

NOTES

1. *Note on a Mace and a Hammerstone, both found on South Scree, Pike O' Stickle and both now in the Neolithic Collection at Kendal Town Museum*

By M. DAVIES-SHIEL

The Mace (c. NY 274070)

Found by the author in 1959 on the main south scree about halfway down, but no other details then taken of its exact location for its unique value was not then realised. It subsequently went on display with other Langdale tools in a private museum in Ambleside until 1986, when the artefacts were removed to Kendal Town Museum.

The mace is of a sandy-grey colour and, where broken, has a grainy texture with grains up to 2mm. Formed originally as an explosion material, it was then impregnated with acid volcanic fluids and became hardened to a rhyolitic tuff. The rock type is common within the Borrowdale Volcanic Series and tends to weather fairly easily. It is nowhere near as resistant as the hornstones of which the axes are made.

In shape it is ovoid, narrowing at the striking edge. It is 75.3mm long, 68.8mm wide and 22.3mm thick. The central hour-glass perforation is asymmetrical, being 2mm out of line with the tool's axis. The slight polishing within the 'funnel' on the obverse side and the broken nature of the reverse side suggests that the whole tool was originally thicker by 2mm on this reverse side. A wooden handle that swelled when it got wet could have caused such flaking damage.

Other damage to the tool appears to have been made when it was used. The lower edge as drawn was probably the smiting face, being most pecked and broken, the reverse side showing that the damage there would most likely be effected if that was the handle side.

The whole of the exterior curved surface was originally polished and later re-polished across the centre of the obverse face to flatten it.

The tiny handle hole, only 11.5 x 12.5, suggests it was more a bone or nut cracker than a heavy hammer. Its weight is just on 200 grams or 7 oz.

The Hammerstone (c. NY 273068)

It was discovered loose on the south-east side of the south scree by Michael Boyd of Hull, in November 1988. It is complete, of Ennerdale granophyre, like most of the medium and smaller hammerstones found on the chipping sites. It weighs 4.08 kg (9lb exactly) and is almost spherical, at 140mm diameter. It is heavily pecked all over and was clearly used very many times. There has been slight damage of a more recent nature on the side which shows weathering. Several large recent powdered batter-marks on this side show that large blocks of stone have hit it while it was partially sunk in the ground. Some 12mm of material has been removed. The 'sunken' side is a bright fresh salmon-pink, with typical small crystalline surface.

It is the largest complete hammerstone discovered to date and is of great interest for it is clearly far too big to be used in one hand and thus begs the question concerning quarrying of blocks rather than using smaller blocks from the scree. The author has noted the damage done by frost pitting on axe material and the opening up of joint-planes by weathering and presumed that such small blocks would therefore be less suitable as axe material. Recent work by J. Quartermain corroborates this view. Thus larger and fresh rock would have to be broken off a cliff face and indeed, the author had noted from 1958 onwards that there were large and small quarrying faces

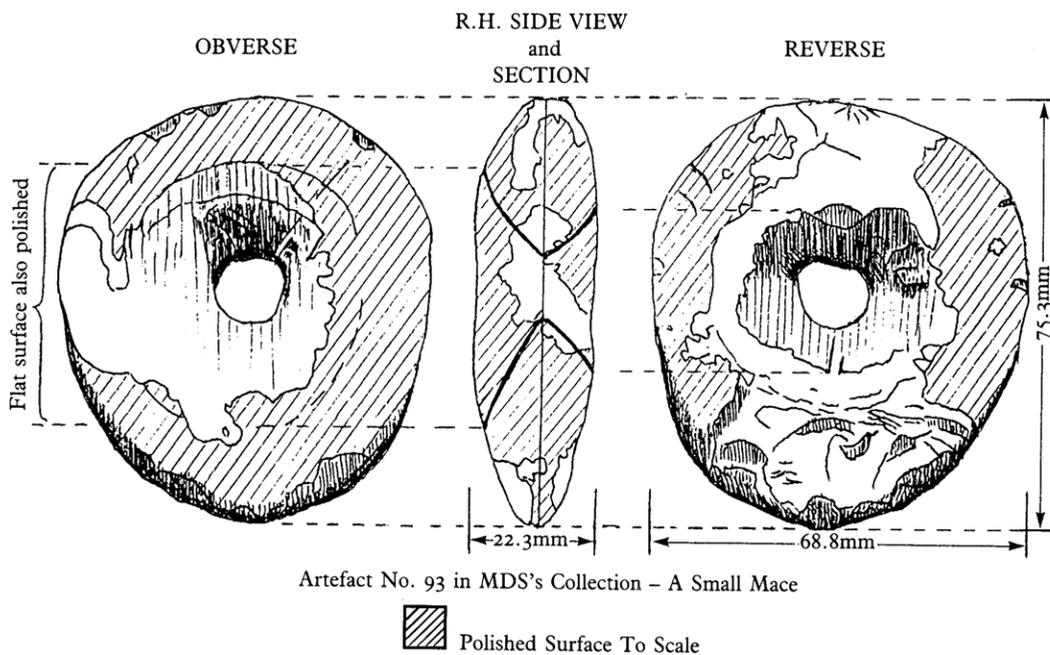


FIG. 1. – Mace found on South Scree, Pike O'Stickle in 1959 at c. NY274070

across the upper Langdale Pike's slopes. In 1965, he drew the attention of Miss C. I. Fell, Messrs. R. G. Plint and C. Houlder (of the then Ministry of Works), to this activity.

2. *Barron's Pike, possible Roman signal tower*
By D. J. WOOLLISCROFT

In July 1987 a small excavation was undertaken under the writer's direction on the suspected Roman signal tower of Barron's Pike¹ near Bewcastle, Cumbria (NY 596 752).

A single trench was dug, this being a section across the ring ditch surrounding the monument. The section was dug just to the north of the single causeway crossing the ditch² in the hope of maximising the chances of small finds, although in the event none were made.

The ditch (see Fig. 1.) proved to be rock cut and of standard Roman military V profile, with slight signs of a bottom slot. It was 2.7m wide and 1.1m deep. A discontinuous layer of a very fine grey-brown silt around the ditch bottom suggested it had been cleaned during its life time, whilst a thick essentially homogeneous layer of a courser black silt which filled the ditch from its bottom to the base of the modern very thin moorland topsoil suggest that it finally silted naturally.

The site has previously been looked upon as a Bronze Age ring cairn.³ The finds of this excavation may be taken as further slight evidence against this identification.

Notes and References

¹ P. Topping "A New Roman Signal Station in Cumbria" *Britannia*, xviii, 1987, 167. D. J. Woolliscroft "The Outpost System of Hadrian's Wall, an Outer Limes", *British Archaeology*, 6 March 1988, 22. D. J. Woolliscroft "The Outpost System of Hadrian's Wall", *CW2*, lxxxviii, 23-28.

² For a plan see P. Topping *op.cit.* note 1, 299.

³ K. S. Hodgson. "Some Notes on the Prehistoric Remains of the Border District". *CW2*, xliii, 167.

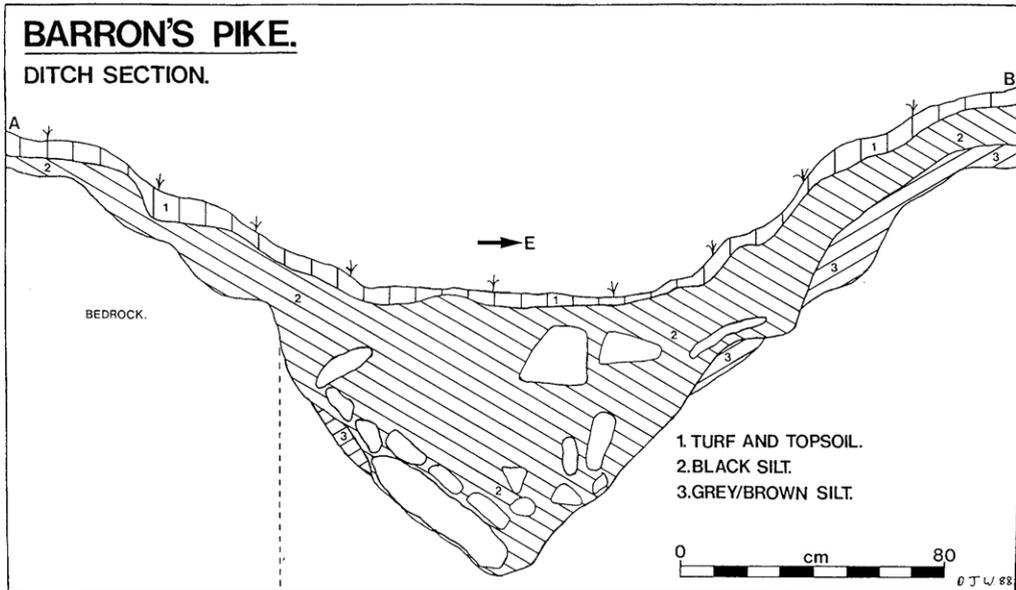


FIG. 1.

3. *Roman coins from Cumbria: Recent finds*
By D. C. A. SHOTTER

Watercrook Roman Fort, Kendal

Two coins have been passed for examination from the area of Watercrook Roman fort: the precise find-spots are not known.

1. Æ *Sestertius*, Antoninus Pius
(Very Worn) A.D. 138-161
2. Æ *Denarius*, Trajan
Obv. IMP CAESNERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM
Rev. Hercules P M TR P COS III P P
(Medium wear: *RIC* 37)

(Information from Mr C. A. Ellwood).

Gleaston Castle

1. Æ *Denarius*, Antoninus Pius
Obv. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P COS III
Rev. GENIVS POP ROMANI
(Little wear: *RIC* 70)

(Information from Mr David Hughes, Furness Museum).

Roman Fort Area, Kirkby Thore

Three *denarii* were found in 1986-87, apparently in different locations in the area of the Roman fort: although information is imprecise, such details as are to hand are lodged in Carlisle Museum

and appear to preclude the possibility that the coins might derive from a hoard, despite their chronological homogeneity.

1. *AR Denarius*, Vespasian A.D. 69-71
Obv. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG
Rev. COS ITER TR POT

(Medium wear: *RIC* 10)

2. *AR Denarius*, Hadrian A.D. 119-122
Obv. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS[
Rev. Illegible

(fragmentary: medium wear)

3. *AR Denarius*, Faustina I A.D. 141+
Obv. DIVA FAVSTINA
Rev. AETERNITAS

(Medium wear: *RIC* (Antoninus) 344 ff).

(Information from Mr Colin Richardson, Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery).

Stanwix House, Carlisle

A coin was found in 1935 in the gardens of Stanwix House, apparently at a depth of about half a metre. It has been acquired by Carlisle Museum (Acc. No. 36-1987).

1. *AR Denarius*, Marcus Antonius 32-1 B.C.
Obv. ANT AVG IIIVIR R P C
Rev. LEG []

(very worn: Crawford 544)

(Information from Mr Colin Richardson).

Grange in Borrowdale

1. *Æ Dupondius*, Trajan A.D. 110
Obv. IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V P P
Rev. S P Q R OPTIMO [PRINCIPI S C]

AQVA TRAIANA

(very worn: Hill 502)

(Information from Mr Andrew White, Lancaster City Museum).

Silverdale

1-2. 2 *Æ* coins of Constantine I, of which further information is awaited.

Red Dial, Wigton (Old Carlisle Fort)

Many coins have been recovered in recent months from different areas around the fort: the find-spots of these are recorded in Carlisle Museum. (Information from Mr Colin Richardson).

1. *AR Denarius*, Vespasian A.D. 69-79
 (very worn)

2. *Æ Sestertius*, probably Vespasian A.D. 69-79
 (very worn)

3. *Æ As*, probably Hadrian A.D. 117-138
 (very worn)

4. Æ *Dupondius*, Antoninus Pius
Obv. ANTONINVS [AVG PIVS P P TR P COS IIII]
Rev. [SALVS AVG] S C
 (little wear: *RIC* (Antoninus) 809)
 A.D. 145-161
5. Æ *Dupondius*, Marcus Aurelius (as Caesar)
 (medium wear)
 A.D. 145-161
6. Æ *Sestertius*, Marcus Aurelius
Rev. [SALVTI] AVGVSTAE S C
 (medium wear: *RIC* (Marcus) 1011)
 A.D. 170-1
7. Æ *Radiate*, Gallienus
Obv. [GALLIENVS AVG]
Rev. [AEQVITAS AVG]
 (very worn: *RIC* 159)
 A.D. 259-68
8. Æ *Radiate* copy, Tetricus I
Rev. PAX AVG
 (very worn: *RIC* 100)
 A.D. 271-3
9. Æ Constantinian
 Copy of [FEL TEMP REPARATIO]; Fallen
 Horseman type
 (medium wear)
 c.A.D. 350
- 10-13. Æ 1 Illegible *Dupondius* and 3 Illegible *Asses*.

All these coins are included in my compendium, *Roman Coins from North-west England* (Lancaster University CNWRS, 1990).

4. *Population decline in early Seventeenth Century Cumbria?*
 By ARTHUR H. DUXBURY

In 1973 the late A. B. Appleby published a valuable analysis of the epidemics of 1587-88, 1597 and 1623 in Cumberland and Westmorland.¹ He has now incorporated this analysis with some extension, in his book, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, which despite its title is almost entirely concerned with Cumbria.² Appleby argued that these epidemics were Malthusian checks operating when the growth of population outstripped food supply and that as such pointed to a weakness in the economy and social structure of the region. The argument was offered in explanation of a series of demographic changes which Appleby sketched in his chapter 2. The present paper examines the way in which Appleby arrived at his pattern of demographic change and expresses reservations about both his methods and his conclusions.

Appleby began with an estimate of the populations of Cumberland and Westmorland in 1563, obtained by applying a multiplier of 4.75 to the return of households ordered by the Privy Council in that year. He then compared this estimate with the 1687-88 estimate for Cumberland made contemporaneously by Thos. Denton, the recorder of Carlisle, and an estimate for Westmorland which Appleby derived from the 1670-73 Hearth Tax returns. He concluded that over the period of some 120 years the population of Cumberland increased from 42,400 to 63,100, an increase of almost 50%; but in the same period the population of Westmorland declined from 30,500 to 28,300, a decline of about 8% (p. 26).

Appleby's estimates can be compared with those produced by Bouch and Jones in 1961 for a large area of the two counties.³ Using the same sources, though slightly different multiplier, they concluded that the population of 72 Cumberland parishes and chapelries increased by about 46%

and that the population of the rural deanery of Westmorland (i.e. North Westmorland, the old East and West Wards) increased by about 9% and they add that 'in other parts of the county, and especially around Kendal, the growth may well have been more rapid'.⁴

The two overall estimates are therefore much in accord over Cumberland but differ with regard to Westmorland. Appleby broke down the number of households by parishes from his various sources (his Appendix A) and from these it can be calculated that the Westmorland decline in population did not occur evenly throughout the county. On Appleby's figures the population of North Westmorland increased by about 11% (much in accord with the Bouch and Jones estimate), but the population of South Westmorland fell by about 22%. It may be granted that Kendal's wool trade experienced a depression in the early seventeenth century, but the sharp fall in population which appears to differentiate this district from the rest of the region is distinctly curious.

For population estimates at intermediate dates, Appleby turned to the diocese of Carlisle and its 1603 ecclesiastical census. By assuming that the average age for confirmation was 14 and that 35% of the population was under that age, he raised the total of 61,847 communicants to a total population of about 95,000 (p. 26). Next he derived an estimate for 1641-42 from the Protestation Returns (applying Gregory King's 1695 estimate that 55% of the national population was over 18). This with minor adjustments produced a figure of 56,400 (p. 28). Making allowance for the different areas involved the figures for 1563, 1603, 1641-42 and the 1670's and 1680's could then be compared. But as Appleby admits, the pattern that emerges is perplexing; a 100% increase 1563-1603, a 41% decline 1603-41, then a small recovery of less than 10% 1641 to 1670's and 1680's (p. 29).

Appleby then turns to parish registers or at least to four parish registers and gives the number of baptisms and burials per decade between 1571 and 1800 (Table 1 p. 30). Making assumptions to cover gaps in the registers he calculated that the population of Crosthwaite and Dalston only increased by 29% and 28% respectively between 1563 and 1600. He added that the population of Brough-under-Stainmore increased by 58% over the same period, though the figures for this parish are not given in the table. From this he concluded that the 1603 estimate needed modifying to 'bring us back into the plausible range' (p. 32). He did this by assuming that the 1603 census counted not communicants but the whole population, adults and children.

Appleby also looked at the 1676 ecclesiastical census. Again this was stated to count only those 'of age to communicate', but a minimum age of 16 was laid down, as it was not in 1603. Appleby applied a multiplier of 1.67 but even so found the results disappointing as being much too low. He therefore disregarded it with the comment: 'Frankly, it is puzzling' (p. 28).

Nevertheless, the 1676 returns deserve more attention. Appleby again gave the figures for parishes in his Appendix. If these are converted into population figures by using Appleby's multiplier, they can then be compared with Denton's estimate of 11 years later. The result is that out of the 62 Cumberland parishes which can be compared: half are slightly above or below, but 26 are well under and 3 well over. This does not suggest that the 1676 return is irretrievably faulty.

Why then did Appleby dismiss the ecclesiastical census of 1676 because it produced too low an estimate, while he accepted as correct the similar census of 1603 – provided that the latter was assumed to be a census of the whole population? The answer is of course that a fall in the population of Cumbria was essential for Appleby's overall thesis, and only the 1603 census, suitably interpreted, could produce figures which would offer statistical evidence of a fall. Using the 1603 estimate (as modified), he was able to conclude that the population of the diocese of Carlisle (which from p. 36 onwards he treated as equivalent to that of the two counties) between 1563 and 1603 grew by 43% and then between 1603 and 1641 declined by 9%. The decline was followed by a rise between 1641 and 1676 of rather under 10%. Now let us suppose that our reservations about the interpretation of ecclesiastical censuses led us to jump the opposite way to

Appleby, to dismiss the 1603 census estimate as implausible and to accept the 1676 census estimate. We could then argue that in the eighty years between 1563 and 1641 Cumbrian population increased 31%, and in the next thirty years it increased rather under 10%, thus giving us a picture of continuous undramatic increase. But this would hardly fit with the view that Cumbria was wasted by epidemics and famine in the later decades of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth.

If we grant that the arguments presented above throw doubts on the value of estimates derived from ecclesiastical censuses or county listings, where else might we turn for evidence on population trends? The obvious answer is the parish registers, and in the Cumbrian registers we might seek to confirm alleged population trends. But in fact Appleby made only very limited use of parish register evidence, using the registers merely to argue that the 'communicant' interpretation of the 1603 census produced an estimate too high. Though he stated that he had examined the registers of 37 Cumberland parishes, he published statistical evidence relating to only a sample of 4 (p. 30). (No Westmorland parish was aggregated, though he noted that the registers of Brough were complete for the period in question, page 31). The four parishes analysed do not even provide a geographical spread – three out of the four (Dacre, Greystoke, Crosthwaite) being neighbours or near neighbours. The aggregation of 13 decades from each register is less satisfactory than at first sight seems because a great deal of extrapolation is involved – the registers are incomplete, lacking 8, 6, 4 and 3 decades respectively. If we concentrate on decades for which individual registers are complete, Appleby's own figures barely prove his case. In the decade 1581-1590, which includes the first serious epidemic, that of 1587-88, the three complete registers all show an excess of baptisms over burials. In the decade 1591-1600, which included the 1597 epidemic, two out of three complete registers do indeed show an excess of burials over baptisms, but in the following decade each parish had a generous excess of baptisms. In the decade 1621-1630, which included the 1623 epidemic, only one register is complete, and this does show an excess of burials. Again, however, this is followed by an excess of baptisms in the next decade.

For what it is worth, Appleby's own table shows an excess of baptisms over burials in the four parishes during the period between 1571 and 1630 and only an excess of burials over baptisms after 1691.

The present writer has aggregated the registers of 13 parishes in North Westmorland. They all show a similar pattern. During the period of the epidemics they all show an excess of births over burials so that the losses from the epidemics could have been made good by natural increase within a decade. This growth of natural increase carries on to the 1690's and then the curve of cumulative natural increase flattens until around the middle of the eighteenth century when it takes off once more. It might well be inferred from this that the overall population of Cumbria was rising during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though this would not, of course, totally invalidate Appleby's contention that a temporary fall occurred in the early decades of the seventeenth century.

It would appear therefore, that Appleby must be faulted both for his failure to study more parish registers and for his failure to note that such parish register evidence as he presented provides only limited support for his demographic thesis and is capable of suggesting a quite different argument.

Acknowledgements

I am much indebted to Professor Hair of Liverpool University for valuable comments on the original draft although, he, of course, is in no way responsible for the opinions expressed.

References

- ¹ A. B. Appleby, 'Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland 1580-1640'. *Economic History Review* (1973), 403-432.

² A. B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Liverpool, 1978).

³ C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500-1830*, (Manchester, 1961), 82-83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

5. *A Westmorland Quaker in Maryland*

BY JANET MARTIN

Among the wills in the Prerogative Court of Maryland¹ is that of John Pinder of Talbot County, husbandman, dated 2 April 1711. After stating his wish to be buried in 'friends burying Ground at the Meeting house at Tucahoe',² he continued: 'I will & Bequeath all my Lands & Livings in Old England in the County of Westmorel^d & in Ravenstonedale Called Boutherdall warth it being in six Closes three knowne by the name of Parrackmore & one knowne by the name of Adam's Intack Bottom & another known by the name of Middle End and another by the name of head End with all the Dwelling houses outhouses Orchards & Backsides with all the priviledges belonging to the same to be Sold & turn'd into money by my Ex^t hereafter named . . . '.

The money raised by the sale was to be disposed of in legacies: £10 to his cousin Joseph Pinder, £2 each to his friends Jere[miah] Langhorn and Grace Langhorn, £4 to the Friends at the Tucahoe Meeting, and the residue to his friend and executor David Ary. Finally he left 'a parcell of Land to friends of Ravenstonedale Meeting it being a Grave Yard to them & their heirs for ever'. The will was proved by David Ary on 21 July 1711. There is an administration for the English property dated 11 February 1712 among the probate records of the Ravenstonedale peculiar.³ The principal bondsman was Caleb Tennant of North Shields, Northumberland, shopkeeper (*propola*), with John Holme of Sedbergh, blacksmith, and Robert Greave of Wharton Hall, gentleman. Tennant was a relation of Joseph Pinder, who, says the bond, 'it may Concern', that is who had some interest in the property under consideration, and indeed, as the will states, he was a legatee and the only one in England. So in a period of six and a half months the necessary correspondence between Maryland and Ravenstonedale, North Shields, Sedbergh, and Wharton had taken place, the land had presumably been sold, the legacies paid, and the Ravenstonedale Friends had taken possession of their graveyard. This seems remarkably expeditious at a time when the Atlantic crossing would have taken, given good weather, between five and six weeks.

There was a flourishing group of Friends in Ravenstonedale, many of them members of the Pinder family, in the late 17th century. Among the earliest was another John Pinder, the births of three of whose daughters are recorded in the Quaker records.⁴ Meetings were first held in his house and he was perhaps a convinced Quaker before George Fox came to Ravenstonedale in 1652 as his eldest daughter was born in 1650. A Richard Pinder of Wath was converted then and 'about the year 1657 was called into the worke of the ministry, and laboured much in many countrys as Scotland, England, and two severall times in America, as perticularly Barbadoes, Bermuda, New England, Jamaica, and several other plantations where he had a considerable service'.⁵ Four of his children appear in the Quaker records between 1664 and 1672, including Joseph, born on 9 February 1672, who must be the cousin referred to in John Pinder's will. John's own date of birth is more doubtful. Richard Pinder had a son of that name, born on 18 October 1668, but if Joseph was his cousin that cannot be he. Another John, son of Anthony Pinder, was born on 4 February 1658, and this may well be the John who went to Maryland. He evidently had no children and may not have been married.

The meeting house at Ravenstonedale was called Fell End or Street (at Grid Ref. NY 734008), and was built in 1704-05 on land bought from an Anthony Robinson. It was extremely remote and was abandoned as the numbers of Friends was reduced, but was not finally demolished until

1899.⁶ John Pinder's graveyard, however, was not adjacent to the meeting house itself, but was at Wath, on the left of the Newbiggin-Tebay road, about a mile west of the former railway station, and still identified as Quaker Garth.⁷

David Ary the executor is probably the David, son of Richard Ary of Shap, who was born on 14 January 1667, and Jeremiah Langhorn will be the son of Thomas Langhorn of Hiltondale, born on 15 February 1673. The Quaker records do not indicate that he had a sister Grace. She must have been his wife, but if so they were not married in Westmorland. Whether he had emigrated is not clear from the will although it seems certain. Joseph Pinder was still clearly in England in 1712. There was evidently some doubt in the minds of the English ecclesiastical authorities about where John Pinder lived as the administration is endorsed 'John Pinder of Maryland sive Pen Silvania'.

Notes and References

¹ Liber 13, ff. 353-5.

² Tuckahoe Creek is a tributary of the Choptank River which runs into Chesapeake Bay on its eastern side. The Friends' Meeting House referred to in the will was founded in 1683 and is at Easton, Maryland.

³ C.R.O., Carlisle.

⁴ C.R.O., Kendal, Digests of Quaker Registers. Dates given here have been altered to show non-Quaker dating.

⁵ W. Nicholls, *History and traditions of Ravenstonedale*, ii (n.d., c. 1900), 71-3.

⁶ D. Butler, *Quaker Meeting Houses of the Lake Counties* (1974), 158-62, 164.

⁷ E. F. Foulds, *The Birthplace of Quakerism* (3rd. Ed., 1974), 17.

6. *A Mid 19th century farm sales book*

By JOHN DAWSON

Rosthwaite is one of the larger farms in the Woodland valley, situated on pleasant fertile ground in the valley bottom. An undated sheet from the later C. 19, among the Thomas Butler papers at Barrow Record Office, shows the extent of the estate as 131 acres, plus 20 acres of allotment on Broughton Moor and 1.5 acres on Middlescough Moss. In round figures, 48 acres had been pasture, 27 acres arable, 17 acres meadow and 23 acres coppice. When the estate was auctioned on 2 December 1913 by Alfred Coward, the acreage is given as 136.628. The property is described as "a desirable Dairy or Stock Breeding Farm". The survival of a sales book¹ from the 1840's enables us to look more closely at the management of this estate and its role in the community.

Thomas Brockbank Dixon of Rosthwaite had died in 1801 at the untimely age of 34, leaving an infant son, also Thomas Brockbank, who in 1824 married Isabella Coward of Gillhouse (in Kirkby Ireleth). Two years later Thomas Brockbank Dixon III was born. Then in 1839 Thomas Brockbank II died, leaving Isabella with a large, young family.² The 1841 Census lists them as follows: Isabella (still only 35 years old) – Farmer; Thomas, aged 15; Elizabeth, 14; Henry, 12; Edward, 10; John, 8; and Agnes, 2. There were three servants – John Rowlandson, aged 20, and Thomas Coward and Agnes Savage, both aged 15.

Clearly, Isabella had decided that the best course was to soldier on after her husband died, with the help of the older children. That her decision was justified, the 1851 Census confirms. Thomas Brockbank Dixon is now the head of the household, listed as Farmer, of 140 acres. Henry and Edward are still there, as agricultural labourers, but John has begun work in Broughton-in-Furness as a Druggist's apprentice. Isabella has evidently decided that she can take life less strenuously, and is described as "Annuitant". There are still three servants – Ann Trotter, aged

25, and two young men, both described as servant and farm labourer – Jonathan Wilson, aged 25, and William Shaw, 15. The men had been born in Broughton, but Ann came from relatively distant Cartmel.

The sales book which Isabella must have decided to keep begins in 1840. Young Thomas inscribed the first leaf “T. B. Dixon, Rosthwaite” in what was evidently his best writing. There are 33 leaves in all, taking us on to early 1851, and giving details of transactions relating to the sale of produce and stock. Everything was sold within a day’s journey of Rosthwaite, and many of the customers can be identified.³

During the decade they sold 75 beasts (Table I), mainly in the spring and early summer (Table II). The animals are variously described, but predominantly they were fat calves (39 beasts). Sometimes precise weights are recorded, and from those occasions the following examples are taken. On 6 September 1847 two fat heifers were delivered to Stephen Warhurst (butcher, of King Street, Ulverston) – one weighed 6 score and 5lb., the other 5 score and 7lb., which at £2 per score brought in £23 4s. od. A fat bull delivered to Warhurst on 10 April 1848, fetched £22 19s od at 31s. per score. For a fat calf delivered to Anthony Tyson (Victualler, of the Old King’s Head, Broughton-in-Furness) on 29 June 1849, both the live weight – 18st. 12lb. – is given, and the weights of the four quarters – 36, 39, 40, 39lb. This beast sold for £2 17s. 9d. A fat cow, delivered to Tyson on 29 June 1850, weighed 718lb, and fetched £14 19s. 2d. Warhurst was a regular customer for Rosthwaite beasts throughout the period, and bought 26 in all. Tyson, who figures only from 1847, bought 25. From 1840-46 Dixon was selling to Jonathan Wilson – 16 all told. Wilson, of Greenbank, Broughton-in-Furness, is described as ‘butcher and farmer’ in Parson and White’s 1829 *Directory*. The remaining 9 beasts were sold between 1840 and 1842, in transactions involving the Irvings of Coniston Hall, and not necessarily to be butchered. The average prices received over the whole period for the various categories of stock were: for geld cows, £6 14s. 3d, for cows, £10 10s. od.; for fat oxen, £18 8s. 10d.; for fat cows, £14 7s. 9d; for fat heifers, £10 14s. 2d.; and for fat calves, £2 13s. 2d.

Sheep figure in the accounts as prominently as cattle. They sold 206 over the period in question (Table I), nearly all in the months August to January (Table II). Mainly they were described as “fat sheep”, with a few minor variations: 1 fat ewe, 3 fat tups, 9 fat lambs, 6 halfbred ewes and 3 “Fell weathers”. The same three butchers took the bulk of the stock – Wilson 46, Warhurst 76 and Tyson 57. From 1847 weights are often given. The average weight of the fat tups was 94 lb; of the fell weathers, by contrast, 48lb. The fat sheep range from a remarkable 138 lb to 39 lb with the majority between 40 and 60lb. (Table III). That there should be this preponderance of heavy weights is no doubt due to the fact that in those days ‘fat’ really meant fat, in sharp distinction to the present-day preference for lean meat. In general the sheep sold at 6d. or 5½d. per lb.

Mrs Dixon and her son also sold considerable quantities of dairy produce, particularly cheese, to a total of 17 named customers (Table VI). The separate transactions range from a stone to 124lb. The customer here was Mrs Postlethwaite. The Postlethwaites were grocers and corn millers at Beck Side, Grizebeck, the hamlet at the foot of the Woodland valley. Several of the identifiable customers were near neighbours: Joshua Stable, farmer, from Fell Gate; the Newbys, a labouring family from Tomsteads; George Rowlandson of Chapel House, another labourer; William Bell, farmer at Greenmoor; John High, farmer at Hencroft; and the Barwicks of Whetstonecroft. Four of the remainder were local tradesmen: Nicholas Briggs⁴ was a painter, John Jackson a painter, plumber and glazier, both at Broughton-in-Furness; William Coward was a tailor and shopkeeper at Beck Side; and Thomas Dickinson a joiner at Hawthwaite on the way into Broughton. Only two were from the Coniston area, another clear indication of how Woodland looked towards Broughton and plain Furness rather than up towards the mountains. Prices remained fairly consistent over the decade. The usual rate was 4½d. per lb. with a few sales in 1840-42 at 5d. or even 6d.; then in 1843-44 3½d. was the commonest price, rising to 4d. or 4½d. from 1845-49, and dropping back to 3½d. in 1850.

Butter making must have absorbed quantities of milk, but it looks as if most was consumed at Rosthwaite itself. The only years for which significant sales are recorded are 1840 – 3st. at 13s. 4d. per st., 1841 – 8st. 6lb. at 13s. or 13s. 4d., and 1850 – 46lb. at 9d. or 9½d. per lb.

Much more important were the sales associated with the arable side of farming at Rosthwaite, mainly barley, but with some oats and a few potatoes (Tables IV and V). The barley customers were S. Whineray, maltster, from Dunnerdale, till 1846; then James Wales, farmer, who lived at Doveford, on the way to Kirby Ireleth. J. H. Case who bought 8 bushels of oats in 1846 at 13s. 6d. per bushel, was the miller at Broughton-in-Furness. The sale of potatoes seems to have been merely opportunist. Of the six customers clearly identifiable, five were Woodlanders, and the sixth, Mark Russell, was a schoolmaster who lived at Lind End, Broughton Mills.

Finally, a number of miscellaneous sales are recorded. Thomas Dickenson, the joiner, bought 24 feet of wood in 1840, at 9d. per foot; 4 feet 9 inches of oak wood in 1841, at 1s. per foot; and in April 1849 43 feet of larchwood for £2 3s. od. Myles Dixon, a fellow Woodland farmer from the Hill nearby, bought a further 29 feet of this larchwood a few weeks later for 10d. per foot. Arthur Cole, clogger, of Broughton-in-Furness, bought 37½ feet of clogwood in 1844 for 10d. per foot. David Stable, again from Broughton, who was a tanner, bought 10cwt. 2qr. 25lb. of bark in September 1844 (no price is given), and then in October 1846, 3cwt. 2qr. 10lb., which cost him £1 1s. od. In December 1847 Thomas Grice bought a fat pig of 14 score and 16lb. for 5½d. per lb., and in the next year another one of 15 score and 18lb. at 43s. 4d. per lb. (Grice & Co. traded at Broughton in such essential agricultural materials as guano, of which T. B. Dixon bought 15 bags, weighing 19cwt. 2qr. in February 1851. This rare detail of a purchase throws a shaft of light on how abreast of up-to-date farming practice the Dixons were. In Trollope's "Orley Farm", Lucius Mason, "an agriculturist with special scientific views as to chemistry", tells his mother he must go to Liverpool tomorrow – "that guano which I got from Walker is adulterated").

There is also a little information in this document about the people who worked at Rosthwaite. In 1850 Dixon did some building work for James Riley who farmed at Bridge End, the next farm towards the head of the valley. The "account of the wallers board whilst building at Bridge End" was: 2 men, one week each: (in all) 18s. In the next week they "left after dinner", which accounts for the sum due being 17s. Then there was, "two men, 5 days each, (in all) 13s. 4d.; Matthew, 4 days, 5s. 4d., and George, 7 days, 9s.". These figures tally closely with the wallers' board between 12 June and 6 August 1850, when Dixon was having a stable built at Rosthwaite: 8s. for a six day week was the going rate.

At the end of the sales book is a note of Dixon's hirings for 1850 – 7 April, William Shaw for the half year at £3 15s. od., and Ann Wilson for the half year at £3. In the October following, William Shaw was retained for the next half year at £4, and Jonathan Wilson was hired for £7 10s. od. Ann Trotter was also hired in October, at £3 the half year, but this does not look like a new hiring. He had paid small sums to Ann from 1 August as "part half year's wages", amounting altogether to £1 9s. 2½d., and including 3s. 9d. for worsted, 12s for 'cloths' and 8d. for stockings.

There are also brief notes under this final year of casual worker's pay. During February 1851 George Rowlandson from Chapel House received £1 1s. 3d. for 23 days work. The William Atkinsons, Snr. and Jr., were on a rather better rate, and worked 13½ and 14½ days respectively at 1s. 2d. per day. The Atkinsons were then living in one of the Rosthwaite cottages. Mary Atkinson had helped with the harvest in 1850, from mid-August to early September. She was shearing oats, and, it appears, brought back 71 stooks shorn in New Field and 59 in Gate Ridding: £1 1s. 8d., at 2d. per stook. The previous week, 20-23 August, John High and family (from Hencroft, the small farm adjoining Rosthwaite) had been working in the same fields, rather less assiduously, perhaps. At any rate, they only qualified for 6s. 10d. in respect of 41 stooks. Mary Atkinson, her son William and Jane Rowlandson (George's wife) had been working throughout mid-July. The nature of this work and the remuneration is not indicated, except for William – 1s. 3d. per day – but haymaking would be a plausible suggestion, and one hopes that the women's

pay was not lower than William's. Again, in 1850, the Dixons needed some walling done. In February William and John Slater (from Gate House, Woodland) received £1 13s. od. for walling "against New Close wood". Maybe they were very busy later in the year, or their work had not been satisfactory – on 23 December William Atkinson was paid "for walling against New Close wood, 20 roods at 2s. 6d. per rood".

Since the little book appears to have been used simply as a memorandum of sales from the farm, there is no more than accidental reference to purchases: nothing relating to buying horses, or farm gear, domestic equipment or personal apparel. But there are stray miscellaneous entries. A note, on 14 September 1844 reads, "Let Myles Dixon our share of a pew in Broughton C. for 10s per year" – a receipt recorded annually for the rest of the period. Whenever Stephen Warhurst or Anthony Tyson settled a half-yearly account for stock delivered to them, the total was offset by the Rosthwaite meat bill: In October 1848, for example, £11 7s. 4³d. was deducted from the £49 8s. 11d. due from Tyson. When they paid Thomas Grice for the guano in 1851, there was also £4 6s. 5d. due to him for "Groceries etc." In 1851 again, there was a delivery of swills from Joel Park: two two-peck swills at 1s. 3d. each, one seed hopper at 3s. 6d. and a scuttle at 2s. 6d. (Joel Park was a member of that branch of the Park family which had been making swills in Torver over a century before). On 14 February 1851 Mr Atkinson, the Broughton doctor, received 6s. 6d. for his "attendance and medicine on E. Park". (In the 1851 Census, Edward Park, 16, is listed as a lodger. He was a member of another branch of the Park family from Torver.) At the same time Dixon had to find a further 6s. 6d. for a doctor's bill in respect of Ann Trotter.

The picture that emerges from this sales book is of a busy household, where surplus produce of whatever kind was sold within a fairly restricted area, presumably on the basis of personal knowledge and contacts. There is no evidence of any of the Dixons taking a stand at Ulverston or Broughton market. In the late 1840's stock sales assume a relatively greater role, and the sale of dairy produce becomes less important. But the notebook gives no information as to the total stock of the farm at any given time, or of the acreage under the plough.

The primary objective at Rosthwaite was still, as it had been for centuries, the support of the household itself. Any surplus was then sold by whatever means were to hand. It was still a very local market for such produce – there is no reference to any place more distant than Ulverston, and all the sales contacts must have been direct personal ones between buyer and seller. The mixed nature of the farming ensured that there was likely to be some kind of surplus for sale each year. The tendency over the decade for income to rise (Table VII) may be attributed to the hard work and efficient organisation of the Dixon family. By 1851 Thomas could feel confidently established in the inheritance of his fathers.

Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to Margaret, my wife, for help in preparing the statistical tables and the map; and to Don and Sheila Hutchinson, of Hole Beck, Woodland, for their comments on the contents of the notebook. It is interesting to note that Mr Hutchinson, like Jonathan Wilson in the 1840's, is both a farmer and a butcher.

Notes and References

- ¹ T. B. Dixon, Rosthwaite. Small notebook. Ref. BD/TB, Box 111, C.R.O., Barrow. Census returns, 1841 and 1851.
- ² Parish Registers: Woodland, Broughton-in-Furness and Kirkby Ireleth.
- ³ It has not been possible to date to identify with certainty all the persons named in the notebook; but even if (most improbably) these few all lived a long way from Rosthwaite, the broad conclusion that Dixon's market was a very local one would not be vitiated.
- ⁴ 'Mr Briggs' may also have been William Briggs, Spirit merchant, of Broughton, (Parson and White, 1829) but this would make no difference to the point being made.

Table I

Stock sold, by years:		
	Cattle	Sheep
1840	4	1
1841	5	0
1842	5	0
1843	4	15
1844	8	17
1845	7	11
1846	8	31
1847	9	39
1848	12	21
1849	8	33
1850	5	38

Table II

Stock sold, by months:		
	Cattle	Sheep
Jan.	2	13
Feb.	2	6
Mar.	6	0
Apr.	14	1
May	8	0
June	12	8
July	8	2
Aug.	0	19
Sep.	2	33
Oct.	4	48
Nov.	5	17
Dec.	1	54
Month not clear	11	5

Table III

Fat sheep weights:	lbs.
Under 40	2
40-49	37
50-59	41
60-69	20
70-79	15
80-89	6
Over 90	4

Table IV

Potatoes sold, by years:		
	Quantities	No. of Customers
1841	33st. @ 3d. or 3½d. 2 bushels @ 5s.	4
1842	6st. @ 4d. 7 bushels @ 5s.	3
1844	1½ bushels @ 5s.	1
1850	3st. @ 7½d.	1
1851	16½st. @ 7d. (black potatoes)	1

Table V

Barley sold, by years:

1843	83 bu.
1844	45 bu.
1846	64 bu. 3 pk.
1848	24 bu. 2 pk.
1849	39 bu. 7 pk.
1850	22 bu. 3 pk.

Oats sold, by years:

1845	8bu.
1850	10 bu.

Table VI

Cheese sold, by years:

	Quantity	No. of customers
1840	1cwt. 55 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb.	2
1841	1 105	7
1842	2 55	3
1843	2 97 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
1844	1 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	4
1845	1 103	4
1846	0 17 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
1847	2 17	5
1848	1 56 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
1849	0 15	1
1850	1 58	3

Table VII

Income from sales, by years:

	Cattle	Sheep	Dairy Prod.	Arable Prod.	Total
1840	£22 10s. od.	£1 os. od.	£5 2s. 9d.	£0 os. od.	£28 12s. 9d.
1841	£55 os. od.	£0 os. od.	£10 1s. od.	£0 18s. 4d.	£65 19s. 4d.
1842	£52 10s. od.	£0 os. od.	£4 13s. od.	£1 17s. od.	£59 os. od.
1843	£25 17s. 6d.	£11 os. od.	£4 14s. 6d.	£E80 os. od.	£121 12s. od.
1844	£45 9s. od.	£18 5s. 8d.	£1 17s. od.	£0 7s. 6d.	£65 19s. 2d.
1845	£23 6s. 7d.	£12 os. od.	£3 6s. 4d.	£E54 os. od.	£92 12s. 11d.
1846	£15 6s. od.	£22 os. od.	£0 5s. 10d.	£E39 os. od.	£76 11s. 10d.
1847	£51 7s. 9d.	£50 11s. 6d.	£4 11s. 2d.	£0 os. od.	£106 10s. 5d.
1848	£98 7s. 3d.	£6 2s. 8d.	£2 16s. 2d.	£E25 os. od.	£132 6s. 1d.
1849	£43 6s. 11d.	£42 5s. 10d.	£0 5s. od.	£39 os. od.	£124 17s. 9d.
1850	£45 17s. 6d.	£50 18s. 3d.	£4 5s. 3d.	£E26 os. od.	£127 1s. od.
	£478 18s. 6d.	£214 3s. 11d.	£41 18s. od.	£266 2s. 10d.	£1001 3s. 3d.

NB: 1. Sometimes payment for separately listed cattle and sheep is lumped together, so it has been necessary to estimate the relative values.

2. Barley prices are not always given, so receipts have been estimated.

3. The earliest entry for 1840 is 14 April.

