ART. XII. – Building Work at Sockbridge Hall, its Farmyard and Neighbourhood, 1660-1710.

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EARLIER descriptions of Sockbridge Hall, two miles SSW of Penrith, detailed the medieval fabric of the house¹ but gave relatively little attention to farm buildings or to work done after the Civil War, perhaps because the documents now to be explored were not available for study. The Lowther archive, preserved at the Record Office in Carlisle Castle (D/Lons . . .), contains scattered but interesting evidence which adds significantly to our knowledge of building work undertaken for Sir John Lowther (1642-1706) of Sockbridge and Whitehaven, M.P. for Cumberland 1664-1699. Details of the erection in 1699 of the Sockbridge Hall barn (still in agricultural use) are so well recorded that they will form the major part of this study. They reveal many construction practices and problems, the sources and prices of materials and also information on the work force. To complement these details, brief reference will be made to other building work at Barton church, Sockbridge mill, Hartsop Hall and elsewhere so that a clear impression can be established of how construction was undertaken during the 'Great Rebuilding' in Cumbria.

From the early middle ages the Manors of Barton, with lands at Sockbridge, and of Hartsop were owned by the Barons of Kendal. In the 14th century they passed to a branch of the Lancaster family who made their seat at Sockbridge Hall until, in the early 17th century, Christopher Lancaster died leaving only four daughters. In 1638 the eldest of these, Frances, married Sir Christopher Lowther who had inherited valuable estates in West Cumberland when his father Sir John Lowther of Lowther died in 1637. Sir Christopher Lowther bought out the Sockbridge interests of his sisters-in-law so that, when he died in 1644 aged only 33, his infant son John (1642-1706) inherited the estates including a share of the advowson of Barton parish. At the age of seventeen, this Sir John (the 2nd Baronet of Whitehaven) married Jane Leigh of Surrey at Lowther on 6 March 1659/60 and immediately began extensive repairs to Sockbridge Hall.

Perhaps he financed this work by selling freeholds to most of his Sockbridge tenants for £115. 18s. 7d. on 13 March 1663. Certainly, in his own characteristic hand-writing, he summarized his efforts on page 76 of an old Law Lexicon² as follows:

A short acct of what I have built betwixt Ladyday 1660 & Christmas 1662 -

The Kitchin the North & west walls from the Ground & flaged.

the next room I roofed & built the staires.

the East wall of the brewhouse.

the stable roofed & planked -

the Milkhouse flaged, plaistered & roofed.

the Parler plaistered.

the Seller being falling was rebuilt, plasterd & flaged.

the Hall plaistered roof & walls.

Enterance flagged -

Our own Chamber all New.

My wives closet & passage all New.

Scotch chamber. the walls heightened, plaister new & p[ar]tition wainscott the 3 Gallery roomes. Wainscot, floor & roof all New Dineing room. new boorded & roofed & Chimney mended the Next room new boorded, New plaistered & a New chimney the stone chamber new plaistered with the outchambers – little dineingroom whitened onely. the tower formerly open to the top by me put into the Condition they are. the whole house new slated except the gate house & almost the whole house new glased – little court flaging cost ab' £9 great Court levelling £9. turfing £2. New barn of my erecting & all the pavem' & walls ab' the demain except cobble walls

The rates. Wainscot single at 3s. 2d. the yard, dubble at 3s. 6d. Glass $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. a foot, plaister 3d. a yard overhead, 2d. the sidewall wth whitening cost in. Ashler 1s. 9d. the yard. Common flaggs hewing & lying 6d. a yard, getting [them] 3d. these being Penrith Fell or Little Stainton quarrys & for diamond flagges at Penrith Fell 14d. a y^d, at Yainwath more gett 18d. Bords ab^t £2. 15s. a rood, good pannell ab^t £2. 10s. Walling stones att Yainwath moor 3d. a sledge full, in Tyrrell feild 1d. & halfpeny a cartfull. Att Whathorn 3 half pence a sledgfull. Walling 7 y^{rds} long & 3 y^{rds} high 4s. A rood 6 quarters high 14d. 4 y^{rds} high 6s.

To some extent the accuracy of this information can be assessed by comparing Lowther's prices with those pertaining elsewhere. For example, at the rebuilding of Rose Castle chapel in 1673-5 plastering of ceilings and walls also cost 3d. and 2d. a square yard respectively and boards, bought at Armathwaite and Threlkeld, similarly cost £2. Ios. a rood exclusive of carriage.³ The costs of walling and flagging compare well with prices from the Rydal area.⁴ Whereas common walling stone was obtained locally in "Tyrrell [open?] feild", Yanwath moor and Whathorn at modest prices per cart or sledge full, flagstones were brought from Stainton and Penrith across the river Eamont.

The details give a clear indication of how extensively the house was modernized. Except for two walls in the kitchen, the medieval walls appear to have been retained but they were freshly plastered downstairs and panelled upstairs. As they were not mentioned, the main structural timbers were probably sound but the upstairs floors were newly boarded and new flagstone floors were almost universal downstairs. A new staircase was installed and chimneys, the window glass and the roof were replaced, the latter probably re-using the old slate as no mention was made of purchasing new. No doubt all this made the house more convenient and comfortable, but one might regret that Lowther did not preserve proper accounts to provide more detailed information. The new barn he built will be referred to later.

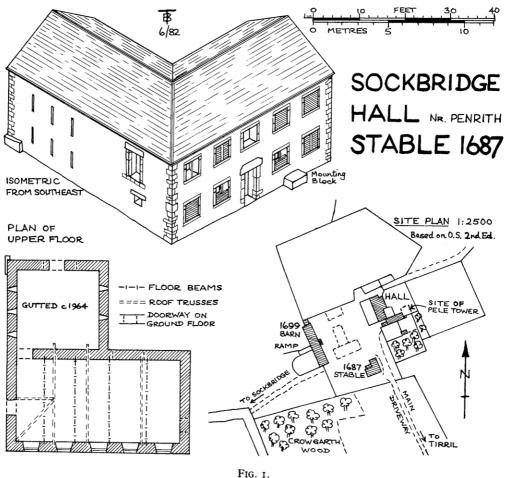
Lowther's full occupancy of Sockbridge Hall was probably short-lived for, after his election in 1664, Parliamentary attendance and London affairs took up an increasing amount of his time. In addition he became more involved with developing his West Cumberland coal and shipping interests around Whitehaven⁵ and, to manage them, he appointed Thomas Tickell as his agent there in 1666. To provide a suitable house at Whitehaven he bought the Flatt (or Flatt Hall), now a hospital, for £1000 from Sir George Fletcher in 1675 and altered it considerably over the next few years. Tickell's letters show that many furnishings including linen, bedding, wall-hangings and pictures were carried from Sockbridge Hall, then in the care of Lowther's "Cousin Teasdell", for the intrusion of burglars was feared.⁶

As Lowther sought ways to develop his new town at Whitehaven, his correspondence with Tickell occasionally referred to building matters at Sockbridge. For example, on 2

October 1686, Lowther wondered if they should employ some full-time quarrymen at Whitehaven saying: "When I was at Sockbridge, having then occation for much building either ab my house or in out-walls, I found it the best way alwaies to keep a couple of Quarry Men getting stones . . . I had them . . . for £7 per annum viz. Diet £4 & wages £3 but they will be much dearer [at Whitehaven]". This suggestion was rejected as uneconomic. A week later Lowther wrote "At Sockbridge ther is a man whose sole business is limeburning for all the Neighbour Villages" but was told that there was already such a specialist supplying the town's needs. Clearly the first comment referred back over twenty years and suggests that Lowther had been more directly involved with supervising his builders when he lived at Sockbridge.

The next building episode at Sockbridge was reported briefly by Tickell on 20 October 1687: "heer has bin Jon Addison the mason that Builds yr. stables &c at Sockbridge tendering his service to erect our Church". This was probably the same John Addison who had supervised the extension of Ewanrigg Hall (Maryport) for Ewan Christian in 1684⁷ and the comment provides the only documentary evidence to date the surviving stables 40 yards south of Sockbridge Hall. Later modifications have not destroyed the external features of this stable. It is L-shaped and apparently of one build. The west wing was a barn with ventilation slits on both storeys. About twenty years ago it was gutted by fire and was re-roofed. The east front (Fig. 1) retains the original sandstone dressings to the main doorway and nine stone-mullioned windows, but the latter are mostly blocked and stone transoms have been removed.8 The ground floor is almost stripped of stable fittings but the original beams have survived in the upper floor and roof, together with most of the joists and purlins. An interesting, complex roof truss of original oak, extensively repaired with a modern softwood post and two bolted collars (Plate 2), supports the hipped south-east angle of the roof. The eaves rest on moulded table stones which, with the five (unnecessary) upper windows, suggest that this was intended as a quality building appropriate to the status of coach and riding horses at that time. Certainly there is ample evidence that when Lowther travelled from London to visit his estates, sometimes twice a year, he usually called at Sockbridge for fresh horses to carry him on the remainder of his journey to Whitehaven. The stable was therefore vital to his transport needs and chosen life-style.

The next mention of building activity concerns the erection of the great barn for which two estimates were copied into Sir John Lowther's 'Commonplace Book'. They are undated but lie between pages dated 7 June and 17 October 1699. They state that the intended barn was to be 40 yards long by about 6 yards wide internally with side walls 7 yards high. The surviving structure is one yard higher and wider than this, but there are no remains of a "Twofall Byer", or lean-to cowshed, which was intended to extend 4 yards backwards along the entire length. Indeed the construction of a ramp in the middle of the barn's west side may indicate that that byre was never built, perhaps to save expense, and it is not mentioned specifically in the building accounts. The ground floor byres inside the barn have been extensively altered but the huge loft above is in almost original condition. Lowther must have intended this to be one of the finest farm buildings of its time and so it justifies close scrutiny. Slate was to come from Penrith Fell and much of the stone was to be obtained by demolishing two old barns in the farmyard, one of which, presumably, was that built for Sir John Lowther less than forty years earlier.



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The information in both estimates is set out in the same order, but one cannot be sure whether this resulted from a locally accepted practice or from the copying up. William Idle's estimate was the more detailed. There is general agreement in the prices quoted except that Lowther's workmen omitted the labour charge for slating and were usually 2% or more dearer. Thus Idle was given the walling contract. The estimates (here laid out side by side for easier comparison) were as follows:

"Wm. Idles Estimate"

A note of the Dimensions of the Barne and Byer which is Intendend to be built at Sockbrige hall;

Length of the Barne to be 40 yards betwixt Corner and Corner, and the Height of the side walls one part with another to be 7 yards and the Breadth of the Barne within the walls to be 6 Yards, and the Twofall Byer to be the same Length of the Barne, adjoining to the "My own workmens Estimate"

A Barne to be Built at Sockbridge Hall

40 Yds Long within the Endwalls, 6 Yards and a halfe within the Sidewalls with Twofalls on one side for Cattle, 4 Yards Broad within the Walls.

one side of the Barne, and the Breadth of the Byer from the outside of the Byer to be 4 Yards and 2 feet, and to Slate with the side of the Roofe of the Barne in a Streight Line. © For Getting of New stones and Leading of them, and to have the 37 10 ostones in the two old Barnes For findeing of Lyme and Sand, Water. For getting of Slate and Leading of it, for getting Moss and Slate pins, and Slateing For hewing of 2 Great Doors of Stone, and 2 Little Doors, and for Tableing the Topps of the Gabelends with Hewen Stone, and for Rigging the Barne with Hewen Stone* For Bands and Crooks for Doors & for Lead to Souder the Crooks with, for Lath nailes and Spikins for making the Door Leav's with The Carpenters worke, for making the Door Cases that is Convenient, and all the Door Leaves, and for makeing all deading of Paveing stones and Paveing the Byers, for getting and Leading of Paveing stones and Paveing the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For walling and Digging the Foundation of the Barne and Byers For Digging the Foundation and walling the Barne 7 yds High above the Thresholds and the Twofalls to Answ' the Roof of the Barne Wood Sufficient for all this Work Carriage thereof For Digging the Foundation and walling the Barne 7 yds High above the Thresholds and the Twofalls to Answ' the Roof of the Barne Wood Sufficient for all this Work Carriage thereof For Digging the Foundation and walling the Barne 7 yds High above the Thresholds and the Twofalls to Answ' the Roof of the Barne Wood Sufficient for all this Work Ca
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[Marginal Notes in the same handwriting.]

- * The Tableing & Rigging I finde may be done much better & Cheaper than with Hewen stone
- ** The slateing I would chuse to have done by day [work] for otherwise most workmen doe not use to doe it soe well
- *** Sir John Lowther to finde all Timber for the Roofs of the Barne & Byers & all other wood for Doors and partitions that are Convenient for the Building of the Barne & Byers, and to Lay it Convenient for the Building, all at his owne Charge and likewise to finde wood for Scaffolding for Ladders and Barrows that are Convenient for the Building.

The evidence for what happened subsequently is contained in an account book kept from 1696 to 1705 by Mr Bird, a lawyer of Penrith, who was legal agent to Lord Tufton and Sir John Lowther of Lowther. Bird's comments suggest that William Idle was in overall charge of the building work. On 9 October 1699 Idle received £6 as the last of five instalments "in full for Walling the Barn at Sockbridge [at] 6d. a yard, and 10s. over, according to the Agreem^t made with . . . the Lord Viscount Lonsdale, & it being 980 Yards in all and above $7\frac{1}{2}$ Yds high, comes to £25 of which he hath already rec^d at several times . . . £19." A year later, on 30 September 1700, he was given a further £4 (16% extra) "for the overwork of Walling the New Barne . . . for what he deserves more than 10s. over and above 6d. a yd." Presumably his employer had driven too hard a bargain, had had extra work done and/or recognized the value of a good workman.

As Sir John Lowther had retired to Whitehaven by 1699, he must have delegated the arrangements for his new barn to his namesake at Lowther for convenience and also because William Idle, having worked on the partial demolition and rebuilding of Lowther Hall in 1692-4,11 continued to work for the estate until at least 1699 when Lord Lonsdale's account book of estate expenditure¹² stopped at his return to London. William and his brother Christopher are mentioned many times and the Appendix outlines his family affairs. Perhaps Idle's most significant contract was the walling of Yanwath Woodhouse (NY 525 263) in 1697. This is a fine double-pile house facing south, with later extensions on both ends and the rear. The shield of arms over the front door bears no date but, on 14 August 1697, £3 was "Pd Dowthwait towards the mason work of the farmhouse at Yanwith Wood" and by 6 November he had had £13 "for the Mason Work of the Woodhous in all". By 23 October the last of three instalments totalling £19. 18s. od. was "Pd Will Idle and Chr In full of Waleing the Woodhous" and George Harrison had had £13. 18s. 4d. "for getting & Leading stones to it". On 20 November £2. 10s. od. was "Pd Taunter for flaggs and slate to the Woodhous" and £2 was "Pd the Bourbanks for slating" it. On 18 December £1. 12s. 6d. was "Pd Dowthwait for flagging the Woodhouse". A week earlier 7s. was "Pd the Masons for putting in the Stanchers" there and the carpenter (un-named) received £1. 5s., the third instalment of £7. 5s. "for finishing the Woodhous in all". The latter had 17s. 6d. more on 20 June 1698 "in full for the stairs att the Woodhous and in full of all accounts". No other details have been proved. As the house does not appear to have been rebuilt subsequently, it offers a very early example of a double-pile house in Cumbria; certainly Lord Lonsdale would have been in touch with the latest developments of the time. William Idle's other jobs were more mundane but varied and one may assume that his work was well regarded on the Lowther estate. But we must return to Sockbridge and Bird's account book.

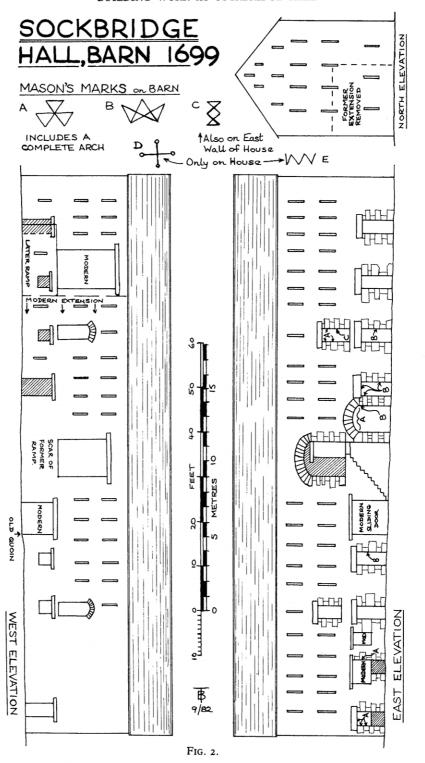
William Idle received his first instalment of £5 "in part of Walling New Barn at

Sock[bridge]" on 26 May 1699. By the next day the same amount had been paid to George Harrison "in part for Leading Stones" and to John Lancaster "in part for Lime". Will Dawes had received 10s. "for $5\frac{1}{2}$ dozen Hurdles for Scaffolding" and £4 had been "paid Ri[chard] Hodghon in part for Carp[ente]r Work", presumably after he had felled and peeled most of the trees. ¹⁴ These came from two main sources, Hartsop and Newbiggin. Although the many delayed payments prevent construction schedules from being developed, ¹⁵ Bird's entries provide revealing details of events.

Thomas Gibson, a local tanner who received 9s. 6d. on 3 February 1703 "for 19 Stone of Hare had when the Barn was builded at Sockbridge", probably agreed to buy the oak bark early in 1699 and, after it had dried, paid £5. 4s. on 30 September 1699 "in part of £12, the price of the Bark of the Wood first marked to be cutt down at Hartsupp". Earlier, Richard Dockeray had had 10s. on 27 June "for hedging about the Roots of 30 Oakes where the Timber Trees were Cutt down to wit, 26 this year and 4 last year at 4d. a Root". 16 This would allow the stumps to coppice undisturbed by grazing animals.

Timber extraction must have presented something of a problem for, on 30 May, T. Harryson was paid £2. 8s. "for making a way through Hartsupp Wood, from the Long Oak to the Cowbrigg for bringing the Timber Towards the Watter head (12d. for Every 20 yards)". This accounted for over half a mile but, in addition, John Harrison had £2 on 27 June "for Enlarging the Way from Hartsupp to Gowderdale how through Several Rocks" which may have needed blasting. Transporting the heavy timbers would be a communal effort undertaken as boon days for the Lord of the Manor for, on 9 June, 5s. was paid to "Tho Lancaster the Bayliff of Hartsupp to be drunk by the Tenents there who helped to bring the Timber down to the way, being 16 one day & 14 another",17 but we are not told exactly when. After much delay Thomas Greene, the tenant of Sockbridge Hall¹⁸ was paid 11s. 3d. on 18 December 1699 for W. Smith's¹⁹ "Leading 45 Load of Joysts, being 270 in N°, forth of Hartsupp Wood to Ullswatter head". So, these lighter timbers were carried six at a time at 3d. a load, necessitating three or four return trips a day if normal charges for a man and a horse were to be met. Also belatedly, on 30 October, £1. 198. was paid to "Anthony Skilbeck & Lancelot Harrison for bringing from Patterdale to Powley 20 Trees and 3 boatfull of other Wood" along Ullswater. No doubt, like slate shipments, these were landed at the "Slate Yard" (NY 467 238) at the mouth of Aik beck before carriage by road to Sockbridge three miles away. Perhaps the three boatsful were the 270 joists made from the other ten trees felled at Hartsop.

The other main source of timber was as inconvenient. We are told that £46 was paid on 26 October 1699 to "Mr Crackanthorp for 37 Oak Timber Trees bought of him for the Use of the New barn at Sockbr" and that, on 27 May, Peter Robinson (see footnote 42) had 9s. 3d. "for marking the 37 Oak Trees bought at Newbegin 3d. for Each Tree". This indicates that both estimates grossly under-estimated the value of timber needed and that the quantity of suitable timber on Sir John's own land was limited. On 15 July the carpenter Richard Hodghon received £1 "towards the Charge of Getting the Wood at Newbegin out of the hill sides in to the Bottom where it was Slitted", but then they ran into difficulty. The accounts record a shilling paid on 21 September "to Dr Fallowfield (Mr Dalstons Serv^t) when he Stopt the Carts coming through some of his Masters Ground as they were leading Wood from Newbeggin". This incident must have occurred at Acorn Bank²¹ as the carters aimed for the Roman road north of Temple Sowerby on the direct route to Sockbridge eight miles away.



The 37 trees made up 87 cart loads of timber, 34 of which were shifted by 23 persons whose names²² suggest that they were from Tirril and Sockbridge. William Idle was one of sixteen carting single loads. All received the somewhat higher rate of 1s. 2d. a day, it "being in Mowing time and Harvest", which may explain the objection as they crossed Mr Dalston's land. The date is indicated by John Bird moving his two loads on "21 and 27 July" but he was not paid until 22 November and no one was paid before 7 October. Three more regular carters, W. Archer, John Richardson and Richard Parkin's father, brought 10, 23 and 20 loads respectively at the same rate and suffered similar delays in payment.

Payments for workmens' beer provide only a rough check on progress after the Hartsop tenants had drinks paid for on 9 June. Their timber-hauling efforts allowed William Idle to be paid 2s. 6d. on 1 July "for Ale Given the Workmen at the bringing on the first Dorments" or main beams and, on 5 August, a like sum was "given the Workmen to Drink at the lyeing up of the residue of the Lowest Beames". On 26 September 8s. 6d. was paid "to Amy Dent for Ale had at Severall times for the Workmen & others that assisted in carrying & setting up of the Timber of the Roofe of the Barne" but it was not until 15 November that 2s. 6d. was paid "Ann Arey widow for Ale had of her when the last of the Timber was Sett up on the Newbarne at Sockbridge".

We know that by then the roof was weather-tight, for William Todhunter was paid on 11 November "in full for the Slate of the Newbarne . . . with some slate bought & Left, which remained after ye Barn was Covered. It comes to 11 Rood at 10s. 6d. a Rood comes to £5. 15s. 6d." of which a first instalment of £2. 10s. had been paid on 15 July. Unless slate was salvaged from the old barns, eleven roods could not have left a surplus if the "Twofall byers" had been built. John Washington was paid £1. 3s. 1d. "for Latt Nayles & 250 Braggs used in slateing" the barn on 18 June 1700.

On 22 November 1699 Thomas Bird was paid for 57 days slating the barn at 1s. a day "he having 18° 7^{br} received 30s.". In addition he had £2 for his man "John Lamberts Work 60 days" on the same job at 8d. a day, 18s. 6d. "for John Bateman for 18½ days" and 7s. "for Nicholas Winder 12 days serving the slaters". Bird had 7s. 6d. more "for John Robinson for 3600 Bone pinns for the Slate at 2½d. per hundred". Even if the slaters usually worked six days a week they must have started by the end of August and were paid by day work as the estimate indicated.²³

Having examined the evidence for the timber and slate used in the barn, the stone must now be considered. The foundations were prepared by Lancelot Bewsher who had £1. 5s. "for digging of the Ground-work of the Barn [at] 2d. each square yard, and it being computed to 150 such yards". This suggests that the footings were nearly 1½ yards wide. He also had 2s. 6d. "for digging up some Wood where the Barn Stands" but payment for both was delayed until 9 October. Presumably the barn was placed west of the old farmyard boundary on what may have been a former copse. John Lancaster, who supplied lime for mortar and plaster, had eleven payments totalling £28. 12s. 8d. for "859 Loads of Lime used in Building the New Barne" at 8d. a load between 2 May 1699 and 10 June 1700. On 14 November 1699, after the walling had been completed, Robert Harrison was paid in full "for the Mason work of the New Barne . . .w^{ch} at the rate of 3d. a [square] foot comes to £11. 6s. 3d. of w^{ch} he rec^d £4 the 3 July last". This earlier payment was made to a Thomas Harrison so the men may have been related (or misnamed).

In addition George Harrison had agreed with Lord Lonsdale "for getting and Leading Stones . . . in all 980 Yards at 8d. a yard comes to £32. 13s. 4d. . . ." and the last of seven instalments was paid to him on 9 October 1699. Much of his material probably came from the two old barns referred to in Idle's estimate for, on 18 December, £1. 16s. was paid to Richard Hodghon the carpenter "for 36 days pulling down the old Houses, buying Wood at Newbegin, Riveing Laths, makeing Ladders and other work not in his bargain". It is interesting to speculate whether the masons' marks on some of the barn's dressed stones (Fig. 2) were the Harrisons' work or the result of re-using doorways (some in their entirety) from the former buildings. Either possibility is intriguing. As the barn had at least ten hewn "little Doors" originally and Idle estimated for making only two, compared with his competitors' six, he must have considered that eight doorways, or perhaps more, could be salvaged from the old barns.

Good freestone was probably scarce for the rate for getting ordinary building stone was 33% higher than the initial cost of walling and even after Idle's £4 10s. bonus it was still 12½% greater. Unfortunately we are not told the location of the quarry, but the thoroughness with which rough stone was gleaned for building a ramp to the barn's upper floor is well documented. On 21 September, John Talbert received 1s. 9d. "for 3 dayes digging the foundation of the foot place going up into the Barne on the West side, being in the time of Harvest 7d. p. day" and, curiously, 9d. "for Digging a hole where we hoped to have found sand and for filling it up again"! Building the ramp continued long into the autumn. On 14 November, Lancelot Bewsher received 12s. 1d. "for himself, his Horse & Cart [for] 14½ days leading Stones and Rubbish to the footpace . . ." and on 27 June 1700, Nicholas Winder was also paid 10d. a day for five days on the same work "in Nov^r last". On 15 November, William Idle had been paid £3. 8s. 4d. "for himself, Matthew Winder, 24 George Yate, William Mill, Christopher Idle, John Hardy & Matthew Soulby . . . walling and paving the foot pace . . ." and for other jobs.

For 24 days "Digging up Stones about Sockb. Hall for the foot pace . . . & Serving Wallers" there, John Sisson and John Gibson had been paid 6d. and 4d. a day respectively on I November. A month later they were paid for 24 and 21 days more "digging up the Foundation of the old Houses about Sockbridge hall". Sisson did 34 and Gibson 16 more days on that same work prior to 2 February following. In view of such diligent efforts to obtain stone, it is hardly surprising that remains of early, humble buildings are scarce. Many ordinary structures would have incorporated inferior perishable materials, but scarcity and cost of good stone (and timber) must have necessitated the complete removal of many medieval stone buildings with, presumably, the majority of victims being drawn from the less pretentious types. However, it would be difficult to assess the extent of this phenomenon from present evidence. 25

In the same vein, on 22 December, William Idle was paid 9d. "for Margaret Law 3 days gathering Stones for repairing the Byer at Sockbridge" and Mary Law, Mary Jolly, Ellioner Sisson, Joseph Dent and Jenkin Breakes were paid likewise. Perhaps some were collecting cobble-stones from the river for, on 10 January, William Idle was paid £3. os. 2d. "for paving the New Byer and levelling the Ground at 2½d. per Yard & being 298 Yards" as well as 2s. 6d. for 2½ days "breaking holes in the Walls for making partitions in the byer". Clearly internal finishing was underway. To this end, on 1 December, five men were paid 10d. a day for a total of 38 days²⁷ "leading paveing Stones & Settle Stones for the New Byer" and ten days later David Harrison had 12s. "for 2 dozen of Iron rings & Sheckles for tying beasts in, which are to be fixed to the woodwork in the Byer".

Boards came from several sources. On 11 July 1700, 11s. Id. was "paid Tho. Towers his Wife for 32 foot of Boards had of her Husband 5th Ap. last for finishing the Trapdoors in the New Barne . . . 4s., and in full for Laths had of him at any time till now 7s. Id.". At least this suggests a terminal date for what must have been one of the final details inside the building. Towers had already received £8. 8s. 4d. on 9 April for boards and £5. 6s. 7½d. on 31 January "in full for 5 Roods of his best Boards at the rate of 50s. a rood, half a rood of a Worse sort at 40s. and for 422 foot of Plank28 at 21/4d. a foot used in the Newbarne and Byer . . . having Nov^r 21 last rec^d £12 . . .". This under-payment of 2s. 6d. probably reflects earnest money previously paid to seal the transaction. Other timber was supplied by John Dalton "for \(^3\)4 of a Rood & 10 foot of boards towards the Barn floor at . . . 48s. a Rood" and paid for on 22 September 1699. Thomas Greene, the tenant at Sockbridge was given £1. 5s. on 26 March 1700 "for half a Rood of Inch boards" and Robert Hullock had £1. 13s. 2d. "for 371 foot of Pannel boards" at almost 40s. a rood. On 27 June William Hellen was paid 3s. 6d. "for leading 7 Cartload of boards and Joysts from Penrith to the same Barne" and on 27 December 1700, Lancelot Hodghon had £1. 11s. 8\frac{1}{4}d. "for 169 foot of planks used in flooring the New Barne . . . at 2\frac{1}{4}d. a foot". Thus wood from the 67 trees brought from Hartsop and Newbiggin appears to have run out long before the floors, stalls and other internal fittings were completed.

In January 1700, William Idle received 2s. "for cutting 25 foot of freestone for Thresholds in the Great Doors of the Barn & Byer" but no mason's mark has been found. On 13 June 1701, 9s. 5d. was paid to "Will Cookson for Lead had for Soldering the door Crooks of the Barne" and by 6 April 1700 William Saunder had had £8. 11s. "in full . . . for Smiths Work". Idle's last payment in 1700 was £1. 2s. 9d. "for paveing 3 yards broad on the East side of the New Barne . . . to the head of the Orchard being 46 yards & a half in Length at 2d. p. yd." and he also had 2s. for "one day guttering the Stone Soletrees in the Calf Hulls and one day walling gaps in Coatgarth".

After three harvests had been stored in the barn, the account book records the construction of a second ramp which would permit passage of loaded carts through the building. On 10 October 1703, £2. 2s. was paid to William Idle for 42 days work "about the footpace on the East side of the Barn at Sockbridge . . ." and 6s. "More to him for his Bro^r Ch^r Idle 6 days at the same work". The remainder of the walling team is also named. Matthew Winder and George Yates who had helped to build the earlier ramp were paid is. a day for 4 and 30½ days respectively. William Winter did 13 days at the same rate, Edward and William Nicholson and "Wm " were each paid for 4 days at 10d., Thomas Baynes²⁹ did 15 days at 9d. and Jos. Wilkinson and Edward Baxter did 21½ and 5 days respectively at 6d.30 Presumably the lower paid were less skilled. For mason's work, Matthew Winder was paid £1 by 1 February following "for Penn stones &c for the Arch of the footpace", 1s. 6d. "For 1½ days Scableing Penn Stones"31 and 2s. "For Penn stones w^{ch} spared after the Arch was finished were Walled in the footpace". He also had 2s. 6d. extra "for getting Penn stones, stairs & Coyns for the footpace having a hard bargain of it at 20s.". This archway under the ramp would have allowed direct communication between ground floor doorways to either side. There is now no trace of this ramp which was replaced by a flight of stone steps leading up to a partly blocked doorway. In its place new open-sided buildings were erected in the yard and, in recent years, a complex of prefabricated buildings has been added to the barn. The western ramp lasted well into this century (Fig. 1) and has left a scar of rough masonry on the barn's rear wall (Fig. 2). Despite all alterations the building's essential character survives.

It is worth comparing the total recorded costs with Idle's estimate as follows:

		COST	ESTIMATE
		£sd	£ s d
Getting & leading stones		33 I7 I)	37 IO O
Removal of old barns		3 12 6 \$	
Finding lime, sand etc.		28 12 8	28 2 6
Getting & leading slate, plus pins		630}	31 12 0
slating		6 10 0)	
Mason's hewn work		11 6 3	6 4 0
Ironwork & nails		10 16 10	3 5 0
Carpenter's work		28 0 3	20 0 0
Getting & laying paving & settlestones		7 2 10	3 0 0
Walling & foundations		31 8 3	28 15 0
Timber: Newbiggin (37 trees)		46 0 0 1	
Hartsop (30 trees – estimated)		37 6 0	
Extraction & carriage (Newbiggin)		5 1 6 }	49 14 8
ditto (Hartsop)		7 18 3	
Boards		32 16 5	
Extras: Ale		2 I O	
Ramps – west		4 18 5 }	NIL
– east		10 17 7	
	TOTAL	314 8 10	208 3 2

Clearly costs exceeded the estimate by over 50% but the difference is noticeably less in those activities closer to Idle's trade, for example, if the cost of removing the old barns is included with stone getting, as indicated in the estimate, the difference is only 5d. or 0.1%. The cost of lime differs by under 2% and walling by less than 10%, but the carpenter's work cost 40% extra and surprisingly, the mason's work was almost double. Perhaps Idle did not salvage as many doorways as he had expected. His competitors were nearer the mark with their estimates for walling and for paving and settlestones.³² Ironwork and nails cost over three times his estimate but timber, boards and their carriage cost nearly £80 extra if the 30 trees from Hartsop are priced at the same rate as those from Newbiggin. No wonder Idle's estimate included a proviso that Sir John was "to finde all Timber . . . and Lay it Convenient for the Building . . . all at his owne Charge". This discrepancy was balanced partly by the great difference between the estimate and actual cost of slate and slating. Perhaps this could be explained by an unexpectedly high salvage of slate from the old barns, (if indeed they were slated), by obtaining slate from a different supplier or by not building the "Twofall Byer". There is no direct evidence to solve this dilemma, but an entry in Bird's accounts dated 18 November 1702 may be significant. He allowed Thomas Greene, the tenant of Sockbridge, £99. 3s. 7d. for "his bills for the years 1698 & 1699". None of these has been found but, presumably, many would have covered other building costs and were presented to the landlord who normally financed walls, doors, timber and new slate in tenanted buildings. 33 However, if all that sum were added, Idle's estimate would have covered only 50% of the barn's cost. The answer must lie between these extremes and caution must be used in interpreting the evidence.

Mixed in with the barn entries in Bird's accounts, references to work at Barton church

cast further light on local building matters. Of the slate "bought and Left . . . after the Barn was Covered" in November 1699, some was used to repair Sockbridge Hall and on I December, William Todhunter was paid 14s. 8d. "for 22 Cart Loads w^{ch} were afterwards had for repair of the Porch and Isle in Barton Church at 8d. per Load". Three weeks later he was paid for another ten loads "to finish the repair of the Porch & Isle". William Idle received £5. 5s. 3d. "for Walling, Slateing, Leading of Stones and Slate &c" for the same job and John Robinson had Is. 1\frac{3}{4}d. "for 550 Sheep Shanks for slatepins used in the repair thereof at 2\frac{1}{2}d. a hundred". Earlier, on 12 May, 4s. 3\frac{1}{2}d. was "paid Ant. Hewetson the Glazier for Sir Johns share of the Glasswork in the Quire at Barton Church and one Light at his particular Charge".

Sir John's share was probably a third for, on I February 1703/4, 4s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. was paid "To Matthew Winder ($\frac{1}{3}$ part of 12s. 8d.) for Mossing the Quire of Barton Church, Getting Moss & Lime used about y' Work last Summer" as well as 5s. for "5 days Mossing Sir Johns own Quire" and 1s. 6d. "for Getting Moss for the same". 34 That same day Winder had a shilling "For 2 Cart load of Stones used about the Arms set up over the Porch door" there. An earlier entry shows that John Bird was paid two shillings on 15 June 1703 "for 2 Days helping to make up the Gavell-End at Barton church where the Armes are sett up" after W. Dobson had been paid £2. 7s. 6d. on 21 May "for getting a Stone,

PLATE I. – Barton church porch. Shield of Arms designed by Thomas Webster and carved and set up by W. Dobson in 1703.

Notes. Lowther (1) has a canton charged with a baronet's sinister hand. Lancaster(2) has a canton charged with a mullet (not a lion passant guardant as in Nicolson & Burn, i, 402). Beauchamp (3) as of Croglin (Armorial for Westmorland, 23), Hartsupp (4) lacks the three cross-crosslets between the antlers.

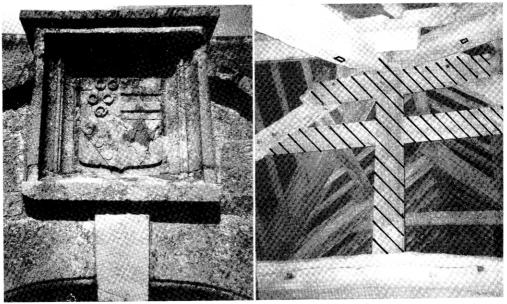


PLATE 1. PLATE 2

PLATE 2. – Sockbridge Hall stable 1687. General view from south showing the roof truss supporting the hipped S.E. angle. Mortices in the hip rafter (right) and principal rafter (left), lined in for clarity, probably held struts from the tie beam. The replacement softwood members are shaded.

therein Cutting Sir J Lowthers Armes with those of Lancaster, Beachamp & Hartsupp Quartered,³⁵ working the Houseing about it in 4 Stones & Setting it all up over the Door of the Porch on the south side of Barton Church". As this work survives exactly as described (Plate 1), Nicolson and Burn were mistaken in reporting only that "Over the porch, on the outside, cut in stone is an escutcheon with 3 harts heads" (N.B., i, 405), but such a device does exist in the porch's east wall.³⁶ Perhaps that crowned the entrance before 1703 and signified the earlier influence of an extinct Hartsupp family.

To some extent the details discussed above can be compared with those contained in an account of money "Disbursed for James Lowther Esq". for the Building of the Mill and Kill at Sockbridge Since May the 10th, 1708". 37 Out of £45. 14s. 11d. total payments, £29 was given "To George Lancaster by [an] Agreement" which has not been found. He led a team of carpenters during the rebuilding of Lowther Hall until 169538 and as most of the mill costs were for wood, slate and ironwork, perhaps the amount of walling work was minimal. Nevertheless, on 12 May 1708, 2s. 6d. was "Expended with Mr. Dobson³⁹ in treating with him for leave to gett Quarry Stones and with George Lancaster and his workmen when they Cutt the Timber for the Mill & Kill". More wood seems to have been needed, for 3s. was spent "with Geo. Lancaster & Tho Green in Viewing Hartsopp wood for the Mill . . ." on 2 July and, a month later, they had 1s. more expenses "in buying Wood for the Mill at Fairbank" (NY 478360) near Huttonin-the-Forest. On 20 August 2s. was "Paid John Holme for 2 Days Squareing the Wood" there and 8s. was spent "For Leading 8 Cart Load of Wood from Fairbank to Sockbridge", a distance of over five miles. Ten days later Joseph Carr received 8s. "for Sawing Planks at Sockbridge", Thomas Seetry had £1. 12s. "for Boards which Geo. Lancaster bought of him for the Mill Chist and other uses . . ." and eventually on 5 March 1708/9 £1. 18s. 6d. was "Paid Edward Walton for Wood bought at Fairbank for the use of Sockbridge Mill". Again the Hartsop woods failed to cope with the demand for building timber.

Slate came from Patterdale for, on 30 November, £3 was "Paid Mr. Mounsey for two Rood & ½ of Blew slate" and on 21 December Anthony Skilbeck⁴⁰ received 12s. "for bringing to Waterfoot four Boatfull of Slate & for raising the Boat that was Sunk", no doubt in an unrecorded storm or accident. The Sockbridge tenants then took it by road for, on 6 January, 6s. was "Paid John Ralf of Sockbridge for Ale & bread at the raising of the Kill & Mill and when the Tenants brought the Slate" there. Ann Bristoe was given 7s. 7d. "for the same". More slate was bought for 18s. from "Rowland & John Stephenson for a Rood & half of Redd Slate gott at Long Moss" (NY 518367) near which the slopes of Brown Rigg are peppered with small quarries. For several miles north of Penrith it is common for buildings to have red flagstones for the lowest two or three courses of slate and often up to half the roof but there is no trace of red slate on the present buildings at Sockbridge mill. To support the slates "7 hundred of Hart Latts" were bought from Mr Edward Stephenson for 14s.

Internal items were then paid for. On 22 February 1708/9, John Dalton, who had supplied floor boards to Sockbridge barn, was paid 6s. 6d. "for Coggs, Rungs and two Cogg wheel Leaves". A week later William Nelson had £2. 12s. 6d. "for Iron & Smith Work..." and, on 5 March, 12s. 4d. was "Paid Mr Tho. Wilson for Nails, Gymers⁴¹ and other things had at his Shopp...." In February £2. 10s. was paid "To Mr Timothy

Richardson for a pair of Millstones" and 1s. expenses were incurred "at Salkeld when bought". This provides interesting comparison with an entry in Bird's accounts on 27 October 1703 recording £3. 10s. paid to "George Wetheral for a pair of Milstones gott in Whinfeild for Sockbridge Mill". 42

Apart from a linear, detached house, the present mill buildings at Sockbridge are \$\times\$ shaped with the long-abandoned mill aligned east-west beside the river Eamont. It has a door lintel inscribed L L 1615 F L,⁴³ but as the door jambs are set a little too wide to fit it exactly, it has probably been re-used. The walls appear to be 19th century and the roof is hipped. The south wing has a small cow-house at its extremity, separated from the mill by a kiln which, on the evidence of unbonded joins, is the oldest structure. Perhaps this was involved in the 1708 rebuild.

One other building project, worthy of brief mention, was laying a new floor at Hartsop Hall. On 23 July 1702, Bird's accounts show that 2s. was given "To Ri Dalton (of whom we are to have a Rood of Boards) for going with me to Hartsup to view the place where they are to be Laid to the End they may be of fitt Length & not cutt to Waist". 44 On 15 February following he received £2. 10s. "for a Rood of Inch Boards lately sent to Hartsupp" as well as 4s. for "Carriage of them (being 4 Cart Load) to Powley". A further 6s. was "paid to Mr Mounsey . . . for Carriage . . . to Hartsupp". This suggests that the boards were trans-shipped at Pooley for their journey to Patterdale.⁴⁵ They must have been stored for over a year for, on 19 December 1704, David Harrison was paid 5s. "for Smith's Nails had the last summer for lyeing the Floor at Hartsupp". Two weeks earlier £1. 9s. was paid "To Richd Dalton for himself 17 days & his son 12 at Hartsupp cutting down wood, sawing & Working it & laying the Floor". They were helped by Thomas Jackson and his son for about one day and, on 23 June 1705 John Thompson was paid "for leading Wood to Hartsup Hall the last Summer 2s. 6d., sand 2s. 1d. & Stone to the New Wall at the West End of the House 7s.". The Jacksons had 10s. 6d. "for Getting stones and Walling 7 Rood of [this same] Wall . . . where the Trees were lately sett" and a further 10s. "for 10 days dragging, Working & lying Lime on Hartsup Hall the last summer". The evidence suggests that the floorboards were seasoned before use whereas the supporting timbers were used green for easier working. Presumably the lime was supplied by the Sockbridge limeburner, for John Lancaster had received 15s. on 23 June 1701 "for 20 Load of Lime carried to Hartsupp", perhaps by boat and as part of an organized traffic in the product.

Conclusions must be brief. Dr R. W. Brunskill, an authority on Cumbrian buildings, states that "Intensive investigation of selected examples of farmsteads and individual buildings is essential" and "Documentary investigation of individual holdings and local practices is equally necessary" if studies of traditional buildings are to advance. ⁴⁶ Despite their drawbacks, the documents studied in this article have to some extent satisfied these needs. The activities of ordinary Cumbrian builders have been revealed in detail. Their movements about the countryside have been indicated and their organization of work and supplies of materials have been considered closely. The exposure of a two-way trade along Ullswater is as much a bonus as is the appearance of persons like William Idle or even Anthony Skilbeck above the threshold of history. Hopefully, future studies will draw from this article to enhance our understanding of the district, its people and their traditional buildings.

Appendix

Notes on the Idle Family of Tirril

(Based on wills, Barton parish registers, and Sockbridge Manorial papers in C.R.O., D/Lons.)

Bird's account book states that, on 6 December 1703, 6s. 8d. was received from "William Idle for his fine due on his purchase of a close of Customary Land called Town head Close [$\frac{1}{2}$ acre] in Tirrell from Edw^d Idle late deceased" and 15s. 8d. "More of him for his purchase money of the Freehold of the said Close from Sir John Lowther". A document in bundle 23 of the Sockbridge papers shows that, on 13 March 1662/3 an Edward Idle surrendered to Sir John Lowther property called High Close in Tirril for £48 arrears in fines. This Edward Idle, who was churchwarden in 1669 probably retained part of his customary tenement but was buried on 26 Dec. 1680. An Edward Idle married to Frances Heling on 7 Nov. 1684 was probably his son who had two sons Allan (1685) and John (1690) and was buried on 5 July 1702.

As William Idle purchased Town Head from Edward, they were perhaps brothers who married in the same year (as did Anas Idle to Thomas Baynes). William married Jane Bowsher on 3 July 1684 and their children were William (1685), Anne (1687), Christopher (1689-1767), Esther (1699), Sarah (1701) and Rachel (1707), three of whom died in infancy. "Frances wife of Willm Idle of Terryl" was buried on 29 Oct. 1707 so, presumably, he had married a second time and certainly had another daughter Amy, probably during the 1690s. Neither event has been found however.

William Idle being "sick in body" was buried on 20 January 1711/12. His will (witnessed by his brother Christopher and proved at Carlisle) left the residue of his estate to daughters Anne, Amy and Esther. To his son Christopher he left "one Bedstead and the bedding there upon . . . one Ark and one Chest standing in the Passage . . . The Best pair of Iron Bound wheeles and one parcell of Slate lying near the Barn . . . one pair of the Best principles and one length of Timber . . . Two of the best beams . . . [and] All my work tools whatsoever belonging to the Mason and Waller Trades And the Best Tables". In this context the last item was probably table stones rather than furniture.

Clearly Christopher followed his father's trade. He married Margaret Boak (presumably daughter of William Boak of Clifton and baptised 30 Jan. 1694) on 15 May 1715 at Barton. No doubt he had used his inheritance to extend his father's house at Tirril beforehand, and had Elizabeth (1718, m. Nicholas Temple 1742), Frances (1721, m. Edmund Langhorn 1748), Anne (1725-), William (1727 m. Jane Nicholson 1754), Margaret (1730 m. Robert Wilkinson 1753), Amy (1733) and Esther (1741-). He was buried on 25 Jan. 1767 and willed his property to his widow Margaret (buried 31 May 1773 "aged 78") and then to his daughter Amy who married Robert Starratt, a pedlar of Penrith, on 5 Nov. 1767 and they possessed the same property in 1789 (Sockbridge, bundle 28). She was buried on 24 June 1804 aged 70 and he followed on 1 Oct. 1814 aged 87. Although three of their children died young in 1774, an Elizabeth Stirrit married Robert Sander of Lowther (both aged 22) on 4 July 1797 at Barton and had eight children there by 1818.

William Idle's brother Christopher cannot be traced with the same certainty. He probably married Jane Godfrey at Lowther on 15 Nov. 1694 and had sons William (1695 at Askham) and John (1700 at Lowther). The location of William Idle's house has not been proved.

Acknowledgements

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- ³ B. Tyson, "William Thackeray's Rebuilding of Rose Castle Chapel", Ancient Monuments Society, *Transactions*, 27 (1983), 61-76.
- ⁴ B. Tyson, "The Rood as a Measurement of Builders' Work", Vernacular Architecture, 10 (1979), 12.
- ⁵ J. V. Beckett, Coal & Tobacco, 1981, passim; outline family background, pp. 14 and 210.
- ⁶ C.R.O., Carlisle D/Lons/W, Tickell Correspondence, e.g. 26 July 1681 Lowther to Tickell, "Cou. [Anne] Teasdell has several times had ther house at Sockbridge attempted. I wish all ye house hold stuff were with you it will never be used more at the other place [Sockbridge] if you think you can preserve it". Also 6 and 15 Aug. and 1 Sept. 1681 re. arrival of furnishings. Anne's husband Christopher Teasdale had died in 1679.
- ⁷ B. Tyson, "Unerigg (Ewanrigg) Hall, Maryport", Anc. Mon. Soc., Transactions, 26, (1982), 69.
- 8 Graffiti scratched in the plaster of window reveals include "1704" and "Thomas Sander" who, for £130 per year, leased Sockbridge Hall in 1722 and stayed till his death in 1759. George Mounsey followed at £193 (D/Lons/L, Sock. 23) and died in 1790 aged 80.
- 9 C.R.O., Carlisle D/Lons/L, 2/6. Vol. labelled 'MS. John Lord Lonsdale 1689-1701'.
- ¹⁰ Apparently James Bird of Brougham Hall (outline of family details in Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes, An Armorial for Westmorland . . . , 1975, 32). His salary for attending to Sockbridge affairs was £13. 6s. 8d. a year (see his accounts 19 Nov. 1704). On I August 1700 he recorded nearly £50 taken to Lowther 'by my son Emanuell Bird' and other sons John (d. 1704) and Henry are mentioned. He appears often in the Lowther accounts (see footnote 12).
- 11 Of £5,960, "The Charge of Building my House" at Lowther, "William Idle the Waller" had received £250. IIs. compared with £1,031. 17s. by Edward Addison the mason. Viscount Lonsdale's Commonplace Book, C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/L 2/6.
- ¹² C.R.O., Carlisle D/Lons/L, A1/19. Sir John Lowther of Lowther became Viscount Lonsdale in 1696 and died in 1700. Idle also built the Porters' Lodges at Lowther (Nov. 1693-Feb. 1694).
- 13 Probably he who had led stones to Yanwath Woodhouse.
- 14 The method of paying instalments to carpenters is considered in B. Tyson, "Rydal Hall Farmyard...", CW2, lxxx, 117.
- 15 Ibid., 113-29. Also B. Tyson, "Low Park barn . . . ", CW2, lxxix, 85-97.
- 16 Probably using garsil (brushwood for making dead hedges). On 14. Nov. 1699 John Talbert was paid for "Cutting and leading ye Garsell and makeing the hedge for preserving the Trees planted in Westcow" and "2 men with horses & Carts Leading Garsell 5 dayes to the hedge before the Trees planted by the Moorside" had Iod. a day each.
- ¹⁷ No doubt the 30 trees rather than 30 helpers. Lancaster had 14s. a year to collect £14. 18s. customary rents at Hartsop and had 2s. on 16 June 1702 "for Hedging some Oak Roots about".
- ¹⁸ Greene paid £150 a year for Sockbridge Demesne, but amassed rent arrears so that his goods were distrained on 10 Nov. 1704 before his sale on 6 Dec. (Bird's a/cs.).
- 19 In 1698 William Smith succeeded Robert Wilson as tenant of Hartsop Demesne, paying £50 a year rent. Wilson's debts totalled £531 including rent arrears. Smith was buried at Patterdale on 21 Aug. 1702 so that on 28 Sept. "Wm Smith of Brow for . . . Jane Smith Widdow his Daughter-in-Law" paid £25 rent. By Dec. 1703 Thomas Thompson was tenant. (Bird's a/cs.).
- ²⁰ Identified on the High Barton Tithe map (1839), C.R.O., Kendal.
- ²¹ Presumably Mr Dalston was Christopher, son of John Dalston (1611-1692 of Acorn Bank) and Lucy Fallowfield, heir of Richard Fallowfield of Great Strickland. John Dalston bequeathed 20s. "To my godson John Fallowfield . . . and to his 2 sons . . . 40s. apiece to be put into the hands of Christopher Fallowfield (their uncle) . . ." and £20 "to my servant . . . Christopher Fallowfield". F. Haswell, CW2, x, 244 and 258-9.
- ²² Single loads; Wm Idle, Christopher Wilkinson, Elizabeth Hellen widow, Thomas Saunder of Tyrrall, Thomas Saunder of Sockbridge, Lancelot Clerk, Christopher Clerk, Lancelot Sisson, Wm Robinson, Thomas Robinson, Thomas Hutchinson, Anthony Crake, Anth. Rowlandson, Tho. Martin, Tho. Wilkinson, Edw. Sutton. Also John Sutton (3), Will. Sisson (2), Wm Saunder (2), Lancelot Bewsher (3), Will. Hellen (3), Wm Bird (3), and John Bird (2).

- ²³ On 18 Sept. Thomas Bird and his team were paid also "for 6 days work in taking off Slate & covering again the Roofe of Sockbridge Hall". On 22 Nov. he had 2s. "for 2 days putting up of Slates & pointing the Leads after the plummer had finished his Work" there (clearly job demarcation!). Another interesting job was noted on 16 June 1701 when William Hellen was paid "for helping to bring & sett up Ladders when we Cleaned the Guttors of the Roof at Sockbridge [peletower]" and 1s. was "paid the Women for bearing Watter to the Top of the Tower for Trying the Gutters with". Prior to 1660 the tower was roofless being "open to the top".
- ²⁴ Like Chris. Idle, Matthew Winder worked regularly with Wm Idle at Lowther.
- 25 If rising damp decayed the lower courses of stone there might be a better chance for survival of archaeological remains.
- ²⁶ An area more akin to the byer being under the loft rather than in the toofall.
- ²⁷ Namely: W. Hellen (10), Lancelot Bewsher (9), Chr. Clerk (8), La. Sisson (7) and Nich. Winder (4).
- ²⁸ A rood of boards was 441 sq. ft. (see footnote 4).
- ²⁹ Thomas Baynes married Anas Idle at Barton on 3 Aug. 1684 so may have been Wm Idle's brother-in-law.
- 30 In addition, on 6 Nov. 1703, a Wm. Harrison had £3. 16s. 7d., "towards the charge of making the foot pace . . ." and £16. 14s. 8d. "towards the repair of Sockbridge Hall & Mossing the Stable there Ano 1703" but detail is lacking.
- 31 Hewing stones for an arch.
- ³² Settlestones form the edge between cow standings and the manure passage. Paving comprised slates set on edge or cobble stones comparable with the French pavé "to lay jewels close together".
- 33 For example, in 1698 Sir John abated £70. 7s. of Robert Wilson's £531 debt (see footnote 19) "in consideration of Buildings [erected] at his own charge when he was Farmer" at Hartsop. See also B. Tyson, "Skirwith Hall . . .", CW2, lxxxi, 98.
- ³⁴ Similarly, on 12 Feb. 1702/3, 5s. 6d. was "paid John Barnesley the Glazier for \(\frac{1}{3}\) part of the charge of mending the Windows in the Quire at Barton church" and 4s. 2d. "for the like in Sir Johns Porch".
- 35 On 2 Jan. 1702/3, 5s. was "paid Mr Tho Webster for going with me to Sockbridge and Barton church to view the Coats of Armes there and drawing the Escutcheon with those of Lancaster, Beauchamp & Hartsupp Quartered". Presumably Sir John's customary lands in Waitby near Kirkby Stephen came from the Beauchamp line. They yielded £10. 15s. 1½d. a year plus £3 from the demesne tenant Peter Orton.
- 36 See F. Haswell, "On Armorial Stones at . . . Barton Church", CW2, v, 88 for comment and inclusion of the three cross-crosslets.
- ³⁷ C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/L, Sockbridge, 23. Although the title passed to Christopher Lowther, the estates went to Sir John's second son James (1673-1755) who became 4th Baronet in 1731. J. V. Beckett, CW2, lxxx, 131-6.
- ³⁸ Usually "sliteing Deals", sawing oak boards, making carts or leading stones. Also "puting up Scafels for the stone carver", "thatching Askham tyth barne", "laying the sarking att Yanwoth hale" and so on (all 1693). On 14 May 1698, £18. 5s. was "Pd George Lancaster for his hous in the Town". (D/Lons/L, A1/19).
- ³⁹ Reginald Dobson (bur. 14 Feb. 1719) who married Elizabeth, second daughter of Lowther's "cousin" Christopher Teasdale of Sockbridge. (Teasdale's will proved at Carlisle 8 Jan. 1679/80).
- ⁴⁰ On 11 Dec. 1697 Lord Lonsdale "Pd Skilbeck for 240 yards of Rope for the fishing nett 18s. 6d." and, on 10 Apr. 1697, 8s, "To the fishermen of Ulswater for fishing my Pond" at Lowther. (D/Lons/L, A1/19).
- ⁴¹ Gimmer, a hinge; or Gimmals, links or connecting parts in machinery for transmitting motion. (O.E.D.).
- ⁴² Other pairs of stones were bought from Thomas Wilkinson of Lazonby "for the Poke Mill £3. 15s." (D/Lons/L, A1/19, 21 July 1698) and "for Hartsupp Mill" £4. 13s. (Bird, 24 Nov. 1701). On 24 March 1701/2 William Smith, the Hartsop demesne tenant, received £2. 19s. "for bringing the Milstones from Pooley to the Mill" and, on 24 Nov. 1701, £1. 12s. 6d. "which he paid to John Robinson for Carriage of [them]", probably from Lazonby to Pooley. Peter Robinson had £3. 7s. 6d. "in full . . . for work done at Hartsupp Mill" (Bird, 25 Aug. 1702) as well as £8 "towards mending the Poak Mills" (NY 526276) on 13 Aug. 1698. Peter Robinson also had £5. 10s. "for repairing Lowther, Cliburn & Strickland Mills" on 17 Sept. 1698 and £8. 13s. 6d. "for work done at Sockbridge Mill" on 31 Dec. 1698.
- ⁴³ Namely Lancelot Lancaster (heir of Edmund Lancaster who was dead before 1618) and Frances (Tankard) his wife. Nicolson & Burn, i, 402, 408.
- ⁴⁴ Such concern was probably common, e.g. Richard Otley's remarks quoted in B. Tyson, "The Cragg, Troutbeck and the Otley Family", CW2, lxxviii, 110 etc.
- 45 Joseph Budworth in Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes, 1795, 103, noted the boatman skills of the Mounseys when conveying their own slate and timber and their reasonable hire charges on similar work for others.
- ⁴⁶ R. W. Brunskill, "Recording the Buildings of the Farmstead", Ancient Monuments Society, *Transactions*, 21 (1976), 119.