for winter. These were only to be found in the homes of the better off testators like those of William Swinbank and Master Myniesse. A second room with fire irons was an unusual luxury even in late 17th century Kirkby, a fact re-enforced by the Hearth Tax returns of 1674.

Early 17th century furnishings of the house were generally no more than stools, forms, a table and bedstocks. Thomas Robinson in 1605 had a table and a form worth 2s and bedstocks worth 6s 8d. Chests and arks were used for storage although John Todd in 1615 had a cupboard as well. In 1601 Isabel Morland had the luxury of chairs, but Rookbie [sic] her home, was better furnished than most. Her inventoried wealth came to over £71. The elaborate cooking arrangement of spits, and other gear, together with supplies of smoked beef and bacon suggest that she had a chimney.

The use of the roof space can be traced over the century. At first a small loft over the fire house, or fore house might contain a great jumble of farming tools, stores of wool clip, bags of meal and grain along with straw for the children or servants to sleep on. The earliest lofts so far found near Kirkby are at Borranthwayt on Stainmore in 1620, in a house owned by the Ewbank family. There one loft had a feather bed and bedding, a chest and an old trunk and another one had two beds and a store of corn. Lofts remained unusual for most of the century, for even in 1699, the only place where Henry Wharton of Stennerscrugh [sic] could keep a chest and a calf skin was 'in the thatch' of his tiny cottage.

Conclusion

Kirkby Stephen in 1605 was a small rural community of between 60 and 70 households. Most of its householders were farmers, even those with other jobs, who were carpenters, wallers, or innkeepers for example, had some farming interests, maintaining a few animals and growing a few crops with the help of family members. The village was one of farmhouses located along the road and with yards stretching to the back lanes. Larger farms were to be found in the villages, in Winton and Kaber, for example, and along Mallerstang. The inns and larger houses cannot be located but they may have been around the market place and in Melbecks. Wharton Hall, enlarged and deliberately isolated by the first Lord Wharton in the 16th century, was the only house inhabited by the landed gentry in the parish. The town benefited from Lord Wharton's patronage of the church and school, and from the Earl of Cumberland's application for a renewal of the market charter. But for both of them, Kirkby was a minor part of their estates and the town's development was left to the

inhabitants. Part two will look at the changes which took place over the century following the charter grant.

Part 2 The Effect of the 1605 Market Charter.

The size of Kirkby Stephen in the 17th century.

Is it possible to find evidence to show the effect of the 1605 charter on Kirkby's economic and social growth? Did it, for example, lead to an increase in population, to an increase in wealth or to an expansion in its economic activity? Such questions cannot be easily answered for the contemporary statistics are rare and of dubious quality. While it is possible to explore the trends of consumerism in Kirkby by examining the inventories of the period, these show a more definite bias towards the better off testator as the century progresses. Like the tax returns, the poor are ignored. This section will first look at evidence for population growth in the town. This will be followed by a survey of the changing trends in farming and the diversification of the economy.

Is there evidence of a population increase over the century?

A survey of 1563 taken of all the households in the Diocese of Carlisle shows that Kirkby had 300 households. In comparison, both Penrith and Brough had 140, Appleby 227 and Carlisle 450.²² Such rounded figures suggest that these were rough estimates, and the results are unexpected if one considers the status of Appleby as the only borough in this part of Westmorland and Carlisle as the major town of Cumberland. These figures, as the only ones available, have been accepted by at least two other researchers in their published works on the Eden Valley: Andrew Appleby in his work on famine in Westmorland and Scott .M Harrison in his book on the Pilgrimage of Grace. Can Kirkby really have been the largest settlement in the Upper Eden valley? A closer look at the figures shows that these were parish figures and

that Kirkby was predominant because it was one of the largest parishes in the area, and contained a number of substantial villages; although its built up area was just a minor part of the whole. Similarly, Appleby and Carlisle figures are for the central parish in each. Also, unlike the other towns, Kirkby had been spared the major part of the Scottish incursions. Written sources of the 16th century reinforce the figures. Leland commented that Appleby was ‘but a poor village’ while Carlisle had ‘streets now vacant and [become] garden plots’.²³

Later sources, in which the town of Kirkby is separate from the surrounding villages, show the same relative importance of the settlements. Despite being based on different criteria, both the Westmorland Protestation returns of 1641, [for all males over 18 years of age] and the 1676 Compton religious census, [for all those of an age to communicate], show the same pattern.²⁴ The Kirkby parish numbers are higher than those of both Brough and Appleby. Kirkby was more than a fifth higher than the latter in 1641 and almost double its 1676 figures, while Brough was only half its size in both years..²⁵ Finally, the Hearth Tax of 1674, a tax on households, and supposedly the most accurate of all, gave 468 households in the parish of Kirkby, making it around two and a half to three times the size of each of its rivals: of Brough and of the combined parishes of Appleby.²⁶ However, these figures can be broken down into constablewicks, so that the built-up areas can be compared. It then becomes apparent that the difference between Kirkby and Appleby built-up areas is small, for there are 147 households in the town of Kirkby and 120 in Appleby Boroughgate. A contemporary observer, Sir Daniel Fleming, writing in 1671, comments that Appleby is ‘so slenderly inhabited-----and the inhabitants so idle’ and Brough ‘a town decayed and become a poor small village’. Kirkby Stephen, however, he saw as ‘a market

town well known---the market much improved of late by the trade of making stockings'.²⁷ The overall conclusion seems to indicate that as Kirkby Stephen had a more progressive community than the others, its numbers were increasing.

Another way to assess the growth of the town might, perhaps, be found by taking the tenants listed in the manor court books. The Cliffords owned the whole parish of Kirkby, except the church lands, which, in the pre-dissolution days had belonged to St Mary's Abbey, York. These had been bought by the Wharton family who were already tenants of the Cliffords in the southern part of the town. The Musgraves, also tenants of the Cliffords, had some land in Kirkby, although most of their holdings were in the surrounding villages of Hartley, Soulby and the Musgraves. The manor records of the Whartons date from 1560, and those of the Musgraves a few decades later. The Clifford manor court books have only survived from 1695. There is, however, a rental for 1604 for the 3rd Earl of Cumberland listing his tenants at the time of his bankruptcy.²⁸ The householders shown in these sources show that in Kirkby, the Musgraves had just two tenants, and the Whartons had 18 cottagers [along with 13 holders of land and two holders of lime pits whose homes were elsewhere]. The Clifford manor roll shows tenants holding sections on the town fields, there were forty-four tenants of the Croglin, of which 24 also owed suit at the mill in 1604.²⁹ Missing from this list may be householders who had no farmland attached to their holdings, and freeholders.³⁰ The combination of the three court books plus allowances for others not listed [the vicar and the schoolmaster for example, and widows with chambers on the family house] gives 60-70 households by 1604. The number increased over the century and by 1720 the Cliffords had 130 tenants who were householders; plots had been sub-divided and new land taken in. However, these

figures bear no relationship to the ones suggested by the tax returns and other contemporary sources.

So if the size of population cannot be determined, is there anyway of measuring the prosperity of the town? No trading details have survived for the markets and fairs of Kirkby or Brough, but there is other evidence that Brough market was in decay. A late 17th century petition by the Brough villagers to their lord, Thomas, Earl of Thanet requested a renewal of their market charter. The Earl's response was

*'there being two fairs at Brough yearly ----and also the great fair at Brough Hill where they pay a good toll to me----by altering these fairs might ----lessen the tolls at Kirkby Stephen, for which reason I have not thought it convenient to renew the charter for Brough market.'*³¹

Appleby burgesses were meantime petitioning the Crown, using their time-worn plea that their long-term poverty was derived from the Scottish incursions three centuries earlier. Daniel Fleming also noted that Appleby, with 'no manufacture of note' was 'little more than a village', yet Brough fair, he conceded, 'was remarkable for selling cattle'³². The impression gained from these sources is that Kirkby was profiting from a general growth in trading, but that although Brough still maintained its spectacular cattle fairs, there was not enough trade to keep more than one market going in the locality,.

How can the prosperity of such a community be measured?

Physical evidence in the urban landscape shows that as the 17th century progressed, stone houses were erected, especially around the market place, and the main street. These probably included Mitre House, Bousfields Court, Town Head farm, the Manor

house in Melbecks, the Black Bull inn and possibly the Red Lion. These were complemented by a number of improvements to the farmhouses in the area from Mallerstang to Stainmore. The Hearth tax returns for the town of Kirkby for 1674 show that around a quarter of the houses had two or more chimneys, showing that the firehouse was no longer the only living room in these houses. There was a particular concentration of larger houses at Town Head where the Thompsons and the Raws lived. The roof space was boarded in and staircases were built to replace the ladders. The lofts could then be furnished as bedrooms even if the stores of corn and wool were still kept there. The downstairs rooms might still contain beds alongside the dining table, the Delft-ware, the clock, the pictures and the coffee pot. A parlour was built where the cattle byer had been. The cattle were housed in separate barns in the and yard a dairy could be housed in a low outshot off the fore-house. Hugh Hartley, in 1684 left a house with a buttery, a milkhouse with a loft above, a forehouse, a great parlour, and an upper room. Two glaziers were operating in the 1670s, Myles Williamson and Leonard Barnett. The latter obtained his glass from Newcastle, and his customers were local. Christopher Hindmeer, John Orwan and William Fawcett owed him sums of between £7 and £4 each. Were they, perhaps, building themselves new houses or improving the old?

The inventories of the period suggest the development of more comfortable house interiors. Frugal, basic furnishings were replaced by small luxuries and a large variety of furniture. Inventories record books and bibles, looking glasses, cushions, bed-hangings , elbow chairs, silver spoons, pots, bottles, little tables, presses, clocks, chests of drawers and brass vessels. Some of these things were provided locally. There were mercers, a saddler. a white-smith, a grocer, several hosiers, and even a

clockmaker in the early 18th century. The manor court books of the Cliffords show that from 1695 there were workshops, an inn, at least one shop and a number of mills including a fulling mill at Skenkrith, with tenter fields nearby. None of these sound impressive, but many occupations were carried on from ordinary houses and would not appear in the deeds. Nor would the tools of skilled men necessarily appear in inventories especially if they had retired and sold their premises.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Kirkby was a small market centre with farm-buildings along the main street and back lanes. By the end of the century, these farms were still in operation but some diversification had taken place as rural processing industries took over some of the household tasks, such as brewing, tanning and cloth finishing. In addition, stocking knitting had become a commercial enterprise to give secondary occupations to the farming families while the service industries like shops and inn keeping, were becoming separated from farming. None of this was on a large scale but a general rise in prosperity is implied in the inventories. However, throughout the century, Kirkby Stephen's economy remained firmly based on the farming of the surrounding area.

Farming

The main feature of agriculture in the Upper Eden Valley was its reliance on pastoral farming. Cattle were the most valuable possessions of the permanent farmers; sheep the most numerous. But the numbers were small in comparison with other areas of England. A large farm in the Eden was one with over 20 cattle and 70 sheep. In 1620 the wealthy Michael Ewbank of Barranthwayte Hall on Stainmore had a herd of 36 cattle and 100 sheep. His livestock was valued at £105 out of an inventory total of

£138. The Haistwhittle family and the Morland family who farmed at Kaber and Winton had herds of between 14 and 20 cattle; the former kept no sheep while widow Morland in 1601 had around 30. In Mallerstang the flocks were larger, the Shaw family at Hanging Lunds had 59 sheep in 1576 when Huw Hoope, lower down the valley, had 45; both had only 9 head of cattle. At Heggerscales, Peter Moss had 40 sheep, 7 cows and 16 young cattle when he died in 1616. However poor or however occupied with other jobs, most householders kept a cow and a calf. Christopher Barnett in 1611 had a cow a calf. Henerey Wharton[sic] had two kine and ‘two mean lambs’ in 1699, Thomas Elliot an inn keeper, had a cow, a calf and a swine in 1717. Pigs do not feature as often as one might expect, given the later fame of Cumberland ham, possibly because by the time the appraisers arrived they were already salted in the vats.

Equally, many people held small pieces of land. From the 1695 rental it would appear that the town fields were Sandriggs and Waitby Thornes, while earlier, in the 1604 rental, Croglin had been divided between 44 tenants. These fields were split into holdings ranging from half a rood to one and a half acres. Another shared field, Stobars, was in the process of being let off in small closes, although earlier, tenants had held strips there. Other fields, which had once been sub-divided, were Vicarber and Rustice. This system of strip farming was gradually being replaced by enclosure and amalgamation. Some fields, chiefly meadow, were already divided into closes by 1695; these included Croglin, Stonah, Stenkrith, Ingmire and Greenriggs. Rowgate and Sower Pow were each enclosed for pasture by a single individual, shortly after the beginning of the manor book of 1695. Town-head was by then an amalgamation of fields held by the Thompson family, while Hugh Raw held the neighbouring Guy

Croft on which he built a house He also held 8 acres of closes on Townhead and Ingmire. In general, however, most tenants owned small pieces of land. William Spencely in 1695 held thirteen plots, only one of which was enclosed. Edward Wilson at the same date held one acre in Waitby Thornes, four dales at Perrake Mires and one acre at Mallerstang Wath, while Elizabeth Williamson, at the same period, bought two enclosures on Trainrigg and half an acre of Waitby Thornes

Tied up with these parcels of land were rights to the wastes and commons which were regulated by the manor court. Along with the arable strips went the necessity of paying for the use of the lord's water mill which was at the end of Mill Lane, [now Riverside], and for most of the century it was run by Hugh Hartley and his family. While the Clifford holdings retained relics of the medieval subsistence farming system, the Wharton lands in contrast, were let out from the mid 16th century in blocks of 12-13 acres. These were probably the newly enclosed glebe lands, which Wharton had bought from the church in the 1540s.

The Upper Eden is suitable for the growing of hay, but cereal crops can be a problem in the short wet summers. Mallerstang had hay pastures and very little else, but where the valley opened out at Kirkby, 'corn' was grown. In the 16th century, rye, flax, hemp and peas were field crops but they become less common as time progresses. Some farmers had good crops of wheat. Henry Blencarne of Kirkby had £22 worth of wheat growing when he died in 1602, over half the value of all his inventoried goods, and John Haistwhittle had wheat in the ground when he died in January 1586. In general, however, the cereal crops were not identified although from the stock of meal and

unthreshed grain it would appear that oats and bigge [barley] were grown on most farms.

Rural Industries: Brewing

Barley, as the basis of brewing, was being milled and prepared by specialists by the end of the 16th century. John Haistwhittle who died in 1584 leased Hartley Mill and a kiln. He left 'malt on the floor' and 'haver [oats] malt'. He was a general dealer, selling not only meal, groats and malt but calves, foals and other livestock to local buyers from Brough, Stainmore and elsewhere. A contemporary, also a John Haistwhittle who died in 1582, was a farmer who, judging by the furnishings he owned, kept an inn. He certainly had more brewing equipment than the normal household: ale-vats, firkins, two water butts, pestle and mortar, hinged stones [for grinding?], ale-pots, pitchers, troughs, bottle and scales, along with a debt to a local plumber. He may have been brewing for more than just his own customers for not every householder's inventory contained a brewing lead. With inventoried goods at just over £15 he was comfortably off but not wealthy.

The development of the trade is illustrated by John Hutchinson, a gentleman of Kirkby Stephen. He was a wealthy Maltster. whose inventoried goods were worth £346 when he died in 1722. He owned such luxuries as a clock, a bible and books, elbow chairs and a dining suite. He had no farm but held £72 worth of malt while another £120 was owed to him for sales of malt. This was no longer subsistence living but a risk-taking commercial venture, for which he had borrowed money. He owed over £246 when he died; and he had desperate debts of £47 owing to him. Yet he had over £80 lent out on bond, and he employed servants. The scale of business and his

standard of living was far advanced on that of the Haistwhittles of the 16th century. He was not the only maltster in Kirkby³³ at this time as the Wilson family had a malt kiln, and a shop attached to their house which they sold to Nicholas Marshall in 1720.

Tanning

In a pastoral area such as the Eden valley, a tanning industry might be expected. As the Scottish droving trade increased after 1603, together with the large markets and fairs in the locality, hides and skins became abundant. The tanning trade has left little evidence from its early days as it was often an adjunct to farming. All that was needed was a few pits and drying trees. Bark, lime, dung and other raw materials were easily available. Appleby, as a borough, has better records than Kirkby for it was the centre for the tanning market, with official leather searchers appointed annually. In fact, Appleby seems to have claimed a monopoly for the sale of leather.

Leather was sold at Kirkby. A case in the Appleby quarter sessions indictment book records that, in October 1660, Richard Williamson of Kirkby was accused of taking 'divers leather pieces, several sacks and clouth [sic] bags from four men who judging by their surnames were tanners from Temple Sowerby.³⁴ While this case merely shows that leather was sold at the Luke fair, another case suggests that there was tanning in Kirkby at that period. In 1665/6 ten raw hides [hairy hides], valued at £3 were taken from a house of Adam [Urwin] in Kirkby. The accused were Richard Williamson [again] and three Appleby men: Lancelot Robinson, Robert Bolton and Michael Hine. The witnesses were John Powley and Vincent Powson.. This may not be the straight forward theft which it appears to be, as, in the same court session there was another case brought by Robinson, one of the accused. He maintained that John

Powley of Kirkby Stephen, was dealing in raw hides on the open market contrary to the law of James I, which laid down that the ‘mysteries ‘ of tanning were to be carried out only by guild members.³⁵ Robinson, who declared that he brought the case ‘in the name of the king and himself’, may have been acting for the Appleby authorities. This may have been a more complicated situation than it would seem at first for it was testing not just in the case of the rights to trade leather, but also as part of the political and religious rivalry between the two towns which culminated in harassment against individuals.³⁶

No inventories have so far been found for a Kirkby Stephen tanner but in 1688 James Raw, a local saddler died. He was a specialist craftsman with no farmland. He left a small stock of leather, seven sheep-skins and eleven veal skins [sic] with a total value of £10. He was making not only ordinary saddles but also side-saddles and load saddles. His shop was stocked with stirrups, girths, buckles, bells and horse brasses. He also made bellows. He had financed his trade by borrowing small sums on bond, £21 in all; his other debts were trade debts, generally under £2 each. Some of his creditors can be identified as local butchers and graziers [Barnett, Powley]; some are family. But he had suppliers in both Kendal and in York, where he owed ‘several persons’ the considerable sum of £22. His inventoried goods could pay off the debts, leaving £5 clear.

Woollens

Another product of the pastoral hinterland was wool, but it has proved difficult to find evidence of the manufacture of cloth in Kirkby. Many households had spinning wheels, many more probably had the drop spindles but these were too small to be

listed separately in inventories. The wool may have been sent to Kendal for processing, yet the location of a fulling mill and tenter fields at Stenkrith, and a dye house in the town, suggest that the finishing of cloth was done locally, although no looms have been found in the inventories.³⁷ Thomas Denton in his diary of 1687 remarked that at the weekly market in Kirkby ‘the staple commoditie ---vended is wooll and the manufacture[s] of wool, vizt: yarn, stockings, caps, cloath etc’; the result of the ‘great flocks of sheep upon the mountains, hills and waste grounds wherewith this mercate town is surrounded’.[sic]³⁸ This would seem to corroborate Fleming’s remark on the rise of the stocking trade made in 1671.

Stocking knitting is another occupation which has left few clues. An entrepreneurial hosier would often organise the distribution of yarn and the sale of the finished articles but might carry little stock himself. Vincent Powson of Nateby may have been one such hosier, working on a small scale. He seems to have farmed at a subsistence level, but when he died in 1670 his most valuable assets were stockings, wool and yarn which together were worth 12s. The second clue is that over half his inventoried wealth was made up of debts totalling £14, owed by seven men to whom he may have supplied knitting yarn. Thomas Waller of Ravenstonedale, who in 1706 was described as a stockinger, seems to have provided his knitters with yarn as his inventory included spinning wheels.³⁹ His inventoried wool and stockings [worth 4 shillings], were only a third of the value of Powson’s. Again his inventory shows seven debtors while he, himself, owed five people small sums ranging from £1.17s 6d to 3s. Were these his knitters?.

Edward Haistwhittle in 1665, was also described as a stockinger. His inventoried goods were worth £158 16s 4d. But again it is hard to find the details of his work. He had £3 worth of wool, 5s worth of woollen yarn and eight pairs of 'sale stockings' at 8s. No spinning wheels are mentioned but they may be part of the general group of furniture and implements. Again the most important clue seems to be his debtors for he was owed £66. The break down of these debts show that a number of them were owed by business partners who were working in pairs, for example Thomas Turner and Thomas Wharton owed £3.7s while Henry Waller and John Todd owed £2.15s.6d. These were all farmers for whom stocking knitting could perhaps, provide a by-employment.

The most important of the Kirkby hosiers was John Thompson. On his death in 1721 he left inventoried goods of over £2423. He lived relatively modestly with the only luxuries being silver plate, books and a bible. Apart from the heading on his inventory, [and his title in the manor records] there is no indication in his will of what his trade was. No stockings, yarn or wool are listed. Perhaps he had retired, perhaps he dealt with the commercial side and did not handle either the raw material or the finished product. However, the extent of his business is revealed by the fact that he was owed nearly £2300. Unfortunately the debts are not listed separately so it is impossible to tell how far his trade extended.

The limitations of the probate inventories are all too apparent when trying to find details of small scale manufacturing. If the deceased had retired or disposed of his stock it will not be recorded, and many craftsmen made to order and therefore held little stock of either the raw materials or the finished goods. Other sources are

unhelpful; the rental rolls of the manor do not name specific uses for many of the buildings, while the term yeoman was generally used in official documents for the many householders who were both farmers and craftsmen

Where are the builders of the new stone houses?⁴⁰ Where are the quarrymen? One member of the building trades was Leonard Barnett, a glazier, who, as well as farming on a modest scale [he had cereals, cattle and a flock of 44 sheep] had 5s worth of wool and ‘stockens’ [sic] when he died in April 1687. He had glass and lead worth 13s 4d and he owed 12s for ‘Newcastle glass’.⁴¹ This was, therefore, a craft which needed not only skill but capital. His tools of the trade and a vice were worth £2.10s whereas joiners and cobblers’ tools at the time were priced between 5s –10s.

Retail trade

If manufactures cannot be clearly defined at this period, what about the evidence for the retail trade? At the beginning of the century the market was the main selling point. By the end of the century there were shops but the intermediate progression from the former is not clear. Henry Bosfield’s inventory in 1700 describes him as a grocer but the only description is in general terms of goods in the shop and warehouse, which were valued at just over £33. Perhaps the scale of his operation can be judged by the debts. He was owed £178 [with an additional £61 of desperate debts]. But he owed £193 10s to his suppliers and, he had borrowed an additional £100 in bonds, leaving his inventoried total just £5 clear

One of his appraisers was Hugh Raw who was the second generation of a family of shop-keepers in Kirkby. When his father, Thomas had died in 1665 he had left a modest inventory totalling £37 of which £20 were goods in his shop. The impression

given is that he was a careful trader, with only £1 owing on his books while he, himself, owed just five suppliers. He had felt secure enough to lend £6 to a local man Reginald Raikstraw.

His son Hugh, who took over the shop had expanded the trade. When he died thirty years later, [and passed the shop on to the third generation], his goods totalled over £500. He was a mercer and left an amazing variety of cloths, from kerseys, baizes, and broadcloths to exotic damasks, silks, ‘parregons and tammaks’, calicoes and crapes. He sold woollen hats, and straw hats, ‘dying stuff’ inkle-tapes, ribbons and buttons. He also had pots, stamped paper, cheeses and liquors. While his father had been content with a sparsely furnished house to cover basic needs, Hugh had a comfortable home with more refined furniture, including chests of drawers, two presses and six tables along with luxuries like a clock, a seeing glass and some pictures. He had bought land at Town Head where he built a house, and he had shares in a lead mine at Hilton. His expansion had been made by extending his borrowings: He owed £490 of which £170 was on bond from three local people; the rest, apart from wages to his miners, was owed to 28 people, presumably his wide net work of suppliers since few had local names. Unlike his father he had allowed large debts to mount up from customers, with £215 owed to him, and an additional £144 written off as desperate debts. It would appear that his venture into the luxury end of the mercer’s trade had attracted ‘gentile’ customers who could not pay their bills, Mr Robert Hayton, Madam Price and Mr Robert Jopling. None is local but the last mentioned was the Hearth Tax collector for the Upper Eden in 1674.

At the other end of the scale was Hugh Wharton, a whitesmith who in 1674, left £5. 12s 9d of inventoried goods. His shop stock accounted for just under a half of this sum. He sold all kinds of useful equipment: hammers, hay spades, stock-locks, gunlocks, wimbles[drills], ‘two boxes of nayles’ saws, knives, ladles and six old pistols. His suppliers were local apart from one in Kendall and one in Wakefield.

Inns

Inns and ale-houses are usually found in market centres but they are difficult to spot from the available evidence. John Haiswhittle, the maltster who died in 1582 may also have kept an inn, as he both brewing equipment and more cooking equipment than his neighbours. He had two spits, a frying pan a caldron, a kettle and two pans, but the most revealing possession is that of a chaffing dish for keeping food warm. Thomas Elliott in 1717 had the first inventory to be labelled that of an innkeeper [probably of the Black Bull]. His house had recently been extended, ‘ in the new room’ were three tables, six chairs and one ‘foroum’; in another new room there was one bed. He had at least five ground floor rooms, all furnished with tables and forms and he had five rooms upstairs. He made his own malt and brewed his own ale; he grew barley, oats, wheat and hay and kept a pig, and a cow and calf. There were certainly more inns and alehouses than the inventories account for because the 1686 returns made for parliament noted 52 guest beds in Kirkby.⁴² The buildings and yards around the market place have buildings which have features which could date from this period. It is known that in the next century, these sites included the Red Lion, the New Inn, the Sun, the Fountain, and probably the King’s Arms as well as the Black Bull and many small ale-houses with accommodation.

Conclusion:

How effective was Kirkby's 1605 market charter? It would appear that during the 17th century, there were distinct signs of a widening and growth of the village economy. While this was probably a reflection of the contemporary expansion of the English economy, it could not have happened in Cumbria without the pacification of the border counties that followed the Union of the Crowns. The opening up of the Scottish trade through the Upper Eden and the growth of Newcastle as a port, led to the increased commercialisation of Kirkby Stephen's economy. The importance of the droving trade and the importance of the roads which linked the area with the outside world cannot be over-emphasised. In particular, the route across Stainmore, which joined the Great North Road in the east with the road over Shap in the West, was vital. The inventory of Lancelot Hodgson, a blacksmith in Brough, gives some indication of the trade along it. Still a young man when he died in 1726, he left inventoried goods to the value of £309 at a time when the daily rate for a skilled workman was 12d. Although part of his wealth may reflect the growing demands for cooking and household equipment, the quantity of road traffic he served is clearly shown by the amount of working stock he carried. He had 652 horseshoes, [worth £5], eight stones and ten pounds of iron, nine pounds of steel a load of new iron and forty pounds of old iron. Almost £270 was owed to him in bills and bonds, and as none is described as desperate, this figure probably represents a considerable and recent trade.

Over the century, the traditional emphasis on farming had changed. This area, condemned by the Westmorland justices in 1622 for the 'smallness and barrenness of its lands' with its 'multitude of population', had developed alternative occupations.⁴³ The number of households involved in subsistence agriculture had declined.⁴⁴

Farming and crafts became separated. Specialist craftsmen and retailers reduced the amount of land they farmed, and therefore had to rely on specialist suppliers, such as millers, [the Hartleys], grocers [Henry Bousfield] and butchers [the Barnetts and Haistwhittles]. Those who remained in farming expanded and enclosed their land holdings; often adding a by-employment to their family economy such as knitting, tanning, malting and brewing. Shops and workshops grew in numbers.⁴⁵ The existence of two glaziers, a plumber and a clock-maker show that life was above subsistence level. In the last decades of the 17th century there is more evidence of the luxury trades with local craftsmen and shopkeepers selling a variety of goods including brocades, guns, tobacco and tea; these had been supplied by dealers in Kendal, Newcastle and Leeds York. This consumer demand is unlikely to have been gentry-led; the main landlords and their followers rarely visited Kirkby, and there were only three professional local families, the vicar, the school master and the doctor. In the absence of other evidence, it would seem that by the end of the century, it was the local inhabitants of Kirkby who were supporting the new shops.

The diversification of the economy into small-scale manufacturing and the retail trade was the result of local initiative by families like the Raws, Bousfields, Haistwhittles, and the Thompsons, who were supported by other local people who supplied the working capital. the Scaifes, Wallers and the Blenkinsopps, and [the success story of the village] the Thompsons

However, the scale of Kirkby's enterprise should not be exaggerated. It had no rich patrons, it had no great mineral deposits, and no unique occupations. It was only a local service centre and its prosperity was on a small scale, in keeping with the size of

the rural community. It was, however for its period and for its area, forward looking and adventurous. At the same time as Lady Ann Clifford was reconstructing the medieval past in her Westmorland castles, the more enterprising of the Kirkby villagers were looking to the future: only the sparseness of their archives has hidden this achievement.

¹ Some writers may never have visited Kirkby for example, Thomas Denton in his diary of 1687 stated that the market day was Tuesday.

² The 1563 diocesan survey, the 1674 the Hearth Tax, and other figures will be discussed in part 2.

³ Dickinson left £21 worth of goods, Robinson 30 sheep.

⁴ A survey of inventoried wealth in rural Cumbria has been made by Dr .J.D. Marshall and this can put these local ones into context. Marshall J.D., ‘Agricultural Wealth and Social Structure in Pre-industrial Cumbria’, in Ec.H.R. vol33, 1980, 503-521. 1550 rural inventories were examined for 1661-90 and for 1721-50.

⁵ CRO[C] Mounsey –Heysham MS [DMH 10/7/1] Many thanks to Mrs S. Dench for extracting these references and who has allowed the use of her transcriptions of these, which were reproduced in *Focus* March 2002.

⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (Elizabeth 1599)*, [1967] HMSO, Lichenstein, 362.

⁷ In 1622 the Westmorland Justices were still commenting on ‘the smallness, the barrenness and the multitude of inhabitants’. Quoted in *Pilgrimage of Grace*, Harrison, S.M,[1981], London, RHS., 11. London 1981

⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, (James I), London, HMSO, 85

⁹ Lady Ann was the daughter of the 3rd Earl of Cumberland

¹⁰ CRO[K] WD/Hoth box 23.

¹¹ The tannery in Melbecks had a similar workhouse in the 18th century.

¹² CRO[K] WD/HH/1-2

¹³ Nightingale, B.[1911], *The Ejected of 1662*, vol.ii, Manchester, MUP, 1079.

¹⁴ A new vicarage was built to replace the one that became part of the school at some stage in the 17th century. In 1674 it had 6 hearths and was the largest house in Kirkby.

¹⁵ For casual labour rates, Breay, J, *Light in the Dales* [1996], Norwich, Canterbury Press, p75 from the Musgrave Manor Records. Building trade rates taken from the accounts of Penrith Castle Bouch,C.M.L. and Jones, G.P. [1961] *The Lake Counties, 1500-1830*, Manchester, MUP.

¹⁶ The season at which the inventory was taken naturally affects the farming details.

¹⁷ Some husbands tried to control their wives from beyond the grave. John Atkinson in 1729, stated that if his wife remarried, she was to have £30 but only if she married with the consent of the trustees.

¹⁸ The only possessions of a wife which were excluded from her husband’s inventory were her clothes, her bed with bedding and a chest.

¹⁹ The horse was valued at £3. 6s 8d, farm horses were usually about £1

²⁰ Looms may have been omitted if they were fixed equipment, or if another member of the family had taken over the work. However, the contemporary Kendal inventories have them recorded.

²¹ Blake Tyson, [1994]. *CWAA*, vol XCIV,121-134 ‘The Elizabethan farmstead at Appleby St Lawrence’s vicarage.’ Kendal.

²² BL MS Harley 594. Quoted by Harrison S.M, [1981], *Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake Counties*, , London, RHS, 4-5; Appleby,A.[1978] *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, Liverpool, LUP, 200

²³ Leland, J.,ed. Smith, L.T., *Itinerary of England and Wales, in or about the years 1535-43*, vol. 1, London, Central Press, 146-7.

²⁴ Faraday, M.A. [1971], *The Westmorland Protestation Returns*, CWAA Tract XVII, Kendal..

Whiteman, A.[1986], *The Compton Census of 1676*, Oxford, OUP,p 622-3. The former are all males over the age of 18 years; the latter are all of an age to take communion, both male and female, but no age was specified.

²⁵ In 1641 the number of males over 18 taking the oath: in Kirkby parish 358, in Appleby 295, and in Brough 155 [Stainmore included]. In 1676 Compton census, K =1433.A=800 B=649, [source,

Whiteman *ibid*]. These latter figures do not make clear which chapelries were included in the main parish returns.

²⁶ Scott, J.ed. [1998], *The 1674 Westmorland Hearth Tax Returns*, CFHS, Kendal, gives the following:- 468 households in Kirkby parish [but Hartley seems to have been omitted]. 165 in the combined parishes of Appleby, and 165 in Brough [with Stainmore].

²⁷ Fleming, Daniel, ed. Duckett, [1882], Sir G.F, *Description of the county of Westmorland AD 1671*, Kendal, CWAA special tract.

²⁸ CRO[K] D/Lons/L 5/2/24/1;[Wharton Manor Court book, 1560.] CRO[K] WD/Cat/A2095, item 1.[Musgrave.Manor court book 1626;] PRO, IPM in 7 Henry VIII, 693, shows that Richard Musgrave, who held from the Cliffords, had no possessions in Kirkby Stephen town. WD/HH/1 [manor book for Cliffords]. Rental for 1604 CRO[K] WD/Hoth/Box 34

²⁹ Wharton was a separate rental.

³⁰ The Blencarnes and the Marshalls were freeholders for some of their land; there may have been others.

³¹ Scott, D, *CWAA, 1917/8*, 'Recent discoveries in the Muniment room at Appleby and Skipton castles,'. 16-18

³² Fleming, *Ibid*

³³ CRO[K] WD/HH/1

³⁴ CRO[K] W/Q/1/2. The men were Christopher Lowson, Thomas Spooner, Cuthbert and Henry Langhorne. Their inventories are in Carlisle.

³⁵ Calendar of State Papers, Domsetie, 1Jac. C.London, HMSO, 21-22.

³⁶ Penney, N, ed. [1913], *Extracts from the State Papers relating to the Friends, 1654-72*, London, Headley [March 1664 Letter of Sir Daniel Fleming, to Joseph Williamson].

³⁷ CRO[K] WD/HH/1

³⁸ Winchester, A, *Diary of Thomas Denton 1687*, CWAA forthcoming.

³⁹ One pair of newly knitted stockings was worth 1s

⁴⁰ Myles Williamson, a plumber was retained by Kirkby Thore church for roof repairs.

⁴¹ . He had a stock of bottles but it is not clear if he had made them.

⁴² Abstract of a Particular Account of all the Inns, Alehouses etc—PRO WO30/48, quoted by Marshall, J.D. 'Cumbrian Market Towns,' in *Northern History*, Leeds, 1983, 162-3. In contrast, Brough had 34 guest beds, Appleby 117, and Penrith 136

⁴³ Quoted by Harrison, S.M. in *Pilgrimage of Grace* from Joan Thirsk.,⁸² 'Industries in the Countryside,' ed. Fisher, F.J. *Essays in Social and Economic. History*

⁴⁴ The habit of keeping a household cow continued well into the 18th century.

⁴⁵ Court cases show that there were more shop keepers than the collection of inventories has revealed.