

ART. XVIII.—*Brampton in the 1790s*. By D. J. W. MAWSON.

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WITH the completion of the Military Road in 1758, Brampton, which had hitherto been by-passed, found itself astride the route linking Carlisle with Newcastle. Previously a rural backwater of little consequence, it was by the end of the century on the threshold of becoming a more prosperous place.

Hutchinson, however, writing in 1794, hardly exuded enthusiasm when he described the houses as being mean and irregular and warned that a traveller on first entering the place could not fail but reflect "on the various vicissitudes of human affairs". Nevertheless, he conceded that "from its situation lying at a distance of nine miles from Carlisle, and upon the great Military Road, surrounded with common lands carrying a multitude of sheep (it) is placed in a propitious spot for manufactory and trade", and remarked that the inhabitants, particularly the children, were in need of greater employment.¹

If the Ordnance Survey Map² is compared with a plan prepared during the last quarter of the 18th century, it is apparent that the general layout of the centre of Brampton has changed little during the intervening years. It is true that the beck then flowed openly through the town, being spanned by a narrow bridge near Gill Place, but the principal business areas at that time, as now, were High Cross Street (Cross Street) and the Market Place (the latter included much of the area known today as Front Street). On the other hand, Main Street (Back Street) appears to have been primarily residential, although there were warehouses,

stables, a bakery and two shops in Mr Dean's property opposite the present White House School, and there may have been a farm or two on the northern side of this street.

Before their bankruptcy in 1798, Messrs Fleming and Temperly were the town's largest employers. Manufacturers of gingham and various other checked and striped cotton fabrics,³ their factory buildings, some of which are still in evidence, lay at the foot of Longtown Road.⁴

The senior partner, John Fleming, was an early pioneer of the town's textile industry. At first his factory was little more than a finishing-shop where cloth lengths from the cottage looms were dyed and prepared for the market. During much of the 18th century the industry was organised on a "putting out" basis, a merchant entrepreneur organising and financing the weavers, sometimes procuring their raw materials, and ultimately arranging for the sale of the finished product.⁵ Fleming was such a man.

As the country's population increased, so did the demand for cloth, and as it required several spinners to keep a weaver in work, it is not surprising that the spinning side of the industry was the first to receive the attention of inventors and mechanics. In 1770 James Hargreaves had patented the spinning jenny, and when Richard Arkwright's water-frame was later adopted, the factory system of the industrial revolution was brought a vital stage nearer. Arkwright's invention, as its name implies, was designed to be powered by water, and in 1793 a sizeable cotton mill had been established on the Cairn Beck at Langthwaite, Warwick Bridge, where a hundred men, women and children, working on 443 spindles, produced over 41,000 lbs of cotton annually.⁶

Notwithstanding the establishment of spinning mills elsewhere in the area, Brampton remained a weaving

town, and by 1794 Fleming and Temperly employed most of its 67 resident weavers.⁷ Four years later their factory buildings included not only warehouses, a counting-house and a dye-house, but also weavers' shops,⁸ from which it can be inferred that some of the weaving at least was then being undertaken on their own premises. The period has been described as the golden age of textile manufacturing,⁹ since demand far outstripped supply, and the spinning mills were producing yarn at a rate hitherto undreamt of. Throughout the cotton-producing areas barns, out-houses and surplus buildings of all kinds were being adapted to accommodate additional looms.¹⁰ Although the widespread adoption of Kay's flying shuttle in the 1750s had doubled the weaver's capacity, little attempt was made to power his loom until the following century and the handloom remained the basic tool of the weaving trade. The operative weaver still worked either in his own home or in weaving sheds close by, for unlike spinning, this remained a cottage craft.

When Longtown Road would hold no more looms, new weavers' cottages and workshops were built elsewhere in the town. Many of these were in use well into the next century, as is evidenced by the sale in 1843 of Shuttle Row, a terrace of eight houses adjoined by a similar number of four-loom weaving shops, on the Moatside.¹¹

It is unlikely that Fleming and Temperly were the only employers in the textile trade. Indeed, William Hope, described in 1797 as a manufacturer,¹² whose house lay a little to the west of the partners' factory, and Samuel Johnstone, similarly described in 1790,¹³ were probably master weavers of more modest means. The operative weavers themselves were skilled men, whose incomes compared favourably with other trades. On piece-rate, working from fourteen to sixteen hours each day, they could at this time earn from ten shillings to twenty-one shillings a week.¹⁴

Fleming and Temperly commissioned most of their spinning in the neighbourhood, but appear to have made no attempt to engage in this field. They were nevertheless not lacking in enterprise, and by 1795 had opened another factory a mile or so out of town at Boothby, where George Temperly owned a fifty-acre farm and several houses and cottages.¹⁵

John Fleming, too, had other property interests. He owned the Cross Keys Inn at Brampton, as well as seventy-two acres of farmland nearby.¹⁶ It was not, of course, unusual for such men to have activities outside industry and, in a rural area, there can be little doubt that they were drawn into manufacturing from an agricultural background which still continued to absorb part of their time.

In 1798 their business failed,¹⁷ but early in the following year George Ferguson, the Carlisle cotton master acquired several of the unsuccessful partners' buildings¹⁸, and the prospect of increased local unemployment presumably receded with the extension of his interests to the area.

Fleming owned a freehold house near to that now known as St Martin's House, and appears to have lived there. His partner was living at Boothby at the time of the crash, but had previously rented a house near the Brampton factory from the Vicar for £6. 10s. a year.¹⁹ This house, which survives, had formerly been the incumbent's town house and unofficial vicarage.²⁰

On the other side of Longtown Road lay the tithe barn and pinfold, which together occupied the site of the present police station. The tithe barn was more probably for Lord Carlisle's tithes than those of the Vicar, and the pinfold would serve as a town pound for strayed cattle. Temperly had as near neighbours on the east two shoemakers, John Bendle and Edward

Atkinson, while behind their shops, in a building which still exists in the grounds of High Field House, was a dye-house and other premises occupied by William Pears, the currier. Indeed, this end of the town was well patronised by the leather industry. Simon Ewart the tanner traded where St Martin's Hall now stands, and in Front Street, opposite the present church, were the workshops of another tanner, William Routledge, who also served as parish clerk.²¹

Routledge's immediate neighbour on the east was Joseph Messenger, one of the town's two hatters, and only Chandlers Lane separated him from Mary Hali-burton's grocery shop, the windows of which faced Eldon Place and up Gelt Road (The Lonnen).

Most of the important businesses were to be found on the north side of Front Street, between Shepherds Lane and High Cross Street. On the corner of Shepherds Lane were the workshops of Isaac Richardson the shoemaker, and next to him The Shoulder of Mutton, where John James was licensee. His neighbour on the east was Mrs David Ewart, described in the Universal British Directory of 1790 as being one of the gentry. Certainly she appears to have had a most commodious house, the gardens of which extended across Brampton Beck and northwards through to Main Street. Continuing eastwards, Christopher Parker adjoined Mrs Ewart, next to him lived Thomas Parker a butcher, then another inn, The Half Moon, where Joseph Thompson combined the duties of licensee with those of being the town's barber. The workshops of John Atkinson the carpenter then stood on the same site as that now occupied by the launderette, and Jane Armstrong the milliner had her shop next door to him and to the west of John Gill's alehouse, The George and Dragon. Jane Armstrong was the widow of one of the doctors, and during the latter's lifetime evidently not only looked after her own shop but kept her

husband's accounts, for in 1775 she rendered a bill to Mrs Ramshay of Naworth which invoiced an impressive list of wares such as stamped cotton, dimetty, check, worset, ribbons and pins at £10. 7s. 8d. and also included £2. 17s. 6d. for the doctor's services and medicines.²²

The present doctors' surgery stands on the site then occupied by the hatter Thomas Thirlwell. A prosperous tradesman, he did not live behind his shop but in a sizeable house, possibly in Main Street, which in 1795 was described as containing a front parlour and kitchen, two back kitchens, four lodging rooms, a cellar and pantry, with yard stables and gardens at the rear.²³

Until nearly the end of the century, William Tiffen was the only lawyer,²⁴ and must also have been a keen sportsman, for in 1796 he held one of only three game licences issued in Brampton that year.²⁵ Of the other professions, there were no less than three surgeons, Messrs Grant, Hudson and Martin, while Government authority was represented by a similar number of Excise officers, Messrs Davies, Crossfield and Holt, one of whom was more specifically described as the salt officer.²⁶ Henry Holt rented a house, which may also have served as his office, from Simon Ewart the tanner.

By 1798 Britain had been at war with France for five years, Ireland was in rebellion, and the Treasury had a £19,000,000 deficit. Never before had the country been so heavily taxed. Every householder this year was required to complete a return of his houses, carriages, horses, servants, windows and dogs, each of which resulted in an assessment. Forms were available at various centres throughout the County, and the *Cumberland Pacquet* advised readers that at Brampton these could be obtained from John Ewart's shop in the Market Place.²⁷ Ewart, a mercer, also held the post of Distributor of Stamps for the town,

MAP OF BRAMPTON,
drawn by Lord Carlisle's agent, Thomas Ramshay, in the late 18th century.

and in the following year Lord Carlisle's agent Thomas Ramshay, who was head Distributor for the County, advertised in the same newspaper that hair powder certificates could be obtained from Mr Ewart at a fee of one guinea.²⁸

Around the Market Place and on the south side of Front Street were several more of the town's eighteen inns. Mr Graham had The Globe on the north side of the Market Place, and a little further along, on the present site of Moot Lodge, the Joiner's Arms was kept by Joseph Nichol. Between these two taverns lay the house of Jane Clark the milliner, and nearby was John Parker's grocery shop.

On the other side of the square, James Brown had the Packhorse and Francis Atkinson the Horse's Head, while a little more than a hundred yards to the west lay one of the leading inns, The Howards Arms. By 1811 Thomas Bell ran the post office here,²⁹ and indeed may have done so sooner. Certainly the County Court was held at this inn once a year,³⁰ and no doubt the twice-weekly coach from Carlisle to Newcastle called to deliver the newspapers and take on parcels, as indeed would the bye-post which plied between Brampton and Carlisle each Monday, Wednesday and Saturday.³¹

It was during this decade that a canal linking Newcastle to Carlisle and Maryport was actively promoted. William Chapman's survey, completed in 1795, estimated the cost at £355,067,³² but after a dispute affecting the route to be taken along the Tyne valley, the scheme was abandoned.³³ From Greenhead the course of the projected waterway was similar to that later taken by the railway as far as Scarrow Hill, but unlike the latter it then kept to the high ground on the southerly boundary of Naworth Park until a few hundred yards west of the present lodge. At this point it passed under the Newcastle road and headed southwest across country to Milton Hall. Leaving Brampton

Fell to the south, it then descended through a series of twenty-four locks to Low Gelt Bridge. Here for a while it ran parallel with the Warwick Bridge road, until after passing through a further eight locks just north of Hayton, it veered away at Greenholme and, following the low land between Little Corby and the Eden, was carried across the river by an aqueduct just to the north of Warwick Hall.³⁴

Although the construction of this canal never took place demand for better communications across the country persisted. In 1797 it was reported that the road from Carlisle to the County boundary with Northumberland was in bad repair,³⁵ but the defects appear to have been made good by the following year when Messrs Fairbairn and Hardesty replaced the twice-weekly coach between Carlisle and Newcastle with a daily diligence in each direction. These coaches set out alternatively from the Bush and the Crown and Mitre coffeehouse in Carlisle, and although leaving the city at 5 a.m., did not reach their destination until the evening, however the westbound coaches departed from Mr Sunderland's Crown and Thistle in Newcastle at the somewhat more hospitable hour of 8 a.m. The fare, if travelling inside, was 16s. od., but outside only 9s. od.³⁶ The 1790s were inflationary times, and these fares represented a considerable increase on those prevailing three years before, when inside passengers had paid only 14s. od. and the charge to those joining the coach for a short distance had been 3d. a mile.³⁷ In Cumberland, the route taken by Fairbairn and Hardesty's coaches lay by way of the Low Crosby tollgate to Brampton and thence via the Low Row gate to the County boundary. The tollgates were let triennially by auction, and in 1793 £220 10s. per annum was bid for the Low Crosby tolls³⁸ and £125 for those at Low Row.³⁹

Thomas Bell, mentioned above as licensee of The

Howards Arms, was no stranger either to the victualling or to the transport trade, for his father was the owner-occupier of another of the principal hostelries, The Bush, and from stables on the east of the inn operated one of the town's two carrying businesses. He and his rival, Thomas Mason, whose warehouse and stables were in the the Scotch Arms Yard, went out with their carts every Tuesday evening for Newcastle, setting back the following Thursday, while each Monday they went to Carlisle, to return the same evening.⁴⁰ The two men were accompanied by yet another carrier, William Holmes of Calees near Lanercost,⁴¹ and their convoy of wagons and carts afforded some immunity from the attentions of thieves along the way. Hardships imposed by winter weather, however, must have been of more consequence to the Brampton carriers than the risk of robbery, and there will have been many an occasion such as that on 19 February 1795 when snowdrifts three miles east of Glenwhelt prevented their carts from continuing further.⁴²

The common carrier, nevertheless, had more than the weather to contend with. That control of prices is no 20th-century innovation is apparent from the fact that at the end of the eighteenth, charges for the carriage of goods were fixed annually by Quarter Sessions, those from Brampton to Newcastle in 1798 being 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a stone, while deliveries to the surrounding country area were at the rate of 1d. a stone for every thirteen miles.⁴³ Curiously, although the usual load for a cart drawn by a single horse was 15 cwt., the Brampton carriers, over hilly country, were frequently able to manage 18 cwt. One boy, or a girl, could handle two such carts, and a pair, fully laden, to Newcastle and back could therefore earn their owner £9 or so.⁴⁴

At the end of the 18th century there were two inns in Cross Street, The White Lion, which rivalled The Howards Arms and The Bush in importance, and

where Martha Maxwell was the landlady for many years, and on the opposite side of the street David Hope's public house, The King's Arms. Brampton Beck marked the southern extent of The White Lion's forecourt and also served as the boundary of The King's Arms. The latter tavern, now a shoe shop, was then owned by Mr M. D. Buckeridge, the grandson of John Dean the Brampton attorney, and owner in 1745 when Charles Edward Stuart lodged there during his stay in the town. By the end of the century the licence had been surrendered, and Robert Longrigg, a lawyer, was the occupier.⁴⁵

On the eastern corner of Main Street and High Cross Street, James Prudham the grocer traded. He bought the building in 1789, having previously rented it. Immediately round the corner in Main Street, in a building which no longer exists, Lancelot Townley, the town's only druggist, had his business.

To the rear of Messrs Prudham's and Townley's shops lay the Presbyterian Meeting House. Part of this site had been acquired in 1722, and the remainder in 1745.⁴⁶ The Presbyterians were the second largest religious congregation in the parish in 1794. Out of 458 families, no less than 74 were of this denomination, and since the average size of each family in Brampton in that year was 4.25 persons, the Presbyterian community probably numbered over 300.⁴⁷

Mr Wightman was the Minister, his Church of England counterpart being the Rev. William Richardson.⁴⁸ St Martin's Church (the predecessor of the present building) was consecrated by Bishop Douglas in 1789 after the materials of the old church on the boundaries of the parish had been used during the previous year to re-build the old almshouse chapel in Front Street.⁴⁹ The almshouse, or hospital as it was called locally, had originally been divided into apartments for twelve poor people, and in shape resembled

a rather squat H. 105 feet long, its eastern and western wings had a depth of 62 feet and width of 25 feet, and each contained four rooms measuring approximately 15 feet by 22 feet. The central portion of the building, although 55 feet long, had a depth of only 38 feet and housed a further two rooms at either end, the intervening area being given over to the chapel. As a result of the re-building in 1789, only eight of the apartments were retained, one of which in 1794 was in use as a schoolroom.⁵⁰ According to the Rev. Henry Whitehead, writing in 1907, the conversion of the building was approved by the Earl of Carlisle on his being petitioned by the townspeople, and probably he granted their request with relief, since his agent had reported some time earlier that the building was in a ruinous state of repair and in imminent danger of losing its roof.⁵¹

Brampton Common was enclosed in 1777, at which time the Vicar lost most of his already somewhat meagre tithes, but he received an award of land and an annual charge on each house of 7½d. in lieu of "hens, hemp, flax and smoke". His income was supplemented by his mortuary and surplice fees, and he was still entitled to hay tithes from Talkin Township.⁵²

Hutchinson states that there was also a Methodist preaching-house in 1794,⁵³ and by 1799 a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel had been built at the cost of £140.⁵⁴

The educational needs of the children were not altogether neglected, and in 1794 the town boasted four small schools, attended by about 120 scholars. Certainly, if an ability to sign one's name denotes a degree of literacy, these establishments achieved some measure of success, for the Rev. William Richardson was able to say that of 456 men married in the period between 1754 and 1794, 363, or close on 80%, were able to accomplish this (the opposite sex, however, had a somewhat lower attainment).⁵⁵

The only schoolmaster to be named in the 1790 Directory was Mr Irving,⁵⁶ and presumably he was master of the Grammar School which occupied the room in the hospital.

Most trades appear to have been represented in Brampton. There were, for example, 19 tailors in the parish. These would be itinerant tradesmen, travelling from farm to farm in the country areas, spending a week here and a few days there, receiving in return for their labours board and lodging and tenpence a day. The 9 joiners and like number of builders could expect a daily wage of two shillings, but by contrast, 153 general labourers were only paid one shilling a day.⁵⁷

Saddlers, millers, coopers, skinnners and clockmakers each had three representatives.⁵⁸ Of the latter, Thomas Wallace was the son of the celebrated clockmaker Blacket Wallace who had died in the previous decade, and at the Red Lion, John Burrow may have been the John Burrough described in the 1790 Directory as a clock and watchmaker, for it is more than probable that the licensees of the smaller taverns would sometimes have two occupations. At Townfoot, in a house known today as Oulton House, lived William Forster the fiddle maker whose celebrated son and namesake had set up in London as a violin-maker and by 1781 had become Haydn's English publisher.⁵⁹

The clothing trades were represented by several mercers and drapers, of these John Ewart (previously encountered as Distributor of Stamps) was one of the most substantial shopkeepers. His shop lay on the south side of the Market Place, where the Midland Bank now stands (earlier in the century this had been the location of the meal market).⁶⁰ Two more mercers, Thomas Moses and John Nichol, competed next door to one another on the west side of High Cross Street,

and in a none too fastidious age the fact that the adjoining building was used as a dunghillstead⁶¹ would have had little adverse effect on their trade.

It is only to be expected, in an era when transport was completely dependent on the horse, that there would be several smithies, and of these Mark Coats the blacksmith occupied a keen trading position on the main road leading into the town from the east, while William Crozier the whitesmith, who also traded here, may have been his partner.

Although Messrs Fleming and Temperly's cotton factory was the largest single employer of labour, at the other end of the town in Crowhall (Crow Hall) and close by the skinner's yard of Isaac Blenkinsop, was a substantial brewery owned by Messrs Ramshay and Grey. The brewers' local agent was Mr Hodgson, and the business must have been profitable, since it produced an annual duty of no less than £1,200.⁶²

The Ramshay of the brewery partnership was Thomas, already encountered as Lord Carlisle's agent and head Distributor of Stamps for the County. The Earl's steward for the Barony of Gilsland was George Mounsey of Carlisle, and it was he who officiated at the Court Leet in the Moot Hall every Easter and Michaelmas. Criminal business was primarily concerned with weights and measures. Fines similar to the 3s. 4d. penalties imposed on two Talkin merchants in 1797 for giving short weight were fairly commonplace, but this year the jurors also examined Brampton Beck on two separate occasions, and found nuisances which they ordered the riparian owners to abate.⁶³ In the 1790s the Moot Hall was a simple rectangular building with shops beneath. Rather grandly described on the Town Map of that period as "the Town Hall".⁶⁴ It occupied a site slightly to the east of the present building, which was not erected until 1817.

In the surrounding square a market was held every

Tuesday and Saturday, the former being the most important, and the latter catering principally for the town. Lord Carlisle let the market dues for £14 a year,⁶⁵ and also extracted tolls on all grain, fruit and root crops brought to the market for sale, but in 1795 he agreed to these being abolished, when the townspeople complained that they were discouraging trade.⁶⁶

The market extended westwards from the Market Place as we now know it to the butchers' shambles in front of The Howards Arms, but the cross near the Moot Hall was its centre, and it was here every Whit Tuesday and Martinmas Tuesday that the hirings were held. Workers seeking employment for the ensuing agricultural term offered their labour in expectation of an annual wage which, all found, might range from £10 to £14 for a man and from £4 to £6 for a woman.⁶⁷

The Rev. William Richardson, writing in 1794, commented that the market was plentifully supplied with meat — beef at 3d. per pound, veal and mutton 3d., lamb and pork 4d. A pound of butter might cost 8d., and cheese 3d. One could buy a goose for 2s., a duck for 6d., and a chicken for 4d. Eggs, during the summer months, were 1d. for four, but double in winter. Salmon ran at 3d. to 4d. a pound, Esk trout at 3d., but those from the Irthing at only 2d.⁶⁸ By 1799, however, the cost of living had greatly increased, and at Carlisle market in July of that year, beef was fetching 6d. to 7d. a pound, mutton 6d., lamb 5d., veal 4d., and butter 10d. Only salmon, at 4d. a pound, remained unchanged.⁶⁹

In 1799 Lord Carlisle's waggonway linking the collieries at Tindale Fell and Talkin with the town was inaugurated. A large crowd assembled at the official opening, when the first waggon to be drawn in contained a band, and seven others followed laden with coal. After witnessing the arrival of this parade, the company adjoined to the Market Cross, where, ale

having been freely distributed, it causes no surprise to read in the *Cumberland Pacquet* that "This new work which promises great advantage to the neighbourhood was hailed with joy."⁷⁰ The linking of Brampton with its industrial hinterland was to assist the prosperity of the town considerably in the approaching century, for coal thereby became both cheap and plentiful.⁷¹

In 1794 the recently enclosed common around the town could be rented for between 6s. and 8s. an acre, but a farmer had to pay almost twice that for established land. Agricultural methods were much improved. Turnips, a relatively recent innovation in the neighbourhood, were now well established, but the chief crops were still oats and barley. Farming prospered. In 1798 sheep were fetching between 25s. and 35s. a head, while in 1793 between 8s. and 12s. a stone was being paid for wool, and black cattle brought in from Scotland in the previous year were sold by local farmers to graziers from the Midlands, at Burgh Fair, for a profit of about 20s. each.⁷²

On the second Wednesday after Whit and the second Wednesday in September, fairs took place at the Sands on the eastern perimeter of the town. Great social as well as business occasions these, where horses cattle and sheep were traded amid vigorous enjoyment in nearby taverns, and jostling crowds around the booths and stalls of the fairground folk.

There is some doubt as to whether or not there was a workhouse during this decade. Certainly such an institution had been established by 1808,⁷³ but Hutchinson, writing in 1794, appears to indicate that the poor rate at 2s. 3d. in the pound, and amounting in all to £300 a year, was only applied in outside relief. On the whole, the friendly societies catered for those unfortunate enough to fall on hard times through illness or accident. There were no less than nine of these organisations, six being for men and three for women,

having together no less than 900 members, a surprisingly large number, bearing in mind that the population of the parish was barely 2,000 and that of the town itself but 1,228.⁷⁴

Private charity supplemented benefits from the poor rates and friendly societies. For example, every twelve months Lord Carlisle had a cartload of coal delivered from his collieries to each poor housekeeper, while 1798 was not the only year in which the Vicar gave to each such person one hoop of oatmeal.⁷⁵

The 1790s were a milestone in Brampton's fortunes. Within thirty-five years of Hutchinson's somewhat derogatory comments, the population had all but doubled, many new trades had been attracted, a savings bank and a circulating library established, and new schools for 400 children built. By 1829 there were fourteen more public houses than in 1790, and two breweries where hitherto there had been only one.⁷⁶ Unfortunately this prosperity born of better communications was not sustained for in 1846 the railway passed the town by, just as the road had done one hundred years before.⁷⁷

References.

¹ Hutchinson, *History of Cumberland*, i 123-132. Unemployment in Brampton is also mentioned by William Chapman in his *Report on measures to be attended to in the Survey of a line of navigation from Newcastle upon Tyne to the Irish Channel*, 1795, R.O. Carlisle, D/Sen.

² Ordnance Survey Map, 1926 Edition, 25-inch Sheet XVIII-5.

³ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*

⁴ The map of Brampton published with this paper contains a schedule of property owners in the town. The map is believed to have been prepared c. 1777, and using it as the base for his research, the author plotted first the names of owners and then those of occupiers through the Land Tax Returns in ensuing years. The Returns of 1780 show the names of occupiers as well as owners, while by 1790 occupations were frequently given as well. Save where otherwise indicated, references to the names of occupiers and use of property have been established by this means, but wherever possible the conclusions so reached have been confirmed by examination of the muniments of title to individual properties in the custody of either the Border R.D.C., R.O., Carlisle, or the author himself.

⁵ P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, 204-205, 250-251.

- ⁶ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, 169. Opened in 1793 by Messrs J., R and G. Ferguson, this mill was almost totally destroyed by fire the same year. Fortunately it was insured with the Phoenix and rebuilt at once. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 13 August 1793.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 123-132.
- ⁸ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 11 September 1798.
- ⁹ William Radcliffe, *Origin of the New System of Manufacturing commonly called "Power Loom Weaving"*, 1828, 59-66.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ Muniments of title, property at Moatside, Brampton, in possession of Border R.D.C.
- ¹² Militia Lists, Eskdale Ward, 1797, D./Lons./L.
- ¹³ *Universal British Directory*, 1790.
- ¹⁴ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 11 September 1798.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 10 July 1798. Bankruptcy announcement in which the partners are described as check manufacturers, dealers and chapmen.
- ¹⁸ Muniments of title Howard of Naworth, C.30/8, 8a; C.44/1, Department of Palaeography, University of Durham. George Ferguson was part owner of Langthwaite Mill. 6 *supra*.
- ¹⁹ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, and Land Tax Returns, QRP 1, R.O., Carlisle.
- ²⁰ The Rev. Henry Whitehead, *Talks about Brampton in the Olden Times*, 78-79.
- ²¹ *Universal British Directory*, 1790.
- ²² Account rendered to Mrs Ramshay by Jane Armstrong, 1775. Howard of Naworth, C.172/152.
- ²³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 14 April 1795.
- ²⁴ *Universal British Directory*, 1790.
- ²⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 13 September 1795.
- ²⁶ *Universal British Directory*, 1790, and Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ²⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 23 January 1798.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2 April 1799.
- ²⁹ Jollie's *Cumberland Guide and Directory*, 1811.
- ³⁰ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 24 February 1795.
- ³¹ *Universal British Directory*, 1790.
- ³² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 5 January 1796. Thomas Ramshay and William Tiffen were both members of the Cumberland Subscribers Committee. *Op. cit.*, 23 December 1794.
- ³³ J. Bailey and G. Culley, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cumberland*, 1797, 220.
- ³⁴ Plan of proposed Newcastle-Maryport canal, 1795. Howard of Naworth, C.599.
- ³⁵ Bailey and Culley, *op. cit.*, 219.
- ³⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 28 August 1798.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 14 April 1795.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 January 1795.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 June 1796.
- ⁴⁰ *Universal British Directory*, 1790.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 3 March 1795.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 22 May 1798.
- ⁴⁴ Bailey and Culley, *op. cit.*, 235.
- ⁴⁵ C. R. Huddleston, *Prince Charles Edward's House, Brampton*, CW2 lii.
- ⁴⁶ Muniments of title in the custody of the author.
- ⁴⁷ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁸ *Universal British Directory*, 1790.
- ⁴⁹ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* and undated 18th-century plan of Brampton Hospital, Howard of Naworth, C.173/36.
- ⁵¹ Rev. Henry Whitehead, *op. cit.*, 82; and undated memorandum of Thomas Ramshay, Howard of Naworth, C.170/88.
- ⁵² Hutchinson, *op. cit.*

- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ *Parson and White's Directory*, 1829, 414.
- ⁵⁵ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁶ *Universal British Directory*, 1790, and *Parson and White's Directory*, 1829, 413.
- ⁵⁷ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, where a complete list of trades is to be found.
- ⁵⁹ There being no law of copyright, composers were not averse to cheating their publishers, and the connection with Haydn probably ended when Forster successfully sued him for selling to another publisher a piece which Forster had already acquired. A. L. Bacharach, *The Music Masters*, Maurice Fridberg, 1948, 217-219, and Rosemary Hughes, *Haydn*, 51.
- ⁶⁰ Indenture, 25 March 1727, Charles Earl of Carlisle to Simon Ewart, Howard of Naworth, C.16.
- ⁶¹ Muniments of title in the custody of the author.
- ⁶² Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ⁶³ Court Leet Jury Verdicts, Brampton, 3 October 1796, Howard of Naworth, C.173/145.
- ⁶⁴ Town plan, c. 1777, in author's possession, and Counterpart Lease two shops under Moot Hall, 1 February 1719, Howard of Naworth, C.24/20.
- ⁶⁵ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ⁶⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 25 August 1795.
- ⁶⁷ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*; Bailey and Culley, *op. cit.*, 217.
- ⁶⁸ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ⁶⁹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 23 July 1799.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 23 April 1799.
- ⁷¹ Jollie's *Cumberland Guide and Directory*, 1811, 66.
- ⁷² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 23 October 1798; Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, 61.
- ⁷³ Muniments of title relating to 5 Gelt Road, in possession of Border R.D.C., show that in 1808 this property was sold to Robert Carruthers, described as Master of the Workhouse. *Brampton Vestry Minutes* 1748-50 disclose that there had been a Poor House earlier in the century.
- ⁷⁴ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*
- ⁷⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 23 January 1798.
- ⁷⁶ *Parson and White's Directory*, 1829, 412.
- ⁷⁷ Between 1851 and 1871 the population of the parish decreased by more than 8 per cent. Whellan, *History and Topography of Cumberland and Westmorland*, 1860, 647 *et seq.*; Slater's *Directory of Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, Westmorland and the Cleveland District*, 1879, 18.